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The Appeal of Traditional Japanese Culture for Western Visitors in Pre-modern Japan: The Chanoyu Perspective

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Abstract

Most traditional Japanese art forms require rigid adherence to etiquette, subtle and unspoken rules, as well as strict bodily and mental discipline. Learners who embark on these art forms commit to following a lifetime path of practice with no promise of mastery or completion. Chanoyu (also known as Chado), the art form that surrounds the preparation and service of powdered green tea, is not only one of the most time intensive, it has historically demanded such a tremendous financial outlay that it was reserved for the ruling warrior class. The first visitors to Japan, the Europeans, had no knowledge of Chanoyu, and hundreds of years later in Meiji, information about the art form was still very scarce. With these obvious disadvantages, why did foreigners in Japan actively participate in traditional culture, particularly the world of Chanoyu?

This paper uses empirical research to explore the allure of Chanoyu, from the viewpoint of western visitors in pre-modern Japan. This report shows that the appeal of Chanoyu has been fluid since its introduction to a western audience, European missionaries, in the mid-16th century. These early visitors practiced the art form, invested in utensils and created detailed documents and journals that served to introduce Chanoyu to their homeland.

In the 1800s, the Meiji Restoration brought fresh visitors whose interest in Japan was escalated by its self-imposed isolation for centuries. Japanese traditional culture got major exposure through fairs and expositions that introduced the culture in a controlled atmosphere to large, eager audiences around the world. The first of these expositions was held in Japan in 1872 and became the catalyst for re-introducing Japanese culture to a western audience. However, the appeal of Chanoyu in Meiji bore little resemblance to its earlier appeal for the Jesuits in the 1600s.

This paper starts by reviewing the general dynamics behind the allure of traditional Japanese culture and how the way Japan was 'sold' overseas affected its appeal. This framework is then narrowed to focus on chanoyu and the elements central to its appeal to western visitors in Japan prior to its self-isolation and during the years of restoration that followed.

Keywords- Chanoyu, Chado, Japanese culture, Japanese ceramics, Jesuits in Japan.

1. INTRODUCTION – WHY JAPANESE CULTURE IS REVERED IN THE WEST

With a dramatic rise in global accessibility, culture has increasingly become an accepted theme for leisure activity (Hendry, 2000). Japan has benefited from this new accessibility, and has gradually made its traditional culture available to outsiders not only for observation but also for participation. This was not always the case; the world knew very little about the existing culture in pre-modern Japan.

This mystery was perpetuated by its inaccessibility even to Westerners with the means to visit the country; this is because historically, even for the Japanese, participation in the traditional arts require that one procure an invitation or an introduction. As well, traditional art forms such as Chanoyu were expensive past-times and participation was limited to the shoguns and the warrior class (Isao, 1994). The strict hierarchy system in Japan did not allow many exceptions for persons outside the upper echelons to practice Chanoyu.

Not only were there strict gate keepers to its traditional culture, Japan's own borders were physically closed to outsiders for over two hundred years due to the Tokugawa Shogunate's foreign policy of self-isolation (*sakoku*), which started taking form in 1633 with full enforcement in 1853 (Boxer, 1951). During this period, as a rule, foreigners were refused entry and Japanese were forbidden to travel overseas (Ellington, 2002). The exception and main points of cultural contact was through access granted to Chinese, Korean and Dutch commercial traders, mainly at ports in Nagasaki. Japan's centuries long isolation helped to keep its traditional culture shrouded in mystery and further restricted the rather limited access that outsiders had to experience it.

Even with the eventual opening of its borders, Japan is still physically isolated from the rest of the developed world and this naturally creates suspense surrounding the country, its people and its culture. However, with so many cultures to choose from, what is the appeal that creates such a high regard among Westerners for Japanese traditional culture? Lack of access creates mystery and demand, but beyond Japan's tendency to be a closed society, the following factors have also contributed to its cultural appeal and ability to command reverence overseas:

1.1. Diversity of Cultural Products

Diversity is probably the most conspicuous feature of Japanese traditional culture. It spans a wide variety of forms and expressions and encompasses long-standing representatives that fall under the 'path' or *dou* (道) branch of study. In this category fall *bushido* (武士道) martial art forms such as *kendo*, *aikido*, *karate*, *kyudo*, and *judo*. Other *dou* art forms include *chado* (tea), *kado* (flowers), *shodo* (calligraphy), *koudo* (incense) and *kyudo* (archery). Additional forms of traditional culture include *haiku* (poetry), *kimono* (clothing), *igo* and *shogi* (board games) and *sumo* (wrestling). The performing arts is dominated by *Nihon buyo* (dance), *Noh* and *Kabuki* plays. Traditional artisan crafts such as pottery, metalwork and weaving add even more depth and width to create an almost overwhelming mosaic of art forms. Although pop culture has become more pervasive since the 1980s in terms of the number of fans and ambassadors worldwide, traditional culture dominates in terms of

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the sheer variety and scope of expression that it offers. With such diversity, the probability for non-natives to find an art form that appeal to their sensibilities and interest among the Japanese arts is considerably higher than for other cultures that have much fewer offerings.

