University of North Carolina Asheville

Chadao and *Chanoyu*: A Comparative Analysis of the Use of Tea Culture by Chinese and Japanese Elite Society as a Prestige Tool.

A Senior Thesis Submitted to

the Faculty of the Department of History

In Candidacy for the Degree of

Bachelor of the Arts in History

Department of History

by

Alexander Bernatzky

Asheville, NC

November 2016

"It cleanses the heart and purges impediments, delivering one to purity and guiding one to harmony. It is not something that a commoner or child could ever understand."[1] This haughty quote was attributed to Huizong (1082-1135), an emperor of China's Song Dynasty (960-1279) on the subject of tea. The importance of tea to the cultures of China and Japan in the period between the 7th and 17th centuries cannot be relegated to only one paper, as the many aspects, including the farming of the tea plant itself, the production of tea, trade, etc. would deserve numerous volumes.

Thus, this paper will be devoted to a comparative analysis of the tea cultures of China and Japan from the writing of the *Chajing* (Classic of Tea) in 760-62, to roughly the 17th century, when Japan began to close itself off from China and the rest of the world to focus inwardly.[2] What will be specifically analyzed is the use of tea culture by members of the elite in both countries as a tool for increasing their own prestige amongst their peers. Additionally, despite the differences in Chinese and Japanese tea cultures as a whole, elite society in both cultures used tea culture to enhance their reputation for sophistication and taste.

While there has been a small surge in the exploration of East Asian tea cultures within the past twenty or so years, there is much work to be done in many areas of tea scholarship. Elite consumption of tea has indeed been touched upon in other works, such as *Rediscovering Rikyu*,

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[1] Huizong, *Huizong's Tea Manual:A Discourse on Tea from the Daguan Reign Period* (1107-10), trans. Ronald Egan (University of California, Santa Barbara), accessed September 10, 2016, http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:shJpzaL2bKUJ:evc.ucla.edu/conference-papers/food-and-culture-at-court/Egan-%2520Ronald_Daguan%2520chalun%25205%252023.pdf/at_download/file+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us, 1.

[2] Lu Yu, *The Classic of Tea* (760-62), trans. Francis Ross Carpenter (Boston: Little. Brown and Company, 1974), 59-151.

but it has not been the focus of the studies themselves.[3] Also, most works tend to divide Japan and China as much as possible, as in *Japanese Tea Culture*.[4] This division is not necessarily an unfair one, but this division has led to scholarly works avoiding comparing and contrasting elements of Chinese and Japanese tea cultures.

Despite their many differences, these two countries have shared many commonalities in philosophy, religion and indeed tea culture, particularly in the use of tea by the upper classes as a prestige tool. Numerous aspects of Japanese culture were deliberately imitated from Chinese culture, such as the basics of the traditional four classes that existed from at least the Han Dynasty in China (206 BCE-220 CE).[5] The similarities between China and Japan in the realm of tea culture have garnered very little scholarly interest, so delving into this gap in comparative research will be one of the goals of this paper.

After the historiography and some historical context, this paper will be divided into three main sections based on certain pertinent aspects of tea culture as used by elite society in China and Japan. The first aspect that will be discussed is the role of governments, notably Imperial rule in both China and Japan, and Japanese warlords who sought to enhance their prestige by the use of tea culture. The second aspect is Buddhism, which played a large part in the early spread of tea culture in the 8th century and lent some of its prestige to tea. Zen Buddhism's role in the formation of the Japanese tea ceremony (*chanoyu*), and how both merchants and warlords used this association with Buddhism and the way of tea (*chado*) to increase their cultural standing

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[3] Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Trowbridge, England: Global Oriental, 2003), 83-109.

[4] Pitelka, Morgan, ed., *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[5] Pan Ku, *Treatise on Food and Money* (111 CE) in *Food and Money in Ancient China: The Earliest Economic History of China to A.D. 25,* trans. Nancy Lee Swann (New York: Oregon Books, 1974), 115.

amongst their peers will also be discussed. The third aspect to be examined is material culture, such as tea bowls, pots, and whisks. Indeed, even in the *Chajing*, the first book solely about tea, an entire section is devoted to what wares must be used to best enjoy tea.[6] This will include a discussion of *meibutsu*, or "precious wares" in Japanese tea culture, and their importance to elites, particularly to merchants like Sen no Rikyu.

In summation, the three aspects of tea culture as pertaining to elite consumption that will be discussed are: the role of governments, the role of Buddhism -particularly the Zen sect- and the use of material culture as items of cultural sophistication. A factor in these divisions that must be noted is that certain parts of each aspect will inevitably bleed into one another, as these aspects are imposed for the sake of convenience, and are not indicative of contemporaneous thinking. For instance, the gifts that were given by Chinese emperors to Buddhist monasteries could be either an aspect of government or of Buddhism, but will be assigned to the government aspect for a clearer organization of the paper.[7]

Although Anglophone East Asian tea scholarship ostensibly started with Kakuzo Okakura's *Book of Tea* in 1906, there was very little serious Western scholarship on tea culture until the 1980s.[8] Even then, works on tea in China and Japan were few and far between until the late 1980s into the 90s, when there was a sudden spike in scholarly literature about tea. This

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[6] Lu Yu, *The Classic of Tea,* 62-9, 77-99.

[7] For a discussion on gift-giving and recieving, see Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries,* trans. Frasiscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 195-228.

[8] Kakuzo Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (1906), Project Gutenburg, last updated February 4, 2013, accessed November 4, 2016, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/769/769-h/769-h.htm.

seems to have began with *Tea in Japan,* a collection of essays about *chanoyu* from a variety of American, British and Japanese scholars.[9]

One of the most recent works on Chinese tea culture is *Tea in China* by James A. Benn, whose main goal was to discuss tea as an everyday commodity from religious and cultural angles.[10] *Tea in China* seems to be following in the trend of sporadic but growing entries to tea literature that has occurred in the past 20 years, with a heavier emphasis on Japanese tea culture than on Chinese, which may be due to the West's fascination with Japanese culture in particular.

Sen Soshitsu XV is the head of the Urasenke family, one of the three schools that are directly descended from Sen no Rikyu, a revolutionary figure in Japanese tea culture. In addition to this, Sen Soshitsu is a prolific Japanese tea scholar with an outreach to English-language speakers, and wrote *The Japanese Way of Tea*, a history of tea culture from its beginnings in China to the life of his illustrious ancestor, Sen no Rikyu.[11]

While the religious and societal aspects of tea have been well represented, the more scientific aspects of tea culture have been studied less intensely in English, but have also experienced a growth since the 1990s. *Science and Civilisation in China*, for instance, is a seminal and voluminous work on the various industries of China throughout its history, with a chapter devoted to the harvesting, processing and shipping of tea in pre-modern times and is

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[9] Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao, eds. *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), ix-x.

[10] Benn, *Tea in China,* 1, 13.

