

Chasen: The Bamboo Tea Whisk in Japanese Tea Tradition

Voltaire Cang

ABSTRACT: The paper outlines the history, development, and role of the *chasen* [bamboo tea whisk] in the Japanese Way of Tea tradition, or the tea ceremony. First, it introduces the *chasen* and discusses it as a cultural object expressing the core concepts and philosophy behind the Way of Tea and, to a certain extent, Japanese notions of commensality. Second, it uses the *chasen* as a lens into the role of arts and crafts in Japanese tea culture.

Introduction

44 *Chado* [the Way of Tea, otherwise known as the tea ceremony] is well-known as a symbol of Japanese culture.¹ It belongs in the elite company of *ikebana* [flower arrangement], Kabuki theater, and sumo wrestling, which are frequently referred to by Japanese and non-Japanese alike as unique representations of Japan. The spiritual development of the follower is the ostensible goal of these traditions, and for *Chado*, the way through which this goal is achieved is deceptively simple:

[The Way of] Tea is naught but this;
First you heat the water,
Then you make the tea.
Then you drink it properly.
That is all you need to know.²

This poem is attributed to Sen Rikyu (1522-1591), a former merchant from Sakai in Osaka, who is generally acknowledged as the official founder of *Chado*.³ His poem is taught to practitioners of the tradition to help them achieve *Chado*'s aim, as well as to learn, or at least be able to ponder on, the essence of the Way of Tea.

However, even the casual spectator of *Chado* will immediately realize that in order to achieve this supposed aim, the participants, that is, the host and guests, act out a series of complicated moves that appear to follow rules that are not always obvious. Any spectator of the ritual will also observe that many utensils are required in its performance. These utensils include those for serving the tea, such as ceramic tea bowls, lacquered tea caddies, bamboo ladles, tea scoops, and water containers, as well as others not directly related to the

tea service but are needed for the tea room setting, like the hanging scrolls, flowers in vases or baskets, containers for incense, and others.

Many of the utensils are specific to the *Chado* tradition and are rarely used outside its context. Nonetheless, almost all of them may be substituted for more everyday items whenever the prescribed ones are difficult to procure. Hence, breakfast bowls may be used instead of the usual tea bowl, or silver spoons instead of the bamboo tea scoop.

There are, however, two elements in *Chado* that cannot be substituted by anything else. First, there is the tea itself. *Chado* always uses powdered green tea, or *matcha* [*matsu*=to rub/grind, *cha*=tea]. This distinctive type of tea is made from freshly picked, young tea leaves that are steamed first and dried immediately to retain their color, then ground in stone mortars into a fine powder. It is unique from other types of tea in that it is prepared by whisking, not infusing or steeping, in hot water. *Matcha* is the only type of tea used in *Chado*.

The second indispensable element is the bamboo tea whisk, or *chasen* [*cha*=tea, *sen*=whisk]. Tea in *Chado* is regularly served in either of two ways: thick, with a consistency similar to thick espresso coffee; or thin and frothy, like cappuccino. In both cases, *matcha* is suspended – not dissolved – in hot water, a condition that is easily achieved through the use of the bamboo whisk with its numerous tines. A *chasen* with 80 or more tines is said to be ideal for making the frothy type of *matcha* tea, which it can whip up in mere seconds.

The primary role played by the bamboo tea whisk in *Chado* is acknowledged by practitioners and the general public; websites and media articles frequently speak of the *chasen* as the most important element in the Way of Tea. Such role may well be taken for granted too often, as the *chasen* is hardly mentioned in scholarly literature. Although it is perfunctorily described, though often in passing, in a few of the extensive academic studies on the Way of Tea tradition, none of these studies have dealt with the *chasen* specifically. As for studies outside the Way of Tea context, only very few papers have made the attempt to study the *chasen*; such studies deal mainly with its history, and are available only in the Japanese language. This paper, perhaps the first of its kind in English, constitutes a preliminary study of the bamboo tea whisk in the context of the Japanese tea tradition. It aims to provide a background and prolegomenon for research on this most important of implements in the Way of Tea.

