DOCUMENTS and MONUMENTS in the HISTORY of the SENCHA CEREMONY in JAPAN

Patricia J. Graham, The Saint Louis Art Museum

I. The Chinese Philosophical Basis for the Japanese Sencha Ceremony

It is well known that Chinese Confucian and intellectual thought have exerted a major influence on Japanese culture and society during the Tokugawa period. One of the lesser known results of this influence is the emergence of a new type of tea ceremony based loosely on the popular Ming dynasty (1368—1644) Chinese custom of drinking *sencha* (infused or steeped green tea). This tea ceremony began as a pastime of a heterodox sub-culture whose participants considered themselves eccentric and individualistic inheritors of the Chinese literati tradition.

Later Tokugawa and Meiji period writers on *sencha-dō* (the way of *sencha*) concocted a lineage for their tradition going back to the Tang dynasty of China. An analysis of this lineage reveals much about the processes by which foreign customs and values are assimilated by the Japanese people and how perceptions of history are created. This study is an attempt to construct a more objective history of the *sencha* cult in Japan based on an analysis of dated documents and visual materials (paintings, printed books, etc.) as well as by examination of surviving architectural monuments (such as tea rooms and other places in which *sencha* was consumed).

A documentary study of the historical tradition of the *sencha* tea ceremony in Japan must begin with mention of the first book on tea in China, the *Cha Jing* (classic of tea). This treatise on tea was written by Lu Yu (died 804), considered the patron saint of tea drinking in both China and Japan. Lu was influenced philosophically by Zen, Confucianism, and Taoism. The book is known only through Ming dynasty and later editions. Although it was mentioned by Japanese writers on tea from the thirteenth century, Japanese critical commentary on its contents did not appear until 1774 in the book *Chakyo shosetsu* (detailed explanation of the tea classic) by the Zen priest Daiten Kenjō (1719—1801), an early participant in the cult of *sencha*. The organization and content of Lu Yu's book became the model for later writing on *sencha* by Japanese scholars. It was divided into sections covering such topics as tea history, manufacture, preparation, equipment, tea producing regions, varieties of water for tea, and the general physical and spiritual benefits

of drinking tea.

From the early nineteenth century, those who drank *sencha* often held memorial services to Lu Yu when they drank the first tea of the year (*shincha*), and on this occasion would adorn their rooms with a statue or painting of the Chinese tea master. Stories of this practice are recorded in connection with Tanaka Kakuō (1782—1848), founder of the earliest *sencha* school (Kagetsuan) in Japan.[1]

Another Tang dynasty man who figures prominently in tea history in Japan was Lu Tong (died 835), a reclusive Taoist poet and tea master from northern China. His poem entitled "Thanks to the Imperial Censor Meng for his Gift of Freshly Picked Tea,"[2] is the most famous poem on tea in China and Japan. The section in which he recounts his growing spiritual exhaltation after drinking successive cups of tea (seven in all) provides a philosophical basis for the development of a cult of *sencha* and is included in the historical sections of virtually all Japanese *sencha* books.

What they understood to be the lifestyles of Lu Yu and Lu Tong were emulated by later Japanese *sencha* participants. In the Japanese book *Tsukiyama niwa tsukuriden* (records of making artificial hills and gardens), second edition, published in 1827, there is an illustration of a Japanese garden in Kamakura called *Tamagawatei* (jade stream garden) (plate 1). The accompanying text indicates that it was modeled after a Chinese garden of the same name from the Tang dynasty where Lu Yu and Lu Tong were said to have gone to drink tea. Its simple design, called *Tsusen shiki* ("the shape of the path of the immortals"), consisted of a meandering clear stream and several large rocks, among them the "spirit hiding rock" and the "spirit calling rock." The text states that as guests would converge, each bringing some tea to share, the sense of *fūryū* ("floating with the wind") would increase.

This *fūryū*, a kind of escape into nature, became the feeling that later *sencha* followers sought to evoke. *Fūryū* implies a deep understanding of Chinese literati culture, and advocates a hermetic withdrawal from the world and devotion to simple pleasures. Although this word is sometimes applied to *chanoyu* aesthetics as practiced by wealthy samurai, it has a different connotation in the context of *sencha*.

II. Early Evidence for Sencha Drinking in Japan

The first mention of the word *sencha* in Japan is found in the *Nihon koki* (later Japanese chronicles) published in 840. The entry for the year 815 contains a reference to the Emperor Saga (reigned 810—823) being presented with some *senji cha* (boiled tea) by the priest Eichū (743—816), who had lived in China for thirty years. Emperor Saga was immensely interested in Chinese literati culture and embraced tea drinking as part of his emulation of it. He planted tea in his garden and served it at official functions. Although this boiled tea favored by Saga and his court was not prepared in the same

manner as later *sencha* (it was molded "brick tea"), later writers on *sencha* consider this a spiritual precedent because this early tea was associated with Tang dynasty Chinese literati culture, just as later *sencha* became a tangible symbol of the Chinese Ming dynasty literati.[3] One of the early schools of *senchado* in Japan is the Ogawa-ryū which was founded around 1840 in Kyoto. The *sencha* serving environment is imbued with Heian period references such as curtain stands (*kicho*) and symbols of yin-yang cosmology, also popular at the Heian court. Their justification for linking Chinese *sencha* and native Japanese taste must stem from this initial interest in *sencha* on the part of the Emperor Saga and his court.

After Saga's death in 842, tea was not much consumed in Japan outside monastic compounds until the Zen priest Eisai (1141—1215) traveled to China in 1187 and returned with tea plants. His small two-volume book, Japan's first tea treatise, *Kissa yojo ki*, (record of drinking tea for good health), was published in 1211 and 1214. It is modeled after Lu Yu's book, and makes reference to it, but contains many original ideas.[4] Tea drinking again gained favor in Japan after Eisai presented his book to the Shogun Sanetomo (1192—1219) with the advice that tea could cure his illness (brought on by excessive drinking of alcohol), which it apparently did. Included is information on how tea could promote longevity and spiritual harmony. Eisai originated the ritual presentation of tea to Buddhist and Shinto deities in order to make religious worship more effective, claiming that this ritual was essential to establishing an unbreakable bond between humankind and the gods. This concept was continued by later Japanese *chanoyu* and *sencha* tea masters; even now, the most formal tea ceremonies (*kencha*) are those held to offer tea to the gods. Eisai helped initiate the cultivation of tea in Japan by giving some plants to his friend, the priest Myōe (1173—1232) of Kōzan-ji temple in Toganoo near Kyoto. Subsequently Toganoo became one of the earliest tea production regions of Japan.

The popularity of powdered tea (*matcha*) in Japan is well known from Eisai's time on as part of the elite culture of samurai, courtiers, and Buddhist priests. *Sencha* was also frequently mentioned in the poems of Gozan Zen monks, the same high-ranking priests who partook of *matcha*, although it is uncertain if they consumed it. It also seems that from this time on the custom of tea drinking came to be imported from Korea, though documents are scarce.[5] There is evidence that *sencha* was consumed in Japan by the lower classes during the Muromachi period. In the 1403 document *Todai-ji hyakugo no sho* (100 books of Tōdai-ji), it is recorded that tea—probably *bancha* or some kind of low-grade steamed leaf tea—was being made and sold for commoners' consumption in the courtyard in front of the temple. Such tea sellers are illustrated in Muromachi period handscrolls, such as the *Shichijuichi-ban uta awase* (poetry competitions in 71 rounds).[6]

During the Momoyama era (1568—1615) it is thought that the drinking of steeped tea continued, although few reliable documents survive. In the book *Namporoku* (records of Nampō) discovered in 1687,[7] are comments that Sen no Rikyū (1522—1591) would

sometimes go to the Shukō-in and drink *sencha* which was the color of jade.[8]