1.2. Mysticism and Novelty of Cultural Roots

While its peers share relatively similar European cultural roots, Japan for a long time, was the only non-western developed country. As such, it naturally stood out and drew attention from its peers. Japanese norms and traditions have an air of mystery and aloofness combined with elements of the exotic that make it unique among developed countries. Cultural norms such as bowing versus shaking hands, using chopsticks in lieu of knives and forks, writing in kanji instead of the alphabet, and having a penchant for obedience and politeness stand out among developed nations. Also feeding into the intrigue for westerners is the nation's perceived austere, orderly and disciplined lifestyle influenced by Zen philosophy. This austerity dramatically coincides, yet co-exist with a world where fairy tales of samurai warlords, ninja, and geisha emerges. All these elements combine to create a natural curiosity in the developed world; a curiosity that is heightened and partly maintained by a language barrier and complex communication and social rules that prevent the culturally curious from simply reading about the culture or learning through mere observation.

1.3. Self-Branding at World Fairs

International expositions and fairs are the primary means by which Japanese culture achieved mass international recognition. After ending its self-isolation, Japan made its debut on the world stage at the Weltausstellung Fair in 1873 in Vienna; this was on the heels of hosting its first ever international exposition, at home in Kyoto, in 1872.

Following this debut, Japan was one of the major attractions in both American and European fairs in the 19th century and has continued to be so (Harris, 1990) (Hotter-Lister, 1999). A western image of Japan as a mysterious Oriental nation possessing a 'high culture' was developed and propagated through these fairs. The elegant, refined image of Japan was further reinforced by dispatching geishas and exquisite structures such as temples and tearoom to various world fairs. This aided in heightening Japan's appeal and allowed it to be sold as a "high culture" (St. Louis Republic, 1904). With such branding and marketing, western consumers tend to view Japan's high culture with more regard than that of other advanced nations. For example, in describing the Japanese, 19th century Japanese scholar, Basil Hall Chamberlain, wrote, 'They are the most aesthetic of modern peoples' (Minear, 1980). What these consumers seem to hold in high esteem is the unique and subtle aesthetic qualities of Japan's cultural and artistic expressions.

In the United States, the popularity of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow's collection of bronze and lacquer ware objects from Japan that were on exhibit at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1879, was an affirmation of the public's growing familiarity with, and demand for, Japanese cultural products (Hickman & Fetchko, 1977). As well, events such as the start of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 and Japan's subsequent victory over the Russians in 1905, stimulated

interest in Japan. World fairs and expositions perpetuated the resulting Japanese craze (Breslow, 1996).

Interest in Japanese traditional culture globally, whatever the source of its appeal, has continued to be strong. Presenting the culture overseas in confined settings allowed Japanese cultural agencies to perfect and market a lofty image that sells Japan as the perfect Oriental. At home in an unscripted environment however, what appeal did Japanese culture have for westerners viewing it in its raw, unpackaged state? Particularly, why would visitors go beyond simply observing Chanoyu and participate despite the social barriers to entry and the rigid rules that pervades the art form? The rest of this article discusses the historical reasons for westerners to be in Japan between the 1600s and the Meiji Restoration, and different factors that drove their interest and motivation to participate actively in the solemn, strict and little understood art form of chanoyu.

2. DEFINITION & INTRODUCTION TO CHANOYU

The Japanese art form that surrounds the preparation and serving of powdered green tea (matcha) is referred to as either Chanoyu or Chado. Chanoyu literally means hot water for tea, while Chado is often translated as the “way of tea”. Chado is a more modern terminology while Chanoyu was the term most commonly used in the days of Sen Rikyu (1522–91), the man who is considered one of the founding fathers behind the tradition.