Material and Method of Production

All *chasen* are made from bamboo, as it is considered the most ideal material for *matcha*, for several reasons. One is bamboo's flexibility. When shaped into tines, the material bends against rather than pierces the bowls in which the tea is made, protecting the bowls that are in many cases unique and very costly vessels, even works of art in themselves. Bamboo is also durable, so the whisk retains its shape despite vigorous and constant use. (Despite being

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durable and long-lasting, in the past, and sometimes today, each tea gathering required the use of a new whisk just for the occasion; used whisks were disposed after the event, even if these were still in perfect shape.) Moreover, bamboo, after being dried and processed into whisks, does not give off any odor or taste that would affect *matcha*; at the same time, it does not absorb other smells or flavors.⁴

At first glance, the *chasen* looks like sculpted shaving brush standing ten centimetres tall. A closer inspection will reveal that all of it, including the handle below the node and the finely curved, hair-thin tines on top, is shaped from a single, slim bamboo cane. The size of the whisk, the number of tines (majority have from 60 to 240 tines), and other specifications are exactly determined according to the type of tea to be made, as well as the venue of the tea gathering. Different schools and lineages of *Chado* also have their unique requirements regarding the size, colour, and shape of the whisks.

If the *chasen* looks like something only very skilled craftspeople can make, it is because it is. Its production is usually accomplished by a one person from start to finish, and generally follows an eight-step process, as follows.

1. First, bamboo that has grown to the appropriate size is harvested during late autumn and winter. These are then de-oiled in boiling water, wiped free of dirt, and bleached in the winter sun, when the air is at its driest, for around one month. They are subsequently cut into shorter lengths and matured further in storage for two to three years.
2. Matured bamboo is selected and cut to the desired length of the whisk and the position of the node. The skin above the node is stripped, and the remaining cane (culm) is split into 16 (sometimes 12, 18, 20, or 24 depending on the size of the final product) preliminary, crude tines. A splitting knife is inserted into each tine to separate the outer wood, which eventually becomes the actual tines, from the inner layer, which is cut off.
3. Each tine is split further into an even number of thinner tines, half of which will form the outer, extended layer and the remaining half the inner, bunched layer. The tine count always refers only to the outer layer; thus, a typical 80-tine *chasen* would actually have 160 tines in all. To make the 80-tine *chasen*, then, the preliminary tines (the initial 16) have to be split evenly into ten thinner tines each (totalling 160), half for the outer and half for the inner layers.
4. The tines are dipped in hot water and the inner bark is whittled off, thinning the tines towards the tip. The tips are often curled inward; the degree of the curl is dictated by the conventions of the *Chado* school and the type of tea (thick or thin) for which it is to be used.

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5. The tines are smoothened and planed (chamfered) one at a time. This is an essential and very important process, as it prevents powdered tea from sticking to the tines when whisking the tea.
6. The tines are then divided into the two layers, the extended outer layer forming a ring around the inner layer that is bunched together in the center. A thread is woven once around the outer layer to secure its shape, and twice around the inner layer to keep it separate and also to fortify the base of the tines.
7. A thin bamboo spatula is used to adjust the threading and push the inner layer further inward, in order to fix the final shape and size of the whisk.
8. Final adjustments are made to make sure that the tines are of even length and curve, and that the gaps between them are equal. The final product, a fully handmade piece of bamboo art, is then boxed and made ready for sale and use.

Chasen's Status in the Way of Tea Tradition

As a *Chado* implement, the whisk belongs to the category of bamboo utensils that includes ladles, tea scoops, flower vases, baskets, and others. One family of bamboo craftsmen, the Kuroda lineage, has been accredited by the major schools and families of *Chado* as the main supplier of bamboo utensils for the tradition since the sixteenth century. The family is presently part of a select group of official 'ten craftsmen families' whose products are considered the standard implements for use in the tea tradition.⁵ These include the makers of *raku* ceramic bowls (Raku family), iron kettles (Onishi family), and lacquer ware (the Nakamuras).