By the early eighteenth century, tea was widely cultivated throughout Japan and became readily accessible to commoners. Some of this tea must have been used to make low-class *sencha*. The book *Honcho shokukan* (compendium of food from our time), published in 1692, states that among the women of the city of Edo, it was common to drink a number of cups of *sencha* before breakfast. Contemporary scholars assume this was something like ordinary *ocha* (common tea) today.[9]

III. Sencha and Heterodox Literati in the Edo Period

At the same time that the consumption of *sencha* grew in popularity, the newly powerful Tokugawa *bakufu* began to promote Chinese Confucian studies. These studies quickly came to affect the philosophy, arts, and lifestyles of many samurai-bureaucrats. Among these new Confucianists, the scholar and samurai official, Ishikawa Jōzan (1583—1672), stands out as an individual whose understanding of Chinese culture encompassed the humanistic and heterodox values of the true Chinese literati. Forced to retire from bureaucratic service in 1636, Jōzan retired to the northeastern outskirts of Kyoto where he constructed the Shisendo (hall of 36 poets), named after his favorite 36 poets of China. The building was basically a Japanese *sukiya shoin* style structure, but was embellished with a variety of details borrowed from Chinese literati residences. At the Shisendo, Jōzan occupied himself with various Chinese literati pastimes. He is famous for his *kanshi* (poetry in Chinese) as well as for his clerical script (*reisho*) calligraphy. Later writers see the feeling of *fūryū*, a concept more closely associated slightly later with the *haikai* poet Bashō (1644—1694), permeating Jōzan's lifestyle and poetry.[10] Early 19th century writers on *senchado* associated Jōzan's name with their tradition, no doubt due to their mutual admiration for the spiritual values implied by the term. Yet, it is unclear whether Jōzan drank actual Chinese *sencha*—his poetry only indicates a fondness for informally consuming tea.[11] There appear to be no documents to indicate if Chinese *sencha* was being imported to Japan in Jōzan's time;he may have consumed the lowclass brew popular since the Muromachi era.

The first book to link Jōzan with the lineage of *sencha* was the *Sencha kigen* (elegant sayings about *sencha*), published in 1857 (vol. 1) and 1858 (vol. 2). The author Tōgyū Baisa (1791—1879), began his list of Japanese *sencha* masters with Ishikawa Jōzan. He based his list on a now lost letter, *senchakai hoshiki no sho* (a letter concerning gatherings and usage of sencha), by the *sencha* master Ogawa Shinan (1649—1743) with a poscript by Yatsuhashi Baisa (1758—1828).[12] This manuscript was supposedly passed down from Shinan to Kō Yūgai (1675—1763; to be discussed below) and then to Yatsuhashi Baisa who made it famous.[13] Writers on the history of *sencha* today do not trust Tōgyū Baisa's lists and therefore tend to ignore the pivotal role Jōzan played in creating a philosophical

framework for their tradition. For example, one person significant to the creation of the nineteenth century *sencha* schools was the Ōbaku priest Monchū (1739—1829), calligraphy teacher to Ike Taiga (1723—1776) and *sencha* teacher to Tanaka Kakuō. Monchū lived at Shisendo late in his life.

The earliest surviving evidence for drinking true Chinese *sencha* in Japan is connected with the immigrant Chinese Chan Buddhist monks who founded the Ōbaku Zen sect in the middle of the seventeenth century. Ōbaku monks drank *sencha* in compliance with their preference for following Ming literati cultural pursuits. The sect's patriarch, Ingen (Chinese: Yinyuan, 1592—1673), is accorded the distinction of being the father of the *sencha* tea ceremony in Japan, even though *sencha* must have also been consumed by the Chinese community in Japan prior to his arrival. His utensils for making *sencha* have been reverently preserved.

One of Ingen's disciples was the Japanese-born priest Gettan Dōchō (1636—1713), a native of Hikone. Among his numerous writings in Chinese is the book *Gankyoko* (manuscript of the rock dweller), which contains his preface datable to 1703. Included in this book (volume 1, pages 15—16, in a section on spring poems) is the earliest datable reference to an historical tradition for drinking *sencha* in Japan.[14] In his long *kanshi* (Chinese) poem entitled "*Sencha uta*" (poem on *sencha*), Gettan provides information on the history of tea up to his time. He mentions Eisai and Myōe and contrasts tea drinking by later priests with that of courtiers and samurai. He claims that from the time Eisai introduced tea to Japan, priests drank *sencha* while others drank *matcha*. In contrast to samurai and courtier preferences for collection and arrangement of the tea utensils, monks did not pay attention to such matters but just enjoyed the flavor of the tea and the lofty feelings which resulted from its consumption. In this context, the author mentions the importance of good water and high quality tea, and elucidates sources for obtaining both.

In the early eighteenth century, *sencha* drinking spread beyond the Chinese monastic and merchant communities in Japan, primarily due to the efforts of a Japanese-born Ōbaku monk from Saga prefecture named Kō Yūgai, popularly called Baisaō ("Old Tea Seller"). Around the age of sixty he gave up temple life and journeyed to Kyoto, where he earned a meager living selling *sencha* from a portable stand he carried with him to scenic spots and ordinary street corners. He called his tea stall "*Tsusentei*" after the famous garden of the Tang dynasty. Beside his tea stall was a banner inscribed with the characters "*seifū*." This expresses the essence of the aesthetic qualities associated with *sencha* that Baisaō advocated; *seifū* is an abbreviation of the term *seifūryū* (Chinese elegance) and is used interchangeably with the word *fūryū*.

Baisaō wrote the earliest Japanese book on *sencha*, *Baisanshū chafu ryaku* (summary of the plum mountain collection tea record), in 1748. He begins his preface by comparing Lu Yu and Lu Tong of China with Eisai and Myōe of Japan. He wrote that these two

Japanese priests utilized tea to seek a worthy path to enlightenment but that today dissipated priests imitate their fondness for tea but only to escape from their worldly affairs. Their resemblance to the ancients, he writes, is like the distance between heaven and earth. He presents a history of tea drinking in China and Japan which ends abruptly in the Kamakura period and resumes with the presentation of Chinese tea to the Tokugawa government by Ōbaku Ingen. Baisaō had nothing but harsh criticism of the more formalized schools of *chanoyu* which flourished later. In 1838, Baisaō's book *Baisanshū chafu ryaku* was reissued with a section added by a priest associated with Kōzan-ji, who inserted a number of important early documents relating to tea propogation in the Toganoo area and records by Myōe. This must have been done as an attempt to anchor Myōe more firmly within the lineage of *sencha*.

Baisaō spread an artless method of tea preparation which he learned from the Ōbaku monks. This appealed to those painters and intellectuals of Kyoto interested in Chinese literati culture, and to others who wished to escape from the standardized etiquette of *chanoyu* and its associations with the military regime. Baisaō's untrammeled spirit was emulated as a way of maintaining individuality and freedom by a small but growing subculture largely comprised of lower-ranking samurai and well educated townsmen.

Baisaō was an eccentric genius in the manner of heterodox literati of China—he was a marvelous calligrapher of Chinese scripts as well as a poet in Chinese. His poems were collected and published in 1763 in the book *Baisao gego* (forceful sayings of the old tea seller). In the preface to this book, his friend, the monk Daiten Kenjō (1719—1801) wrote that shortly before his death in 1763, Baisaō burned his imported Chinese and self-made tea utensils, but a few were first given to friends.[15] Those, as well as copies of his burned treasures, were dispersed among his admirers, after being catalogued and recorded in such printed books as the *Kinsei kijin den* (records of eccentrics of the recent past) of 1790 by Ban Kōkei (1733—1806) and the 1823 *Baisao chaki zu* (pictorial record of Baisaō's tea utensils) by Kimura Kenkadō (1736—1802) (plate 3). Kenkadō, a wealthy Osaka sake brewer who incurred the wrath of the authorities and therefore forfeitted his fortune, was among the most important literati in the Osaka area, and the recepient of some of these treasures. Kenkadō's possessions eventually found their way into the collection of the Kagetsuan tea school founder, Tanaka Kakuo. Kakuo considered Baisaō the patron saint of tea and held a memorial tea service to him on the sixteenth day of each month.

