

# Scholars'

Rethinking the display for *sencha* in the late Edo period

# Utopia

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*Sencha*, a new type of tea from Ming and Qing China, opened a new phase of Japanese tea culture in the late Edo period. Steeping tea leaves in teapots, smelling, tasting, and drinking from small cups, advocates of *sencha* not only enjoyed the Chinese-style tea, but also scholarly discussion with peers and opportunities for creative activities. As an alternative to whipped tea or *chanoyu*, criticised for elitism and formalism at that time, *sencha* freed tea gatherings, and simply invited participants to appreciate the essence of tea and to go back to the origin of its tea culture, China.

1. **Painting from Tanomura Chikuden, *Matamata ichirakujō***

Neiraku Museum of Art, Important Cultural Property  
(Source: Munakata Ken'ichi, ed., *Tanomura Chikuden kihon gafu zuhan hen*, Dōhōsha, Tokyo 2011, p. 72)

The dynastic change from Ming to Qing transferred people and objects from China to Japan. Things from transitional China impacted the culture of Tokugawa Japan, including the way of tea. The arrival of the Ōbaku Zen Buddhism in the 17th century brought the custom of making tea with Chinese utensils. Manpukuji temple in Kyoto still preserves the teapot used by Ingen (1592–1673), the founder of the temple.<sup>1</sup> In the 18th century, the Ōbaku monk Shibayama Genshō (1675–1763), later called Baisaō (‘the old man who sells tea’), sold steeped tea on the streets of Kyoto. Baisaō was highly influential in shaping the link between *sencha* and the literati (*bunjin*) ethos, with its critical non-conformist spirit, and its admiration of unconventionality.<sup>2</sup> However, images of literati brewing and enjoying *sencha* were introduced in Japan much before the actual practice. Making tea in a Chinese setting was already depicted by Japanese painters from the Muromachi period, as Jōichi Mariko has pointed out.<sup>3</sup>

It was during the Edo period that the concept of Ming Chinese tea acquired materiality. By the 19th century, Japanese literati made *sencha* an essential part of scholarly life. Tanomura Chikuden’s (1777–1835) famous album *Matamata ichiraku jō* (*Yet again one more pleasure*) may serve as an illustration of the refined Sinophile atmosphere associated with *sencha*. Chikuden writes: “One day in the fourth month, early summer, welcoming a bosom friend to a mountainside house with a green garden after rainfall, having discussions, drinking tea and sake, appreciating and commenting on old calligraphy and paintings – this is a pleasure” (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> The drinking of *sencha* would ideally be accompanied by the discussion and viewing of artworks in a private setting. As a result, the late 18th and early 19th century saw the development of the display of objects and utensils associated with the *bunjin* ethos.

This paper rethinks the display for *sencha* in the late Edo period, specifically during the 1820s and 1840s, within the context of scholars’ creative activities. I will first review the literature on the display of *sencha*, and subsequently discuss the relationship between participants and objects based on illustrated and written records of *sencha* gatherings, and objects for *sencha*.

From the late Edo period (1600–1868) until the early Shōwa era (1926–1989) a substantial number of illustrated catalogues of tea gatherings,

known as *meien zuroku* (‘pictorial records of tea gatherings’), were published. Research of settings and architecture for steeped tea usually starts with *Seiwan chakai zuroku* (*A record of the Azure Bay tea gathering*).<sup>5</sup> This monumental record of two grand-scale gatherings which took place in the second year of Bunkyū (1862) was compiled by Tanomura Chokunyū (1814–1907), Chikuden’s pupil and adopted son. The gatherings, which took place in the year of the 100th anniversary of Baisaō’s death, were held to celebrate the quality of the water of the Yodogawa river, which had been praised by important *sencha* practitioners, such as Ingen, Baisaō himself, and Chikuden.<sup>6</sup> However, *sencha* displays also took place before the publication of *meien zuroku*. These, unfortunately, have so far not received sufficient attention. What did these displays look like? And why were settings for *sencha* not actively illustrated until the 1850s, even though people enjoyed *sencha* before then?

