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-do (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 Kenjô (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.13

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 exaltation 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 furya (“floating with the wind”) would increase.

This furya, a kind of escape into nature, became the feeling that later sencha followers sought to evoke. Furya 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. 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 (kichō) 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. 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. 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 Todai-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).

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 Nampo) discovered in 1687, are comments that Sen no Rikyū (1522—1591) would
sometimes go to the Shukō-in and drink sencha which was the color of jade.  

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.

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 faryé, a concept more closely associated slightly later with the haikai poet Basho (1644—1694), permeating Jōzan’s lifestyle and poetry. 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. 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). 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. 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 Kakuo. 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 Dōcho (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. 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 Baisāo (“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 “seifā.” This expresses the essence of the aesthetic qualities associated with *sencha* that Baisāo advocated; *seifā* is an abbreviation of the term *seifaryā* (Chinese elegance) and is used interchangeably with the word *faryā*.

Baisāo wrote the earliest Japanese book on *sencha*, *Baisansha 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
Japanesepriests 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 chaffu 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 propagation 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 untrammelled 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 townsman.

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. 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 Kökei (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 forfeited his fortune, was among the most important literati in the Osaka area, and the receipient 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 1920's and 30's. Because of his influence, the Yuseiken (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 chawā (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).

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 fāryū. 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 Gaya 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 kyōsu (tea pots) in imitation of those owned by Baisaō.
PL. 8

PL. 9
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 discussed below). The term first seems to have been used in the Ryōzando chawā (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 accordion-style book, Sencha shōshū (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 Baitstu (1783—1856). Baitstu’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 Baitstu 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 Ryûkatei 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 Kakuô (1782—1848). Kakuô, an Osaka merchant from a family that manufactured sake, had learned how to prepare sencha from the Ôbaku monk Monchû with whom he also practiced Zen meditation. Kakuô recorded his methods of sencha preparation in a long document, Seifûryû hôcha shoshiki shokai (introduction to the commodity of Chinese style boiled tea), composed some time during the Tempô 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, gyô, 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, Kakuô departed from the spontaneity and informality at the heart of literati values. We can say that with Kakuô the inherent Japanese predilection towards formalism became intertwined with the Japanese literati tradition.

Although Kakuô formalized the sencha movement, he lived the life of a heterodox bunjin. To Kakuô 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. Kakuô’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 Edô, Okubo Shibutsu (1769—1837). His home also appeared in the Tempô era (1830—1844) book Naniwa fûryû hanjôki (records of refined and prosperous Osaka). There he describes his idea of what comprised fûryû: 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.

Kakuô 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. Thereupon, everyone who drank Osaka water would be getting a taste of Chinese water as well.

Influenced by the ideals of the Chinese and Japanese bunjin, individualism flourished in senchadō. Thus, soon after the appearance of the Kagetsu 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. In another case, two long handscrolls dated 1839 describe how Kagetsu school 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). Nariyasu was not the only high-ranking samurai official to partake in sencha; no longer was the drinking of the beverage considered a subversive protest against the government. 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 Yoaosentei (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**

9. View of the interior of the Nakano family waterside pavilion, Handa City.
12. *Seiwan meien zushi* (pictorial record of the blue sea tea gathering), 1875. Private collection, USA.
13. Interior view of the *Sankatei, Seisonkaku*, Kanazawa.

**Glossary of Terms**

Abe Ryōzan 阿部良山
Aoki Mokubei 青木木来
Baisanshū chafu ryaku 嘉山疎茶器略
Baisaō gego 壺茶翁偈語
Baisaō chaki zu 壺茶翁茶器図
Ban Kôkei 伴高徫
Bokuseki kyo sencha ketsu 木石居煎茶訣
Cha Jing 茶經
Chakyô shosetsu 茶経詳説
Daiten Kenjô 大典顯常
Edo ryukô ryôri tsu daizen 江戸流行料理通大全
fûga 風雅
Fukada Seiichi 深田精一
Fukuyama Chogan 福山朝丸
fûryû 風流
Gankyôkô 嵐居稿
Gayû manroku 雅遊漫録
Geppô 月峯
Gettan Dôchô 月潭道澄
Honcho shokukan 本朝食覧
Ingen 隱元
Ishikawa Jôzan 石川丈山
Kagetsuan 花月庵
Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎
Katsushika Ōi 葛飾應為
Kikuchi Gôzan 菊地五山
Kimura Kenkadô 木村兼霞堂
Kinsei kijin den 近世略人伝
Kissa yôjô ki 喫茶養生記
Kiyomizu Rokubei 清水六兵衛
Kô Yugai (Baisaô) 高遊外（庖茶翁）
Kôzan-ji 高山寺
Lu Tong 蘭仝
Lu Yu 陸羽
Maeda Nariyasu 前田齊泰
Miyako rinsen meishô zue 都林泉名勝図絵
Murase Kôei 村瀧権亭
Nakajima Rokusui 中島楽水
Nampôroku 南方録
Naniwa sencha taijinshû 浪華煎茶大人集
Naniwa fûryû hanjôki 浪華風流雅昌記
Nihon kôki 日本後紀
Ôbaku Monchû 黄檗聞中
Ôeda Ryûbô 大枝流芳
Ogawa-ryû 小川流
Okubo Shibutsu 大塚詩仏
Priest Eichû 永息
DOCUMENTS and MONUMENTS in the HISTORY of the SENCHA...

Priest Myōe 明惠
Priest Eisai 楊西
Rai Sanyō 藪山陽
Ryōzandō chawa 良山堂茶話
Ryūkatei Ransui 柳下亭嵐翠
Sankatei 三華亭
Sanshi Suimeisho 山紫水明處
Seifū 清風
Seifū sagen 清風抄言
Seifūryū hōcha shōshiki shōkai 清風流烹茶諸式詳解
Seiwan chawa 清風茶話
Seiwan meien zushi 清風茗園圖誌
Sencha hayashinan 煎茶早指南
Sencha ketsu 煎茶訣
Sencha kigen 煎茶説言
Sencha ryaku setsu 煎茶略説
Sencha shōshū 煎茶小箋
Sencha tebiki no shū 煎茶手引の種
Shichijuichi-ban uta awase 七十一番歌合
Shinozaki Shochiku 鎌崎小竹
Shisendo 詩仙堂
Shukō-in 聚光院
Tamagawatei 玉川亭
Tanaka Kakuō 田中鶴翁
Tanomura Chokunyō 田能村直入
Tōcha 関茶
Tōdai-ji hyakugō no sho 東大寺百合之書
Tōgyū Baisa 東牛売茶
Tsubaki Chinzan 荷楓山
Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭築
Tsukiyama niwa tsukuriden 築山庭造伝
Tsusentei 通仙亭
Ueda Akinari 上田秋成
Yamamoto Baitusu 山本梅逸
Yatsuhashi Baisa 八橋売茶
Ye Zhuan 紫庵
Yōseiiken 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 fūryō 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.


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.


8) Shufunotomo, *Gendai senchadō jiten*, p. 482.


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.


14) I appreciate Professor Otsuki of Manpuku-ji’s Bunkaden for bringing this poem to my attention.


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.


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.