Baisaō's influence on the subsequent development of *senchado* in Japan was obviously profound, but it was not until the early twentieth century that the first systematic scholarly research was conducted on him. The scholar Fukuyama Chogan, who worked at Manpuku-ji, was instrumental in reviving interest in Baisaō and *sencha* during the 1920s and 30s. Because of his influence, the Yūseiken (the house with a voice) *sencha* teahouse complex and the Baisadō (Baisaō memorial hall) at Manpuku-ji were constructed in 1928. Sub-

sequently, he was instrumental in forming the *Zen nihon senchadō renmeikai* (the all-Japan sencha organization) in 1956 at Manpuku-ji. On the sixteenth day of each month, memorial services for Baisaō are held at the Baisadō followed by a tea ceremony in his honor at the Yūseiken. Fukuyama's book *Baisaō*, published in 1933 by Shorinkichūdō, includes reprints with notes of all Baisaō's major books as well as a detailed chronology of his life.

As *sencha* increased in popularity under Baisaō's influence, Chinese books on *sencha* were reprinted in Japan and translated into Japanese, books about Chinese literati customs were published, and there emerged a growing body of literature on *sencha* written by Japanese participants. The second Japanese *sencha* book, the first to present *sencha* as a "Way," was the *Seiwan chawa* (blue sea tea talks), published in 1756 by Ōeda Ryūhō (who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century) of Osaka. The book takes its name from the area of Osaka in which Ryūhō resided—north of the castle on an island (Aminoshima) at a bend in the Yodo River—a flat place with beautiful blue water called the "Blue Harbor" (*seiwan*).[16] It opens with a preface by the Osaka physician and writer of popular Chinese-style colloquial fiction, Tsuga Teishō (1718—c. 1794), who stated the book was written in response to the rapid growth in popularity of *sencha* as a tea for ordinary days. Teishō remarked on the ancient Chinese habit of intermittently drinking fragrant tea and wine, and noted that these drinks make you feel as if your spirit could reach Mount Hōrai. In his introduction, Ryūhō himself stated that his book is different from current and past books written about *chanoyu*. He describes tea manufacturing and brewing, including information on the proper use of utensils, but does not discuss famous utensils nor places for obtaining tea and water. His intention is rather to spread the ambience of *sencha*, which he defines as *fūryū*. Although the author criticizes current *chanoyu* practices, he incorporates into *sencha temae* (procedures) the well-known *chanoyu* practice of *tocha*, in which tea-drinking was the focus of a game whose aim was to guess the variety served.

Ryūhō published another book, the *Gayū manroku* (miscellaneous records of elegant pastimes) (plate 6) in 1762. It details Chinese literati activities and corresponding environments, complete with numerous woodblock illustrations. In his preface, Ryūhō indicates his preferences for living the life of a Taoist recluse and seeking escape from the evils of the world by finding a rustic hut, first in the mountains west of Kyoto, later in Osaka. He claims ignorance of tea principles but enjoys drinking it like the simple mountain folk who are his neighbors. Although the book's intended purpose was to acquaint a broader audience with Chinese design features and literati values, one wonders just how widely accepted ideas like these were. Certainly its existence alludes to a growing dissatisfaction with mainstream urban society of the time and the search for alternative ways of living.

This escapist attitude became more firmly associated with the drinking of *sencha* and with merchant culture of Osaka by Ueda Akinari (1734—1809), the Osaka Kokugaku

("national learning") scholar and writer. He enjoyed *sencha* as a meditative release from the problems of the world and was so devoted to it that he made his own utensils. His most famous *sencha* book, *Seifū sagen* (brief comments on the Chinese style) of 1794, is his most important text about *sencha*; frequently reissued later as a best-selling guidebook. It contained a detailed history of tea in China and Japan, and an encyclopedic range of information on its methods of preparation, varieties, utensils, and aesthetics. By the 1790s, drinking *sencha* had become a bonafide rival tradition of *chanoyu*. As indicated in the book's preface written by Murase Kōtei (1746—1818), a Confucian scholar from Kyoto: "*matcha* is for the mind, *sencha* for the spirit."

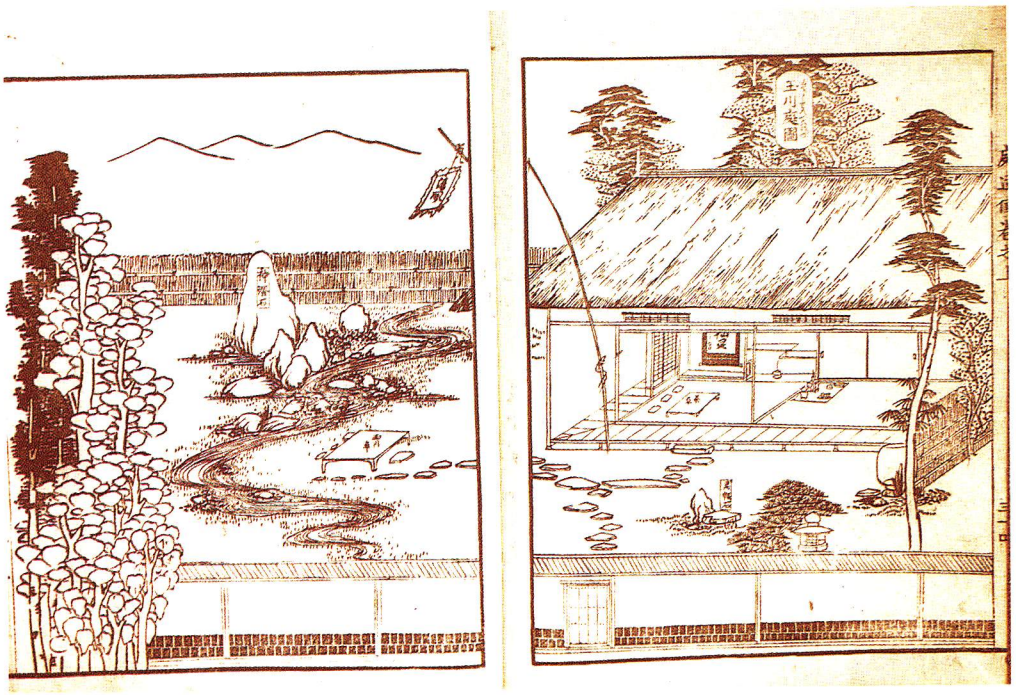
Unlike *matcha*, *sencha* required no separate or clearly defined place in which to be drunk. The few necessary utensils and furnishings were small and simple enough to be easily transportable. Drinking *sencha* was an informal activity which assisted in heightening the sensitivity of the spirit. For example, the monk and Nanga painter Geppō (1760—1839) is depicted in the book *Miyako rinsen meishō zue* (views of celebrated gardens of Kyoto) of 1799, preparing *sencha* on the veranda of his temple Sōrin-ji (plate 2). The accompanying poem defines the relationship between *sencha* and appreciation of nature:

> When it rains the mountains become verdant hills, fragrant with flowers when the snow has gone.
>
> Lost in spiritual discussions, we forget to return, finally, drunk with the golden cup (*sencha*) we end the day.