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The official crafts families form a union not unlike that of an accredited crafts guild; they are the purveyors to the major schools of almost all the necessary implements required in the practice of the Way of Tea. Although they had been constantly been supplying *Chado* schools with their products from the time of Sen Rikyu, they became the ten official suppliers relatively recently, around the middle of the eighteenth century, when the heads of the major *Chado* schools (Rikyu's descendants) saw it fit to standardize many aspects of the tea tradition, including the tools of the trade.⁶

However, despite producing every other bamboo implement for *Chado*, the Kuroda family does not make tea whisks in their workshop. Among all the utensils in *Chado*, only the *chasen* is not supplied by any of the 'ten craftsmen families.' The Kurodas rely more on other craft products such as tea scoops and vases for majority of its production and, consequently, its income and sustenance. For whisk production, the family defers to the *chasen* makers of a small town in Nara Prefecture, Takayama. It is in this small and quiet town where *chasen* have been traditionally manufactured. Today, ninety percent of all bamboo whisks produced in Japan are made in Takayama.⁷

Several reasons may be cited for the absence of this most essential of bamboo utensils in the Kuroda workshop. One might think of the profitability factor immediately. That is, bamboo vases, baskets, ladles, and tea scoops for *Chado* fetch much higher prices than tea whisks, so it makes good business sense to concentrate more on manufacturing higher-earning products. Despite its relatively cheaper price, the *chasen* requires more time, not to mention skill, to make; hence the cost performance is much lower than the other bamboo implements. (The professional *chasen* maker is said to be able to make only ten whisks in one day.)⁸ Whisks are also more troublesome to make. Vases and scoops, for example, may be fashioned in different ways depending on the qualities of the raw material, while the *chasen* must be crafted into a precise and very specific size and shape. And while other bamboo products can be fixed easily when, for instance, a careless cut is made in the material, it is not the case for *chasen*. One bent or broken tine will immediately render it useless.

Early Development

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However, the absence of *chasen* in the workshops of the accredited crafts families is due to reasons more important than lower profit potential and the hard work involved in its production. The most important reason is simply historical. That is, the tea whisk has the oldest credentials among all the tea implements, bamboo and otherwise.⁹ *Chasen* were already standard implements for the ritual serving of tea in Buddhist temples and other places before they were appropriated for use in *Chado*. Tea whisk production also existed in Takayama long before the Way of Tea itself was established as a ritualized art form.

It is worth noting at this point that Takayama is geographically well-placed. It lies within the triangle formed by Nara, Kyoto, and Osaka, three of Japan's most important cities in the early modern period (from the sixteenth century) when the *Chado* tradition was also established and fully developed. This geographical position made it a natural conduit for the supply and transport of raw materials and finished products to these major city centres, which invariably included bamboo.¹⁰

Hachiku [*Phyllostachys nigra* f. *henonis*] bamboo, the species that is considered most suitable for making tea whisks, also grows plentifully in Takayama. Mature *hachiku* have narrower canes, making them easy to transform into handles, and their skin can be stripped easily and split into thin strips. *Hachiku* also have short internodes, so that more whisks may be made from a single cane.¹¹

It must also be noted that the first *chasen*, or at least its prototype, was not a Takayama invention. Bamboo 'tea stirrers' were already made in China and other parts of Japan before Takayama monopolized the industry. The first reference in literature of such stirrers is found in China's *Treatise on Tea* written by Song Dynasty Emperor Huizong in 1107.¹² In the section that prescribes the proper method for preparing tea, the following advice is offered.

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The bottom of the cup should be deep and somewhat wider. A deep bottom allows the tea powder to rise up for suspension in the liquid, so that the milky froth is readily produced. A wide bottom allows the stirrer to be moved freely in a circular motion, so that there is no interference.¹³

In this passage, the character for ‘stirrer’ in Chinese is the same one used for *sen* in *chasen* in the Japanese. However, these early stirrers from China were more likely in the form of a brush made of several thin strips of bamboo tied together at one end of the cane.¹⁴ This type of tea implement eventually found its way to Japan, where it developed into its present form, and came to be used exclusively for *matcha*. The custom of drinking powdered tea, though Chinese in origin, has since disappeared in China. In Japan, due to *matcha*’s central role in *Chado*, it has survived until the present.

Chasen appears in Japanese literature from the late Kamakura period (late thirteenth century), and the earliest drawing is found in an illustrated scroll from 1351, the *Bokie kotoba*, from the Honganji temple in Kyoto.¹⁵ Buddhist temples in Japan were the earliest consumers of powdered tea drinks, as it was found to be of use as medicine and as a meditation aid; then, as now, it is said to prevent drowsiness. And it was a Buddhist priest, Murata Shuko, born in Nara near Takayama, who is frequently credited today with creating (or at least commissioning) the first *chasen* and promoting its use in the tea ritual.

