Tea in the Historical Context of East Asia:

Cultural Interactions across Borders

NISHIMURA Masanari, OTSUKI Yoko, SHINOHARA Hirokata,
OKAMOTO Hiromichi, MIYAKE Miho, MIYAJIMA Junko,
KUMANO Hiroko, HINO Yoshihiro, and SATO Minoru

Translated: Jenine Heaton

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A. Introduction

This paper treats the principal regions of East Asia, such as Japan, the Ryūkyū Islands, Korea, China, and Vietnam, as individual entities to which the custom of tea was transmitted from China to become an integral part of each local culture. These cultures entail not only tea drinking, but cultivation of the tea plant, and historical and cultural backgrounds related to tea and tea drinking. The similarities involved in tea cultures have often overshadowed important regional historical and cultural adaptations. It is our intention to correct this oversight.

At the Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies, Kansai University, we have been researching and collecting actual cases of tea culture based on our research-

ers' individual fields of interest.[1] This approach has been an experiment in researching cultural interactions by using innovative creative research methods. This paper is a summary of our individual and collective efforts. We have compared tea cultures mainly in the regions listed above, while supplementing our research with comparisons to Southeast Asian and European countries. It is common knowledge that tea culture flourished in China proper, but we are hoping to contribute effectively to depicting how cultural adaptations and histories were affected by region. We have also examined cultural changes effected by tea culture and the tea industry. Our aim is to contribute to formulation of cultural interaction studies based on the comparative cultures of the universal and particular nature of tea culture.

B. Dissemination and Transformations of Culture through the Concept of Tea

1. Current Tea Culture

Probably the first person to discuss the comparative culture of tea and the history of East-West exchange in an international context was TSUNOYAMA Sakae (角山栄), whose groundbreaking work laid the foundation for all subsequent comparative cultural studies in tea.[2] In his latest work he argues that the traditional manner of drinking tea in modern society has been influenced—even minimized—by advances in bottled drinks.[3] The background for this change stems from eradication of the British customs of the English breakfast, afternoon tea, and family dinners that were customary from the Victorian era. Similarly, in Japan, there has been a disappearance of the custom of families drinking tea in "tea rooms." The reasons he gives for these changes are the development of the fast food and restaurant industries, women's increased role in society, the prevalence today of individual rooms for children in the home and the consequent

1) At the first ICIS Academic Forum for the Next Generation, we distributed supplementary materials on sayings about tea, collections of anecdotes and idioms, and examples of literature about tea from each region. These were carried in the Institute's publication, *Journal of East Asia Cultural Interaction Studies*, Vol. 3.

2) Tsunoyama Sakae, *Cha no sekaisi* [World history of tea: culture of green tea and society of black tea] Chuō Kōronsha, Tokyo, 1980.

3) Tsunoyama Sakae, *Cha to motenasi no bunka* [Tea and culture of hospitality] NTT Publisher, Tokyo, 2005.

reduction of time spent together at home as a family.

The appearance of tea in cans and pet bottles has great significance in the fact that it is now possible to carry tea conveniently as a prepared drink. The significance of the cultural change that bottled tea has wrought depends on how one thinks of the beverage.[4] If tea is considered simply one choice of drink among many, the emergence of prepared tea that is convenient to carry can be thought to be progress. If, however, tea is considered part of the culture of hospitality, this change would have to be considered a drastic cultural abbreviation or even terrible loss. Perhaps the best example of a bottled tea drink that became popular before the phenomenon appeared in Japan was the *Teh Botol* of Java, Indonesia, where bottled tea was being produced from 1970.[5] The Dutch began tea cultivation on tea plantations during the colonial era, and Javanese subsequently adopted the custom of tea drinking, but it has only been a few years since the inception of a tea-drinking culture. It would be difficult to argue that a unique culture has grown up around tea in Indonesia. This indicates that the only reason why bottled tea spread so rapidly was that it was convenient as a cold drink. This is an example of how the cultural position of tea-drinking can manifest itself in the production and role of tea. The fact that tea has now become portable in Japan is also evidence that the culture of hospitality is declining.

2. Materiel and Philosophy: Tea Culture Transmitted As an Entity

a. Consecutive Changes that First Occurred throughout the Culture of Tea in East Asia in the Ninth to Tenth Centuries

It is generally agreed that in China, tea production became widespread from the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907) through the Song (960–1279).[6] This was an era in which trade grew among the regions of Northeast and Southeast Asia. Export of celadon from China's Yue kilns (越州諸窯), white porcelain from Xingzhou (邢州), and various products from the Changsha Tongquan kilns (長沙同官窯) were exported to a variety of regions. *The Classic of Tea* (茶経), compiled

4) Tsunoyama, ibid, 2005.

5) Evi Mariani "Local preference for tea puts Coca-Cola in cold sweat." *http://old.thejakartapost.com/yesterdaydetail.asp?fileid=20050903.Q06%20,* 2005.

6) Mizuno Masaaki"Sō dai ni okeru Cha no seisan ni tsuite" [Tea-production in the Sung Period] *Machikaneyama Ronso*.17, 1983, pp.25–52.

around 760, praises the celadon of Yuezhou and the white porcelain of Xingzhou, especially for the quality of their teacups.

In the ninth century most of the pottery being imported into Japan was celadon from the Yue kilns, which were imitated as green-glazed ceramics at Sanage, Owarinokuni (尾張猿投) in today's Aichi Prefecture and other places. The green-glazed ceramics of the Sanage kilns came under the production management of the imperial household, as in the reign of Emperor Saga (809–823). The custom of tea-drinking became popular in the Saga era; there is a record of "tea bowls" in the stipulations on tributes from Sanage in the *Engishiki* ("Detailed Rules of the Ritsuryo Code," 延喜式). The measurements proscribed for the tea bowls listed in the *Engishiki* match those for the Sanage green-glazed ceramics. It is clear from artifacts excavated at ruins at Heiankyo related to Emperor Saga that Sanage green-glazed ceramics and the Yue kiln celadon on which they were modeled, had been used as teacups.[7)]

In Korea, from the end of the Silla dynasty to the beginning of the Koryo, there are many references stating that emissaries to Tang China were bringing back tea. There are also instances recorded of Koreans who had studied Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in Tang China, had become Ch'an Buddhist monks, and of their relationship with tea. Based on excavations of Yue kiln celadon from the capital of Koryo and other locations it is believed that imitations were produced from at least the tenth century.[8)]

In the Đương Xá kiln of Vietnam's northern province, Bắc Ninh, it has been found that production of natural glazed bowls, saucers for tea bowls, and Chinese medicine mortars that imitate porcelains from the Yue kilns were produced from at least the tenth century. The tradition of porcelain manufacture in the Guangdong style was the norm until this time.[9)] At about the same time, the place name

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7) Ono Yoshihiro, "Saga chō no Owari ni okeru Ryokuyū tōki seisan to sono haikei:Heian jidai syoki no kissa bunka to sono kakawari wo tsūzite" [The Production of Green-Glazed Ceramics in Owari(尾張) Province during the Reign of Saga: Viewed in Relation to Tea Drinking Customs in the Early Heiann Period] *Kodai bunka* [Cultura Antiqua] 526, 2002, pp.638–646.

8) Minami Hideo "The Wonsa-ri kilns site and celadons unearthed in and around Kaesong" *Tōyō Tōji* [Oriental ceramics] 22, 1994, pp.117–118, Lee Jong Min "The Formation and Expansion of Early Korean Celadons" *Art History Association of Korea* 240, 2003, pp54–57.

9) Nishimura Masanari and Bui Mih Tri "Excavation of Duong Xa Kiln site, Bac Ninh Province, Vietnam." *Journal of Southeast Asian Archaeology.* No.24, pp91–131, 2004.

"Home of Tea" appeared as a focal point for the aristocracy.[10] From this, it can safely be assumed that the custom of drinking tea from teacups was brought to Vietnam from China. We can conclude that an increase in trade based on porcelains from the Yue kilns in the ninth to tenth centuries resulted in the spread to China's peripheral countries of the custom of drinking tea from Chinese porcelain teacups.

b. Dissemination of Green Tea Culture

It is often stated that green tea was introduced to Japan by the Chinese Linji Ch'an Buddhist monk, Ingen (隠元, 1592−1673), founder of the Ōbaku (黄檗) Sect. Ingen was born Yinyuan Longqi (隱元隆琦) in Fuzhou, Fujian Province at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368−1644). In his youth, he acted as head tea server for giving tea offerings to Buddha on Mt. Putuo in Zhejiang Province.[11] In that capacity he also served tea to the general public. Ingen wrote poems for recitation on tea tasting and newly picked tea. It is clear that he liked tea. The Yixing kiln tea canister that Ingen is said to have used at Manpuku Temple in Uji, Kyoto, has been passed down from generation to generation. Recent archaeological evidence from Kyoto and Nagasaki date the Yixing kiln tea canisters and charcoal braziers from the latter half of the 17th century at the latest.[12] There is a depiction of a charcoal brazier and a loop-handled teapot (*kyūsu,* 急須) in the painting entitled *Rodō Senchazu* (盧仝煎茶図、"Lu Tong Brewing Tea"), which is said to have been painted by Kanō Tsunenobu (狩野常信) between 1661 and 1672.[13] It is thought that green tea service sets were imported from China at this time, and became established as tea implements, whether or not Ingen was directly involved. The production at the Yixing kilns of red clay tea implements such as small tea jars also made advances between the years 1573 and 1620.[14]

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10) Đại việt sử ký toàn thư (大越史記全書)

11) Hirakubo Akira *Ingen*. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962.