Similar feelings are expressed by the Confucian scholar and *kanshi* poet of Edo Kikuchi Gōzan (1772?—1855?) as he described the life of Nakajima Rakusui (dates unknown) in his poetic preface to Rakusui's book *Sencha ryaku setsu* (detailed discussion of *sencha*) published in 1798:

> Even though your body is old, your age is what you feel
> As you dwell in the mountains every day, brewing *sencha* with fresh spring water.
> You make a pillow of stone and block out the moonlight
> In the banana leaves' shade sits the bamboo brazier.
> There's a soft breeze and flowers fall like smoke
> As you drink up your tea, absorbed completely with the task.
> Then you awaken as if from a dream and read 100 Chinese poems,
> Laughing at yourself like an impoverished drunkard.
> You care not if many or few guests call in a year,
> You have abandoned completely the pursuit of material gain.

Rakusui translated the Chinese Qing dynasty tea book *Sencha ketsu* (chats on tea) by Ye Zhuan into Japanese and added sections pertaining to *sencha* in Japan and the making of *sencha* utensils by Japanese craftsmen. In particular, he mentions that the Kyoto potter Kiyomizu Rokubei I (1733?—1799) made *kyūsu* (tea pots) in imitation of those owned by Baisaō.



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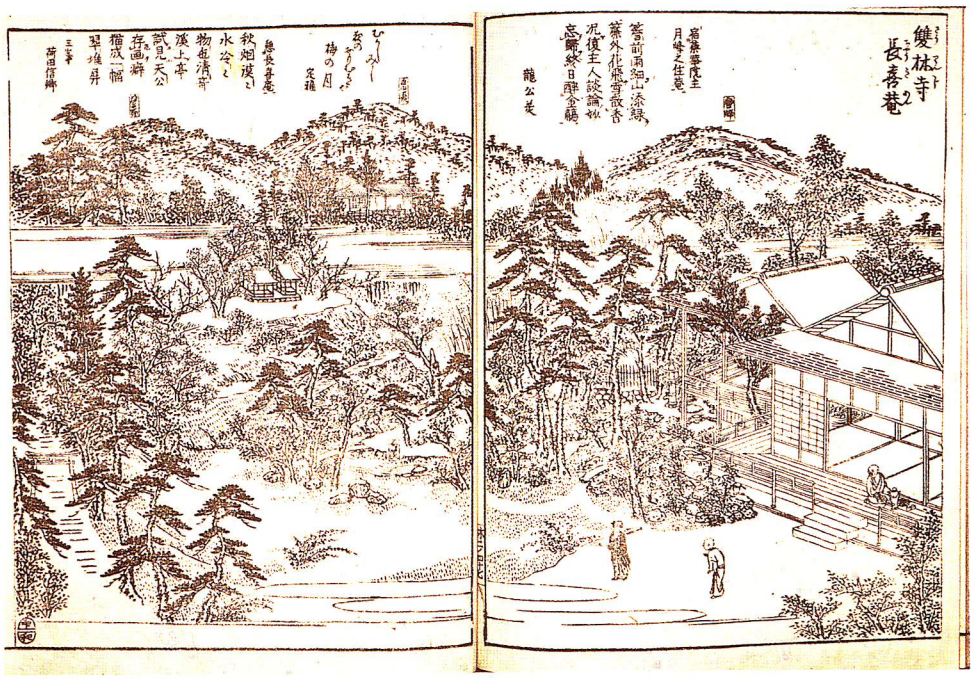

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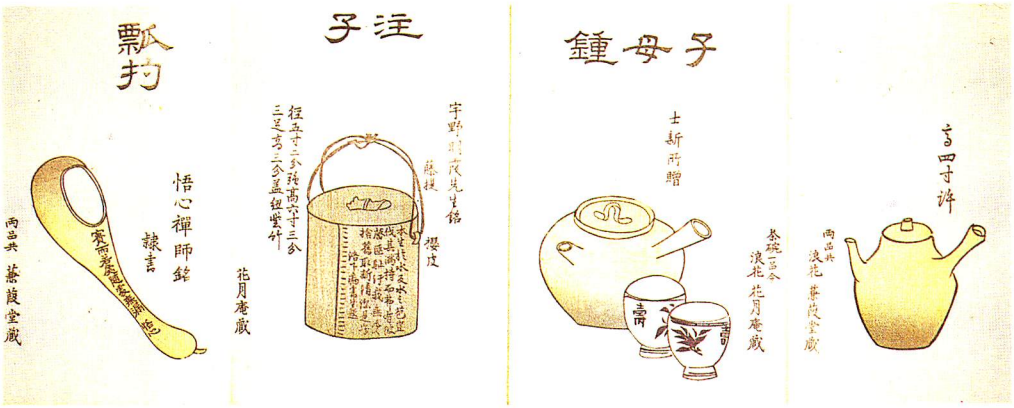
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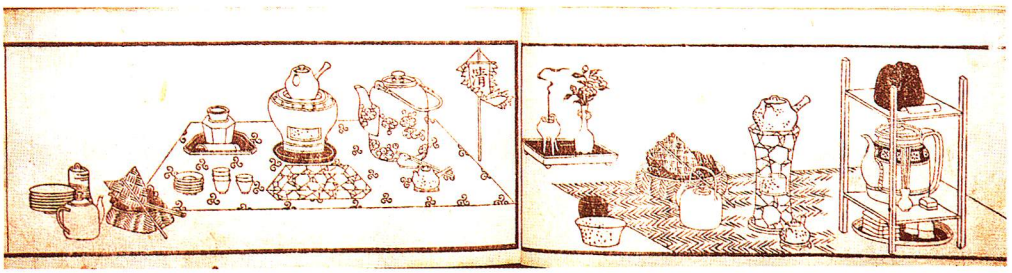

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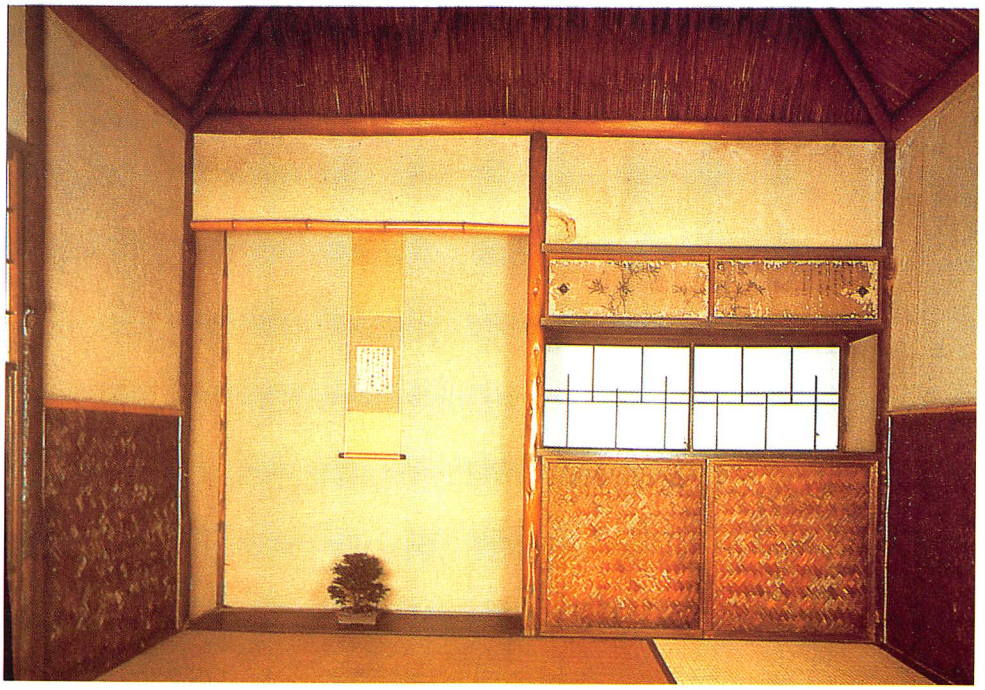