## Settings for tea

In the second year of Hōreki (1756), the incense practitioner and Confucianist from Osaka, Ōeda Ryūhō, published the earliest guidebook on *sencha*, explaining how to prepare good tea and how to enjoy it. In the section on where to drink tea, he claims, “whether or not you are in a house, you should steep tea wherever you can bend your knees”,<sup>7</sup> indicating in this way that he felt no need to specify appropriate spaces for tea. Nevertheless, he mentions 24 suitable occasions for drinking steeped tea.<sup>8</sup> He encourages his readers to drink tea in different conditions of the mind, not only when you are calm, but also when you are tired or restless.<sup>9</sup> A range of creative literati activities are suggested as suitable to be accompanied by tea: listening to and commenting on songs, playing the *qin*, appreciating paintings, writing at a desk, and burning incense. Tea is also supposed to be at your side on social occasions including conversing with peers late at night, building a friendship, and taking care of your guests. You can have tea when you are in the midst of beautiful nature or poetic architectural scenes: on a clear windy day, when there are fresh leaves in drizzling rain, in woods and bamboo forests, at a pavilion, by a small bridge, on a boat, and in a house by a lotus pond. Another cup of tea is waiting after activities and events, for instance when a song finishes, when you return home and close your gate,

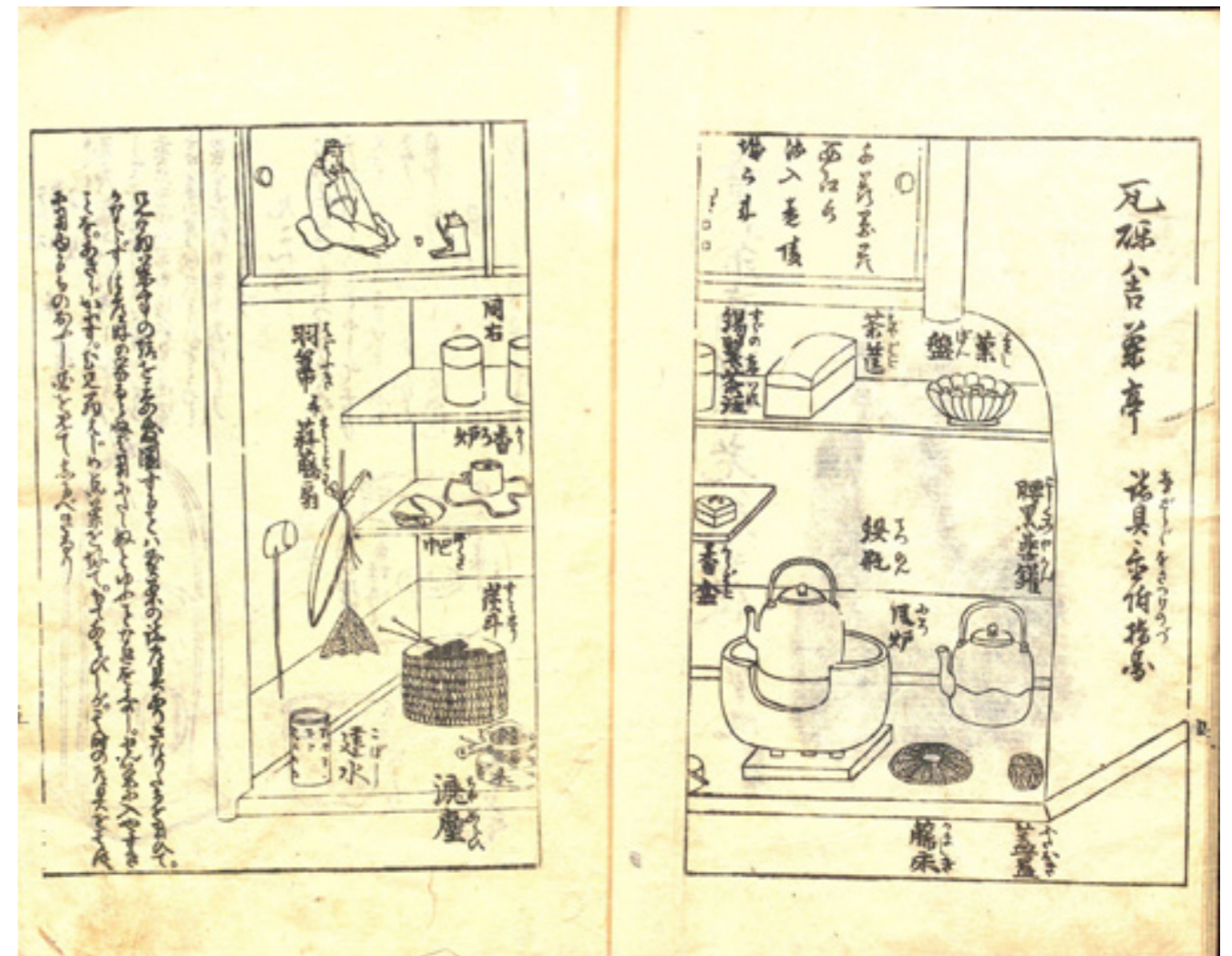
or see **your** off your guests after a banquet. These settings tell us that *sencha* was drunk either alone or with guests, for both stimulating and calming effects, inside (a studio, for instance) as well as outside.