12) Inagaki Masahiro "Iseki syutsudo no senchadōgu:Nisinihon" [Utilities of "sencha" excavated from the archaeological sites in the Eastern Japan] *Nomura Bijutsukan Kenkyukiyō* 16, 2007, pp135−144. Suzuki Yuko "Iseki syutsudo no senchadōgu: Nisinihon" [Utilities of "sencha" excavated from the archaeological sites in the Western Japan] *Nomura Bijutsukan Kenkyukiyō* 16, 2007, pp145−163.

13) Joichi Mariko "Muromachi suibokuga no "Sencha":Bunzin zuyō wo megutte" ["Sencha" in Muromachi ink painting: discussing literati motifs] *Nomura Bijutsukan Kenkyukiyō* 16, 54−81, 2007.

14) Nakamura Takashi"Hōcha-hō no ryūsei to Gikō-meiko" [Tea pots produced in the Yixing district of

Kō Yūge (高遊外, 1675−1763), also known as Baisaō (売茶翁 or the "old tea seller"), was born in Hizen (present-day Saga Prefecture), famous for its tea production. After he trained to become a Zen Buddhist monk at Ōbaku Temple, Baisao helped popularize tea by carrying his tea implements through the streets of Kyoto and setting up shop along the roadside. Another purveyor of tea, the famous Rai Sanyo (頼山陽、1780−1832)—known later as a literati painter, calligrapher, and historian—also traveled with a portable tea service.[15] It is thought that the advent of portable tea sets made possible the dissemination of coarse green tea (*sencha*), as opposed to powdered green tea (*matcha*).

In Vietnam, the culture of Chinese tea drinking (茗飲) is referenced briefly in the *Vũ trung thùy bút* ("Essays in the Rain," 雨中随筆) by Phạm Đình Hổ (范延琥, 1766−1832). The account states that after the reign of the Kangxi emperor (1662−1722), preferences shifted from steamed tea to brewed tea, and that small, shallow tea bowls were popular. The essays also indicate that braziers from Suzhou, China were brought into the country during the years 1740−1786, and became indispensible for serving tea to guests. The record suggests a sudden flowering among the literati of the custom of drinking tea. Even from archeological evidence it is thought that Vietnamese porcelains produced after the latter half of the 17th century were lacking a fineness of quality, resulting in the evaluation of Chinese porcelains as being superior. It is quite possible that the phenomenon was equivalent to that in Japan, where the existence of similar braziers and teapots in the 17th to 18th centuries wrought changes in tea drinking accompanied by the introduction of new tea ware. Though merely a conjecture, I would venture to say that the use of lotus seeds preserved in sugar, and powdered green bean sweets, which are common to Japan and Vietnam, and to China and Vietnam, as well as some of the sweets eaten at the tea ceremony, probably became widespread at this time.

Even in Thailand, where a tea culture is practically nonexistent, the custom of drinking tea in various tea utensils based on the ranking of Buddhist monks is firmly entrenched at the temples of Bangkok that are closely related to the Rat-

China] *Rittumeikann bungaku* [The Journal of cultura sciences, the Ritsumeikan bungaku] 460·461·462, 1983, pp.46–67.

15) Tsukuda Ikki, *Sencha no tabi:bunzin no sokuseki wo tazunete*, Journey of "Sencha"-tracing the footprints by men of letters, Osaka Shoseki, 1985.

tanakosin Kingdom. Chinese porcelains arrived at such Buddhist temples in great quantities from the 18th century. Tea implements were included in the porcelains, giving rise to the conjecture that the introduction of tea utensils and the custom of tea drinking occurred simultaneously.

When tea drinking was introduced from China to Europe in the 17th century, teacups and teapots were imported with the tea itself. Chinese porcelains, such as sugar bowls from the Yixing kilns and bowls from Jingdezhen, as well as Japanese porcelains, have been excavated in great numbers in Holland. From about the end of the 17th century, sets of small teacups without handles and saucers were popularized, becoming the norm in Europe as tea sets.[16] There were no examples of porcelain cup and saucer sets in China and Japan at this time. It has been verified, however, that the production and use of such sets could be found in China from the 18th century. Research on trade of the Dutch East Indies Company has revealed that such tea sets, including designs and shapes, were produced to fill specific orders.[17] Thus, it can be concluded that production orders from Europe stimulated the use and form of porcelains that became standard in China. The same process could be said to account for the advent of cups with handles that appeared after the 1730s.[18]

It appears that in England there was a tradition of transferring tea from cup to saucer, and then drinking directly from the saucer. There are 18th century paintings and illustrations in the works of Charles Dickens that depict this practice. The custom was still extant into the 20th century.[19] The custom could be found

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16) Horiuchi Hideki "Jū-nana kara Jū -kyū seiki no Tōyō tōzi to Yōroppa sizyō no dōkō: Chinbotu sen siryō no kisyu sosei no kentō kara" [Trend of the European markets of the Oriental ceramics from the 17th to 19th century: from the composition analysis of the form variation on the excavated materials from the shipwrecks] Kobayashi Katsu ed. *Hori dasareta toshi:Niti Ran syutsudo siryō no hikaku kara* [Unearthed Cities: speculations from comparisons of excavated articles in Japan and Netherlands] Nichigai Associates, 2002, pp109–132.

17) Sakuraba Miki. See article in this issue.

18) Matsui Kaoru "Tea-potto wo mochi'iru cha ni tsuite" [On the tea-drinking with the usage of tea-pot] Kobayashi Katsu ed. *Hori dasareta toshi:Niti Ran syutsudo siryō no hikaku kara* [Unearthed Cities:speculations from comparisons of excavated articles in Japan and Netherlands] Nichigai Associates, 2002, pp171–209.

19) Ono Jirō, *Kōcha wo ukezara de:Igirisu minsyū geijutsu oboegaki* [Tea drinking by a saucer: note on the popular art in England] Shōbunsha, 1981. Isobuchi Takeshi, *Ippai no kōcha no rekisi* [History of a cup of tea] Bungei shunjyū, 2005.

not just in England but throughout Europe in the 17th to 18th centuries. The practice of drinking from saucers eventually disappeared (See: Sakuraba Miki's article in this journal), and as argued by TSUNOYAMA Sakae, this disuse probably coincided with the formulation of table manners.[20] The custom is still to be found in Pakistan and Bangladesh.[21] The first mention of using milk in tea was by the head cook of the Dutch emissaries dispatched to China from the Dutch East Indies Company. This evidence has given rise to the theory that the practice had become widespread in Europe by the latter half of the 17th century.[22] From this it can probably also be concluded that current tea-drinking manners and tea sets first appeared in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century.

3. Changes Wrought by the Tea Industry

Shizuoka has long been a tea-cultivating region. It developed into a major tea-producing area after the Meiji Restoration. As a strategy for employing the old samurai families after the Meiji Restoration, Shizuoka cultivated the Makinohara plateau, which had little water, and reclaimed the land for tea fields. Shimizu Jirochō (清水次郎長), a gangster cum folk hero who championed the rights of the downtrodden, also participated in and contributed to the land cultivation enterprise. After Tada Motokichi (多田元吉), a former vassal of the shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu (徳川慶喜), participated in tea cultivation development in Shizuoka he became an official of the Ministry of the Interior. He was then dispatched to China and India to survey the tea industry in those countries. He also strove to develop tea production technology in Shizuoka.[23] Processed tea was transported to Yokohama and exported abroad by the Seiryūsha Company. When disadvantages arose from laying the railroad, Shimizu Jirochō roused the government and public to build the Shimizu Harbor in 1896, from where he could rapidly increase direct

20) Tsunoyama ibid. 1980.

21) Ōmura Tsugisato, Takahashi Tadahiko, Konishi Masatoshi, Kato Kyusaku and Matsubara Masatake, *Ippuku no jōkei: "Tashinami" kara yomitoku gendai Ajia* [Having a rest: reading the Present Asia by taste.] Senri Culture Foundation, 2008.

22) Haruyama Yukio, *Haruyama Yukio no hakubutsu si VII kōcha no bunka si* [Natural history by Haruyama Yukio VII cultural history of the black tea] Heibonsha, 1993.

23) Tsunoyama1980, Kawaguchi Kuniaki and Tada Setsuko, *Cha gyo kaika:Meiji hatten si to Tada Motokichi* [Blooming of tea industry: development history of Meiji and Tada Motokichi] Zenbosha, 1989.

exports to America and other countries.[24] Transport from tea processing areas to the harbor for loading became simple with the laying of tracks between Shizuoka and Shimizu. The new transportation network facilitated an increase in the number of exports that made Shimizu the top exporting hub in Japan.