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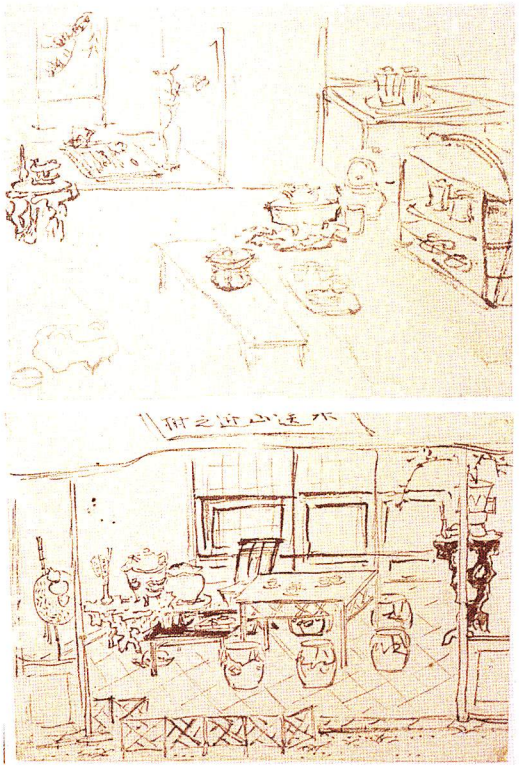

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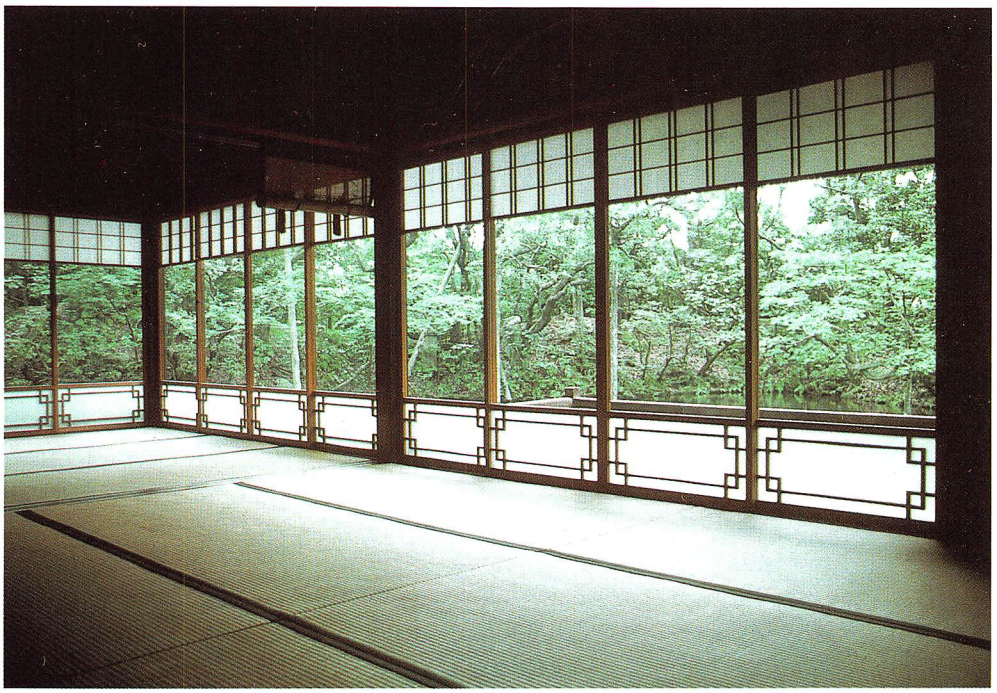

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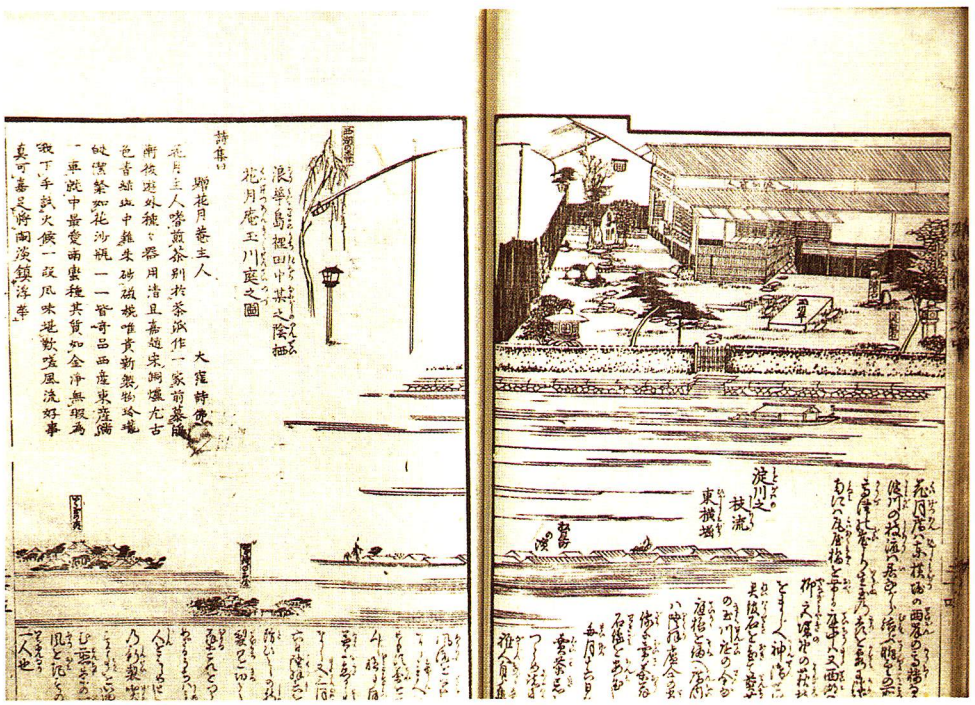

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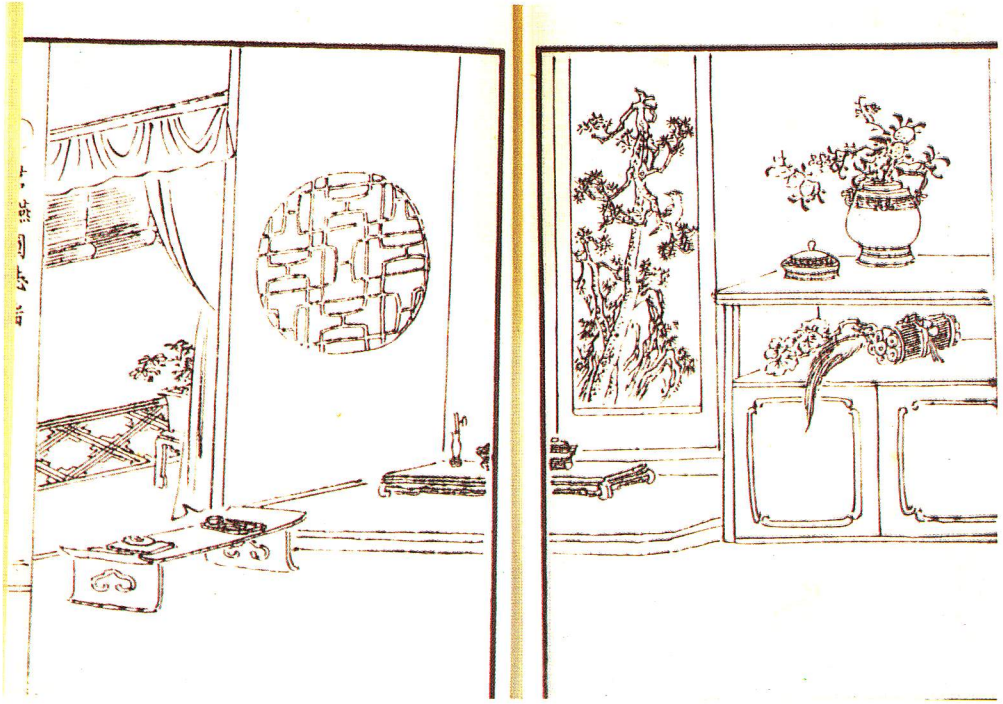

