

deities, lending a divine inspiration to his work. And because his products become commodities he can be controlled by the government authorities. The status and craft of the artisan as he confronts nature and the authorities is, in the words of this volume's editor, his social history. And this gives rise to a new image of history.

The artisans' position with regard to nature makes the abilities of religious specialists like the *hakase* and the *Kumano bikuni* indispensable. The artisans' position with regard to the authorities meant, however, that from Kamakura times they became increasingly separated from the control of nature (and from their relationship with the gods) as they moved into urban areas.

To date five volumes of the "Examining the Middle Ages" series have been published, and more are to follow. Though collections of individual articles, they can be read like ordinary books. I hope that other readers will find the same pleasure that I did in discovering the "new image of history" offered by this valuable series.

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CLARK, SCOTT. *Japan: A View from the Bath*. University of Hawaii Press, 1994. vii + 154 pages. Diagrams, b/w photographs, bibliography, index. Cloth US\$36.00; ISBN 0-8248-1615-3. Paper US\$18.00; ISBN 0-8248-1657-9.

Last summer I accompanied a group of volunteer workers from Japan, the U.S.A., and Canada to the countryside of Northeast Thailand. At the end of a hard day's labor under the relentless tropical sun the American, Canadian, and Thai workers either dived into a nearby pond or staggered to the bathhouse (basically a trough filled with cool water) to splash away the heat and dirt of the day's toil. The Japanese, however, busied themselves constructing a primitive bath out of a fifty-gallon steel drum. They lit a roaring fire underneath, brought the water to a near-scalding temperature, then took turns climbing happily in. The other workers stood shaking their heads in disbelief. Why, they asked the Japanese, would you want to sit in a barrel of boiling water after a day of sweating in the scorching sun? The Japanese workers simply answered, "We can relax and feel clean." When the other workers suggested that a cool-water bath might be just as relaxing and cleansing in such a hot climate, the Japanese workers acted as though they had never heard such nonsense. The discussion continued with lots of good-natured joking well into the night over glasses of beer and whiskey. Neither side convinced the other.

A Japanese student of mine once submitted an essay entitled "My Three Favorite Things," in which he named the bath (*ofuro*) as his first choice:

When you come back home after your day's work or study, maybe you feel tired and need to take your fatigue off. The bathroom can do it. It takes off your physical dirty and your spiritual dirty. I like the bathroom. When I am in the bathroom, I wash my day's fatigue off, and think of the events that happened that day, reflect on my conduct simultaneously. It's one of my precious times. (Nanzan University student, 1994)

Bathing in Japan has less to do with the physical cleansing of dirt than with the processes of spiritual and emotional purification, cultural identity, and — in the case of public baths and hot springs — socialization. In *Japan: A View from the Bath*, Scott Clark explains the history, culture, and technological development of just about every form of bathing that has ever existed in Japan. It is, indeed, a daunting task.

Mr. Clark has done his library research well — the bibliography contains over three pages of works consulted. Consequently the book works best as a historical presentation of

the technology and architecture of the bathhouse as well as of the social conditions that shaped the bath and the Japanese people's attitude toward it.

There is much interesting information here. It is pointed out that the very first written reference to Japan, the Chinese *History of the Kingdom of Wei*, mentions ritual bathing for purification. Many early texts speak of Japanese ritual purification by means of steam baths, which demonstrates the early influence of Korea, China, and the peoples of primitive Siberia; ritual steam-bathing is also practiced by such far-flung groups as the Russians, Swedes, and Native Americans.

The account of the social and historical factors that created the modern public bath, or *sentō*, is particularly well told. With the importation of Buddhism to Japan came temples that often had huge bathrooms for the monks. These were opened to the public, providing a means for the temples to serve the community. Later social conditions led to a mass exodus from the countryside to the cities, where safety regulations restricted the kinds of fires the lower classes could have in their houses and made it impossible to heat enough water for a bath (the wealthy, of course, still had private baths). This created a need for places where ordinary people could bathe. The Japanese responded, as always, in many ingenious ways, devising everything from portable rental baths to bathhouse boats on the rivers of Edo. The culmination of this was the *sentō*, which has survived to this day.

Of particular interest is the description of Japanese attitudes toward the bath as a cultural and social phenomenon. In very traditional situations, such as sumo stables and college dormitories where notions of hierarchy reign, baths are taken in order of rank, with the highest-ranking going first. In contrast, the *sentō* and hot springs (*onsen*) are seen as great social levelers, as places where the trappings of status are discarded and people can interact in a relaxed manner that is seldom possible elsewhere. In the past the public baths also served as centers for the dissemination of news and gossip; no doubt they function in much the same way today.