Large-scale development of the tea industry in Yunnan occurred when tea produced in the Pu'er region of southern Yunnan could be transported north by Chinese merchants owing to improvements in Qing China's transportation networks. The quality of Pu'er tea came to be appreciated within the Chinese hinterland, where it began to be purchased in large quantities. In 1729 the area came under direct control of the government through establishment of Pu'er Prefecture. It is believed that the Qing government began the system of tea tributes and taxation in order to monopolize profits from production and distribution management by officials. Actually, however, large amounts of tea were purchased privately because of the steady influx of great numbers of Han Chinese subjects and officials.[25] The *liuguan* (officials dispatched by the central government to replace local chieftains, 流官), and bureaucrats who dealt locally in the tea trade often engaged in exploitation, bait and switch tactics, and unfair taxation policies. This placed great stress on the non-Han communities (Hani, Chasha Lahu) in the region that had cultivated tea all along. Friction between Han and tribal communities led to revolts by the latter against the Qing government. Tightened government control over tea also resulted in expansion of tea plantations in later years, which resulted in a tea monoculture.

When trading in tea began in the Qing dynasty between Fujian Province and Taiwan across the straits, Taiwan was also producing sugar and rice. With the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, the port of Tamsui in Taiwan Prefecture was opened to foreign trade, and tea produced in northern Taiwan was exported around the world.[26] Tamsui specialized in tea exports, contributing immensely to the growth of Taiwan's economy. *Baozhong* tea, with its fine aroma and minimum level of oxidation compared to other Oolong teas, was exported expressly to the overseas

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24) Ōishi Sadao, *Nihon chagyo hattatsu si* [Development history of tea industry in japan] Yasaka Shobō, 1985.

25) Masuda Atsushi, See article in this issue.

26) Kawarabayashi Naoto, *Kindai Ajia to Taiwan:Taiwan chagyo no rekisi teki tenkai* [Modern Asia and Taiwan: historical development of Taiwanese tea industry] Sekaishisōsha, 2003.

Chinese communities of Southeast Asia through Amoy.[27] When exports in Oolong tea slumped, *Baozhong* tea became the principal tea exported from Taiwan.[28] Of course, the overseas Chinese networks that connected Taiwan, mainland China, and Southeast Asia contributed to this development. It waits for further research to determine if large-scale tea cultivation in Taiwan's highlands caused cultural and economic stress between Han communities and the island's aborigines in the same way as it did in Yunnan.

Nishimura Masanari

C. Language and Tea

1. Tea Is Not Always Tea

The character 茶 might be used to represent the concept of tea, but it does not always indicate the drink that contains tea leaves.

For example, if you order "tea water" in hotels in China, there are occasions when you're given boiled water. It is possible that "tea water" at one time meant tea and water, but today it is often used simply to mean boiled water. In Korea when one hears the word, "grain tea" (穀茶), one would assume it means tea blended with various grains, but this is not the case. It's a kind of liquor. In Vietnam, *chè* does refer to tea, but it has another meaning as well: a sweet dessert of stewed green beans and fruit. In Japan and Okinawa, so-called teas such as pearl barley tea, roasted barley tea, mulberry leaf tea, and turmeric plant tea use no tea leaves at all. In Korea, the agricultural text, *Imwon Simyukji* (林園十六志), which appeared in 1789, already mentions tea made without tea leaves. These examples show interesting cultural and historical differences by country and region.

In Japan, decocted or infused beverages that resemble tea came to have the word "tea" suffixed to their names. The same trend can be seen in China's *Yinshan zhengyao* ("Manual of Complete Recipes for Dishes and Beverages," 飲膳正要), written in 1330. When coffee was introduced to China in the mid-nineteenth

27) Matsu'ura Akira "Nihon tōchi jidai Taiwan ni okeru hōsyu cha no kaigai hanro" [The oversea trade routes of the bao zhong tea in the Japanese Taiwan Era] *Higashi Ajia kaiyoiki-kenn no shiteki ken-kyu* [Historical studies on the maritime regions in the East Asia] Kyoto Woman University Press, 2003. pp375–405.

28) Kawaharabayashi, ibid.

century, the translation “coffee tea” (珈琲茶) was used. The same kind of change is certainly conceivable for Vietnam’s sweet dessert *chè*. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci was drinking tea in China that contained dried berries and fruit preserves. Even today lychee tea, which is made by stewing the dried fruit in water, can be found in China. It is possible that in Vietnam, too, *chè* started as a beverage and eventually transformed into a sweet.

2. Words that Represent the Notion of Tea

The *Classic of Tea* (茶経), written by Lu Yu between 760 and 780 indicates that there were many words for tea in China in ancient times. These included *tu* (荼), *ming* (茗), and *jia* (檟). The most recent analyses of dictionary categories indicate that these terms do not appear in the Japanese dictionary edited between 931 and 938, *Wamyō Ruijushō* (和名類聚鈔). There are limited references to the introduction of a tea-drinking culture in the first half of the Heian period (794–1185), either in terms of tea implements or tea plants. From this fact there has arisen debate that the *Classic of Tea* was not yet known in Japan at that time. Further, the fact that there are many references to alternate names for tea in the *Kohon Setsuyōshū* (広本節用集), a dictionary edited in the mid-fifteenth century, led to the postulation that China’s tea culture was absorbed on a large scale from the latter half of the fifteenth century.[29)]

According to Yazawa Toshihiko (矢沢利彦)[30)] and Uchida Keiichi (内田慶市),[31)] there were seven types of black teas known by Westerners, including Wuyi tea (or *Bohea*, from the Fujian pronunciation); *gongfu* tea (or *Congou, Congo*); *xiaozhong* tea (*Lapsang Souchong*); and *baihao* tea (Pekoe, or Pecco, possibly from the Amoy pronunciation). The Chinese records also indicate that these were black teas as opposed to green teas such as *Songluo* tea (*Songlo*), which were not fermented. In Chinese, green tea was represented by either the characters 緑茶

29) Takahashi Hisako “Nihon no kojisyo ni miru cha no imei” [Different names of the tea seen in the old Japanese dictionary] *Ajia yū-gaku* [Intriguing ASIA] 116, 2008, pp44–53.

30) Yazawa Toshihiko, *Seiyō zin no mita jūroku seiki jūhachi seiki no Chūgoku josei* [Chinese women viewed by the Westerners during the 16th to 18th century] Tōhō Shoten, Tokyo, 1990.

31) Uchida Kei’ichi ““Kokucha” kara “Kōcha” he” [From black tea to red tea] *Kindai ni okeru tōzai gengo bunka sessyoku no kenkyū* [Study on the contact of the linguistic culture between the East and west in the Modern Age] *Kansai daigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyu syo kenkyū sōkan* [Research monograph series of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, kansai University] 17, 2001.

(*lücha*) or 青茶 (*qingcha*). In the 1840s, the term "black tea" was replaced with "red tea" (紅茶 or *hongcha*). Robert Fortune (1812−1880), a Scottish botanist, mentions *Hong-cha* ("red" tea) and *Luk-cha* (green tea) in his *Three Years Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China* (1847).[32] Fortune also authored the work, *A Journey to the Tea-Countries of China, including Song-Lo and the Bohea Hills: with a Short Notice of the East India Company's Tea Plantations in the Himalaya Mountains* (1852). The work elucidates the origin of differences in production methods of black and green tea. Fortune's discoveries led to revision of the work of Carl von Linné (1707−1778), the Swedish botanist who laid the foundations for binomial nomenclature, who had classified the teas as separate species.[33] The terms also appear in the records of Chinese merchants in 1844, shortly after the opening of the port of Shanghai to foreign trade.

Later, in English dictionaries, the term, "red tea," appears in the 1869 edition of the Shanghai dialect dictionary, *A Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect* by Joseph Edkins (1823−1905). The term can also be seen in the first monthly magazines and newspapers started in Shanghai after the 1850s. It is thought that tea merchants in Shanghai deliberately used the term, "red tea," to increase the value of the product. In Japan, the word was first introduced by a Chinese employed at a tea-processing plant run by Kyoto Prefecture. The Japanese used the word, *akacha* (赤茶), literally, "red tea." The Meiji government worked to acquire the seeds of the tea plant, and published the text, *Kōcha seihōsho* (*Manual on Black Tea Production*), on how to process black (red) tea as part of the promotion of enterprise, thus initiating a movement to produce black tea in Japan. Even coarse, poor-quality tea was dyed red and exported as black tea.[34]

So-called "red tea" is today called *hongcha* in the regions of China and Taiwan. In Korea the tea was designated as "black tea" in English and "red tea" in Chinese characters until the 1990s. In Vietnam the term black tea (*chè đen)* is used even today. In other words, ultimately it was the general term for fermented tea preferred by Westerners that became entrenched in China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan.

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32) Uchida, ibid.

33) Yokouchi Shigeru "Cha setsu no bunrui-shi ryaku" [Short history for classification tea trees 1] Saita cha bunka sinkō zaidan kiyō[Saita Foundation for promoting tea culture] Vol. 4, 2000, pp49–60.

34) Kawaguchi and Tada, ibid.