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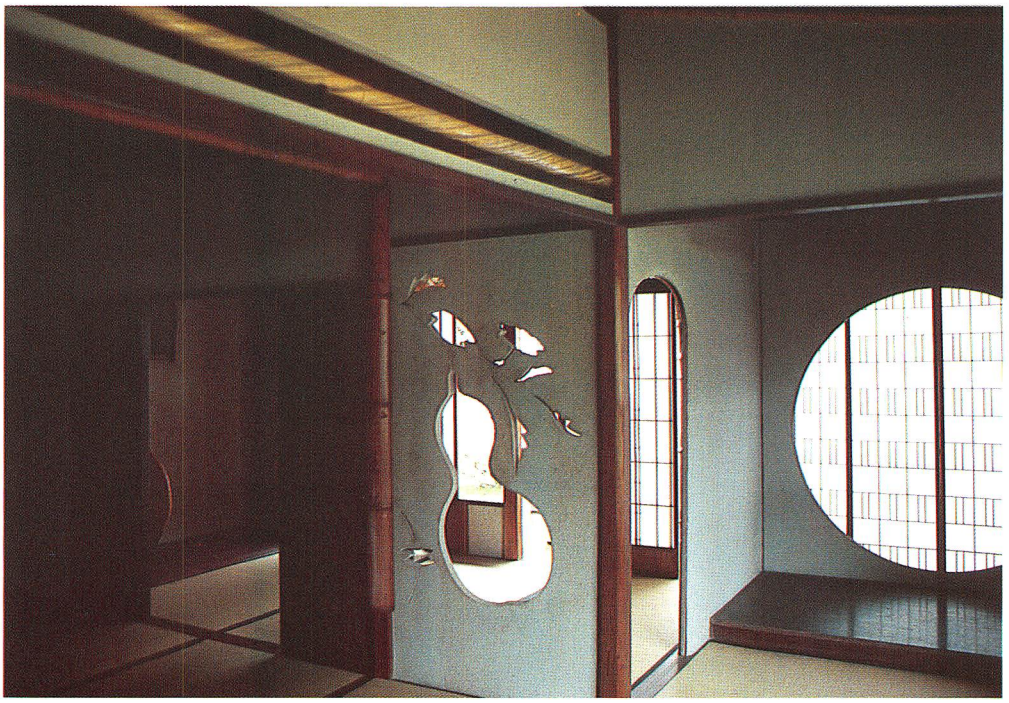

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Well into the nineteenth century, Japanese intellectuals continued to drink *sencha* in an informal, consciously Sinified environment. They called their way of *sencha* "*bunjincha*" in order to distinguish it from newly emerging *sencha* tea schools (to be dissussed below). The term first seems to have been used in the *Ryōzandō chawa* (tea talks by Ryōzan) of 1824. The author, Abe Ryōzan (dates unknown), was a seal carver, painter of ink bamboo and *kanshi* poet from Osaka. His book mentions that memorial services for Baisaō were held on the 25th day of each month. He also includes anecdotes and chats on assorted *bunjin* activities and interests, contributed by various prominent literati such as Shinozaki Shochiku (1781—1851), also of Osaka. Comments about paintings produced at literati gatherings reveal the true purpose of the book: to explicitly define the proper environment for consumption of *bunjincha*. Just this sort of gathering is illustrated in the small printed accordian-style book, *Sencha shōshu* (small *sencha* album) of 1838, illustrated by Tsubaki Chinzan (1801—1854), a Nanga painter from Edo (plate 4).

The earliest extant *bunjin* retreat where *sencha* drinking and other literati pastimes occurred is the study constructed in 1828, for Rai Sanyō (1780—1832), a noted historian, poet (in Chinese), calligrapher (also of Chinese scripts), Confucian scholar and literati painter (plate 7). He called it the "*Sanshi Suimeisho*" (abode of purple mountains and clear water). With thatched roof, compact proportions, and *tokonoma* alcove, it bears a general resemblance to traditional *chanoyu* tea houses. Yet it quietly integrates Chinese design features into a Japanese setting with such features as Chinese-style railing patterns and a shelf meant for the display of Chinese-style decorative objects and writing utensils (*bunbogu*). These items came to serve as decorative conventions in later *sencha* tea rooms.

By mid-century, followers of *bunjincha* lamented the rise of *zokujincha* (commoners' tea). In his book *Bokuseki kyō sencha ketsu* (Bokuseki's chats on sencha) of 1848, Fukada Seiichi (1802—1855) distinguished between the ways of drinking *sencha* by stating that *bunjincha* distained rules and emphasized simplicity and cleanliness but *zokujincha* had numerous rules, and, like *matcha*, diplomas for mastering certain methods of preparation. The author feared that *sencha*, which aspired to loftiness (*fūga*), was becoming debased and by his time, there were few left to keep the true spirit of *sencha* alive. One of those was his good friend and fellow native of Nagoya, the literati painter and *sencha* master Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783—1856). Baiitsu's ideal *bunjin sencha* environment is clearly depicted in his sketch of his own tearoom complete with Chinese furniture and decorative embellishments (plate 8).

A rare surviving example of a place where Baiitsu probably actually enjoyed his literati activities is this waterside pavilion dating to around 1850 (plate 9). Built for the wealthy Nakano merchant family in Honda city, it served as a meeting place for literati of the Nagoya area. Its owners collected Chinese paintings and antiquities, and patronized Japanese literati artists. With a tile roof, stone foundation and veranda cantilevered over the water, it bears obvious resemblance to pavilions from China.

IV. The Emergence of a Sencha Ceremony in Japan

Back at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as *sencha* drinking became more popular, the utensils for its service acquired standardized names and categories. In the 1802 book *Sencha hayashi shinan* (quick guide to *sencha*) by Ryūkatei Ransui (dates unknown), illustrations for utensils utilize names borrowed from *matcha*. As this heterodox and rather informal tradition began to incorporate influences from its rival movement, the next logical step was the development of *sencha* schools based on the established lineages of *chanoyu*.

What is now considered the oldest school of the *sencha* tea ceremony in Japan today, Kagetsuan (hermitage of flowers and moon), was founded in Osaka around the 1820s by Tanaka Kakuō (1782—1848). Kakuō, an Osaka merchant from a family that manufactured *sake*, had learned how to prepare *sencha* from the Ōbaku monk Monchū with whom he also practiced Zen meditation. Kakuō recorded his methods of *sencha* preparation in a long document, *Seifūryū hōcha shoshiki shōkai* (introduction to the commodity of Chinese style boiled tea), composed some time during the Tempō era (1830—44). Influenced by the *matcha* tradition which he had studied in his youth, he shows the correct ways of making tea in different social situations, codifying the *temae* (preparation method) into *shin*, *gyō*, and *so* (formal, semiformal, and informal) techniques (plate 10). Significantly, although some *sencha* schools today prepare tea in tearooms like those favored in the traditional *chanoyu* ceremony, at Kagetsuan, the tearooms, constructed in the late 19th century, resemble literati salons. Still, by formalizing the methods for drinking *sencha* and regulating the setting, Kakuō departed from the spontaneity and informality at the heart of literati values. We can say that with Kakuō the inherent Japanese predilection towards formalism became intertwined with the Japanese literati tradition.