Having set the stage for the enjoyment of *sencha*, it now became imperative to present utensils and objects in context. The desire to preserve the legacy of important figures for steeped tea, for instance the famous objects used by Baisaō, also played a role here.<sup>10</sup> At first, objects were depicted individually, without their positions in gatherings, but as the

drinking of steeped tea gained popularity, the subtle relationality of objects acquired more concrete forms in the guidebooks. In the second year of Kyōhō (1802), Ryūcatei Ransui, an otherwise unknown person from Nagoya who had switched from whipped tea to steeped tea, instructed readers how to prepare steeped tea with what they already had.<sup>11</sup> In his guidebook, he even displays *matcha* utensils, such as a *sumitori* (container for charcoal) and a *hishaku* (ladle), for steeped tea (fig. 2). As Narabayashi Tadao has pointed out, this suggests the flexibility of *sencha* practice at a developmental stage.<sup>12</sup>

2.  
Page from  
Ryūcatei Ransui,  
*Sencha hayashinan*, 1802

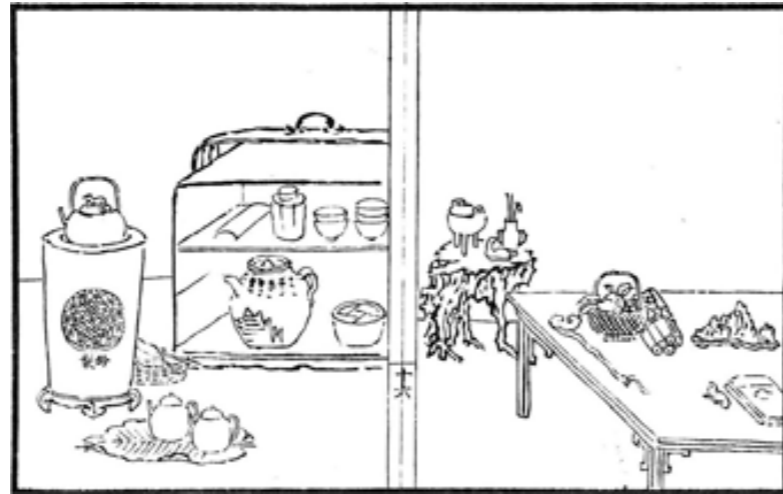
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Literature



## Display for tea

The appearance of a publication on display for *sencha* had to wait until the fifth year of Kaei (1852). It was in this year that Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783–1856) published *Meien hinmoku* (*A list of items for a tea gathering*) on the occasion of his 70th birthday. As figure 3 shows, the publication is more than just ‘a list’ as it depicts basic utensils to store, make and serve steeped tea in context, e.g. on the floor and in a small portable cabinet. Significantly, the items shown on the right, writing utensils, incense, fruits and a *nyoi* (a Chinese sceptre) displayed on a table and on a strangely shaped piece of wood, indicate the literati atmosphere that had been characteristic of *sencha* from the beginning. This illustrated record shows us how Baiitsu, a literati painter and tea devotee, ‘curated’ his objects for this special occasion. The catalogue was more than the result of an event: the depicted display was an experiment in the relationality of things.