3. Expressions Describing Tea Shops

There are also interesting changes in expressions concerning establishments where tea is consumed. *Chaya* (茶屋) teahouses in Kyoto and *chaguan* (茶館) on Taipei's Huahsi Road (Snake Alley) are known as tea-drinking places that also feature female entertainers. In Edo, Japan, during the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) there were eating and drinking establishments called *ryōri chaya* (料理茶屋) ,as well as tea houses for dating called *deai chaya* (出会い茶屋) that had grown out of the original concept of tea houses.[35)]

Japan's first coffee shop was started by an interpreter from Nagasaki, Tei Eikei (鄭永慶), whose plan to study at Yale University and then to become a government official was cut short because of a liver complaint. After his return to Japan, he moved to Ueno, Tokyo and opened Japan's first coffee shop, the Kahii Chakan (可否茶館) in 1888.[36)] Tei Eikei longed after the teahouses of China and cafés of Paris. His intention was to make his coffee shop a place where people did not simply drink the beverage, but where they could carry on social interaction. In 1911 the Café Printemps opened on the Ginza in imitation of a Parisian café, but it was an establishment that served Western alcohol. This phenomenon reflected the fact that many cafés in France at the time were in transition from coffee-drinking to alcohol-drinking houses.[37)] At the same time, a café named Café Paulista, designed purely for the consumption of coffee and tea, was opened in Japan, and became a salon for the literati.[38)] However, in the Taisho period, cafés disintegrated into plebian pubs. It is thought that coffee and tea shops called *kissaten* (喫茶店) emerged in reaction to this trend as places that served coffee and tea only. Even here, however, some "special" coffee and tea shops of dubious character have appeared that should be distinguished from establishments that serve purely caffeinated beverages.[39)]

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35) Ymada Shinichi, *Edo no ocha:Haikai Cha no Saijiki* [Tea in Edo: Haikai-glossary of seasonal words.] Yasaka Shobō, 2007.

36) Hoshida Koji, *Nihon saisyo no kōhi ten* [The first coffee shop in Japan] Inaho Shobō, 1988.

37) Kashima Shigeru, *Kafe = kōhi wo nomaseru basyo* [Short history of café=place for serving coffee] *Tokyo-jin*, 153, 2000, pp53–59.

38) Masuda Chikako, Ōsaka ni okeru kafe bunka to bungei undō[café culture and the movement for arts and literature in Osaka] Takemura Tamio and Suzuki Sadami eds.*Kansai modanizumu saiko* [Reconsideration on the Kansai Modernism] Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008, pp222–244.

39) Kashima, ibid.

D. Responses to the Introduction of Tea: Medicine or Poison?

Chinese medical books, especially books on medicinal herbs, provide evidence on when debate arose over the use of tea for medicinal purposes. Lu Yu's *Classic of Tea* quotes many books of herbal medicine. New editions of Chinese books of herbal medicine were usually composed by supplementing previous editions with new information.

The text that is considered the first such book was from the Wei state in the Spring and Autumn Period (700s BC to 400s BC) *Shennong ben cao jing* ("The Divine Farmer's Herb-Root Classic," 神農本草経). There are no references to tea in the Liang period (502−557) text, *Shennong ben cao jing zhu* ("Annotations on the Divine Farmer's Herb-Root Classic," or the subsequent *Ben cao jing jizhu* ("Annotations on the Annals of the Herb-Root Classic," 本草経集注). In the lost text, *Shennong Shijing* ("The Shennong Dietetics Classic," 神農食経), which is considered to have been compiled in the Wei and Jin periods, tea is said to restore vitality in mind and body if taken for a long time, and to make the "heart happy." Likewise, the lost text, *Shilun*, ("On Eating," 食論) written by Hua Tuo (華佗, d. 208 AD), says tea makes people optimistic.

In the Tang period book, *Xin xiu ben cao* ("Newly Revised Materia Medica," 新修本草), edited in 659, tea (*ming,* 茗) is described as "a little cold in character, not poisonous, good for hemorrhoids, has a diuretic effect, and eliminates phlegm, fever, and thirst, as well as being a stimulant."

In the *Ben cao shi yi* ("Compendium of Materia Medica," 本草拾遺), edited in 739, tea is said to control obesity and make people thin. Tea was described as effective against extremely high fevers in the following texts written after the *Ben cao shi yi: Ben cao bie shuo* ("A Different Herbal Discourse," 本草別説); *Yixue rumen—ben cao* ("Introduction to Medicine: Materia Medica," 医学入門・本草; 1575); *Ben cao gangmu* ("Compendium of Materia Medica," 本草綱目), edited in 1590; and *Ben cao yi du* ("Materia Medica Made Easy"), edited in 1694.

The more recent *Suixi ju yinshi pu* ("The Suixi Garden Cookbook," 随息居飲食譜) claims that tea cools the liver, while the *Zangfu yaoshi buzheng* ("Revised Edition of the Treatise on Viscera," 臓腑薬式補正) states that it controls eyesight. There is a reference to blood and tea in the *Hunan yaowu zhi* ("Record of Chinese Herbal Medicines of Hunan," 湖南薬物志). What can be discovered from these

materia medica is that stress and anger excessively strengthen the bilious humor, causing symptoms in the head, leading to hepatitis, or what in traditional Chinese medicine is called "liver fire rising." Tea quells the ascension of the bilious humor *(ganqi,* 肝気), and alleviates the symptoms in the head caused by a flaming temper. Tea seems to have a cold quality that calms hepatitis and cools inner heat. When liver function improves, dispersion of the humor also improves, as does the circulation of blood and energy. Thus, tea is said to regulate the meridians of the psychophysical system.

According to the *Azuma kagami* ("Mirror of the East," 吾妻鏡), a chronicle on the Kamakura shogunate compiled in Japan between 1180 and 1266, the *Kissa yōjōki* ("Treatise on Drinking Tea for Health," 喫茶養生記),written by Myōan Eisai (1141−1214), mentions that Eisai presented the book along with some tea to the shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo (源実朝, 1192−1219) to alleviate the latter's hangover. The first volume of the book *Gozō wagōmon* ("Gateway to Keeping the Five Viscera in Harmony," 五臓和合門) explains how to keep the five viscera in harmony, the medicinal efficacy of tea, and its production. The second volume*, Iji kimimon* (Gateway to Driving Out Devils," 遺除鬼魅門), states that tea has a: "tendency to expel animals that transform themselves into ghastly shapes, which are the root of disease." He explains that tea made from the mulberry tree is effective in these cases.[40)]

Christian missionaries in China introduced to the West the custom of tea as part of the daily rituals of life in China and Japan. The missionaries considered tea a medicinal plant and noted its medicinal effects.

There was also a debate that tea might be poisonous. In 1641, Nicolas Dirx (1593−1674) advocated the beneficial nature of tea in his text, *Medical Observations* (*Observationes medicae)*. In 1685 in the Hague, Holland, Cornelis Decker published *A Treatise of the Excellent Herb, Tea* (*Tractaat van het excellente kruyd thee*), which also extolled the ostensibly cure-all nature of tea.[41)] On the other hand, a doctor in Leiden, Hermanus Boerhaave (1668−1738), was opposed to the

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40) Cruz, Gaspar da 1570 Tractado em que se contam muito por estenso as cousas da China, e assi do Reyno Dormuz. Reprinted in 1829 and 1937. Matteo Ricci 1615 *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, Luís Fróis 1585 *Kulturgegen sätze Europa-Japan*.

41) Tsunoyama, ibid.1980. Blussé Leonard 1989 *Tribuut aan China: vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese betrekkingen.* Otto Cramwinckel Uitgever, Amsterdam.

drink, and recommended instead beer, which he claimed was full of nutrition.[42)]

In the Dutch work, *Harbarius oft Cruydt-boeck*, written by Rembertus Dodonaeus and translated in Nagasaki in 1783, coffee was treated as a medication, as it was by the Japanese scholar of Dutch learning, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827).[43)]

If we compare treatment of tea in European nations with that in East Asian countries, it is clear that in Asia, tea was never considered harmful. Perhaps this phenomenon is owing to the fact that the culture of decocting tea as a medicinal plant was a well-established practice, as can be seen in the *material medica* of the East Asian region.

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E. Religion, Rites, and Tea

This section discusses the reception and propagation of tea historically in China, Korea, and Japan, and in particular the introduction of tea into religious and palace ceremonies. Aspects of historical records and the legacy of material culture are analyzed.

It has been known for many years that tea has had deep ties with, and has played a large role in religion—particularly Buddhism—in China, Korea, Japan, the Ryūkyū Islands, and Vietnam. There are various distinctions in the adoption of tea culture, religion, and rites in these regions, and it is believed that much can be learned from cross-cultural research on the causes of these differences, as well as the transformational processes involved.

1. Adoption of Tea and Period of Development

The history of tea that can be ascertained through Chinese historical records dates back to the Former Han period. It is known that tea was consumed in Wu in the Three Kingdoms period (229–280), and in the Western and Eastern Jin periods (265–420). In the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–589), the custom of drinking tea in the south, where it was cultivated, and the disparaging of the

42) Tsunoyama ibid. 1980.

43) Editing committee of History of Japanese coffee ed.*Nihon kōhi si* [History of Japanese coffee] *Zen nihon kōhi syōkō kumiai rengō kai* [All Japan commercial and industrial association for coffee] 1980.

practice of in the north, can be observed.[44] It was in the Tang period (618–907) that tea was widely consumed on a daily basis by all classes of people.[45] In Volume Six of the *Fengshi wenjianji* ("A Record of Things Heard and Seen by Mr. Feng," 封氏聞見記) written in 756 by Feng Yan (封演), the custom of drinking tea had spread from Shandong as far as Changan after the period 713–741 AD.[46] Concrete knowledge concerning tea was recorded in the middle of the eighth century, when Lu Yu (733–804) composed the *Chajing* (*Classic of Tea*, 茶経).[47] Much valuable information can be gleaned from the text about tea in the Tang period through its explanations of methods of tea production and tea utensils.