Although Kakuō formalized the *sencha* movement, he lived the life of a heterodox *bunjin*. To Kakuō and his followers today, although there is an established procedure for preparing *sencha*, ultimately the aim of this methodology is to brew a delicious cup of tea. Thus, these methods could be abbreviated or altered if necessary so the goal could be achieved. Kakuō's residence and garden (inspired by the famous Chinese Tang dynasty *sencha* garden) along the banks of the Yodo River in Osaka was illustrated in the 1827 *Tsukiyama niwa tsukuriden* (plate 11), accompanied by a poem about him by the *Kanshi* poet from Edō, Okubo Shibutsu (1769—1837). His home also appeared in the Tempō era (1830—1844) book *Naniwa fūryū hanjōki* (records of refined and prosperous Osaka). There he describes his idea of what comprised *fūryū:* in the clear moonlight, sketching a picture by the light of the full moon, he boils tea to attain a lofty state like Lu Yu. Numerous stories passed down to his family today testify to his devotion to literati ideals.

Kakuō must have been motivated to establish a set procedure for *sencha* by a deep-felt

desire to spread the understanding of the Chinese literati tradition to the populous. A favorite tale describes his yearning for making tea with water from China's West Lake. Because he could not travel to China himself, he requisitioned water from China. Eventually, with the help of influential friends, his request was granted and when the water arrived, he and his friends devised a plan to share it with the entire population of Osaka. After much hesitation on the part of government authorities who had gotten wind of the plan, they asked Aoki Mokubei (1767—1833), known both as a literati painter and Kyo-yaki potter, to make a large water jar which they filled with the West Lake water and submerged in the upper reaches of Osaka's Yodo River.[17] Thereupon, everyone who drank Osaka water would be getting a taste of Chinese water as well.[18]

Influenced by the ideals of the Chinese and Japanese *bunjin*, individualism flourished in *senchadō*. Thus, soon after the appearance of the Kagetsuan school, other *sencha* schools emerged, headed by people seeking to create their own style for preparing and serving *sencha*. For example, the book *Naniwa sencha taijinshū* (collected great tea masters of Osaka), composed in 1836, mentioned and illustrated 22 tea masters (Kakuō included) who hailed from various social classes and professions. Some were listed as pupils of Tanaka Kakuō and there was even one woman.[19] In another case, two long handscrolls dated 1839 describe how Kagetsuan *temae* served as a model for a new school in Edo. The author claimed to have learned the art from Kakuō but disagreed with his approach and had these scrolls illustrated to preserve his innovations.

From the late 1840s, small, pocket-size editions of *sencha* books made *sencha temae* available to aspiring devotees who could crib on the procedure as they practiced it. Such a book is the *Sencha tebiki no shū* (secret guide to *sencha*) of 1848 (plate 5), illustrated by Katsushika Ōi (active c. 1818—1854), daughter of the Ukiyo-e printmaker Hokusai (1760—1849). One result of this increased popularity of *sencha* was the creation in private homes of rooms dedicated to performing *sencha* ceremonies. In this atmosphere, high ranking government officials, as well as wealthy farmers and merchants, enjoyed drinking *sencha*. Utensils also began to deviate from orthodox *bunjin* taste at this time as well, and many more Japanese craftsmen began to produce crafts—metalwork and basketry especially—for *sencha* ceremony use. As Osaka was the center for *sencha* in Japan, craftsmen who designed *sencha* utensils proliferated in that area.

The earliest surviving true *sencha* room dates to around 1848. This is the *Sankatei* (pavilion of three flowers), designed for the daimyō of Kanazawa, Maeda Nariyasu (1811—1884), for his residence in Edo (plate 13).[20] Nariyasu was not the only highranking samurai official to partake in *sencha;* no longer was the drinking of the beverage considered a subversive protest against the government.[21] In this room are numerous and diverse references to Chinese and other exotic cultures. The room's quirky appearance is clearly a distant cousin to the eccentric taste of the Chinese and Japanese literati who strove for individuality and self-expression.

From the late Edo and early Meiji (1867—1912) eras come numerous books with detailed pictures of *sencha* gatherings. One of these, the book *Seiwan meien zushi* (pictorial record of the blue sea tea gathering), dated 1875 (plate 12), contains some illustrations signed by the Meiji literati painter Tanomura Chokunyū (1814—1907). Books like these mimic the kinds of tea gathering books published for *chanoyu* and show how *senchadō* had appropriated its rival's means of dissemination.

V. The Influence of the Sencha Ceremony on the Everyday Consumption of Steeped Tea

From early in the nineteenth century, tea houses and restaurants in the licensed quarters of major cities catered to the booming interest in China by serving Chinese food and *sencha* in authentically recreated Chinese interiors. We can see antecedents of this tendency in 18th century pleasure quarter salons, like the high-class Sumiya of Kyoto, whose decor is decidedly Chinese in flavor. The exoticism here is not unlike that at the *Sankatei* tearoom of Maeda Nariyasu, so we can look to buildings like this as precedents for *sencha* tearoom architecture. One famous Chinese restaurant of the early 19th century was the *Yaozentei* (pavilion of eight hundred perfections), a famous establishment in the Yoshiwara district of Edo. Its cookbook *Edo ryuko ryōri tsu daizen* (handbook of fashionable cooking for the epicures of Edo) was published between 1822 and 1834 and illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai and others (plate 14). According to the introduction of the book, the proprietor of the restaurant had ventured to Nagasaki to learn about Chinese cooking but had also learned the art from restaurants in the Kyoto-Osaka region where Chinese cooking was quite popular. Places like this served *sencha* as part of a Chinese-style meal called *fucha ryōri* (food to accompany common tea), today most closely associated with the cuisine of the Obaku temple Manpuku-ji.

It is but a small step from the drinking of *sencha* in a Yoshiwara restaurant catering to the general populous to drinking it in private residences. Such a scene has been depicted in an album leaf by the literati painter Yamamoto Baiitsu, dated 1849 (plate 15). A small group of men have gathered to chat and drink tea while their children play nearby. Here we can see the influence of *sencha* on the popular custom of drinking steeped tea, first evident in the Muromachi period. From the late Edo period on, drinking *bancha* (common leaf tea) was a regular part of Japanese daily life. The numerous utensils that came to be designed for its service were modeled after those utilized in *sencha* ceremonies.

VI. Epilogue: Sencha After the Meiji Restoration

The modern era's body of literature on *sencha* has continued to grow and *sencha* today is a rich and varied tradition. Numerous schools practice markedly different forms

of *temae* and the appearance of utensils varies considerably. In some schools, orthodox Chinese literati influences predominate, while in others, modern innovations and native aesthetic preferences prevail. A closer analysis of the growth of the modern *sencha* schools remains a topic for future study.

List of Plates

1. *Tsukiyama niwa tsukuriden* (records of making artificial hills and gardens), 1827. *Tamagawatei* (jade stream garden). Kansai University Library.
2. *Miyako rinsen meishō zue* (views of celebrated gardens of Kyoto), 1799. Kansai University Library collection.
3. *Baisaō chaki zu* (pictorial record of Baisaō's tea utensils), 1823 by Kimura Kenkadō (1736—1802). Woodblock printed handscroll: color on paper. Private Collection, Japan.
4. *Sencha shōshu* (small *sencha* album), 1838, by Tsubaki Chinzan (1801—1854). Woodblock printed accordian book: color on paper. Private collection, Japan.
5. *Sencha tebiki no shū* (secret guide to *sencha*), 1848, by Katsushika Ōi (active c. 1818—1854). Private collection, Japan.
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7. Interior view of the *Sanshi Suimeisho* (abode of purple mountains and clear water), 1828. Photo after: *Zusetsu sencha I: dento to bi* (Explaining Sencha I: tradition and aesthetics). Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982, p. 56.
8. Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783—1856). Sketch of his Tearoom. Section of a *byōbu*: ink on paper. Nagoya City Museum collection.
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11. *Tsukiyama niwa tsukuriden* (records of making artificial hills and gardens), 1827. *Tanaka Kakuō's* garden. Kansai University Library.
12. *Seiwan meien zushi* (pictorial record of the blue sea tea gathering), 1875. Private collection, USA.
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14. *Edo ryuko ryōri tsu daizen* (handbook of fashionable cooking for the epicures of Edo), 1822 to 1834. Private collection.
15. Making *sencha,* from *Scenes of 12 months of the year in Kyoto,* 1849, by Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783—1856). Album: color on paper. Private collection, Japan.