Shuko (or Juko) (c1422-1502) had developed a ritualized, ‘cold and withered aesthetic’ style of serving tea in his temple.¹⁶ This was said to be his version of, as well as reaction against, the more flamboyant types of tea gatherings that were common in his day, which were essentially tea parties that involved the consumption of large amounts of food and alcohol aside from tea.¹⁷ Shuko’s spare style of serving tea was subsequently transmitted by his followers and their followers in turn, eventually reaching Sen Rikyu, himself a student of Zen, three generations later.

While he was the head priest of Shomyoji (Jodo sect) temple in Nara, Shuko became acquainted with a fellow priest, Sozei, who was the second son of the warrior lord of the neighboring castle town of Takayama. Sozei’s family patronized the bamboo industry which was a major source of income for many of the samurai families of Takayama at the time. It is assumed by several historians (and disputed by others) that it was to Sozei that Shuko turned to for help in producing a whisk that he could use for making *matcha* tea which Shuko was already serving in his temple.¹⁸ Sozei, through his personal connections with the bamboo craftspeople of Takayama and perhaps through his own skills as well, was able to create the first *chasen* prototype based on Shuko’s request.

No historical record confirming this collaborative relationship between Shuko and Sozei has been found. However, it is indeed plausible that such a relationship existed, not the least because of the two individuals’ high-ranking professional roles as Buddhist priests in neighbouring parishes in Nara during the same period. There is also an official account of

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Shuko offering a set of bamboo tea whisks to the Emperor Gotsuchi (1442-1500) in Kyoto; these *chasen* were described as having been made in the workshops of Takayama, in the period when Sozei and his family were administrators of the town and its bamboo industry.¹⁹

Shuko later left Nara to pursue studies in Zen Buddhism in Kyoto. (Shuko would eventually leave his own Buddhist sect and become a Zen priest.) In the capital city, he promoted his style of serving tea, bringing his Takayama-made whisks with him.

The Zen influence is very strong in the Way of Tea, and this is evident even today. For example, *Chado* teaches the importance of the concept of the present moment, or the ‘eternal now’, and its underlying ‘four basic principles of harmony, respect, purity and tranquillity’.²⁰ These concepts are central to *Chado*; they also dictate the way the tradition is practiced, as they are expressed in the ritualized movements and in the choice and manner of use of tea implements. The *chasen*, for instance, is used not only because it is the most efficient tool for whisking powdered tea and hot water into a delicious froth, but also, and perhaps more importantly, because of its symbolic aspects. Bamboo has historically long been a symbol of purity in Japan, and its use as material for the whisk and other implements is not unrelated to the ‘basic principle’ of purity mentioned above.²¹ The practice of discarding *chasen* after each use is also based on the same principle: a new *chasen* means that it is an unblemished one; in this case, the emphasis on purity trumps any concern for wastefulness.²²

50 While Shuko and succeeding generations of his followers were establishing the tea ritual, Japan was being unified by a series of political strongmen, Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536/37-1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616). These most famous of Japanese warlords also became practitioners of the fledgling tea tradition, as well as passionate collectors of prized tea utensils. As connoisseurs, they recognized the significant role played by the *chasen* makers of Takayama as they also supported and contributed to the maintenance of the whisk industry of the town.

Upon assuming power, Nobunaga wrested the administration of Takayama from its castle lords and confiscated their lands, but he permitted the local (non-landed) samurai families to continue producing *chasen*. He had realized that Takayama *chasen* were already unmatched for their technical and design qualities, a level reached through continuous development of the techniques of the craft by generations of whisk makers.²³ These developed techniques had been strictly kept secret from outsiders through *issbi soden* [literally, one child, one inheritance], the cultural practice that ensured Takayama’s monopoly on making the best *chasen* in the country.