In Korea, it is generally acknowledged that tea became established in the ninth century (the unified Silla era). An article in the *Samguk Sagi* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*, 三国史記), completed in 1145, states that tea seeds were brought from Tang China to be planted on the Jirisan Mountain in Jeollanam Province.[48] The *Samguk Yusa* (*Myths and Legends of the Three Kingdoms*, 三国遺事), compiled at the end of the thirteenth century, records a story of Buddhist monks who offered tea to Buddha in the mid-eighth century.[49] The Korean tea ceremony (*darye,*茶礼) was performed in national and religious ceremonies in the Koryo dynasty (918–1392). *Darye* was also part of the diplomatic courtesies employed

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44) *Dong Wei* 東魏・Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 ed. *Luoyan qie lan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, Vol.3, 報德寺条:肅初入國，不食羊肉及酪漿等物，常飯鯽魚羹渴飲茗汁。京師士子，道肅一飲一斗號為漏巵。經數年已後，肅與高祖殿會，食羊肉酪粥甚多。高祖怪之謂肅曰，卿中國之味也，羊肉何如魚羹，茗飲何如酪漿。肅對曰，羊者是陸産之最，魚者乃水族之長。所好不同並各稱珍以味。言之甚是優劣，羊比齊魯大，魚比邾莒小國。唯茗不中與酪作奴。高祖大笑; T51:1011b.

45) Yano Ziniti "Cha no rekisi ni tsuite" [The history of tea] 1, Sōgensha, 1936.

46) Feng Yan 封演 ed. *Feng shi wen jian ji* 封氏聞見記 Vol.6, 飲茶条:南人好飲之，北人初不多飲。開元中，泰山霊巖寺有降魔師，大興禪教學禪，務於不寐。又不夕食，皆許其飲茶。人自懷挾到處煮飲，從此轉相倣效，遂成風俗。自鄒齊滄棣，漸至京邑城市，多開店鋪煎茶賣之，不問道俗投錢取飲其茶。自江淮而來舟車相繼，所在山積色額甚多。

47) Nunome Chōfū "「Sa Kei」Chosaku Nendai Kō" [The writing year of *Cha Jing*] *Nunome Chōfū Chūgokusi Ronsyū* [Collected Papers on Chinese Papers of Nunome Chōfū] Vol.2, Kyuko Syoin, 2004.

48) *Samguk Sagi* 三国史記, Vol.10 新羅本紀 10th, The twelfth month of the third of Heondeok Wang: 828: (新羅興德王) 三年…，冬十二月，遣使入唐朝貢。文宗召对于麟德殿，宴賜有差。入唐廻使大廉，持茶種子来，王使植地理山。茶自善德王時有之，至於此盛焉。

49) *Samguk Yusa* 三国遺事 Vol.2, 景德王 忠談師 表訓大德, Vol3.生義寺石弥。

for receiving envoys from the Khitan Liao khanate as well as the Ming court. Various types of *darye* were also performed in the palace during the Joseon period (1392−1897).[50)]

In Japan, it can be surmised from accounts of special green-glazed ceramics that appear from the latter half of the eighth century that tea-drinking was an accepted practice.[51)] Historical records indicate that tea was common from the beginning of the ninth century. There are poems in the Sino-Japanese poetry anthology sponsored by Emperor Saga in 815 and 816 that were recited about tea consumed during interaction between the emperor and nobles with Buddhist monks such as Saichō (最澄, 767−822) and Kūkai (空海, 774−835), who had gone to Tang China.[52)] The sixtieth entry of the *Nihon Kōki* (written in the fourth month, 815 AD, 日本後紀) states that monks coming back from China presented tea to the emperor.[53)] The thirty-ninth entry contains an order that tea be cultivated in the provinces of Kinai, Ōmi, Tanba, and Harima near Kyoto, and that it be offered to the emperor every year.[54)] From the fact that tea was brought to Japan by monks coming back from China, and that there was a tea plantation in the northeast corner of the inner palace, it can be surmised that there was demand for tea in the palace.[55)] This underscores the notion that it was the tea brought back from monks who had gone to China that was popular in the palace.[56)] There is also convincing evidence that Sanage green- glazed ceramic bowls (from the first-half of the ninth century) that imitated the celadon of the Yue kilns were used in this period for tea.[57)]

50） Kim Pa Mang “Goryeo･Joseon no kissabunka to rekishi” [Tea culture and the history during the Goryeo/Joseon period] *Sadogaku taikei* [The complete series of Tea ceremony] Vol.7, Tankō Sha, 2000.

51） Tatsumi Jun’ichiro “Nihon ni okeru Chahō no kaishi” [The start of the tea drinking in Japan] *Shinban kodai no nihon* [New publication Ancient Japan] Vol.6, Kinki, Kadokawa Shoten, 1991.

52） *Bunka Shūreishū* 文華秀麗集, 梵門 答澄公奉献詩一首 御製。*Keikokushū* 経国集, 七言 與海公飲茶送歸山一首 太上天皇。

53） *Nihon Kōki* 日本後紀, Ki-gai (癸亥) day of the fourth month of the sixth year of Kōnin:816.

54） *Nihon Kōki* 日本後紀, Zin-in (壬寅) day of the sixth month of the sixth year of Kōnin:816.

55） *Saikyuki* 西宮記, Vol.8, 諸院事:茶園在主殿寮東

56） Murai Yasuhiko, *Cha no bunkashi* [Cultural History of Tea Drinking], Iwanami Shoten, 1979.

57） Ono Yoshihiro “Saga chō no Owari ni okeru Ryokuyū tōki seisan to sono haikei :Heian jidai syoki no kissa bunka to sono kakawari wo tsūzite” [Production of Green-Glazed Ceramics in Owari (尾張) Province during the Reign of Saga:Viewed in Relation to Tea Drinking Customs in the Early

Thus, if we focus on China, Korea, and Japan in the eighth to tenth centuries we can conclude that tea, which was well-established among a wide range of classes in Tang China, spread by envoys and Buddhist monks who had visited the country from Korea and Japan. Next we will turn our attention to the encounter between monks and tea in China and the relationship between monks and tea when tea was first introduced to Korea and Japan.

2. Buddhist Monks and Tea

The *Fengshi wenjianji* mentioned above recounts that in the first years of the Tang dynasty (713−741), a devil-subduing master monk drank tea to stay awake when doing *zuochan (zazen,* 座禅) in Lingyan Temple on Mt. Tai. This account initiated the popularity of the beverage. Tea had already become a daily drink at Buddhist temples before this period, however. Buddhist manuscripts composed before this time, in particular, the *Vinaya,* contain many references to tea-drinking at Buddhist monasteries. For example, the manuscript by Daoxuan (道宣, 596−667), *Jiaojie xinxue biqiu xinghu lüyi* ("The New Teachings of the Pancavaggiya on Inculcating Good and Punishing Evil to Protect the Truth," 教誡新学比丘行護律儀), contains references to the diet of the Pancavaggiya (the five original disciples of Buddha) on salt and "medicinal tea" as part of their dietary regimen in the temple.[58] In the manuscript by Yi Jing (義浄, 635−713), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* ("Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas," 南海寄帰内法伝), tea is listed as one of the items consumed by Buddhist monks.[59] Likewise, in the *Shou yong san shui yao xingfa* ("Methods Necessary for Partaking of Water," 受用三水要行法), one form of purified water that Buddhist monks should use is listed as "boiled tea."[60] It is thus thought that the custom of drinking tea predates the period usually designated, and had already become commonplace in temples before 713.

Concrete information can be found in the pilgrimage diaries of two Japanese

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Heiann Period] *Kodai bunka* [Cultura Antiqua] 526, 2002 .

58） *Tang* 唐・Dao Xuan 道宣 ed. *Jiao jie xin xue bi qiu xing hu lüyi, Zai yuan zhu fa* 教誡新学比丘行護律儀, 在院住法, Vol.5; T45: 870c.

59） *Tang* 唐・Yi Jing 義浄 ed. *Nanhaijiguineifa zhuan* 南海寄帰内法伝, Vol2, 17 th, *Zhi shi er li* 知時而禮; T54, 218a.

60） *Tang* 唐・Yi Jing 義浄 ed. *Shou yong san shui yao xing fa* 受用三水要行法; T45, 903a.

Buddhist monks who visited China in the Tang and Song periods: the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* (“Ennin’s Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law,” 入唐求法巡礼行記), by Ennin (円仁, 794–864), and *San Tendai Godai-san ki* (“Diary of Pilgrimages to Mount Tian and Mount Wu,” 参天台五臺山記), by Jōjin (成尋, 1011–1081). Both accounts depict Buddhist monks in Tang and Song China drinking tea regularly. “Diary of Pilgrimages to Mount Tian and Mount Wu” records the practice of drinking tea in conjunction with hot water. This manner of tea drinking was found not only in the palaces and government agencies in the Song period, but was also prevalent among Buddhist monks and the laity.[61] The drinking of tea with hot water as one of the daily norms of the rules of purity in monastic discipline of Zen monks can be seen in the preface to the oldest extant book of its kind, the *Chanyuan qingqui* (“Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery,” 禅苑清規), written in 1103 by Song Ze (宋賾). The “Rules of Purity for the Chan Monastery” became the foundation for later rules of purity, and had a tremendous impact on following generations.