Prior to his *Meien hinmoku*, however, Baiitsu had created *Seigojō*, an album of display for *sencha*, compiled in the first year of Kōka (1844). This unique catalogue, now in a private collection, contains the earliest surviving examples of *sencha* display.<sup>13</sup> There are 16 illustrations in the album, but one of them, ‘ink orchid’, is probably not an example of a display.<sup>14</sup> The orchid is depicted in a natural way and without a vessel. The other 15 examples can be roughly categorised as *bunjinka*, *bonsai*, *morimono*, scholarly items and architectural settings. *Bunjinka* is flower arrangement in the literati style, which was popular in the late Edo period, such as the chrysanthemum casually inserted in a porcelain vase in the sixth example of *Seigojō* (fig. 4a). *Morimono* refers to arrangements of flowers and fruit with various types of vessels and natural objects such as stoneware, baskets, rocks and interesting pieces of wood (figs 4b–d). Portable tea sets (fig. 4a) and scholars’ items for reading, writing, incense and music are also depicted (fig. 4e). Most of the examples are set in unspecified space, some are depicted as in a garden, windowsill, balcony by a lotus pond and in a studio (figs 4e–f). All the examples show combinations of natural and man-made objects, which, apart from their aesthetic value, have allegorical meanings based on Chinese prototypes. They basically express the desire for the good fortune of the guests and the fruitfulness of the gathering.<sup>15</sup> The objects in the examples are related to the five senses: sight,



3-  
Illustration from Yamamoto Baiitsu, *Meien hinmoku* (1852)

(Source: Tabata Jun, ‘Sencha - Ding (tripod)’, in *Aichiken toji bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, Aichi 2017, fig. 10, p. 30)

4a.  
Page from Yamamoto Baiitsu, *Seigojō* (1844)

Private collection  
(Source: *Bunjinga kenkyūkai* (ed.), *Seigojō: Baiitsu no chakaiseki zuan*, *Bunjinga kenkyūkai*, Tokyo 2008, p. 15)



4d. (Source: see fig. 4a, p. 29)



4b. (Source: see fig. 4a, p. 39)



4e. (Source: see fig. 4a, p. 25)



hearing, smell, taste and touch. In this way they are meant to stimulate the scholar’s creativity during the gathering. A brush and a musical instrument displayed for the gathering remind participants of the fact that they are invited to create and contribute. In addition, the catalogue demonstrates that places for display may range from a studio to the *al fresco*, which echoes *Seiwan chawa*’s ideal occasions for drinking tea.

The still-life paintings in Baiitsu’s *Seigojō* are part of the lineage of Japanese artists who learned from Chinese prototypes. Yanagisawa Kien (1704–1758), a pioneering literati painter in Japan, also depicted the combination of *morimono* and *bunjinka* – pomegranates in a celadon bowl and orchids in a basket (fig. 5).

5.  
Yanagisawa Kien  
*Orchid in basket*

Colours on silk, 18th century  
(Source: Tsuji Nobuo, ed., *Jakuchū, Ōkyō, Miyako no kisō*, *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 14, Shōgakkan, Tokyo 2013, fig. 80)

4c. (Source: see fig. 4a, p. 33)



4f. (Source: see fig. 4a, p. 19)



Comparison of the display examples of *Seigojō* with *Meien hinmoku* suggests how the album worked in practice. Combinations of objects from *Seigojō* (figs 4a–e) can be found in Baiitsu’s later record (fig. 3). *Seigojō*, his experiment in the arrangement of things, fertilised new ideas for actual display. In fact, while functioning as a prototype for display, the guidebook itself could be displayed at tea gatherings, as Baiitsu included a book in a display example.<sup>16</sup> Like *gachūga* (paintings depicted in a painting), display itself could be displayed as an artwork.