[11] Sen Soshitsu XV, *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyu,* trans. V. Dixon Morris (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 1998), x-xiv.

more concerned with the "how" of tea production rather than the "why".[12] Material culture is a more ambivalent field, as many tea bowls are considered art as opposed to historical tools for consumption. Thus, works that focus on tea wares are usually perceived as being more closely aligned to art than archaeology or history, such as in *Seto and Mino Ceramics.*[13]

The first known work written solely about tea is the *Chajing,* written by Lu Yu in 760-2.[14] While it is difficult to pin down exactly where tea consumption began, it likely started in the southwestern mountains of China, from which it eventually spread to the rest of China. In fact, Lu Yu began the *Chajing* by saying "Tea is from a grand tree in the south."[15] Tea drinking had spread to the majority of China by the mid 8th century, as the *Chajing* stated: "...it is immersed in our customs and flourishes in the present Dynasty (Tang) both North and South… it is the common drink of every household."[16] Although Lu Yu was not responsible for the spread of tea, his *Chajing* was instrumental in raising tea to an aspect of high culture. The word "*jing*" means "classic", and was reserved for the most venerated of works, so the lack of backlash against Lu Yu's positioning of his works alongside the existing classics shows how important this book was for tea culture as a noble pursuit.[17]

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[12] Hsing-tsung Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 6: Biology and Biological Technology. Part V: Fermentations and Food Science,* ed. Joseph Needham (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 503-70

[13] Louise Allison Cort, *Seto and Mino Ceramics: Japanese Collections in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 73-86.

[14] Lu Yu, *The Classic of Tea,* 59-151.

[15] Lu Yu, *The Classic of Tea,* 59.

[16] Ibid., 116.

[17] Benn, *Tea in China,* 111.

Though tea had been known in Japan by the 8th century, it was the efforts of the monk Eisai that reinvigorated tea consumption in Japan, while also introducing Zen Buddhism to his homeland.[18] Meanwhile, the Japanese imperial system had been subverted by a series of clan-based military rulers known as "shoguns" beginning in the 12th century. Although they were technically subordinates of the emperors of Japan, the shoguns were the true masters of the country. With the Shogunate in decline by the mid-15th century, Japan entered into the *Sengoku Jidai,* the era of civil wars (1467-1603).

Power fell to ambitious local lords known as *daimyo*, who were very eager to extend their existing power and prestige by cultural as well as military means.[19] This paradigm is well explained by the concept of *bushido*, the concept of a "warriors' code", which demanded aboth military *and* civil cultivation, as attested by Takauji in his *Tojiin Goisho* (1357): "...civil and military arts are like the two wheels of a cart; lacking one wheel, the cart will not carry any one." [20] Though Takauji does not specifically mention tea, it would have fallen under his concept of "civil arts" that any competent lord should give serious thought to.

The wars of Japan's Sengoku era brought great violence and uncertainties to many people, but others, such as the merchants of Sakai, found opportunity. A common phrase to describe the paradigm of this age in Japanese history is "*gekokujo*" or "Inferiors rebel against their Superiors" as Plutschow translates it.[21] It was in this context that even a low-born like

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[18] Sen Soshitsu XV, *The Japanese Way of Tea,* 58-59.

[19] H. Paul Varley, "Cultural Life of the Warrior Elite in the Fourteenth Century" in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century,* ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 207.

[20] Takauji, *Tojiin Goisho* (1357), in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World,* ed. Mass, 216

[21] Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu,* 75.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi could become the uniter of Japan, and Sen no Rikyu, a merchant of vague lineage, could become a defining figure in the history of *chanoyu* and Hideyoshi's personal tea-advisor.[22] That Hideyoshi, the de facto leader of Japan in the late 16th century, would deem it necessary to officially patronize a tea practitioner is telling of how important tea culture had become to elite Japanese society by the Sengoku era.

In Imperial China, governments were marked by dynasties, and many of the major developments in tea culture- particularly in tea production- do indeed take place from one dynasty to another.[23] For instance, in the Tang dynasty, when Lu Yu wrote the *Chajing,* the custom was to form tea into bricks (as opposed to the modern method of loose leaf tea), which would then be shipped to the consumers. This is evident even in Lu Yu's writing, as one of his essential tools for making tea is 'the roller', which is intended to grind up the slice of the brick that was taken off.[24] Additionally, he mentions tea to be in a brick form when discussing the methods of brewing.[25]

One source for daily life in the late Tang Dynasty is the diary of a Japanese Buddhist monk named Ennin, who recorded his travels throughout China from 838-47.[26] It is clear from his attitude towards tea that by his time, it had become ingrained enough within Chinese culture

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[22] Theodore Ludwig, "*Chanoyu* and Momoyama: Conflict and Transformation in Rikyu's Art" in *Tea in Japan,* 72.

[23] For a discussion of Chinese tea processing methods by the dynasty, see Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 6, Part V,* 519-54.

[24] Lu Yu, *Classic of Tea,* 84-5.

[25] Ibid., 103.

[26] Ennin, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (838-47)*,* trans. Edwin O. Reischauer (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1955).

that it was acceptable for officials to give tea to guests.[27] By the mid 9th century, when the Tang Dynasty was in decline, Ennin describes both brick tea and powdered tea, but it is not clear which had become more prevalent as the majority of his references to tea make no distinction and are relegated to simply mentioning that tea was drunk.[28] Ennin makes numerous, though laconic references to the drinking of tea. One example from 840, in the city of Dengzhou (now called Penglai) of Shandong province reads as follows: "We also went to the office of the Administrative Officer and saw him, and then we went… to see the Magistrate. They took us into the audience hall, and we sipped tea."[29] Most of Ennin's references to tea follow a similar pattern. Other times he was given tea and other provisions as a gift, usually by officials like the ones of Dengzhou.[30] Ennin shows us that tea had not only spread to the northern provinces by the mid-9th century, but had become ingrained into the practices of the elite, as is shown by the sipping of tea with the magistrates of a sizeable town.

The imperial court had also taken an interest in the benefits that tea could bring to its subjects' perception of the government. In 840, Ennin noted an Imperial emissary giving "1,000 Pounds of Tea" along with silks, incense and other fine gifts to a mountain of 12 monasteries, which was to be done annually.[31] This imperial gift was not a one-off event, but a part of a older practice of gifts given from emperors to Buddhist monasteries.

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[27] Ennin, *Ennin's Diary*, 52, 108, 275.

[28] Ibid., 95, 365, 367.

[29] Ibid., 178.

[30] Ibid., 199.

[31] Ibid., 249.

This is seen in Daxuan's *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, where he mentions similarly grand presents from both Emperor Wen (r. 581-604) and Yang (r. 614-17) more than two centuries before Ennin's experience.[32] The gifts of Wen and Yang did not include tea, so it seems that once tea became more popular in the imperial court after Lu Yu's popularization, it became a valuable commodity to be heaped upon monasteries. This practice was in part a display of the immense power and wealth that the emperors had at their command, but also an expectation of reciprocity in the form of loyalty to the empire.[33]

After the fall of the Tang Dynasty in the early 10th century, China experienced a few decades of political struggle until the Song Dynasty (960-1279) took hold and reunified the realm. The Song experienced high points of both culture and commerce, with its Emperors actively participating in tea culture, particularly in regards to connoisseurship. The imperial interest in tea is well-recorded in the *Daguan Chalun* (Record of tea from the Daguan era), a piece of tea connoisseurship that was allegedly penned by the Emperor Huizong (1082-1135).[34] Its authorship has been called into question by Ronald Egan, who finds that the phrasing and intimacy of detail make it rather unlikely that it came from Huizong's hand.[35] For the purposes of this paper, however, it does not necessarily matter if the emperor himself wrote this piece.

The mere attribution of Huizong's name to a treatise on the proper consumption of tea means that, at least by the 12th century in China, tea was considered profound and noble enough

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[32] Daxuan, *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks* (596-667), in Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 208-09.