This book also made inroads in Japan, where it greatly influenced monastic life in the Zenrin Temple at the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185–1333). The rules of purity were also codified in Japan, but the drinking of tea in conjunction with hot water was included in the revised rules. It can therefore be concluded that the Zen rule for purity of drinking tea with hot water was a type of tea ceremony prevalent not only among Buddhist monks and the laity in Song China, but had also become incorporated into the norms of the lives of Zen monks, eventually becoming accepted practice even at Japan’s Zenrin Temple.[62] The Zen funeral ceremony that includes offering tea is also considered one of the rules for purity. Such solemnity in Zen funerals has been seen to have had a great influence on other sects in later generations.[63]

After the mid-eighth century tea became a commonplace drink in China. In

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61） Tanaka Misa “Sō dai no kissa, kittō*”* [The Practice of Tea Drinking in the Sung Dynasty] *Shisen*, 66, 1987.

62） Imaeda Aishin, “Shingi no ruhu to denrai” [Introduction and diffusion of Qingui.] *Chūsei zen syūsi no kenkyū* [Study of the Zen history in the Medieval times] University of Tokyo Press, 1970.

63） Harada Masatoshi, “Chūsei no zen syū to sōsō girei*”* [Zen in the Medieval times and funeral rites] *Zen kindai nihon no siryō isan project kenkyū syūkai hōkokusyū 2001–2002* [Historical heritage project in the Pre-modern Japan: report of research meetings 2001–2002] Historiographical Institute The University of Tokyo, 2003.

Korea and Japan, however, tea did not simply prevail as a beverage, but rather became an integral part of religion, greatly influencing the perception of tea in these societies. In particular, the usage and methods of Buddhists had the greatest impact.

The evolution of adoption of tea seen through the prism of court etiquette in Korea and Japan will be the focus of the next section.

3. Court Etiquette and Tea

In Japan receptivity to tea at the beginning of the ninth century was profoundly connected to Japanese monks who had returned from Tang China, through whose offices tea was adopted by the Emperor and nobility. In ancient Japan there was a memorial service in which Buddhist monks were invited to the palace to perform a ritual that used tea. In the ceremony, the monks skimmed the seasonal reading of the "Great Perfection of Insight Sutra" (*Kinomidokyo*, 季御読経), based on the Mahayana Heart Sutra (*Daihannya kyō,* 大般若経).[64] The practice of skimming the sutra started quite early, but it became a common rite in the palace from the mid-ninth century. The sutra was widely read as a means to protect the palace and the nation from natural disasters. Once the custom of skimming the sutra became commonplace, it became an entrenched palace ritual. When it first emerged, the ceremony took place once each season. In the latter half of the ninth century, however, it was held only in the spring and autumn. It can be ascertained that Buddhist monks received powdered green tea as alms during the reading of the "Great Perfection of Insight Sutra" in the palace from the latter half of the tenth century to the beginning of the thirteenth.[65]

In Korea, Buddhist monks were often involved in the introduction of tea during the unified Silla period. Tea appears as an imperial grant, return gift, and as an imperial offertory item in funerals on the stone monuments of Seon (Zen) monks at the end of the ninth century.[66] It wasn't until the Goryeo dynasty

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64) Kurahayashi Syōzi, "Kinomi dokyō kō*"* [Considerations on Kinomidokyō (季御読経)] *Kyōen no kenkyū* [Study of feast :Index of annual rites] Ōhūsha, 1987.

65) Nakamura Shūya, "*Eisai izenno cha"* [Tea before Eisai (栄西)] *Sadō gaku taikei* [The complete series of Tea ceremony] Vol.2.Tankō Sha, 1999.

66) The following stone inscriptions are example:「寶林寺普照禪師彰聖塔碑」(in 884),「雙磎寺眞鑑禪師大空塔碑」(in 887),「月光寺圓朗禪師大寶禪光塔碑」(in 890),「朗慧和尚白月葆光之塔碑銘」(around 890),「深源寺故國師秀澈和尚楞伽寶月靈塔碑」(in 893).

(918−1392) that the use of tea became standard in palace ceremonies. In the *Goryeosa Yaeji* (“Official History of Goryeo,” completed in 1451) the tea ceremony appears in four of the five rites of state (*kukcho oryeŭi)*: auspicious ceremonies (吉礼), funerals (凶礼), hospitality toward guests (賓礼), and congratulatory ceremonies (嘉礼).

As an example, one of the unique ceremonies of the Goryeo dynasty was the midwinter *Palgwanhoi* ceremony. The *Palgwanhoi* (八關會) originated in China as a ritual in which Buddhists fasted together. From the Tang dynasty, it became a *puja* ceremonial meal offering in honor of Buddhist monks. In Goryeo, however, the *Palgwanhoi* remained a *puja* in name only, transforming into the *Hunyo Sipjo* (Ten Injunctions) ceremony for venerating the heavens, the Wu Yue Five Sacred Mountains, other famous mountains, great rivers, and dragon gods. The ceremony is acknowledged in the *Gaoli tujing* (“Illustrated Record of the Chinese Embassy to Koryo,” 高麗図経), written between 918 and 1392, as a tradition derived from Tong-maeng (the autumn harvest festival, 東盟) of the Koguryo era (2 BC to 668 AD). The midwinter ritual was held in November; when vassals gave congratulatory addresses or banquets for the king, tea was served. Such Goryeo tea ceremonies were incorporated into Buddhist rites, hospitality rituals toward guests, and court banquets. In Japan, on the other hand, tea was not drunk at court banquets. This is a major difference between tea ceremonies in Japan and Korea.

Further, the formalities for tea and alcohol in Goryeo national ceremonies resemble those in the annals on rites in the *Song Shu* (*Book of Song*, 宋書). It is possible that the ceremonies are a legacy of Song state rituals. On the other hand, Taejo (太祖, 877−943), founder of Goryeo, directed in the “Ten Injunctions” (*Hunyo Sipjo*, 訓要十条) that Goryeo not follow the Tang system in ceremonies. The directive indicates the existence of the tea ceremony in Tang rituals. There is still much unknown about the tea ceremony in Tang state ritual, but tea utensils were manufactured in palace workshops, as is indicated by archeological digs at Famen Temple, Fufeng County, Shaanxi Province. The royal tea sets excavated at Famen Temple provide valuable clues to how tea was used in the palace.[67)]

67） *Tou koutei karano okurimono* [Gifts of the Tang emperors], Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art, Asahi Shinbun and Hakuhodo, 1999 .

Summary

Tea became well-established throughout much of Chinese society from the middle of the eighth century, and spread to Korea and Japan in the early ninth century. Buddhist monks played a pivotal role in the introduction of tea to Korea and Japan. In China, the relationship between monks and tea can be discerned from the first half of the eighth century, after which it became a fixture in their daily lives. In the Song dynasty, the drinking of tea with hot water became a widespread practice among monks and laypeople alike. The tea ceremony was incorporated into the rules for purity for Zen monks, while the influence of Zen itself played a large role in the reception of tea.

There were differences between palace rituals using tea in Japan (tenth to thirteenth centuries) and Korea (tenth to fourteenth centuries). It is thought that ceremonial tea had a stronger relationship to Buddhism in Japan than in Korea. Aspects of ceremonial tea other than those found in Buddhism, and the role of tea ceremonies in the Tang and Song dynasties are areas to be mined for future research.

Otsuki Yoko, Shinohara Hirokata, and Miyajima Junko

F. Women and Tea

1. Introduction

Customs pertaining to tea as a beverage include fewer gender differences than in the case of alcohol. That said, in Japan the image evoked by the word *ochakumi* (お茶くみ; literally, "tea pourer") referred until recently to a woman who does odd jobs around the office. This reflects the assumption that tea is a beverage served by women. In contrast, in Vietnam even today, the custom of men taking charge of serving tea to their guests is still prevalent, and until recently, cafés were very much a man's world. Such differences in tea cultures from the perspective of gender will be the focus of this section.

Women rarely stepped out of their housing compounds in China, and did not even see guests within their own homes, according to the Jesuit missionary, Alvarez Semedo (1586−1658). (矢沢 1990).

Serial novels (*zhanghui xiaoshuo)* written in the Ming (1368−1644) and Qing (1644−1911) dynasties provide some insights into tea culture in China at the time. The custom of drinking tea is found in several novels. The *Dream of the Red Chamber* or *Story of the Stone* (*Hong lou meng*, 紅楼夢), composed during the

middle of the eighteenth century, portrays an aristocratic family in the early years of the Qing dynasty. The *Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jin ping mei*, 金瓶梅) composed during the late Ming dynasty, depicts the family life of wealthy merchants and scholar officials. *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jing hua yuan*, 鏡花緣), published in 1828, is a novel of fantastic sojourns, but also details urban life in the Qing period. As is reflected by the fact that the Ximen family in *Jing ping mei* are always drinking tea, the custom of tea-drinking was widespread in this period. The most common scenes in these novels are those portraying the serving of tea to guests. There is no class or gender differentiation regarding this custom, and there are many scenes involving women and tea. For example, chapter forty-one of *Hong lou meng* contains a scene in which tea is served in a uniquely elegant manner befitting aristocrats. The twenty-first chapter of *Jin ping mei* depicts a snow-viewing party inside the Ximen compound. During the party, the principle wife of Ximen Qing, Wu Yuening, gathers snow in her own hands to use in the careful preparation of tender Phoenix leaf tea balls from Jiangnan. In a scene from the sixty-first chapter of *Jing hua yuan*, Ziqiong and ten other women of talent sip tea as they discuss their knowledge of the beverage. As these literary examples indicate, upper-class women were expected to be cultured in the art of tea etiquette even toward guests.