*Seigojō*’s box and the album itself have inscriptions and marks by the scholar and poet Yanagawa Seigan (1789–1858).<sup>17</sup> Seigan wrote that he read this catalogue at his house in the second year of Ansei (1855), a year before Baiitsu died. Seigan may have used *Seigojō* for his own tea displays, in this way reliving the friendship with Baiitsu while steeping tea.

## Gatherings for tea

By the 1830s, practitioners of *sencha* began to feel the desire to record their tea gatherings.

Artist *sencha* practitioners would record their gatherings through painting. Others reverted to different methods. For example, Koishi Genzui (1784–1849), a physician of Western and Chinese medicine in Kyoto, made written records because he was “not good at painting”.<sup>18</sup> Genzui was a friend of Baiitsu and a patron of literati artists. Two records by Genzui, which were transcribed and published by Funasaka Fumiko, contextualise the objects within the gatherings.<sup>19</sup>

Genzui’s records are among the earliest detailed written works on *sencha* gatherings. The first of the records published by Funasaka concerns a *sencha* gathering on the 11th day of the 12th month in Tempō 6 (1835) at Maruyama Shōami, which was one of six *tatchū* or minor temples of An’yōji temple in Higashiyama, Kyoto.<sup>20</sup> It is known that these temples were preferred venues for literati gatherings during the late Edo period (fig. 6). The most famous gatherings in the region were the exhibitions of recent calligraphy and painting (*Higashimaya shin shoga tenran*) held from the fourth year of Kansei (1792) to the first year of Meiji (1868).<sup>21</sup> Temples were among the preferred settings cited in *Seiwan chawa*. Maruyama Shōami, on the hill of Higashiyama, was

6. Page from volume 2 of *Miyako rinsen meisho zue* (1799), written by Akisato Ritō, with illustrations by Sakuma Sōen, Nishimura Chūwa, and Oku Bunmei

International Research Center for Japanese Studies



sandwiched between two gardens, a higher and a lower one.<sup>22</sup> This enabled the visitors to enjoy two different garden views. The architectural uniqueness of the venue also shaped the choices made for the gathering. At the beginning of the record, Genzui mentions that the room for the gathering had no walls (presumably to enable participants to enjoy the garden views) so that no hanging scrolls were displayed.<sup>23</sup>

The document describes the objects that were used at the gathering, their material, design, maker, and provenance, as well as the way of serving. Genzui and Baiitsu strongly favoured things Chinese for their displays for *sencha*. The majority of utensils in Genzui’s record were, in fact, made in China.<sup>24</sup> For example, there was a brazier made of white clay with three peaks and the inscription of “pulling and moving wind and crossing a forest”, which is a

well-known type of Chinese brazier in Japan.<sup>25</sup> There was also a teapot made in the famous Yixing kiln in southern China with an inscription by Manshung, a well-known Hanzhou literatus highly reputed for his engraved poems on Yixing ware.<sup>26</sup> However, Japanese items also appeared in the record, for instance a Japanese lacquerware water container originating from Saidaiji temple in Nara, which was treasured by the prominent literatus Kimura Kenkadō (1736–1802), and subsequently by Chikuden and Genzui himself.<sup>27</sup> Genzui also ordered tea scoops made from bamboo and paper for the members of the tea society to which he belonged.<sup>28</sup> The record includes information about the utensils used for serving sweets. *Hashibami*, or Asian hazels were served in a lacquered bowl.<sup>29</sup> Steamed yam cakes were served with syrup on a tray with a design of *Camellia Sasanqua* and *Prunus*.<sup>30</sup> Correspondingly, *Camellia Sasanqua* and *Prunus* were displayed in a bronze vase.<sup>31</sup>