[33] Brett Hinsch, *The Rise of Tea Culture in China: The Invention of the Individual* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 35.

[34] Huizong, *Huizong's Tea Manual,* 2-7.

[35] Huizong, *Huizong's Tea Manual, 1.*

that the emperor himself could contribute to the art of tea and not sully his prestigious image. Additionally, since the emperor would partake in tea, it naturally followed that he receive only the best of the best. These were known as tribute teas, which Huizong refers to as "certified" tea. [36] The imperial palette was evidently so greatly refined that he could distinguish fakes, which he identified as "uncertified".[37] He said of people who partake in uncertified teas:

> They do not realize that although the leaf slivers are comparable, their tea has no character; although the gloss of the color looks lustrous, there is nothing inside; although the form is right, the structure of the paste has no tightly spaced patterns; and although the flavor is substantial, the tartness lacks the virtue of delicious fragrance.How could it escape being recognized for what it is?[38]

This display of connoisseurship attributed to Huizong shows that tea culture was considered worthy enough to be studied by the apex of Chinese society, and that any truly cultured person should consider the way of tea as a prestigious art. Indeed, if the emperor himself would care so much about tea, a true gentleman would have to have put serious thought into learning more about it, or perhaps to write their own poem or treatise on tea.

The emperors of Japan also trusted in the prestigious effects of tea-drinking. Some of the earliest references to tea in Japan come from the time of Emperor Saga (786-823), who himself wrote poetry about tea in Chinese in 814:

> It is not displeasing,
> When composing verse,
> To hear sounds of the pounding
> Of a fine tea.[39]

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[36] Ibid., 7.

[37] Ibid., 7.

[38] Ibid., 7.

[39] Saga, "On a summer day in the villa of the General of the Left, Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu" (814), in *Warlords, Artists and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century,* ed. George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1981), 192.

This poem shows two major things: that tea was elevated enough in 9th century Japanese culture to be featured in an imperial poem, and that tea's prestige was largely due to its Chinese origin in Saga's time. Tea as a product of China is an important factor in the early days of Japanese tea consumption, as Saga was a strong proponent of Chinese culture.[40] Thus, Saga was engaging in the same practice that Huizong did roughly three centuries later: by elevating tea to the level of the emperor, it increased both the cultural importance of tea and therefore would increase the prestige of any emperor who participated in *chado*, the way of tea.

While tea was greatly admired by Saga, its cultural importance declined in the centuries after his reign. Indeed, there seems to be little evidence of a unique Japanese tea culture forming in the Heian period (794-1185) until the 13th century, perhaps due to a lapse in relations with China from 895 until the late 12th century.[41] Because the prestige of Saga's tea culture was built upon Sinophilia, a lesser admiration of China meant a lesser admiration for the art of tea.

By the 12th century Japan, the power of the emperors had faded, and it was the shoguns- dynasties of military rulers- who truly governed the realm. The shoguns' power contributed to the reintroduction of Chinese tea practices to Japan by Eisai, who wrote a treatise on the medicinal qualities of tea called the *Kissa Yojoki* (*A Record of Drinking Tea and Nourishing Life*).[42] In *Azuma Kagami* it is related that Eisai used tea to heal the ailing Shogun Sanetomo, a significant show of trust in both Eisai and tea consumption.[43]

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[40] H. Paul Varley and George Elison, "The Culture of Tea: From its Origins to Sen no Rikyu" in *Warlords, Artists and Commoners*, ed. Elison and Smith, 192.

[41]Ibid., 193.

[42] Eisai, *A Record of Drinking Tea and Nourishing Life* (1214), in Benn, *Tea in China*, 157-71.

[43] Engishiki, *Azuma Kagami* (1214) in *Shintei Zoho Kokushi Taikei,* in Sen Soshitsu XV, *The Japanese Way of Tea,* 59.

The shoguns, not technically being the pinnacle of traditional society (which was supposed to be the emperor), were eager to increase their legitimacy using the art of tea. This is related by Rodrigues when he mentions the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa's retirement (1474-90) to pursue the way of tea.[44] Yoshimasa, however, is a famous example of a ruler neglecting his realm for his own personal desires, which in Takauji's concept of *bushido,* was frowned upon.[45] Both the shoguns and the warlords of the Sengoku era found great power within tea culture, and there is perhaps no better example of this relationship than that of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Sen no Rikyu, a merchant of the port city of Sakai.

It is clear that Hideyoshi treasured Rikyu's advice on tea, even when it contradicted tradition or his own personal taste. This is recorded in *Pointing to the Moon*, a collection of stories as related by Rikyu's grandson, Sen Sotan (1578-1658).[46] In it, Rikyu is performing *chanoyu* for Hideyoshi and his attendants, and Rikyu was seen to deviate from the traditional form of using the *daisu* shelf, which had its own storied history in the tea ceremony.[47] When Hideyoshi questioned this break in tradition Rikyu answered: "The old tradition is unattractive in its multiplicity of prescriptions, so I have abbreviated the service."[48] *Pointing to the Moon* then quoted Hideyoshi as proclaiming: "Henceforth, each of you who practice tea should learn from Rikyu's use of the *daisu.*"[49]

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[44] Rodrigues, *This Island of Japon, 266.*

[45] Takauji, *Tojiin Goisho*, in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World,* ed. Mass, 216

[46] Sen Sotan, *Pointing to the Moon* (1701)*,* in *Wind in the Pines,* ed. Hirota, 247-60.

[47] Sen Sotan, *Pointing to the Moon,* in *Wind in the Pines,* ed. Hirota, 250.

[48] Ibid., 250.

[49] Ibid.*,* 249-50.

Another source on the use of tea as a prestige tool by the shogun is that of Joao Rodrigues (1561-1633), a Portuguese missionary who spent the majority of his life in East Asia.[50] Rodrigues is unique in that he was an outsider to Japanese society, but was impressively knowledgeable about numerous aspects of Japanese society and culture, and only showed an outward bias when discussing religion. He relates that the shogun (he does not mention *which* shogun, but it was likely either Tokugawa Ieyasu or Hidetada) patronized the best tea producers, and would always receive the first harvest.[51] Despite the different ways that tea was used in Japan and China, for the highest rung of society, the imperial/shogunal circle, the culture of tea was used to enhance their prestige amongst their peers.

The spread of Buddhism throughout China by the 8th century had a great effect on the early practice of elite tea culture, particularly the Zen school of Buddhism, as Brett Hinsch has noted.[52] This was due to the particular inclination of Zen monks to long periods of meditation, during which they would need some way to stay awake, while still remaining calm enough to focus upon their meditation. Indeed, Feng Yan, a rough contemporary of Lu Yu, noted that there was a Zen master who "in…. Meditation he emphasized not sleeping… so he allowed all [his followers] to drink tea. People adopted it from them, and everywhere they boiled and drank [tea]."[53] There was the additional benefit that tea provided an avenue for social interactions that had previously been reserved only for alcohol, which was problematic for Buddhists due to

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[50] Joao Rodrigues, *This Island of Japon: Joao Rodrigues' Account of 16th Century Japan* (c. 1620) trans. Michael Cooper, S.J. (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1973), 250-96.

[51] Joao Rodrigues, *This Island of Japon*, 255.

[52] Hinsch, *The Rise of Tea Culture in China*, 113.

[53] Feng Yan, *Record of Things Seen and Heard by Mr. Feng* (785-805), in Benn, *Tea in China*, 50.

its clouding effects on the mind.[54] Tea provided an alternative to alcohol for Chinese monks who became champions of tea culture as high art by at least the mid-9th century.