The quality of the tea, water, and tea utensils used depended on the status of the guest. In the forty-first chapter of the *Hong lou meng,* for example, the family member with the highest status—the grandmother of Jia Baoyu—is served with the finest tea tray and teacup. In contrast, after Grannie Liu, a woman of low birth, drinks from a teacup, the girl servant, Adamantina (Miaoyu), orders it to be left in the foyer. Baoyu conjectures that because Grannie Liu drank from the cup, it has now become contaminated, and that no matter how priceless the teacup, if someone of low status touches it, it should be thrown away.

But these stories of women involved in tea and hospitality occur solely inside the home. When exactly did women begin to drink tea outside the home? The teahouse (*chaguan*, 茶館) can be used as a source of information. The *chaguan* described by Lao She in his novel of that name, (*Teahouse*), written in 1957, is world famous. *Chaguan* is set in the period between the end of the Qing to the end of the war against Japan. The women in the novel are peasants who have come to sell off their daughters or young women whose families have fallen on hard times and are compelled to work as maids. They are not women who are

purely visiting for the purpose of drinking tea. Teahouses at this time were not designed simply for drinking tea; they were places where business transactions occurred and people assembled. The customers who frequented teahouses consequently tended for the most part to be men. A teahouse was not the kind of place that most women would visit. The scholar, Wang Di (王笛), pointed out in 2004, however, that women who did not feel confined by the customs of old did at times frequent the teahouses used by the upper classes, which were called *chalou* (茶楼), *chayuan* (茶園), or *chating* (茶庁). The education of women began in earnest from the 1900s; some women even studied abroad during this period. In all probability these factors did have some influence. One *chaguan* in Suzhou is unique. Many educated and wealthy individuals from Jiangnan lived in this region, where *chaguan* were extremely popular. When women needed advice they could go to a *chaguan* to drink tea. This seems to have been a Suzhou custom. In 1839, however, a government decree designed to protect the fabric of feudal society forbade women from entering *chaguan*. From the fact that several further decrees were issued it can be surmised that women's visits to *chaguan* were tacitly approved. It can be concluded that aside from exceptional regions, it was still uncommon at the end of the Qing and beginning of the Republican periods for women to drink tea outside the home. Women were allowed to drink tea outside only in later years.

In sum, it is thought that there were no differences between men and women regarding tea inside the home, but that for many years only men were allowed to drink tea outside the home. It is conjectured that women began to be given permission to drink tea in public as China modernized. It's possible through the research of tea to trace the liberation of women, who had been confined as recluses in their own homes, to the point where they could begin the process of stepping out into public.

2. Okinawan Culture and *Bukubuku* tea: From the Point of View of Gender

In Okinawa a tea called *bukubuku* tea is whipped into a foam and eaten. It is a type of *furicha* (whisked *bancha* coarse tea) that was once found throughout Japan. *Bukubuku* tea was drunk mainly by households in the middle to upper classes of Naha during the Meiji, Taisho, and early Showa periods. It is also

known to have been considered as a tea for women.[68] *Bukubuku* tea, like *Irigo-meyu* (roasted rice tea), *Shii-mii* tea (tea harvested in early April during Qingming or Tomb-Sweeping Day), and *bancha,* is whipped to a foam in a large wooden bowl called a *bukubuku-zara* with a large tea whisk. The foam and a small amount of red-bean rice are heaped into a tea bowl and eaten. The tea utensils are quite large, but are considered to be related to the tea utensil culture of Japan because of the common element of the tea whisk.

Japanese tea ceremony culture in Okinawa was described by Chen Kan (陳侃, 1489−1538), a Chinese investiture envoy who was sent to the Ryūkyū Islands in 1534. Chen Kan described the tea ceremony room at Enkakuji in Shuri in the *Shi Liuqiu lu* (*Record on the Missions to the Ryūkyū Islands,* 使琉球録) as follows: "There is a portable brazier on the double-shelf tea utensil display where water is boiled. Just when the water comes to a boil, they put one heaped spoonful of powdered green tea into a tea bowl, pour in the boiling water, and after whipping it with a whisk, they wait for a while before serving the tea to their guests. The flavor is sublimely pure." At that time, Japanese Zen monks frequented the Ryūkyūan Kingdom, while Ryūkyūan monks often studied at Japan's *Gozan* ("Five Mountain System," a group of state-sponsored Zen temples in Kyoto and Kamakura). The Zen monks facilitated the adoption of the Japanese tea ceremony in the Ryūkyū Islands.

In 1600 Kian Bangen (喜安蕃元), from Senshūsakai, Osaka, traveled to the Ryūkyū Islands, where he was appointed chamberlain to the king and religious official in charge of the tea ceremony (*cha no yu sōshiki*, 茶湯宗職). Further, there is reference to the tea ceremony in the section on various arts promoted by the warrior class written by Shō Jōken (尚象賢) in the *Haneji Shioki* ("Directives of Haneji," 羽地仕置). The tea ceremony was sought as a form of cultural cultivation in the Ryūkyū Islands for interaction with Japan in early modern times.

It is also known that early modern Ryūkyūan society overall, including the common people, consumed large amounts of tea leaves imported from China's Fujian Province. This tea was of course not the powdered variety but low-grade

68) Iha Fuyū"Bukubukū: Ryukyū ni okeru issyu no Sadō" [Bukubukū: a variant of Tea ceremony] *Iha Fuyū zen syū* [Complete works of iha Huyu] Vol.10, Heibonsha, 1976. Higasionna Kanjun "Bukubuku Cha kō" [Considerationon the bukubuku tea] *Higasionna Kanjun zen syu* [Complete works of Higasionna Kanjun] Vol.5, Dai'ichi Shobō, 1978.

green tea (*sencha,* 煎茶). Based on statistics from after the mid-eighteenth century, it is commonly accepted that ten to several tens of tons of tea leaves were imported annually.[69] With expansion of demand, cultivation of tea plants and tea production occurred throughout the Ryūkyū Islands. This tea-drinking culture based on Chinese tea should be distinguished from the tea ceremony culture of the warrior class mentioned above.

In terms of a tea-drinking culture unique to women, it is known that the custom of *furicha*, the archetype for *bukubuku* tea, already existed. From accounts of Ryūkyūan customs quoted in the *Ōshima Hikki* (*Ōshima Notes*, 大島筆記), written in 1762, based on a Ryūkyūan shipwreck in Tosa in 1757, "elderly women whisked *sencha* before drinking it, in the style of rural Japan" (See: "Sketches of Customs" section (人物風俗).[70] Also, the *Nantō Yaegaki* (*The Southern Islands: Yaegak*i, 南島八重垣), a collection of Shuri dialects from the first half of the Meiji period, says of *bukubuku* tea: "Foamy tea. It was popular long ago, but now it is rare."[71] From this it seems highly possible that *bukubuku* tea or its cognate, foamy tea (*furicha*), was consumed by women in Shuri and Naha during the latter half of the early modern era.

The custom of *bukubuku* tea disappeared entirely for a while after the war. In the 1950s, Niijima Masako returned *bukubuku* tea to its former status. In the 1980s, Ashitomi Junko also worked to revive *bukubuku* tea while contributing to research on the subject. In 1992, the two women promoted an Okinawan traditional *bukubuku* tea preservation society, protecting the tea from a wave of tourism and conducting activities with the philosophy of creating a lasting legacy.[72]

Another organization, the Kō-Ryūkyū Chadō Bukubukucha Akeshino no Kai (Ancient Ryūkyūan *Bukubuku* Tea Ceremony Akeshino no Kai), also aims to

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69) Maehira Fusaaki "Chūgoku cha to Nihon cha" [Chinese tea and Japanese tea] *Ryukyū wo chūshin to shita higasi Ajia ni okeru butsuryū kōzō* [Physical distribution in the East Asia focusing on Ryukyu.] Research report of Basic study C founded by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from 2005 to 2007, 2008.

70) Maehira ibid. p49.

71) Draft by Yamauchi Seiki and footnote by Iha Fuyū "Nantōyaegaki:Meiji syonen no Ryūkyū goi" [Nantōyaegaki:vocabulary of the Ryukyu language in the beginning of Meiji Era] *Hōgen*, 4–10, 1934.

72) See: Ashitomi Junko, *Bukubuku Cha* [Bukubuku Tea], Nirai Sha, 1992.

revive the *bukubuku* tea ceremony. The Akeshino no Kai was established in 1992, and became a non-profit organization in 2000.[73] *Bukubuku* tea is now becoming more widespread, reviving into a long-lasting tea culture.