In Tempō 8 (1837), Genzui participated in the *sencha* gathering in memory of Fukushima Genho (1793–1837). Genho was not only one of Genzui’s *sencha* friends, but also his patient. Genho had suffered from internal disease and died earlier that year.<sup>32</sup> His friends assembled at the house of the painter Uragami Shunkin (1779–1846), who was Genzui’s neighbour.<sup>33</sup> At the gathering, five members had individual settings and displayed tea utensils and scholarly items.<sup>34</sup> In the room allocated to Genzui, he hung a scroll by a Ming painter depicting orchid and bamboo, which is now held at the Seikadō Bunko Art Museum in Setagaya, Tokyo. *Nyoi* and *hossu* (fly whisk) were displayed on the wall, and an incense burner and incense container were set on a table. This time, too, he used Chinese tea utensils. In a porcelain vase, he arranged winter peonies. Lychees were displayed on a gilded bronze vessel and sweets were served on a tray.<sup>35</sup> The record describes the procedure of events for the gathering that day. Firstly, the host, Shunkin, burned incense for Genho’s spirit, then he welcomed the four other members of the group. He made tea and offered the first cup to the spirit. The others burned incense after which they, each in turn, assumed the role of host. Shunkin and Baiitsu both played the *qin*. They had a banquet around noon. The group had invited 20 guests, but over 80 people came to the gathering without invitation.<sup>36</sup> All in all, this gathering must have looked more like a ritual than like a social gathering of *sencha* lovers.

Around the time of this second gathering described by Genzui, the painter Tsubaki Chinzan (1801–1854) created a painted record of the lively atmosphere of the *sencha* gathering for the 61st birthday of Iiyama Yoshitaka in Kanda, Edo.<sup>37</sup> For this album Chinzan, for instance, depicted the preparation and serving of the tea (fig. 7a). The man on the right is probably picking up a feather brush to dust off utensils and the man below is collecting coal to boil water. Another leaf of the record illustrates various activities at the gathering (fig. 7b). Two men on the right appreciate a teapot, the two men next to them are about to create their works on paper and fan. In another part of the record two men are discussing artworks, while others are engaged in playing and listening to music.<sup>38</sup> The participants also enjoy drinking sake, smoking and eating.

The information provided by Genzui’s descriptions of two Kyoto gatherings and Chinzan’s record of a gathering in Edo, enables us to conclude that *sencha* gatherings could be either formal or informal. However, perhaps more significantly, it is also clear that all three gatherings tried to bring to life the ideal occasions, which *Seiwan sawa* had proposed in the late 18th century.

7a. Page from Tsubaki Chinzan, *Sencha shōjū* (1838, reproduced in the Meiji era)

Iruma City Museum



7b. Page from Tsubaki Chinzan, *Sencha shōjū* (1838, reproduced in the Meiji era)

Iruma City Museum





8.  
Aoki Mokubei  
Cups with poem, 1827

Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze red enamel  
Private collection  
(Source: Museum of Ceramic Art, Hyogo, Ogata Shuhei ten, The Museum of Ceramic Art, Shinoyama 2013, fig. 11, p. 12)

9.  
Tanomura Chikuden  
Tea set, 19th century

Iruma City Museum  
(Source: *Sencha dōgu senchashi kanren shiryō korekushon*, Iruma City Museum, Saitama 2010, p. 111)



## Objects for gatherings

As we have seen in Chinzan's painting, tea utensils were not only used but also appreciated and discussed. Moreover, they were often the result of an interplay between users and creators, who interacted in various contexts. As early as the Kansei era (1787–1789), Kiyomizu Rokubei (1738–1789), the Kyoto potter, actively produced domestic steeped tea utensils. According to Chikuden's *Detailed records before and after the 12th year of Bunsei (Toseki sararoku, 1829–1831)*, two important scholars and poets of the Edo period, Ueda Akinari (1734–1809) and Murase Kōtei (1746–1818) commissioned utensils from Rokubei based on their specifications.<sup>39</sup>