Despite its Chinese roots, chanoyu has come to be viewed widely both within and outside Asia as something quintessentially Japanese. It is often considered the hallmark of Japanese hospitality, and taste (Cross, 2009). Sen Rikyu, the first and most famous of all tea masters, perfected a subdued tea aesthetic called “wabi” based on tranquility, harmony, simplicity, and respect for all things (Cross, 2009). Visually, this aesthetic embodies a Zen like minimalism, removing extraneous decorations from the tearoom and paring everything down to its most basic form. Sen Rikyu believed that “At its basic chanoyu is just a matter of building a fire, boiling water and drinking tea (Hirota, 1995). In nonprofessional terms, it is simply mixing powdered green tea and hot water in a bowl with a bamboo whisk and serving it to a guest. This is still true, however as an art form, chanoyu involves the practice and discipline of making, serving and partaking of powdered green tea using specific movements in a set sequence, with specified utensils, within the confines of a tearoom. All these elements combine to create the art of Chanoyu. The author coined this definition based on over ten years of pursuing Chanoyu as a practitioner. Making a similar argument, Paul Varley views chanoyu as a unity of ritual, methods of expression, setting and highly structured environment (Varley, 2000).

The pursuit of Chanoyu requires weekly lessons on how to handle a vast array of utensils based on the seasons and occasion. Students learn how each utensil harmonizes with the others, to silently but effectively, transmit the intention of a host to their guest. Students also need to learn the provenance of utensils, how to choose and arrange flowers and Zen scrolls, all the while attempting to master the myriad of procedures for making tea and

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their variations. Each student also learns the role of being a guest internalizing the etiquette that changes in response to the tearoom environment. The course of study is demanding for Japanese, but even more so for non-Japanese who lack the cultural context and cultural discipline to accept the rudiments of the mental and bodily training.

3. HOW THE WEST GOT INTRODUCED TO TEA: JESUITS AND CHANOYU

The first foreigners to encounter Chanoyu in Japan were Europeans, primarily Portuguese and Spaniards, who arrived in the town of Nagasaki in the mid sixteenth century. The majority were diplomats, merchants, and catholic Jesuit missionaries. Merchants and diplomats focused primarily on business and trade; the Jesuits however, focused on setting up residence in Japan and assimilating into the culture as part of their mission to convert Japanese to Christians (Cooper, 1970). Learning the norms and culture of Japan was deemed critical to the success of their mission, and as such, among the early Europeans to visit Japan, the Jesuits were the most active in Japanese society. Many became proficient in the Japanese language and were keen participants in various aspects of Japanese life and culture.

3.1. Francis Xavier's Mission to Convert Japan

The Portuguese traders were the first to arrive in 1543, when their ship was blown off course and reached the southern tip of Japan (Boxer, 1951). They were followed in 1549 by Francis Xavier, the first of many missionaries from the Society of Jesus, a religious order that Xavier co-founded in Europe less than 10 years before his arrival in Japan. While stationed in Gao India on missionary duties, Xavier heard about Japan from Yajiro, a Japanese whose acquaintance he met through his friend Jorge Álvares, a Portuguese sea captain. Japan was described as a rich and highly civilized nation; this was the impetus for Xavier's plan to convert the archipelago into Christianity. It was Jorge Álvares, being quite fond of Japanese food and beverages, who in 1547, provided Xavier with the first tentative description of tea. Yajiro and two of his Japanese companions were converted to Christianity in 1548 in Goa, and in preparations for their transfer to Japan, the three Japanese began to pursue studies in Portuguese at the Jesuit College of St Paul (Boxer, 1951).

Xavier accompanied by two fellow Jesuits (Fernandez and Torres), three Japanese (Yajiro and two companions) and two servants (one Chinese and the other Malabari) embarked upon their mission and arrived on the shores of Satsuma in 1549. Xavier's primary goal was to convert Japan completely to Christianity to offset the loss of followers resulting from England's defection from Catholicism. Xavier and his group took up residence on land they received in the capital Miyako, nowadays Kyoto, and began the task of learning the local norms and culture.

Although the Jesuits appreciated many aspects of Japanese culture, they delved into Chanoyu with an enthusiasm not afforded to other art forms. Not only were they attracted to its intrinsic qualities, but another major appeal for the Jesuits was that Chado was deeply spiritual without being religious. The focus seemed to be the development of individual

spirituality regardless of, and without, the insistence on any religious beliefs (Isao, 1994). As well, Chanoyu served as a unique forum that offered great potential for intercultural communication (Cooper, 1995) and could serve as a conduit for the Jesuits to connect with prospective converts. The Jesuits modest effort at learning the Japanese culture bore some fruit, and by the time Xavier left Japan in November 1551, he had successfully converted approximately one thousand Japanese to Christianity (Boxer, 1951).