During Japan's economic recovery after WWII it became a status symbol to own a house with a nice bath in it, a development that led, of course, to the decline of the *sentō*. Yet the private bath, often seen as symbolic of the isolation of the modern urban lifestyle, now fulfills several important functions of its own. The office worker who bathes as soon as he returns home is acting out the ancient concept of outside/impure and inside/pure (a concept also expressed in the ritual rinsing of the mouth and hands before worshipping at a Shinto shrine and the removal of shoes before entering a home). Bathing with children is seen as one of the best means of parent/child bonding. And in a nation of people living in crowded apartments, the bath may be the only place where a person can be alone to meditate and reflect on the day's events.

The problem is that the reader must gather all this information piecemeal. By attempting to cover such a vast area of culture without a clearly defined approach, Clark has produced a work that is unfocused and badly organized. In the first chapter, he declares that he is "determined to produce a careful ethnographic study" (12) and spends much of the chapter discussing various theories of what culture is, leading the reader to believe that this is to be a scholarly work. He then describes his methods of data-gathering, which he calls "wandering ethnography"; he tells us that this consisted mostly of talking to people on trains and buses and on travels in Japan. He admits that "this opportunistic method of interviewing sometimes made systematic recording of information difficult" (15). Indeed. His traveling research produced a few good anecdotes, but why try to present them as "a careful ethnographic study"? In defending his methods he comes up with such obvious statements as, "A complete cultural description of more than 125 million people cannot be condensed into a single volume" (4). The organization of the book is also very curious: the informative chapter that refers to bathing and ritual purification in Japanese myth and ancient folklore comes toward the back of the book instead of at the beginning, where it would have been more helpful.

Clark provides much useful and enlightening information, but his fieldwork breaks little

new ground. It is his library research that shines; as a handy compilation and condensation of research done elsewhere, and as a tool for insight into an integral part of Japanese culture, *Japan: A View from the Bath* has much of interest for the scholar as well as for the ordinary reader who simply wants to know more about Japan.

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HENNEMANN, HORST SIEGFRIED. Chasho. *Geist und Geschichte der Theorien japanischer Teekunst*. [Chasho: The spirit and the history of theories of the Japanese art of tea]. Veröffentlichungen des Ostasien-Instituts der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 40. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1994. xii + 426 pages. 87 illustrations, bibliography, glossary, index of Chinese characters, index of persons. Paper DM 136.—; ISBN 3-447-03441-6. (In German)

Chanoyu — there is probably no other art form in Japan that has had such a lasting influence on such a wide range of cultural activities: flower arrangement, ceramics, arts and crafts, landscape, architecture, aesthetics, and human erudition (in the sense of artistic and moral schooling). Today the way of tea (*sadō* or *chadō*) has more than ten million followers, the most in its long history. Despite numerous Japanese research works on the art of tea, however, few Western-language books have explored this subject in a scholarly way. This gap has now been filled by Horst Hennemann's work, the aim of which is to provide an "intellectual history . . . by means of a systematic, hermeneutic presentation of the most important tea texts" (4).

Hennemann not only studies the way of tea but teaches it, which allows him to supplement theory with experience. The source materials are translated, as a whole or in part, and then interpreted. Hennemann thus makes possible a deeper understanding of the way of tea from first-hand experience.

The book comprises four main chapters. In the first, "The Tea Texts of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries: Instructive Writings as a Basis for Tea Culture and the Creation of a New Cultural Space," Hennemann portrays tea's beginnings in China and Japan, emphasizing its spiritual and aesthetic aspects. His detailed quotations from early sources and precise integration of the phenomena into the general historical background are quite remarkable. In the first section of chapter 2, "Tea Texts of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Emergence and Documentation of *Chanoyu*," Hennemann shows convincingly that the way of tea developed only by synthesizing Chinese and Japanese stylistic elements (66-73). In this context the accomplishments of Murata Jūkō, the actual spiritual founder of the art of tea, appear in a different light. Jūkō ingeniously transforms the formal "Chinese" *shin*-style and informal "Japanese" *sō*-style into the mixed "Japanese-Chinese" *gyō*-mode by combining precious Chinese and modest Japanese tea utensils. In his letter *Kokoro no fumi* (76) he also touches upon the principal interrelations that still form the foundation of the art of tea: that between person and person, person and utensil, and utensil and utensil.

The second section of chapter 2 highlights the contributions of Takeno Jōō, the second founder of the art of tea. The stylistic synthesis that Jūkō attained on the aesthetic level was extended by Jōō to the spiritual level. He merged Zen Buddhist thought with the Japanese lyrical sentiment and perception of nature. The art of tea, thus refined, also became an art of ethical human erudition (*geidō*), as explained in Jōō's writings (91-95). These ethical and aesthetic elements are discussed in detail, then interpreted in light of the new freedom and self-confidence of the city of Sakai's economically independent citizens. Chapter 2 concludes