Glossary of Terms

Abe Ryōzan 阿部良山
Aoki Mokubei 青木木米
Baisanshū chafu ryaku 梅山種茶譜略
Baisaō gego 売茶翁偈語
Baisaō chaki zu 売茶翁茶器図

Ban Kōkei 伴蒿蹊
Bokuseki kyo sencha ketsu 木石居煎茶訣
Cha Jing 茶経
Chakyō shosetsu 茶経詳説
Daiten Kenjō 大典顕常
Edo ryuko ryōri tsu daizen 江戸流行料理通大全
fūga 風雅
Fukada Seiichi 深田精一
Fukuyama Chogan 福山朝丸
fūryū 風流
Gankyokō 巖居稿
Gayū manroku 雅遊漫録
Geppō 月峯
Gettan Dōchō 月潭道澄
Honcho shokukan 本朝食鑑
Ingen 隠元
Ishikawa Jōzan 石川丈山
Kagetsuan 花月菴
Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎
Katsushika Ōi 葛飾應為
Kikuchi Gōzan 菊地五山
Kimura Kenkadō 木村蒹葭堂
Kinsei kijin den 近世畸人伝
Kissa yōjō ki 喫茶養生記
Kiyomizu Rokubei 清水六兵衛
Kō Yugai (Baisaō) 高遊外（売茶翁）
Kōzan-ji 高山寺
Lu Tong 盧仝
Lu Yu 陸羽
Maeda Nariyasu 前田齊泰
Miyako rinsen meishō zue 都林泉名勝図絵
Murase Kōtei 村瀬栲亭
Nakajima Rakusui 中島楽水
Nampōroku 南方録
Naniwa sencha taijinshū 浪華煎茶大人集
Naniwa fūryū hanjōki 浪華風流繁昌記
Nihon kōki 日本後紀
Ōbaku Monchū 黄檗聞中
Ōeda Ryūhō 大枝流芳
Ogawa-ryū 小川流
Okubo Shibutsu 大窪詩仏
Priest Eichū 永忠

Priest Myōe 明恵
Priest Eisai 栄西
Rai Sanyō 頼山陽
Ryōzandō chawa 良山堂茶話
Ryūkatei Ransui 柳下亭嵐翠
Sankatei 三華亭
Sanshi Suimeisho 山紫水明処
seifū 清風
Seifū sagen 清風瑣言
Seifūryū hōcha shoshiki shōkai 清風流烹茶諸式詳解
Seiwan chawa 清湾茶話
Seiwan meien zushi 清湾茗醼図誌
Sencha hayashinan 煎茶早指南
Sencha ketsu 煎茶訣
Sencha kigen 煎茶綺言
Sencha ryaku setsu 煎茶略説
Sencha shōshū 煎茶小隻
Sencha tebiki no shū 煎茶手引の種
Shichijuichi-ban uta awase 七十一番歌合
Shinozaki Shochiku 篠崎小竹
Shisendo 詩仙堂
Shukō-in 聚光院
Tamagawatei 玉川亭
Tanaka Kakuō 田中鶴翁
Tanomura Chokunyū 田能村直入
Tōcha 闘茶
Tōdai-ji hyakugō no sho 東大寺百合之書
Tōgyū Baisa 東牛売茶
Tsubaki Chinzan 椿椿山
Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘
Tsukiyama niwa tsukuriden 築山庭造伝
Tsusentei 通仙亭
Ueda Akinari 上田秋成
Yamamoto Baiitsu 山本梅逸
Yatsuhashi Baisa 八橋売茶
Ye Zhuan 葉儔
Yūseiken 有声軒
Zen nihon senchadō renmeikai 全日本煎茶道連盟会

Endnotes

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1) See the books: *Naniwa fūryū hanjōki* (records of refined and prosperous Osaka) published in the Tempō era (1830—1843) and *Tsukiyama niwa tsukuriden*, second edition (records of making artificial hills and gardens), 1827.
2) The poem is translated into English in: John Blofeld, *The Chinese Art of Tea* (Boston: Shambhala, 1985), pp. 11—12.
3) Tsukuda Ikki, "Sencha no shomotsu" (sencha books), in: Shufunotomo, ed. *Gendai senchadō jiten* (dictionary of modern sencha) (Tokyo: Shufunotomo, 1981), p. 481.
4) According to Murai Yasuhiko, Eisai based his discussions of tea partially on Sung Chinese encyclopedias. See: Murai Yasuhiko, "The Development of Chanoyu: Before Rikyu," in: Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao, editors, *Tea In Japan, Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 8—9.
5) See: Kumakura Isao, "Sencha shi jokō, Nihon to Chōsen" (introductory research on the history of *sencha*, Japan and Korea). *Fuzoku* (customs), vol. 4 no. 3, Shōwa 51 (1976) fifth month, pp. 12—19.
6) This scroll is known only through a number of Edo period copies, the original is attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu (1434—1525). See: *Kobijutsu* 74 (April 1985), plate 38.
7) For doubts about the authenticity of this book see: Paul Varley, "Chanoyu: From the Genroku Epoch to Modern Times," in: Varley, *Tea in Japan*, pp. 166—168.
8) Shufunotomo, *Gendai senchadō jiten*, p. 482.
9) *Nihon no ocha* (Tea of Japan), volume 3 (*Ocha to bunka* [tea and culture]) (Tokyo: Gyōsei Publishers, 1988), p. 23.
10) For a discussion of *fūryū* in Jōzan and Bashō's art, see: J. Thomas Rimer, "Ishikawa Jōzan," in: J. Thomas Rimer, et al., *Shisendo Hall of Poetry Immortals* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991), pp. 22—23.
11) One poem is translated by Jonathan Chaves in: Rimer, et al., *Shisendo Hall of the Poetry Immortals*, p. 43.
12) Yatsuhashi was a Rinzai Zen sect priest from the Fukuoka daimyo clan, who studied in Nagasaki, then traveled to live in Kyoto and Edo. He is well known as a *sencha* master who owned a tea shop in Edo.
13) See: Nagatani Sensho, *Sencha shi* (sencha records). Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983, p. 85.
14) I appreciate Professor Otsuki of Manpuku-ji's Bunkaden for bringing this poem to my attention.
15) For a translation into English of Daiten's remarks as well as some of the poems in the book, see: Norman Waddell, "The Old Tea Seller," in: *The Eastern Buddhist* vol. XVII no. 2 (Autumn 1984), p. 99. For a reprint of the *Baisaō gego* in its entirety in Japanese see: Shufunotomosha, ed. *Baisaō shūsei* (compilation of Baisaō) (Tokyo, 1975).
16) Ryūhō described his home in his preface to the book *Gayūmanroku* (to be discussed below).
17) Kakuō had frequently commissioned Mokubei to make *sencha* utensils to his specifications. Mokubei also helped spread Chinese aesthetics associated with *sencha* to a broader audience with his ceramics. His profound influence on later Kyoto potters as well as on daimyo kilns of

neighboring regions shaped the future course of Japanese ceramics.

18) Tanaka Seiha, *Sencha Kagetsuan* (Kagetsuan school sencha). Tokyo: Shufunotomo, 1973, p. 316.

19) Today many *sencha* schools have *iemoto* (heads of schools) which are women, something unheard of within the tradition of *chanoyu*.

20) After World War II it was moved and attached to his mother's residence, the *Seisonkaku*, now part of the Kenrokuen Park in Kanazawa.

21) Another *sencha* room for a daimyō exists in the Hikone estate of the Ii family. Numerous daimyō-sponsored kilns were also producing *sencha* paraphernalia.