3.2. Alexandro Valignano and his Reforms

Alexandro Valignano, the new visiting supervisor of the Jesuits, was not satisfied with the number of Christian converts in Japan. Although Xavier and the other Jesuits had made efforts to learn the culture, Valignano concluded that Christianity could only take deep roots in Japan if the missionaries were ardent in observing the strict cultural rules and norms, and abiding by the rigid social protocols. His mission updates showed that Valignano felt the reason for the small number of converts in Japan was the inadequate regard paid to local customs:

As a result of our not adapting ourselves to their customs, two serious evils followed, as indeed I realized from experience. They were the chief source of many others: first, we forfeited the respect and esteem of the Japanese, and second, we remained strangers, so to speak, to the Christians (Ross, 1994, p. 63).

One such custom was maintaining a rigid hierarchical society, headed by the Shogun and warrior classes (Ellington, 2002). Xavier's strategy from beginning was to convert the shoguns, warriors and other members of the upper class in hopes that their subjects would follow suit. Clearly defined codes of formal etiquette that were considered the hallmark of the civilized were deeply woven into these class strata (Boxer, 1951). Although the rules of the art form extols equality among participants in the tearoom, Chanoyu, being an expensive social form of artistic entertainment, played an important part in defining this social hierarchy. Drinking tea was closely associated with power and status, and provided a social context for the upper echelons to form mutually beneficial political, business or other alliances.

Valignano no doubt realized that the restrictions on access primarily based on class, served as a screen. Breaking this screen symbolized a person's position within the hierarchy and that they were relevant to the social dynamics of the day. Particularly in Kyoto, the Jesuits gaining a deeper involvement in Chanoyu, the highest of culture at that time, made sense as a way to earn social capital and acceptance. With these insights, Valignano instituted reforms during his tenure, designed for the Jesuits to simulate the code of conduct of the natives more closely especially in the area of Chanoyu. Many of the feudal aristocracy, who gained power strictly through war used the same strategy so as not to appear culturally inferior, and actively pursued Chanoyu to build their social net worth (Hirota, 1995).

In addition to dozens of other rules, Valignano instructed the Jesuits to gain a high proficiency in Japanese so they could speak the language correctly and elegantly. He required that Jesuits not only master Chanoyu, but that their homes have an annexed tea hut in which they could practice Chanoyu, and station a servant to make tea for guests. He mandated

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that missionaries acquire a list of over 30 utensils that he deemed necessary for every tea practitioner, and insisted that they keep one high quality matcha tea powder and two of lesser quality on hand at all times. The purpose of these reforms was for the missionaries to adopt the widely held custom among the upper class, of having a designated space to serve tea to guests of stature in a style suitable to their rank (Hioki, 2013). In 1564, prior to the arrival of Valignano, Jesuit missionary Luis Almeida was on the receiving end of this hospitality. He arrived in Sakai and was hosted by a very wealthy Christian convert Ryokei Hibiya. At the end of his stay, as was the custom among men of his class, Hibiya escorted Almeida to his tea quarters where he was permitted to view selected pieces of Hibiya's most treasured Chanoyu utensils. According to Almeida's notes written in October 1565:

“The utensils are fine ones: a receptacle for the powder and a spoon to dip it out, and a ladle and an iron kettle for the hot water...It is a relatively common custom to hold a party and invite carefully selected guests at the time the utensils are to be exhibited. This entertainment takes place in a special building where entrance is restricted to the invited guests.” (Murai, 1971)

Another appeal of Chanoyu for the missionaries was the perceived cleanliness inherent in the art form. Valignano noted, “One of the principles ways of entertaining people is *cha*, and the Japanese highly esteem neatness of the chanoyu in which visitors are received” (Cooper, *The Early Europeans and Chanoyu*, 1970, p. 39). In his letters, Almeida also echoed Valignano's sentiment about the pristine qualities of the tea room, “The cleanliness of this room is truly amazing.... The cleanliness and beauty of arrangement in this little room is quite beyond description, and the guests showed a careful appreciation of this” (Hirota, 1995, p. 217).

Assimilating deeply into Japanese life and culture allowed the Jesuits to convert to Christianity several prominent figures in tea including Ukon Takayama, a disciple of the famous tea master Sen Rikyu (Cooper, 1970). By 1579, six daimyos (regional military lords) had also been converted, and they encouraged their subjects to adopt Christianity as well. Valignano's policy of cultural adaptation had far-reaching effects resulting in over 100,000 Christians converted by 1583, one year after Valignano left Japan (Hoey, 2010). This number increased to over 300,000 Christian converts by 1600, and at its peak in the late 1620s, the mission had acquired even more (Ellington, 2002).