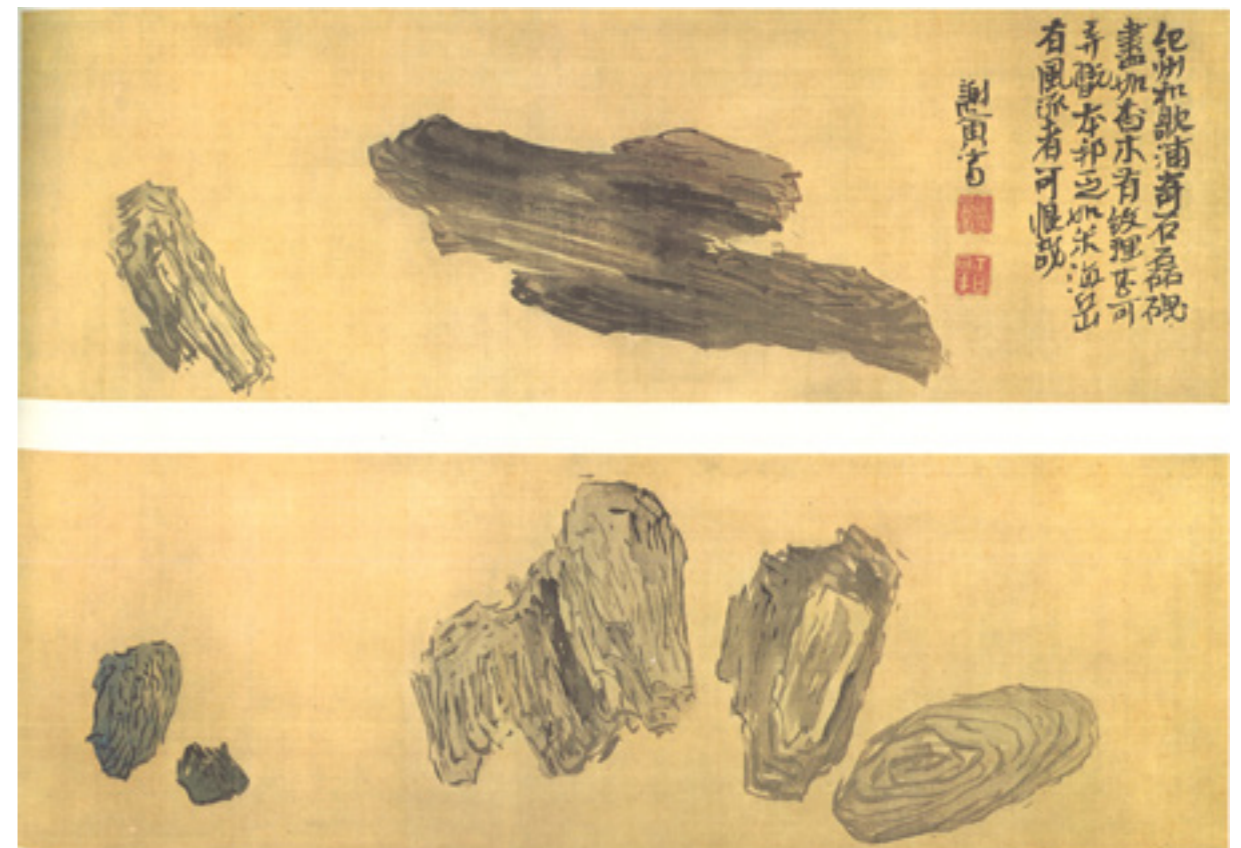
Initially, Chinese products were favoured, but gradually Japanese artists created their own unique works inspired by Chinese prototypes. Multiple inspirational sources – ceramics, poems and paintings – were often synthesised to create *sencha* utensils. For example, Aoki Mokubei (1767–1833), potter and painter, applied Chinese tea poems to the surface of *ryōro* (earthenware braziers to boil water) as well as to stoneware and porcelain cups (fig. 8). The form of the small cups with a high foot ring

follows the Chinese original produced in Jingdezhen. However, he created his own lively rhythm on a set of five cups freely articulating the size and style of characters in his rendering of the famous Tang poet, Lu Tong's (790–835) tea poem.<sup>40</sup> The making of these utensils is itself an expression of the literati spirit, and is seamlessly connected to what a *sencha* gathering was aiming for. Artists from various fields initiated the collaborative creation of their own tea utensils, each contributor following his own taste as well as his own expertise. Working with potters and woodturners, Chikuden inscribed characters and images on the surface of vessels (fig. 9). These utensils were used for *sencha* and viewed by invitees. The preparation of his displays started with the planning and making of objects.