It was this spiritual attachment to tea that drew the interest of the elite class, particularly the literati, beginning in the 9th century. The interest of the literati was due to two main factors: Lu Yu's legitimization of tea as a noble and cultured pursuit, and the link between tea-drinking and Buddhism. As Hinsch notes: "The association of tea with Buddhism presented gentlemen with yet another way to gain prestige. By drinking tea... with a Buddhist frame of mind, they could stake a claim to spirituality and otherworldliness without having to actually endure the strictures of monastic life.[55] Thus, the practice of drinking tea came with cultural and spiritual associations that required far less of elites than constant meditation, rigorous diets, or reading of scripture did. This allowed the elites of Chinese society to tap into the prestige of Buddhist monasticism and yet remain attached to more worldly concerns.

The Zen school of Buddhism had its origins in 5th century China with the semi-legendary Bodhidharma who went "propagating the teaching in Han and Wei," (meaning Northern China), and was greatly important to tea practices among the elite, particularly in Japan.[56] While Buddhism had been established in Japan by about the 8th century, it was not until the 13th century that Zen was introduced, and it took a few centuries longer for Zen to rise to the prominence that it held in the 16th century with the practitioners of *chanoyu.* The ideas of Zen Buddhism and *chanoyu* became inextricably linked due to the conscious efforts of Sen no Rikyu

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[54] Benn, *Tea in China,* 42-71.

[55] Hinsch, *The Rise of Tea Culture in China,* 115.

[56] *Bodhidharma Anthology* (c. 7th- c.11th century), trans. Jeffrey L. Broughton (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 8.

and his peers; this is seen in the *Namporoku*, a collection of sayings by Rikyu ostensibly written by a disciple named Nambo Sokei:

> Chanoyu of the small room is above all a matter of performing practice and attaining realization in accord with the Buddhist path… We draw water, gather firewood, boil the water, and make tea. We then offer it to the Buddha… and drink ourselves...In all of this, we model ourselves after the acts of the Buddha and the past masters.[57]

This quote perfectly captures the importance of Zen in Rikyu's way of tea, and the very intentional and open connection that he and other Sakai tea masters were trying to forge between Buddhism and *chanoyu.* The very nature of the art of tea that Rikyu promoted was that of one whom society would traditionally scorn, as merchants were theoretically the lowest class, regardless of their economic importance. This was due to the Japanese adoption of the old Chinese social theory of the "four occupations", that was even seen in the 2nd century *Hanshu*, which marked out the four basic groups of people as being scholars, farmers, craftsmen and, at the very bottom, merchants.[58]

16th century Japan was a time of social and political upheaval encapsulated in the phrase "*gekokujo*" (Inferiors rebel against their Superiors). This is excellently evidenced by the rise of merchants of the port city of Sakai, particularly Sen no Rikyu, to become dominant figures of the *chanoyu* during the era of civil wars.[59] The style of tea culture that the Sakai merchants developed may seem antithetical to the quest for greater prestige, but makes more sense in the context of the popularity of Zen Buddhism.

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[57] Nambo Sokei, *Namporoku* (1593), in *Wind in the Pines,* ed. Hirota, 217.

[58] Pan Ku, "Treatise on Food and Money" in *Food and Money in Ancient China*, trans. Swann, 115.

[59] Hirota, *Wind in the Pines,* 93.

The *chanoyu* that was developed by the tea-men of Sakai was intended to be a coarse, unpretentious style deeply rooted in Zen thought, and even a sense of modesty. This is seen in the *Record of Yamanoue Soji,* in which the eponymous writer compiled a collection of thought on *chanoyu* as it had developed in the 16th century.[60] His first point in the "Ten Points of Attention for the Practitioner of Tea" was: "Conduct yourself with conviction- without excessive ceremony toward those above you in station; toward those below, with sincere courtesy."[61] Clearly these were the words of someone who had little to lose by looking upon all tea practitioners as equals.

Rikyu's humble style of *chanoyu* as a method of obliquely improving the prestige of tea practitioners of the merchant class may perhaps be best evidenced when a comparison is drawn between the heavy-handed extravagance of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the calculated humility of Rikyu. In the process of unifying Japan, Hideyoshi created a great number of both admirers and enemies, both of whom he feared would feel disquiet about his non-noble origins.[62] For him, military prestige was not enough, and the high reputation that *chanoyu* enjoyed would be a useful addition to his quest to become the *de facto* leader of Japan.

One way that Hideyoshi employed was by holding a monumental tea-gathering in the autumn of 1587. The "Kitano Grand Tea Party" was an effort to display both the power and cultural authority that Hideyoshi so greatly desired, and to this end he demanded that *all* tea practitioners from the Kyoto area attend: "regardless of whether they are warrior attendants,

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[60] Yamanoue Soji, *Record of Yamanoue Soji* (1590), in *Wind in the Pines*, ed. Hirota, 201-11.

[61] Ibid., 202.

[62] For more on Hideyoshi's quest for legitimacy, see *Warlords, Artists and Commoners,* ed. Elison and Smith, 223-44.

townsmen or peasants…" and that "Not only Japanese, but Chinese and Koreans with an interest in tea must participate."[63] The penalty for any who disobeyed his summons was that any practitioners and their disciples would be banned from ever serving tea again.[64]

Despite the harsh penalties for not attending this party, and the grandeur envisioned, Hideyoshi called it off after the first day, which Plutschow attributes to its unachievable ambition.[65] How small, humble, and affordable Rikyu's ceremonies must have seemed in comparison! In the end, it was Rikyu's style of tea ceremony that won out, particularly after the alleged discovery of the *Namporoku* in 1687.[66] As peace settled upon the war-torn Japanese archipelago, those who had previously been warlords had to find non-martial ways to impress their peers, and one such way was Rikyu's *chanoyu*.

Though Rikyu called for a sort of egalitarianism, the most important part of his *chanoyu* ideals lay in its heavy emphasis on Zen thought, which greatly appealed to what was still the warrior class.[67] Zen ideals of impermanence and discipline, and that "enlightenment was to be achieved by direct transmission from mind to mind or by seated meditation" as opposed to fasting or the reading of scriptures, seemed a perfect fit for the samurai class.[68] Thus, the deep

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[63] Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Announcement for the Kitano Grand Tea Party (September 1587), in *Rediscovering Rikyu,* 95.

[64] Hideyoshi, Announcement for the Kitano Grand Tea Party, in *Rediscovering Rikyu,* 96.

[65] Ibid., 97.

[66] Paul Varley, "*Chanoyu* from Genroku to Modern Times", in *Tea in Japan,* ed. Varley and Kumakura, 166.

[67] G. Cameron Hurst III, *The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age,* in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World,* ed. Mass, 218-19.

[68] Murai Yasuhiko, "The Development of *Chanoyu*" in *Tea in Japan,* ed. Varley and Kumakura, 13.

ties between Rikyu's tea ideals and Zen Buddhism were an excellent match for the pacified samurai lords.

The final aspect of elite Chinese and Japanese tea culture that will be discussed is that of material culture. The tools used for making tea in the "proper" way varied on a myriad of factors, such as what sort of tea was being produced (be it brick, powder, or leaf), and to a large extent what was fashionable at a certain place and time. For instance, among the 22 items that Lu Yu deemed necessary for tea consumption, there is no mention of a whisk, which was an integral part of *Chanoyu* as Rikyu knew it.[69] This was due to the type of tea that was in style in Lu Yu's time: after harvesting, it was compressed and molded into a brick, after which the consumer would scrape however much tea was needed into the water.