Due to their earnest participation, the Jesuits were able to record in letters and books remarkable details and accounts of their experience in Japan, and the customs of the Japanese, including the aesthetic practices of chanoyu. For nearly a century, the Jesuit mission reported from Japan to Rome on its extensive activities on the island. Through the Jesuits, Chanoyu made its way to Europe in the form of tea utensils, and written descriptions in letters and stories. One of the most prolific of these writers was Luis Frois, who penned over one hundred such letters with minute details of his experience in Japan; they are considered some of the most pivotal information about 16th century Japanese culture (Gill, 2004). Joao Rodrigues, who started his chronicles of the Jesuit mission in Japan in 1620, also left important written

records of the Jesuit's Chanoyu experience. His writings provide some of the most detailed perspectives of Chanoyu and all its various elements outside of the Japanese language.

Ultimately, the Jesuits were expelled from Japan ahead of the Tokugawa government implementing its *sakoku* self-isolation policy. This interaction with the Jesuits however, was one of the most important cultural encounter between Japan and Europe before Japan closed its doors for the next two centuries.

4. MEIJI RESTORATION BETWEEN 1860s TO 1910s

The Meiji Restoration was the process of Japan opening itself to the world and establishing its cultural and industrial capabilities. Although the nation was putting an end to its seclusion, Japan still remained remote to most westerners and was still largely isolated until 1863. After two-and-a-half centuries of isolation, Japan had become an object of curiosity to the rest of the world, and in the late 1850s, Westerners very slowly began visiting Japan.

During the restoration, there was an influx of highly skilled foreign workers (scholars, engineers, naval architects, ship builders and designers) who were contracted with high salaries on a three to four year basis (Ellington, 2002). Most were Europeans, however there were a few Americans among them (Checkland, 1989). These were the next visitors to experience the appeal of Chanoyu.

4.1. The Role of Kyoto Industrial Exhibition 1872

In a bid to highlight its achievements during isolation, Japan hosted its first international event, The Kyoto Industrial Exhibition. The exhibition was the nation's first opportunity to unveil its cultural, economic and industrial transformation to the world. Chanoyu was to be an important part of the exhibition. This decision that was not surprising since the Meiji government used Chanoyu to shape the perception of the new set of westerners in Japan. This is evident in the abundance of promotional literature such as postcards from the period show casing Japanese women serving and drinking tea (Murai, 2012).

Gengensai Soushitsu, the 11th generation grand tea master of Urasenke, the largest tea school, was asked to create a pavilion to introduce overseas guests to Chanoyu, and the associated traditional crafts that supported the art form. Gengensai agreed, but faced many challenges that came with hosting guests who were not only naïve to tea, but were also not accustomed to sitting traditional Japanese style on the floor. He was also confronted with the constraints of serving tea in a typical tearoom; it required knowledge of intricate etiquette and the understanding of non-verbal cues, and it lacked sufficient space to accommodate guests wearing elaborate hats, dresses and tailcoats. This challenge in rethinking Chanoyu came at time when the grand masters of different tea schools were frantic to revive the art form in a way that appealed to the modern society that was in the making.

The solution came in the form of a somewhat radical change. Although the tearoom is intentionally kept sparse and free of furnishings, Gengensai had his disciple Maeda Zuisetsu design a set of wooden tables and stools that eliminated the need for both hosts and guests

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to sit on the floor Japanese style (*seiza*) (Isao, 1994). The new furniture allowed tea to be prepared and served while both sides remain seated on stools. Gengensai called this invention *ryurei* (standing bow) since the host and guests stood while bowing at the start of the tea procedure, instead of kneeling in the traditional way. The *ryurei* style of tea adheres to the traditional rules, etiquette and utensils, however it requires that the host have an assistant (*hanto*) to bring the tea to the guest and remove the tea bowls when they are empty. In this way, the movement within the tea space was simplified, since, unlike on tatami mats, guests did not need to move from their positions once they are seated.

Gengensai's larger ambition for creating *ryurei* was to transform Chanoyu so it would have greater appeal to a non-Japanese audience. For example, since the tables and stools are foldable, *ryurei* is easily portable to most settings and thus it became possible to do tea without a traditional tearoom. It created the flexibility to export tea more easily and cheaply to western settings and accommodate guests with weak knees or those unaccustomed to sitting Japanese style. Moreover, with *ryurei*, chanoyu was no longer restricted to a physical room; it could be performed outdoors with both guests and hosts still adhering to the general rules of the art form. This adaptation to a western lifestyle held great appeal for visitors as it brought a familiar element (stools and tables) into the tea experience and allowed guests to enjoy Chanoyu without the discomfort of their legs going numb from sitting in *seiza*.