Issbi soden is a term usually used to describe the teaching style in many Japanese arts and crafts traditions, including *Chado*. Under this system, the master – in most cases the male patriarch – hands down the secret methods of the art or craft to only one disciple, his appointed heir. Such was the case for the Takayama *chasen* makers; throughout upheavals in the Nara political landscape and the breakup of family networks in later generations,

this style of transmission of techniques continued until the twentieth century postwar period in Japan.²⁴ Some families in Takayama still continue to practice it today.²⁵

Nobunaga's successor, Hideyoshi, was another devoted student of *Chado*. He once held a now-legendary tea gathering on the grounds of the Kitano Tenmangu temple in Kyoto in 1588, with more than one thousand participants coming from all over the country. At this huge event, it was noted by many participants and record keepers that one hundred pieces of *chasen* were offered by Takayama makers to be used for the occasion.²⁶

By the time the Tokugawa shoguns were entrenched as leaders of Japan in the early eighteenth century, thirteen families of *chasen* makers in Takayama were officially appointed as purveyors of tea whisks to the shogunate.²⁷ This appointment would enable Takayama *chasen* to become the de facto standard whisk favored by the elite, including the Imperial household and the rest of the aristocracy and priest nobility. It became the most coveted among bamboo tea whisks in Japan, and consequently elevated the status of their makers in Takayama, particularly the purveyor craft families. The appointment also saw the further entrenchment of *isshi soden*, as it helped assure the continuity of the families and their monopoly of the techniques as well as the corresponding income from their craft.

The period in Japanese history when Tokugawa shoguns ruled the country corresponds to the Edo period (1703-1868), which is also the time when Japan was largely closed to foreign contact. This period of isolation resulted in a great flourishing of local arts and traditions; many of the art forms that Japan is famous for today, including *Chado* and *ikebana*, were developed into distinct traditions during this time.

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Recent Development

The Tokugawa regime ended with the so-called "Meiji Restoration" of 1868 and the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1911), which is particularly notorious for the Japanese people's ardent embrace of Western culture and civilization, from education to clothing styles, government systems, architecture, etc., to the detriment of Japan-inspired and -developed ways and traditions. *Chado* initially suffered along with the other Japanese art traditions; in particular, it suddenly lost the patronage of former ruling class (the Tokugawas and their network of ruling samurai families) with the abrupt change of government. However, the leaders of the Way of Tea schools managed to have their tradition introduced into the school curricula, especially in women's schools, as it was considered good training for etiquette and deportment.²⁸ This resulted in *Chado* emerging from its background in the Japanese modern period as a Zen-based ritual for spiritual development involving mostly men, into its present incarnation, a tradition still based on Zen but engaged in by an overwhelming number of women mainly for etiquette and deportment lessons.

Chasen Today

Chado's development and continuing popularity was good for Takayama, however, and the town's specialization in the production of *chasen* has served it well, sustaining it for most of its modern history. In recent years, though, it has experienced setbacks that are poised to threaten its long, unique role in the tea tradition in Japan.

One threat is economic: Some businesses in China have recently succeeded in producing whisks similar to those made in Japan, using Chinese bamboo and Chinese labour. Although the material is flimsier and the workmanship less precise, the whisks sell well because they are less expensive and look the same as the Takayama-made *chasen*, at least to the untrained eye. Chinese-made *chasen* are not as durable, either, but they are more than functional—the tea looks and tastes as good as the ones whipped with locally-made *chasen*. The workshops of Takayama are understandably worried, and some have taken to the internet to voice their concerns regarding (and opposition against) this foreign (Chinese) threat.²⁹

Another threat is more pressing: Like the rest of Japan, Takayama is an ageing society with falling birth rates, and many of the *chasen* craft families are finding themselves without successors. One generation ago, there were 50 workshops in the area; they are down to 23 today.³⁰ As for the thirteen official purveyor families in the Tokugawa era, they increased to sixteen in the Meiji period, only to dwindle down to only three in 1997.³¹ These families, however, branched out into sub-family networks, forming the present Takayama community of *chasen* workshops.

52 The ways in which Takayama is coping with these threats is a subject well worth intensive discussion and analysis. It will be meaningful, not to mention important, to continue to investigate the prospects for Takayama and its singular product, the *chasen*, in a future study.