Other items the Lu Yu lists in the *Chajing* as being essential for the art of tea are stokers and tongs for the fire, a roller for crushing pieces of the tea brick, and of course, the tea bowl itself.[70] He then went on to list which specific bowl manufacturers were superior and inferior, which he does only for the bowl. This shows that even in the 8th century, certain teawares were considered important enough to have a variety of named manufacturers, who were competitive enough for Lu Yu to feel the need to set the record straight on who was indeed the finest tea bowl manufacturer.

From the Tang to the Song dynasty, the style of tea bowl that was favored by elite Chinese connoisseurs were those that had an even, rounded shape with a smooth sheen. Certainly lower-quality wares were in abundance for those who couldn't afford the best Yue wares that Lu

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[69] Lu Yu, *The Classic of Tea,* 77-99.

[70] Ibid., 80-1, 84-5, 90-3.

Yu recommended.[71] For those who had money and power, tea bowls could represent the finer things in life, and the owner's acquisition of those finer things.

One of the ways that tea bowls were used as a display of wealth and prestige in China's Song Dynasty was by the decorations on the bowls themselves. Some, like were decorated with spots or streaks, while others were decorated with specific images, such as the leaf seen in the Jian ware bowl of Figure 1.[72] This tea bowl was produced at some point during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) and was thus a rough contemporary of Emperor Huizong, who does indeed mention bowls and pitchers in the *Daguan Chalun.*[73] Again, the emperor himself being credited with taking an interest in the subject of teawares is evidence that tea culture -and the material culture that went along with it- was considered an avenue for even the highest of elite society to gain more prestige by their knowledge of the subject.

In Japan, the idea of teawares as enhancing the prestige of elite classes took a rather different course than in China, but the basic idea that the wares could increase one's prestige remained. Before the Sengoku era, the mark of high culture in teawares for Japanese elite society was found in importing or copying Chinese objects, known as *karamono suki*.[74] This is most evident in the *temmoku* tradition, as Japanese potters attempted to keep up with the domestic

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[71] Ibid., 90-2.

[72] *Tea Bowl with Leaf Design*, 12th-13th century, in Ellen Avril, "Transformations in the Glaze" in *Dark Jewels: Chinese Black and Brown Ceramics from the Shatzman Collection* (Chapel Hill, NC: Ackland Art Museum, 2002), 56.

[73] Huizong, *Daguan Chalun,* 4.

[74] *Tea in Japan,* ed. Varley and Kumakura, 15.

demand for Chinese Jian wares. In fact, the word *temmoku* is a Japanese transliteration of *Tianmushan*, a gathering place for Japanese Buddhist monks in China's Zhejiang province.[75]

Temmoku wares became wildly popular throughout Japan from the 13th to the 16th centuries, and Japanese kilns were producing their own versions by the 16th century.[76] (See Figure 2) This particular bowl was originally reported to have been made in China and imported to Japan, but similar styles were made by kilns in the Japanese Seto and Mino regions (modern-day Owari and Mino provinces, respectively).[77] The *temmoku* style was still been in vogue in the Sengoku era, and it was this polished, almost perfectionist style that Rikyu would 'rebel' against, in his taste for more humble wares.

The concept of *gekokujo*, as mentioned earlier, also applied to Rikyu's philosophy on tea wares, and indeed the entire atmosphere of what he intended *chanoyu* to be. "In the small room, it is desirable for every utensil to be less than adequate. There are those who dislike a piece when it is even slightly damaged; such an attitude shows a complete lack of comprehension."[78] The idea of *gekokujo* is even present in material culture, since an item's imperfections are not to be considered flaws, and that pieces that outwardly seemed to be inferior could be thought of as rebelling against its allegedly superior counterparts, like the polished temmoku wares..

The surroundings too, were to be humble: "The host… is poor; the utensils for tea and rice, irregular; the food, lacking any refinement in flavor. The trees and rocks in the garden are

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[75] Ellen Avril, "Transformations in the Glaze" in *Dark Jewels: Chinese Black and Brown Ceramics from the Shatzman Collection* (Chapel Hill, NC: Ackland Art Museum, 2002), 47.

[76] Louise Allison Cort, *Japanese Collections in the Freer Gallery of Art: Seto and Mino Ceramics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 74, 77.

[77] *Temmoku tea bowl*, 1530-70, in Cort, *Japanese Collections in the Freer Gallery of Art*, 77.

[78] Nambo Sokei, *Namporoku,* in *Wind in the Pines,* ed. Hirota, 226.

simply as in nature."[79] These measures may have been an effort to distinguish the new tea ceremony from the older, extravagant style favored by the traditional nobility. Before the advent of the Rikyu school of *chanoyu*, the prevailing ceremony form was known as *shoin chanoyu.*[80] This was the formal style in which one of the main purposes was to display and admire one's Chinese objects, known as *karamono suki.*[81] The style of *chanoyu* pioneered by Rikyu was as a sort of reaction against the extravagance and opulence shown in the *shoin* style, and a conscious move toward a more humble practice of tea culture.

Despite Rikyu's demand for a simpler style of teaware, he still felt the pull towards *meibutsu*, or "famous objects." For instance, in *Pointing to the Moon*, Sotan admits that Rikyu's family was both landed and wealthy (likely due to their mercantile interests), and that "he was able to buy an incense burner named Plover, which had been owned by Sogi, for one thousand *kan.*"[82] The fact that the incense burner had a name and a lineage says more about the prestige that it would have given Rikyu than whatever sum of money it cost.

An excellent example of a *meibutsu* in the style that Rikyu would have preferred is the tea bowl named *Onigawara*, which translates to "Demon-tile", for its coarse shape.[83] (See Figure 3) Here is shown the rough-hewn, unevenly glazed style that Rikyu would have meant when referring to less-than-adequate utensils.[84] Rikyu did not mean that anything was to be defective

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[79] Ibid., 240.

[80] For a discussion on *shoin chanoyu* see *Tea in Japan,* ed. Varley and Kumakura, 15-20.

[81] Murai Yasuhikio, "The Development of *Chanoyu*" in *Tea in Japan,* 15-16.

[82] Sotan, *Pointing to the Moon,* in *Wind in the Pines,* 257.

[83] *Tea Bowl, named Onigarawa* (*Demon Tile*), early 17th century, in Sadako Ohki, *Tea Culture of Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 38.

[84] Nambo Sokei, *Namporoku,* in *Wind in the Pines,* 226.

-all the parts of the *chanoyu* had to properly work- but that they did not need to be the smooth and polished *temmoku* wares that his contemporaries were so fond of. Additionally, just because these pieces had a rough exterior did not mean they were without value, or indeed even cheap. Rodrigues notes that these pieces would show:

> A very wealthy poverty and a very poor wealth… the things used therein are very poor in appearance but very rich in price, for there are items worth more than twenty, thirty or forty thousand taels…. They see to it that these things are always more valuable than they look, or at least that they do not outwardly show their excellence...[85]

Thus for Japanese elites, or certain merchants who attempted to rise above their traditional level in society, teawares were used to obliquely increase their prestige in the eyes of their peers. Even pieces that looked ragged or worthless had a hidden value that only true connoisseurs or masters of the way of tea could have understood, which catapulted them beyond those uninitiated in the unique cultural that mastery of the art of tea could grant them.