As a result, Chanoyu demonstrations could be done at less expense and with more frequency abroad. This modernization of tea held strong appeal for attendees at the exposition and it was such a success that even today, *ryurei* tables and stool are used extensively both overseas and in Japan and is the most dominant style of tea demonstration to new tea audiences. Since constructing a temporary tearoom or stage fitted with tatami mats was no longer necessary, Chanoyu could now be demonstrated at small events overseas and in settings that were impossible prior to the advent of *ryurei*. Although designed by the Urasenke school, this shift in modernizing tea was so pivotal in increasing its appeal, that other traditional schools such as *Omotesenke* and *Mushanokoji* have adopted the *ryurei* set in their repertoire.

4.2. The Role of Japanese Ceramics

Tea utensils considered suitable for western tastes and lifestyle became popular around the time of the Kyoto Exhibition (Isao, 1994). Gilded and painted objects (including brightly painted Satsuma wares) were made in abundance for the export market. These export items were mostly mass produced at lower costs than traditional ceramics, and sales of these ceramics flourished. After a while, the westernization of ceramics started to negatively affect traditional kilns that made higher quality bowls (Pollard, 2002). Many overseas buyers could not tell the difference between indigenous Japanese ceramic and those made for export, even though for the trained eye the difference was clear. As Japan become more open however, collectors became more knowledgeable, and there was a shift towards ceramic that was more typical of traditional Japanese tastes. True connoisseurs, who developed and honed their tastes in Japan, leaned heavily toward ceramic with more subdued characteristics (Wilson, 1987) typical of those used in Chanoyu.

4.2.1 Europeans Ceramic and Tea

As their interest in Japanese ceramics deepened, non-Japanese connoisseurs went beyond wanting to admire ceramics just for their beauty, they had a longing to appreciate and interact with ceramic in a more meaningful way. As such, during the Meiji Restoration, western scholars were active in Japan studying the context in which ceramics were used and appreciated locally. This pursuit led scholars to Chanoyu, which, except for the writings of the Jesuits, was still relatively unknown overseas. One such scholar was the German connoisseur Funk who was drawn to Chanoyu through ceramics. Although he did not become a tea practitioner, he attended formal tea gatherings in Japan and wrote detailed and accurate accounts of the history and practice of Chanoyu (Wilson, 1987). Funk considered an appeal of Chanoyu the idea that it provided a context to use antique ceramics as is exemplified in his quote, “Chanoyu provided an effective impulse to respect the works of one’s ancestors, not only as objects for collection but for devoted use” (Wilson, 1987, p. 25). This sentiment was the impetus for other connoisseurs of Japanese ceramics to practice Chanoyu.

Japanese art, particularly ceramic, got its grand debut on the world stage at the Paris Exhibition held in 1867. The remnants of the collections held by the warrior class in Japan, mostly shoguns, were put on display. Later they were made available for sale outside Japan, to such an extent, that British ceramic collector James Bowes commented that, “it may be that the Japanese of future generations will have to study the best forms of their art in foreign countries, for there is no doubt that many of the finest examples have been sent abroad” (Bowes, 1890).

By the late 1860s, goods imported from Japan were strongly dictating the tastes and styles of Western aesthetics in areas such as fashion, art, and architecture. Noticing this strong Japanese influence particularly in France, critic, connoisseur and avid collector, Phillippe Burty termed this effect ‘Japonisme’. Burty was also drawn to Japanese ceramics, and like Funk, he found chanoyu to be an important avenue through which he could deepen his appreciation for his collection by actually using them. He began his collection of Japanese ceramics even before ceramics debut at the Paris Exposition in 1878. By that time, Burty was already involved in Chanoyu and out of his collection of 159 pieces, 57 were tea utensils (Imai, 2004). This is a great indication that the heavy reliance on ceramics in the tearoom was of great appeal to Burty. Through Chanoyu, he could enjoy his extensive ceramic collection and share this experience with his guests. In one of the first mention of a tea gathering outside Japan, Burty recounts a tea gathering he hosted at his French home for guests to appreciate his ceramic collection. He however, expresses regret that the beauty of the art form was lost on his guests:

One evening during the Exposition of 1878, some Japanese friends who were at my house improvised a *chanoyu*. Some barbarians of the West were also there. The beverage was tasted and seemed more disturbing than agreeable. A guest closed a nostril after inhaling the perfumes, declaring that they had an aftertaste as of soup. I experienced a feeling of sadness. I felt myself a stranger in my own home. Does the charm only exists where it unfolds itself naturally? (Burty, 1889,

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p. 232).