Notes

1. Practitioners prefer the term *Chado* or *Sado* [*cha/sa*=tea, *do*=way] to refer to what is commonly called the 'tea ceremony' in English. They are said to 'dislike' the rendering of their practice as a 'ceremony' due to the ritualistic and religious connotations of the term. See Takeshi Watanabe, 'Breaking Down Boundaries: A History of Chanoyu', in *Tea Culture of Japan*, ed. S. Ohki (New Haven, CT: Yale University Art Gallery, 2009), pp. 47-78 (p. 47). This paper, by a Way of Tea practitioner, uses *Chado* interchangeably with the Way of Tea, and avoids the term 'tea ceremony.'
2. Soshitsu Sen XV, *Tea Life, Tea Mind* (NY: Weatherhill, 1979) p.79.
3. Japanese names appear in the traditional order, e.g. family name (Sen) followed by given name (Rikyū).
4. Nancy Moore Bess, *Bamboo in Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2001), p. 80.
5. Conventional translation of *Jisshoku* [*ji/ju* = ten, *shoku* = craft/work], as the families are referred to in the Way of Tea tradition.
6. Isao Kumakura, '*Waza wo tsutaeru kiseki no shudan* [A Phenomenal Group of Emissaries for their Art]' in *Senke jisshoku* [Ten Craftsmen Families of the Sen Family] (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 2012), p. 43.

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7. Asako Miyasaka, 'Artisans hand down tea-whisk tradition', *Asahi Shimbun*, 2010 May 28, <<http://www.asahi.com/english/TKY201005270376.html>> [accessed 5 May 2013].
8. 'A weighty tradition', *The Association for the Promotion of Traditional Craft Industries*, 2009, <<http://kougeihin.jp/en/crafts/introduction/bamboo/2915?m=cu>> [accessed 15 April 2013].
9. Asao Kozu, *Chanoyu to Nihon bunka* [Way of Tea and Japanese culture] (Kyoto: Tankosha, 2012), p. 104.
10. Yasuo Miyakawa, 'Evolution of Bamboo Craft and Metamorphosis of Tea Whisk Production Area', *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Social and Cultural Studies, Kyushu University*, 4 (1998), pp. 65-86, p. 71.
11. Bess, Bamboo in Japan, p. 35.
12. Masao Kikawa, 'Chasenjo take seihin no keifu [Genealogy of chasen-shaped bamboo products]', Aichi Prefectural Center for Archeological Operations Research Bulletin, 1 (2000), pp. 57-62, p. 60.
13. Ronald Egan, 'Huizong's Tea Manual: A Discourse on Tea from the Dakuan Reign Period', in *Food and Culture at Court Conference*, UCLA, n.d., <<http://evc.ucla.edu/conference-papers/food-and-culture-at-court/Egan>> [accessed 15 April 2013].
14. Kikawa, 'Chasenjo', p. 59.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
16. Theodore Ludwig, 'Chanoyu and Momoyama: Conflict and Transformation in Rikyu's Art' in *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu*, ed. P. Varley and I. Kumakura (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 71-100 (p. 79).
17. Soshitsu Sen XV, *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyu*, trans. by V. Dixon Morris (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), p. 129.
18. Miyakawa, 'Evolution of Bamboo Craft', p. 71. See also Fukutaro Nagashima, 'Takayama chasen ga kataru sado no rekishi [History of the Way of Tea as Told by the Takayama Chasen]', in *Takayama chasen no okori* [The emergence of the Takayama chasen] (Osaka: Naniwa Linden Books, 1998), pp. 2-9 (p. 9).
19. Miyakawa, 'Evolution of Bamboo Craft', p. 71.
20. Sen, 'Tea Life', p. 13.
21. Bess, 'Bamboo in Japan', p. 23.
22. The same practice is also associated with Shinto purification rituals. See Jennifer Anderson, *An Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 188.
23. Miyakawa, 'Evolution of Bamboo Craft', p. 72.
24. Tango Tanimura, 'Takayama chasen nitsuite [On the Takayama Chasen]' in *Takayama chasen no okori* [The emergence of the Takayama chasen] (Osaka: Naniwa Linden Books, 1998), pp. 30-50 (p. 34).
25. Miyasaka, 'Artisans hand down'.
26. Miyakawa, 'Evolution of Bamboo Craft', p. 72.
27. Tanimura, 'Takayama chasen', p. 34.
28. Paul Varley, 'Chanoyu from Genroku to Modern Times' in *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu*, ed. P. Varley and I. Kumakura (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 161-194 (p. 189).
29. See www.chasen.jp/history.
30. Miyasaka, 'Artisans hand down'.
31. Tanimura, 'Takayama chasen', p. 35.

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