From the beginnings of tea culture as high art in Lu Yu's *Chajing* to the solidification of Sen no Rikyu's memory after his death, we have seen at least one constant.[86] It is that the various groups that constituted elite society in 8th-17th century China and Japan used tea culture to enhance their own prestige through three aspects: government, Buddhism, and material culture. The main benefit of the combination of these two societies for this paradigm is twofold. The first is that English-language translations of primary sources are relatively few, and there remains much work to be done in translating Chinese and Japanese sources in their entirety. The second is that there has been relatively few comparative analyses of the two cultures' tea practices.

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[85] Rodrigues, *This Island of Japon,* 277.

[86] For a longer discussion of Rikyu's legacy after his death, see Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu*, 165-83.

While the history of tea in East Asia has received a rather recent surge in works and translations into English, there are still many paths and facets to explore.

We have seen that although the methods and styles of tea culture have changed in both time and space, the most basic assertion does indeed hold up: that elites of China and Japan used tea to enhance their standing in the eyes of their peers. This began with Lu Yu's devotion to the practice of tea, catapulting it to high art that even emperors like Huizong or Saga could participate in, as well as Buddhist monks, Japanese warlords and merchants who used Buddhism in relation to tea as a conduit for increasing their own prestige. As tea increases in popularity in Western cultures, we would do well to take a closer look at the aspects of its origins, that we may better understand that "grand tree of the South".[87]

[87] Lu Yu, *The Classic of Tea,* 59.

Illustrations

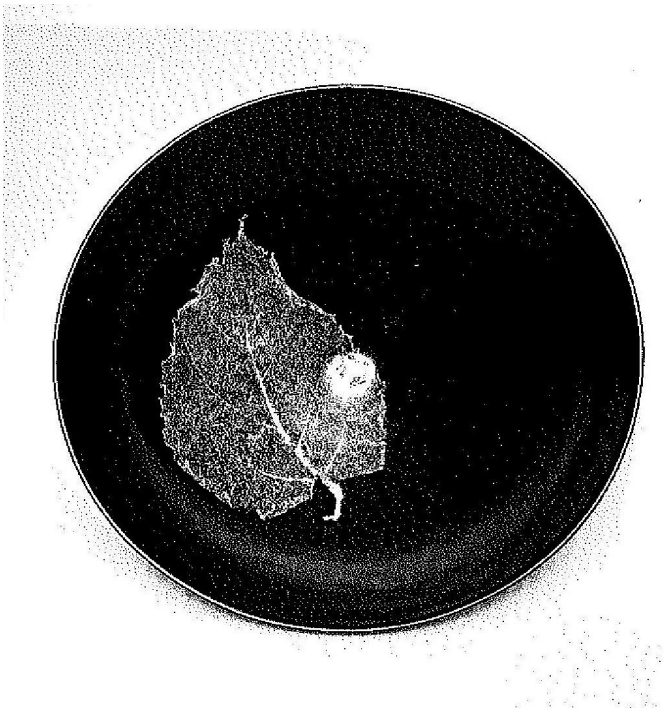

Figure 1. *Tea Bowl with Leaf Design.* Yonghe Kilns, Southern Song Dynasty, 12th or 13th century. Shatzman Collection, Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Figure 2. *Temmoku Tea Bowl.* Seto or Mino Ware, Muromachi Period, mid-16th century. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

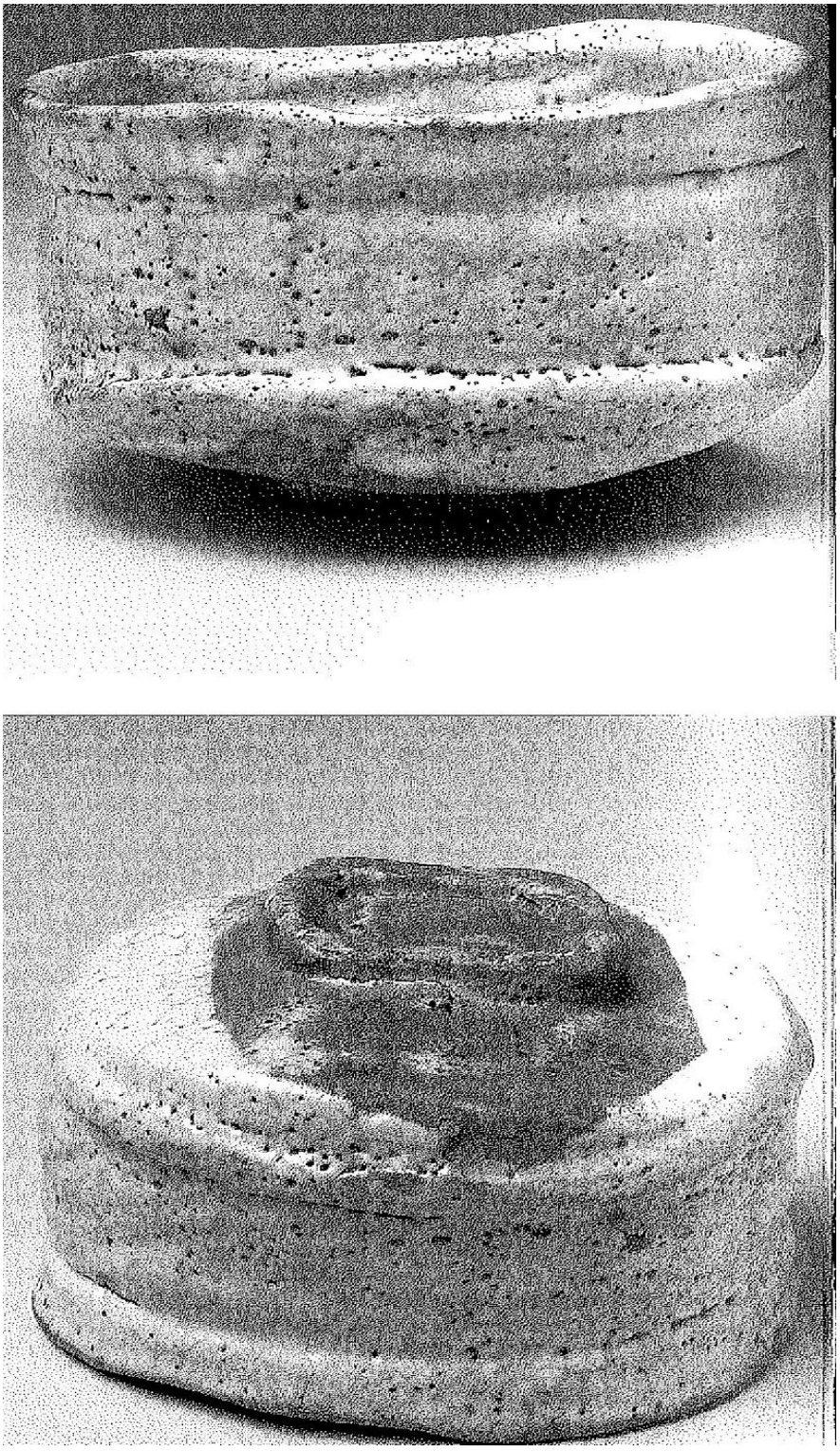

Figure 3. *Tea Bowl, named Onigawara (Demon Tile)*, Japanese, early 17th century. Collection of Peggy and Richard M. Danziger.