Although it is not clear how Burty came to practice Chanoyu, based on this account, it is not a stretch to assume that he had some encounter with chanoyu in its natural settings in Japan, by taking lessons, but also by attending formal tea gatherings as well.

Burty's son-in-law, Charles Haviland, had one of the largest collection of Japanese ceramics in his day by sheer numbers. Haviland had a clear preference for tea utensils with an emphasis on tea bowls fashioned by the Raku kiln. His Japanese ceramic collection exceeded 600 pieces, of which, the number of Chanoyu implements he owned (over 300) was double the size of his father in law's entire collection.

A Paris art dealer Siegfried Bing, rose to fame within the art world due to his ceramic display at the 1878 world exhibition in Paris. Just like other scholars, Bing both collected and researched the cultural context for Japanese ceramics. His collection outshined Burty's both in the number of Japanese ceramics he had collected and the percentage of his collection that was devoted to tea utensils. While thirty-six percent of Burty's collection focused on Chanoyu implements, sixty three percent of Bing's collection of 280 pieces comprised of tea bowls (70), tea jars (33), incense containers (28) and other tea utensils (Imai, 2004). While some of Bing's pieces were purchased by directly importing them into Paris, others he collected during his time in Japan with help from ceramic connoisseur and dealer, the antiquarian Ninagawa Noritane (1835-1882).

While it was not unusual to find chanoyu implements in the collection of European collectors, those involved in Chanoyu seemed to have large amounts of tea utensils compared to other items. As well, they all spent a minimum of a year in Japan, which allowed them to get involved in Chanoyu and deepen their appreciation for their ceramic collections by using them in their practice of tea. Although there were not many books about Chanoyu available during this time, one that was well read and circulated was *The History of Japan*, by German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer. The book was written in English and translated into French in 1729; it offered readers a detailed description of Japanese tea, including how to drink it and an overview of the utensils required (Yoshida, 1985). It is clear therefore, that other connoisseurs of ceramic, who could not travel to Japan or practice Chanoyu, at least had access to information that could create some cultural context for pieces in their collection.

4.2.2 North Americans, Ceramic and Chanoyu

In North America, Boston's high society, mostly wealthy patrons of the arts, particularly the Boston Museum of Art, is undoubtedly the gateway through which Chanoyu entered the continent (Breslow, 1996). One such member of this society was Edward S. Morse, an aficionada of Japanese ceramics, who curated an impressive collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. Morse started developing his passion for Japanese ceramics during his first trip in 1877. He was a professor at the newly established Imperial University in Tokyo, one of the highly skilled recruits hired for the Meiji Restoration. His fascination led him to study the connoisseurship and classification of Japanese ceramics under the aforementioned antiquarian Ninagawa Noritane (Wilson, 1987).

Morse was one of the Meiji scholars seeking to understand the cultural context for Japanese ceramics. Similar to Funk, Morse's desire to further deepen his understanding of ceramics led to his study of Chanoyu. However unlike Funk, He went beyond studying the theory and became a practitioner of chanoyu. He studied under Kohitsu Ryoichi who was from a family of professional antiquarians, and Morse was informed that he was the first foreigner to take lessons in Chanoyu. This however, could not have been correct as Jesuit missionaries did study chanoyu several hundred years prior. This means perhaps that Morse was the first westerner to study chanoyu after the opening of Japan.

For Morse, practicing Chanoyu allowed him to experience the deeper significance of ceramics in practical ways. He could appreciate the subtle beauty of each piece and the best ways of using each piece to maximize its aesthetic qualities. He developed the ability to differentiate between indigenous Japanese ceramics and export pieces that appealed the taste of foreigners (Pollard, 2002). He ranked and grouped ceramics in three categories based on their functionality: the first is common ware, followed by pottery to be used as table ware and the most refined pieces to be used in Chanoyu. In a review piece written in the November 13, 1890 edition of *Nation*, a New York publication, Morse elaborated on pieces that are ideal for Chanoyu, and defined 'refined' based on his understanding of the subtleties of wabi:

...pieces noted for their age or ugliness...excite the admiration of the lover of tea.. because they come from some famous kiln or were used by some celebrated man in past times. Such specimen are breathlessly examined by the chajin in Japan..."
(Wilson, 1987, p. 32) (Morse, 1890)

Morse's vast collection of Japanese ceramics (over 3600 pieces), were sold to the Boston Museum of Art in 1892 as a well curated catalogue (Reed, 2016). His love of chanoyu and how it embodies the use of ceramic is depicted in a quote found in his introduction to this catalogue:

...the origins and persistence of this refined custom have had a most profound influence on the fictile art of Japan...it may be nearer to the truth to say that those whose tastes are quiet and refined enough to enjoy the formal drinking of tea, with its easy, though apparently rigid etiquette, demand cleanliness, purity and simplicity in all the appointments connected with the service (Morse, 1901, pp. 16-17).