3. Korea

There were women in the Joseon period called *damo* (茶母) who were in charge of tea ceremony in the capacity of government officials in the court and government offices. As the dynasty progressed, the status of these women fell, and their positions outside the court took on names such as *dagi* (literally, "tea prostitute," 茶妓), *dahui* ("tea concubine," 茶姬), and *dabi* ("tea slave," 茶婢) that reflected their humble positions in society. The word *damo* itself was used to refer to prostitutes outside the city and in regional areas. Later in the Joseon period, there were even male *damo*.

Gisaeng (courtesans, 妓生) mastered various arts that appealed to male entertainment, such as poetry, tea, alcohol, and dance. They are thought to have also been knowledgeable about tea.

Men of the *yangban* class (ruling nobility of the Joseon dynasty) could become involved with tea if they had had access to it from childhood, but it was difficult for women to take the initiative to enjoy tea. There were times when tea became scarce, and even if it could be obtained, the *yangban* only begrudgingly consumed the beverage; women were the last to be able to get any. There were women whose erudition was highly appraised, or who recited poetry about tea, but these cases were rare. This was because men who enjoyed tea wanted also to feel elegant by cavorting with prostitute courtesans who were skilled in the arts. According to Confucian ethics, it was considered unseemly for a woman to be erudite, enjoy tea, and write poetry about it.

4. Europe and Japan

When tea was first brought into Europe it arrived in such small amounts that it was expensive and only the upper classes could afford to drink it. Prices fell when the Dutch East India Company's imports of tea caused competition. Tea then became a drink of the common people. In Holland, tea was first consumed

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73) The same year, the manual of the Akeshino no kai, Akeshino no kai ed. *Ryūkyū Bukubuku Chadō*, [The tea ceremony of Ryukyu Bukubuku tea], Akeshino no Kai, 1992, was published.

at inns, but eventually gentlemen and gentlewomen would gather in the homes of friends to have tea-tasting events that resembled wine-tasting parties. The custom of tea parties emerged, creating opportunities for women to gather outside the home, a development that is thought to have contributed to women's liberation.[74] In Victorian England, on the other hand, housewives prided themselves on their ability to prepare a nice cup of tea.[75]

In Japan it seems that from the Middle Ages (1336-1868), tea was drunk by both men and women. The tea ceremony, having been created by men, remained a male domain. At the beginning of the Edo period (1603−1868), with few exceptions women were excluded from the world of tea. From the Meiji era, with the advent of modern education for women, tea ceremony and flower arranging became indispensable elements in women's training and etiquette, although not mandatory courses in school curriculum.[76] This training evolved into the marriage preparation classes and gentlewoman accomplishment classes available today. During the final years of the Edo period (the *bakumatsu* period), women from samurai families were already mastering the tea ceremony.[77] The Russian Lev Mechnikov (1838−1888), who spent a year and a half in Japan from 1874, observed wives from good families drinking powdered green tea (*matcha*).[78] It is thus possible that the relationship between women and the tea ceremony, or etiquette for serving tea had already changed before the Meiji Restoration. Kobayashi Yoshiho (小林善帆), a researcher at the Tokugawa Art Museum, explains that flower arranging was one of the arts learnt by women of the merchant class in the latter half of the Edo period.[79] Kobayashi theorizes that this foreshadows the appearance of women's education in the modern era. Kobayashi has discovered references in pictorial materials for women's education in the latter half of the Edo period that suggest the tea ceremony also became a desirable

74） Blussé, ibid.

75） Tsunoyama, ibid, 1980.

76） Kobayashi Yoshiho "Kyōiku to shiteno "hana": "Hana" "Cha" ha dono yōni shite josei no nasu beki mono to natta ka" [Ikebana as education: how did the ikebana and chanoyu become women' art?] *Nomura Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō* [Nomura Bijutsukan Research Bulletin] 15, 2006, pp13–40.

77） Kobayashi ibid.

78） Mechnikov, Lev Il'ich, Watanabe Masaji tr., *Bōmei Roshia zin no mita Meiji ishin (Nihon no bunmei kaika-ki(Meiji))* [(The Meiji Occidentalization Period in Japan.(inRussian))], Kodansha, 1982.

79） Kobayashi ibid.

accomplishment for women.[80] Likewise, there are references to the etiquette involved in serving tea and alcohol, and on how to drink the beverages, including how to serve tea to guests. Based on this evidence, it can perhaps be surmised that change was coming gradually to the role of women in the tea ceremony and flower arranging from the latter half of the Edo period. Perhaps the notion of women serving tea to guests was also formulated at this time.

5. Summary

In contrast with Europe, where tea drinking influenced the direction of women's liberation, in Japan it was affiliated with a culture that compelled women to serve men. The causes are thought to include the nature of the tea ceremony and women's education, but in either case, both were created by men and consequently reflect Japanese men's desires of Japanese women.

On the other hand, it is very interesting that a tea culture specific to women was able to form in Japanese society.

Furicha whisked coarse tea is found throughout Japan in many forms. Toyama Prefecture has its *batabata* tea; Shimane Prefecture, *botebote* tea; Ehime Prefecture, *bote* tea; and Tokunoshima in Kagoshima Prefecture, *fui* tea. The characteristic they share is that they are actively supported by women's groups. In other words, even though the tea ceremony was mainly developed by men, *furicha* has been preserved by women. *Bukubuku* tea is considered a beverage of middle and upper class women even in Naha, and as such, can certainly be thought of as contrasting with tea ceremony culture in the Ryūkyū Islands in early modern times, when tea was restricted to men of the warrior class and thus characterized as high culture. In that sense, *bukubuku* tea was formed on the boundary of gender and high culture—a culture located betwixt and between.

G. Conclusion: Perspectives for Cultural Interaction

We have presented a comparative and regional overview of tea and the drinking of it by focusing on several phenomena and facts. Here we will summarize

80) Emori Ichirō ed. *Edo jidai josei seikatsu ezu dai jiten 2 Kyōkun, Gyōgi sahō* [Encyclopedia of illustrations on the woman life in Edo Era 2 lessons and manners] and *Edo jidai josei seikatsu ezu dai jiten 4* Gakumon, Kaji, Syogei [Encyclopedia of illustrations on the woman life in Edo Era 4 study, household matters and artistic accomplishments.] Daikūsha, 1993.

briefly the information we have gleaned from these comparisons and examples.

Tea being a beverage that is preferred by millions of people has helped it to become universal in the East and West. In the East, the material and philosophical natures of tea drinking seem in most cases to have been disseminated together. This is true not only of tea utensils, production methods, and methods of drinking, but is a convincing argument for the common tea-drinking customs seen across borders of many countries in conjunction with Buddhism and tea's place in rites and ceremonies. Although we did not discuss Zhu Xi's *Jia li* (*Family Rituals*, 家礼) here, the tea ceremony is evaluated in the book, and its faithful legacy continues to this day in Korea. A similar phenomenon can be seen in Vietnam.

The materiel and philosophy of culture should be considered not only for tea but also for other cultural elements. Even though the tea ceremony became an integral part of state rites and family rituals in Korea, refined tastes in tea-drinking among commoners did not develop to any great extent. In contrast, the tea ceremony as part of state rites and Confucian rituals ultimately was not adopted in Japan, where the tea ceremony transcended social distinctions. In its stead, *furicha* became an integral part of the culture of the common people and literati alike, as did the development of the tea ceremony of the literati. This distinction can also be discerned from the number of sayings about tea in the two languages. Korean envoys to Japan have left records of being shocked at the prevalence of tea drinking there, underscoring a difference in attitude. How did such a gap in perception about tea arise? There were most likely factors other than Japan's relatively warm climate and capability for widespread tea cultivation to which these differences could be attributed, such as the cultural environment and cultural awareness.

Another difference between Korea and Japan is manifest in the relationship between women and tea. In Korea women who served tea were assigned low social status, whereas in Japan there was little difference in social standing in tea culture. While Japanese were building a classless tea culture and tea became an integral part of hospitality, they also granted tea the unique character of being a medium for compelling women to serve men. Culturally, these two phenomena are not the same.

The contrast between the West, where tea helped serve as a means for enabling women to leave the home, and China, where women drank tea only within the home, is also thought-provoking. The relationship among hospitality,

diplomacy, and gender, as well as gender-specific reactions toward acculturation, could prove to be interesting areas for further research. Hospitality and diplomacy are fundamentally approaches to strangers or outsiders. There is a tremendous chasm between women being allowed only to treat certain guests within the home or other limited spaces, and being able to do so openly. Even though both Europe and China experienced feudalism, whether or not women played leading roles in acculturation goes back to this difference.

Another contrast between Europe and Asia is that Europeans, who knew nothing of the beverage or the plant from which it was derived, debated whether tea was medicinal or poisonous, whereas in Asian countries, where tea cultivation was possible, tea was considered a traditional medicinal drink. It was therefore mystical and perceived as a valuable luxury.

As the evolution of tea utensils and of terms used for colors of tea show, not only did the transmission of tea from the cultures of Asia to Europe cause transformations, but through trade in tea and tea utensils, there were occasions when cultural transformations occurred through exports in the reverse direction. I think we must avoid the mistake of treating large-scale trade in the modern era simplistically, as the unilateral movement of goods. The example of tea demonstrates well that cultural interaction and transformations are an integral part of the shipment of commodities.

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