Timeline

http://rizzoseniorresearch.digitalscholars-unca.com/alexs-timeline/

Glossary

Chinese Terms

Chajing- *The Classic of Tea*, first book written solely about tea, by Lu Yu in 760-62.

Chadao- "The Way of Tea", philosophical concept, "*chado"* in Japanese.

Daguan Chalun- *Record of Tea from the Daguan Reign Period.* Treatise on tea attributed to Emperor Huizong of the Song Dynasty.

Ennin- (794-864) Japanese Buddhist monk who traveled throughout China 838-46.

Lu Yu- (733-804) Wrote the *Chajing*, considered to be the first tea master.

Ming Dynasty- (1368-1644), origin of loose-leaf tea.

Song Dynasty- (960-1279), time of cultural and economic outpouring, origin of powder tea, time of Jian (*Temmoku*) wares.

Tang Dynasty- (618-907), widely considered to be a golden age of poetry, literature and political strength. Origin of tea as high culture, advent of brick tea.

Japanese Terms

Chanoyu- Japanese Tea Ceremony.

Eisai- (1141-1215) Credited with starting the unique Japanese tea culture with his *Kissa Yojoki*, a treatise on the medicinal values of tea in a Buddhist context.

Gekokujo- "Inferiors rebel against their Superiors", a term that describes the social mobility brought on by the chaos of the Sengoku era.

Kukai- (774-835) Japanese Buddhist monk credited with bringing tea culture to Japan in the early 9th cent.

Saga- (786-842) Emperor of Japan, admirer of tea as a Chinese art form.

Sen no Rikyu- (1522-1591) Seminal figure in development of *chanoyu*, favored simplicity and Zen style of tea ceremony.

Sengoku Era- "Era of Civil Wars", (late-15th c.-1603) when local lords vied for military and cultural domination over Japan. Eventually ended by Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Shogun- Military position in Japan, after 13th cent. became the leading force in Japanese politics, relegating the emperor to a figurehead status.

Temmoku- A style of teaware that borrowed from Chinese Jian ware styles, being smooth and evenly rounded. This was the popular style of tea bowl before Rikyu.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi- (1536-1598) Military leader and unifier of Japan. He gave patronage to Sen no Rikyu and other tea-men largely as a political measure to gain prestige.

Annotated Primary Sources

Bodhidharma Anthology (c. 7th- c.11th century). Translated by Jeffrey L. Broughton. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.

One of the manuscripts found in the famous Dunhuang collection, it is unknown exactly when this was written and who it was written by. Its contribution to the paper is to establish the founder of Zen Buddhism, Bodhidharma.

Daxuan. *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks* (596-667). In Gernet, Jacques. *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries.* Translated by Frasiscus Verellen. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

This source is used to highlight that Chinese emperors had a practice of giving lavish gifts to Buddhist monasteries from at least two centuries before Ennin reported an imperial gift of tea to the monastery that he visited.

Eisai. *A Record of Drinking Tea and Nourishing Life* (1214). In Benn, James A. *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: 2015.

Eisai is credited with re-introducing the art of tea as high culture to Japan from China. He did this by essentially marketing tea as a medicine, inspired by Buddhist physiological thinking. Benn translated the entirety of Eisai's work within *Tea in China*, and devoted an entire chapter to discussing it.

Ennin. *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (838-47). Translated by Edwin O. Reischauer. New York: Ronald Press, 1955.

Ennin was a Japanese Buddhist monk who undertook a pilgrimage to China and Korea from 838 to 847 CE. His diary is an excellent source detailing daily life in many different regions of China during the Tang dynasty, and contains numerous references to tea preparation, practices and prices. Reischauer's translation is the only complete translation of Ennin's diary into English.

Feng, Yan. *Record of Things Seen and Heard by Mr. Feng* (785-805). In Benn, James A. *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: 2015.

Of the many interesting things Feng Yan related about the early days of pan-Chinese tea culture, the only one that is utilized for this paper is his mentioning of a Zen master permitting his students to drink tea to help with meditation practices.

Huizong. *Huizong's Tea Manual: A Discourse on Tea from the Daguan Reign Period* (1107-10). Translated by Ronald Egan. University of California, Santa Barbara. http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:shJpzaL2bKUJ:evc.ucla.edu/conference-papers/food-and-culture-at--papers/food-and-culture-at-court/Egan%

2520Ronald_Daguan%2520chalun%25205%252023.pdf/at_download/file+&cd=2&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us

The *Daguan Chalun*, or "Discourse on Tea from the Daguan Reign" is unique due to its author being credited as Huizong, the Emperor of China during the Song Dynasty (960-1279). Its translator, Ronald Egan, claims that it is altogether likely that Huizong did not write this, but somebody in his court did and simply credited the work to him. The *Daguan Chalun* is essentially a manual on the various aspects of tea, such as color, flavor, cups, and even the method of pouring.

Lu, Yu. *The Classic of Tea* (760-62). Translated by Francis Ross Carpenter. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974.

The first known work solely devoted to tea lore, written in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) by Lu Yu. This book forms the basis of traditional scholarly discourse on Tea in China and Japan, and is the beginning point for tea literature. It spawned numerous responses and commentaries by scholars of tea and tea ceremony. This edition of *The Classic of Tea*, translated by Francis Ross Carpenter, is the only complete translation into English.

Nambo, Sokei. *Namporoku* (1593). In *Wind in the Pines: Classic Writings of the Way of Tea as a Buddhist Path.* Edited by Dennis Hirota. Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1995.

The *Namporoku* is a collection of the sayings of Sen no Rikyu that was said to have been written by Rikyu's associate, Nambo Sokei. The earliest known manuscript dates from 1686 and claims to be written in 1593, so it was absolutely possible that it was indeed written by Sokei and that Rikyu did indeed say the things ascribed to him. That these are Rikyu's actual words are not necessarily vital to this paper, as the opinions and thoughts of the succeeding generations have just as much value on the practice of tea in the elite society of 17th century Japan as Rikyu does.

Pan, Ku. "Treatise on Food and Money" in *Food and Money in Ancient China: The Earliest Economic History of China to A.D. 25* (111 CE). Translated by Nancy Lee Swann. New York: Octagon Books, 1974.

Pan Ku (rendered "Ban Gu" in this paper) compiled the *Han Shu*, a history of the Han dynasty (206 BCE- 220 CE). In it, he mentions the four basic occupations that the "ancient kings" established for the people of China. This idea of four occupations with merchants being the lowest was eventually adopted in Japan, and played a role in Rikyu's 'rebellion' against traditional ways of conducting *chanoyu.*

Rodrigues, João. *This Island of Japon: João Rodrigues' Account of 16th-Century Japan* (1620). Translated by Michael Cooper. S.J. Tokyo: Kondasha International Ltd., 1973.

Rodrigues was a Portuguese missionary who lived the majority of his life in East Asia, in both Japan and Portuguese-owned Macao. In this account, he wrote extensively on Japanese

culture, art and devoted an entire chapter to the art of tea. His perspective is a unique one, as he was clearly knowledgeable about the culture he wrote about and only rarely shows a sense of bias against the Japanese way of life. Rodrigues' chapter on tea, then, is useful as a sort of outsider, but one who is neither ignorant nor indignant.

Saga. "On a Summer day in the villa of the General of the Left, Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu" (814). In *Warlords, Artists and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century.* Edited by George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981.