While chanoyu allowed Morse to experience a deeper appreciation for Japanese ceramics, he was also captivated by chanoyu's artistic and restrained simplicity, and the rustic tea huts in which it took place. He discussed this fascination in his writings, particularly his book *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (1886) (Morse, 1972). Morse was also an inspiration to his fellow ceramic collectors and chanoyu practitioners in France; this was because his time spent studying ceramics directly under Ninagawa and studying Chanoyu in Japan gave him the credentials of an expert. He visited Paris at least three times in the 1880s to see various connoisseurs' collections of Japanese ceramic and to procure pieces for his own collection.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The fascination with all things Japanese ended abruptly with two ensuing world wars. After Japan surrendered to the United States and its allies on September 2, 1945, the American occupation began with Japan's economic and social infrastructure in ruins. The presence of the allied forces in Japan brought about massive shifts in the cultural dynamics of the nation (Denver, 1999). Japan was made to adopt many western practices, and simultaneously, many American soldiers became experts in various forms of Japanese culture, and with the help of other non-military foreigners helped to disseminate it overseas. This ushered in a new age for traditional Japanese art forms including Chanoyu.

From the 17th century up to the post war era, the changing appeal of Chanoyu for westerners in Japan is simultaneous with major events relevant to the time. Differences can be seen in how visitors in the 1600s and 1800s were initiated into Chanoyu. The 16th century Jesuit came to Chanoyu directly, using it as a missionary strategy to convert Japan to Christianity. For the Jesuits, chanoyu's appeal was that it served as a formal introduction to Japanese customs, culture, and etiquette. Chanoyu offered the Jesuits access to rulers, and men of power and influence who were potential converts. Essentially, chanoyu functioned as a means to an end; the end was not enjoyment, but rather exerting religious change.

While the Jesuits were no doubt fascinated by Chanoyu (as is evidenced in their written records), they approached it with a calculated exactness that was formulaic, a well thought-out strategy to assimilate deeply into Japanese culture and society and to multiply the number of converts. The impetus for the Jesuits intensifying their study of, and investment in Chanoyu, was not due to a desire to connect more deeply with the art form, it was obedience to a mandate issued by their supervisor Valignano. The Jesuits also tended to focus on converting people with power and influence. Their involvement in Chanoyu was a way to create social status and capital they could later use to their advantage. In fact, considering the feudal hierarchy of Japan, the world of Chanoyu, specifically the tearoom, was likely one of the few places where the Jesuits could have strategic access to, and interact with, men of prominence.

In Meiji however, visitors were mostly drawn to Chanoyu for self-fulfilling reasons. The agenda was mostly for pleasure, connoisseurship and learning. As well, visitors in this era did not deliberately seek out Chanoyu. Rather, they were introduced to the art form through demonstrations at world fairs such as those in Japan and Paris. Alternately, they were initiated into Chanoyu through their love of Japanese art, particularly ceramics, which were sold at world fairs and were also procured by the chanoyu practitioners during lengthy stays in Japan. Modernizing Chanoyu with ryurei and ceramics that appealed to western tastes made it more accessible for western visitors in Meiji and increase their participation in the art form. Once experienced in Japan, Chanoyu was easily exported to the West since tea was no longer reserved to a tatami room, but could be enjoyed in typical western style rooms. This was revolutionary since it meant that with a few utensils and a western table and stools

Chanoyu could be reasonably duplicated once visitors got back to their country.

Finally, Western Chanoyu practitioners during the restoration were ardent collectors of Chanoyu implements. Most were high quality pieces fit for display at world fairs (Bing). In fact, many collections such as those belonging to Bing are now housed in museums. Unlike the Jesuits who bought utensils in limited amounts to satisfy their practice and to serve guests, visitors in Meiji collected expensive and rare utensils prized both for their beauty and utility.

While the appeal of Chanoyu for westerners in Japan was markedly different in the 1600s and 1800s, in both eras, westerners approached the art form with zeal and tenacity as is evidenced in the museum worthy tea collections amassed in the later era and the wealth of written works produced in both eras.

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