Saga, the Emperor of Japan, wrote a number of poems which are some of the earliest references to tea in Japan. This poem in particular was written in Chinese, as opposed to Japanese, and is indicative of Saga's enthusiasm for Chinese culture, particularly tea.

Sen, Sotan. *Pointing to the Moon* (1701). In *Wind in the Pines: Classic Writings of the Way of Tea as a Buddhist Path.* Edited by Dennis Hirota. Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1995.

Pointing to the Moon is a work in much the same vein as the *Namporoku*, as it is a recollection of sayings by Rikyu, but is this time supposedly transmitted through his own grandson, Sen Sotan, who was an essential part in the founding of the three modern schools of *chanoyu.* Although the line of transmission seems flimsy at first glance, the editor, Dennis Hirota, seems to have faith in the authenticity of Sotan's words.

Takauji. *Tojiin Goisho* (1357). In *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Takauji's work is a treatise on what a ruler should do to properly cultivate his realm. It was written roughly a century before the Sengoku era, but the ideas of *bushido* espoused therein were highly regarded by samurai and the myriad of warring lords. This demanded competency in both civil and military arts, the former of which *chanoyu* would fall into.

Toyotomi, Hideyoshi. Announcement for the Kitano Grand Tea Party (September 1587). In Plutschow, Herbert. *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony.* Trowbridge, UK: Global Oriental, 2003.

Hideyoshi's proclamation in 1587 of an immense gathering of tea practitioners from around Kyoto to the forest of Kitano shows just how interested Hideyoshi was in the use of *chanoyu* for increasing his prestige in his own heavy-handed way. There is no official name for this proclamation, so a description of its message is used in lieu of a proper title.

Yamanoue, Soji. *The Record of Yamanoue Soji* (1590). In *Wind in the Pines: Classic Writings of the Way of Tea as a Buddhist Path.* Edited by Dennis Hirota. Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1995.

Soji (1544-90) was a contemporary and student of Sen no Rikyu, and compiled this record of tealore from numerous sources before him, and was completed just before his death. Hirota warns that there are certain topics where the authorship may be in question, but there seems to be no anachronistic data within this piece.

Annotated Secondary Sources

Avril, Ellen. "Transformations in the Glaze" in *Dark Jewels: Chinese Black and Brown Ceramics from the Shatzman Collection.* Chapel Hill, NC: Ackland Art Museum, 2002.

A collection of Chinese ceramics found in Central China dating from roughly the Song Dynasty (960-1127 CE), and was held in the Ackland Art Museum in Chapel Hill. Among this collection are excellent examples of certain styles of Chinese teawares, particularly Jian wares, which later spread to Japan as the "temmoku" style of ceramics, one of these being *Tea Bowl with Leaf Design*, creator unknown.

Benn, James A. *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: 2015.

A recent addition to tea literature in English, *Tea in China* details the history of tea in China from its spread to the greater Chinese cultural sphere in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) ending with its religious and cultural applications leading to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Of particular interest are certain primary sources that have been translated by the author.

Cort, Louise Allison. *Japanese Collections in the Freer Gallery of Art: Seto and Mino Ceramics.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press: 1992.

A work detailing ceramics from the Seto and Mino regions of central Japan from around the Muromachi to the Edo period (1336-1868 CE). These pieces, particularly the teaware, were very much intentionally modeled after ceramics of the Chinese Song Dynasty, which was the era in which tea culture was transmitted to Japan. However, in this collection can be seen the gradual shift of Japanese teaware from Chinese imitation or import to new native styles.

Elison, George and Bardwell L. Smith, eds. *Warlords, Artists and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981.

Warlords, Artists and Commoners is a compilation of essays on Japanese society during the tumultuous Sengoku period, with a chapter about the art of tea and another about Toyotomi Hideyoshi's desire for legitimacy being particularly relevant to this paper.

Hinsch, Bret. *The Rise of Tea Culture in China: The Invention of the Individual.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016

The most recent publication on tea culture, Hinsch's main argument is that Chinese culture is far more individualistic than is commonly perceived, and that its tea culture shows this paradigm. For instance, the practice of connoisseurship that took root in Imperial China was a facet of this individualist nature of the Chinese identity which is so often overlooked.

Hirota, Dennis (ed). *Wind in the Pines: Classic Writings of the Way of Tea as a Buddhist Path.* Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1995.

Wind in the Pines is a collection of treatises and essays on Japanese tea culture in a Buddhist spiritual context. After a lengthy introduction to tea culture and Buddhist thought and philosophy, there are numerous translations of writings on tea attributed to many of Japan's tea masters from the mid-16th Century to modern times. Among these are the sayings of Sen no Rikyu, a seminal figure in the history of tea culture in Japan. Sen no Rikyu himself did not leave any works behind, but his disciples allegedly wrote down his teachings and compiled them in the *Namporoku,* which is utilized in *Wind in the Pines.* In many cases, the translations found in Hirota's work are the only ones in English.

Huang, Hsing-tsung. *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 6: Biology and Biological Technology. Part V: Fermentations and Food Science.* Edited by Joseph Needham. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

This volume of the classic *Science and Civilisation in China* series details the scientific aspects of tea culture, mostly the production and harvesting of tea, and the ways that it changed from the Tang Dynasty to the modern day. It contains numerous primary source illustrations and studies in scientific processes, such as the most effective methods of breaking down the cell walls of the tea leaves once harvested, and what time of the day that different historical figures believed would be the most efficacious in picking the leaves.

Mass, Jeffrey P., ed. *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

The Origins of Japan's Medieval World is a collection of essays that discusses many different aspects of life in 14th century Japan, when the power of the shoguns were beginning to slip and the stage was being set for the Sengoku era. Of particular interest for this paper are the chapters on the warrior ideal, *bushido,* that began to form in this period, as Japanese lords felt they needed cultural refinement in addition to military glory.

Pitelka, Morgan (ed.) *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History and Practice.* New York: Routledge, 2003.

This work deals with various aspects of tea in Japan, mostly during the Edo period, or the "country in isolation" period. As mentioned previously, because of a complete lack of outside influences, Japanese tea culture was able to take a uniquely Japanese style, from the production of the tea to the cups and environment that it was served in.

Plutschow, Herbert. *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony.* Trowbridge, UK: Global Oriental, 2003.

As stated above, Sen no Rikyu was a pivotal figure in the development of *chanoyu*, as he often had the ear of the most powerful men of the land, such as Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the warlords who unified Japan for the first time after a long period of protracted war, the *Sengoku Jidai.* Thus, the exploration of Sen no Rikyu's life and beliefs are of particular importance to the study of tea culture in Japan.

Sen, Soshitsu XV. *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyu.* Translated by V. Dixon Morris. Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 1998.

Sen Soshitsu XV has the particular distinction of being a descendant of Sen no Rikyu, and is thus an inheritor of the tea tradition that his storied ancestor so greatly influenced. His work primarily deals with the development of the tea ceremony, from the foundations laid by Lu Yu in China to Sen no Rikyu. It features discussions on the philosophy of tea practitioners and contains numerous translations of primary sources that have not been published elsewhere.

Varley, Paul and Kumakura Isao. *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989.

Tea in Japan is a collection of essays detailing the trajectory of the tea ceremony in Japan, from its vague beginnings, to the codification by Sen no Rikyu and eventual decline after the opening of Japan to the west and the destruction of the Samurai class, who were some of *chanoyu*'s greatest champions.