Strangely shaped stones were among the preferred objects for *sencha* display and were often depicted by literati artists. Interesting stones were very much part of the Chinese literati tradition, but Japanese artists added their personal memories to the Chinese motif. The great haiku poet and painter Yosa Buson (1716–1783) depicted strangely shaped stones on a screen (fig. 10). The stones were not Chinese: they belong to the famous landscape

10.  
Yosa Buson  
Rocks

Two-panel screen, ink on silk, late 18th century  
Itsuo Art Museum, Osaka  
(Source: *Haijin no shoga bijutsu 5: Buson*, Shūeisha, Tokyo 1978, fig. 58)





11a.  
Hōzan  
Octagonal ewer

Stoneware with glaze and stone,  
19th century  
Maidstone Museum, Kent, MNEMG  
1979.124.281(1)  
Photograph by the author with  
permission from the Maidstone  
Museum



11b.  
Hōzan  
Lid of the octagonal ewer

Stoneware with glaze and stone,  
19th century  
Maidstone Museum, Kent, MNEMG  
1979.124.281(1)  
Photograph by the author with  
permission from the Maidstone  
Museum

at Wakanoura in Kishū, which has been admired since the Nara period. In the third year of Tempō (1832), Chikuden also sketched and documented a strangely shaped rock from Dannoura, which his pupil Hoashi Kyōu (1810–1884) picked up.<sup>41</sup> The stone was later gifted to Genzui, who, after Chikuden's death, wrote an afterword to his *Album of brush and ink reflections* (*Kanboku zuishin jō*), which included the painting of the stone.<sup>42</sup> This example indicates that an object for display could also be taken from nature and exchanged among peers. Genzui must have cherished this album for the history of the stone and the memory of his friend.

An interest in natural things was an important element of literati culture. Utensils made in the late Edo period also reflected such scholarly interest. Hōzan, a Kyoto potter, created a Chinese-style ewer but with a stone on the top of the lid (figs 11 a and b). The combination of natural and man-made objects, which is one of the characteristics of *sencha* display, can thus be seen within a single vessel. As can be expected, most of the plants that were used for display have not survived. However, surviving ceramic works tell us how important plants were for *sencha* practitioners. For example, Iwasaki Ōu, a *sencha* friend of Genzui who lived in Ōmi province, commissioned Mokubei to create a blue and white pot for a plant, which is now held in Idemitsu Museum of Art (fig. 12).<sup>43</sup>

In the 7th year of Bunsei (1824), Genji (Uekiya) Kinta proudly published *Sōmoku kihin kagami* (*Catalogue of extraordinary plants*). This astonishing publication features about 500 strange plants and thus testifies to the fascination for plants of the time.<sup>44</sup> Kinta, a gardener from Edo, interviewed around 60 collectors of strange plants and asked famous painters to record their collections. This work also demonstrates the demand for pots to contain the valuable plants. While pots from Hizen and Owari were preferred, there is an image of a Dutch pot in Kinta's catalogue.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, the fascination for strange plants and unique pots was considered undesirable in the context of the sumptuary policy of the Tempō reforms. Kinta was banished from Edo, his property was confiscated, and the printing blocks were burned.<sup>46</sup> The history of Kinta's book suggests one reason why no major works about the display of *sencha* were published towards the end of the Edo period.

12.  
Aoki Mokubei  
Pot with balustrade, 1832

Stoneware pot with underglaze  
cobalt blue  
Idemitsu Museum of Arts  
(Source: Kawahara Masahiko, ed.,  
Eisen, Mokubei, Nihon Tōji Zenshū 29,  
Chūō Kōronsha, Tokyo 1978, fig. 94)



## Conclusion

The display for *sencha* in the late Edo period was the result of the interaction of objects and participants. It aimed to create both active and calm moments, not only for social gatherings but also as part of a scholar's daily life. The objects were essential to creating a display, but a display could also be the starting point for the creation of objects as products of scholars' activities. The display for *sencha* in the late Edo period combined China and Japan, old and new, artificial and natural, ideal and reality. It served to bring to life each scholar's Utopia through tangible and intangible art.

## Acknowledgements

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## NOTES

- 1 Osaka Yomiuri Service, *Ingen zenshi to Ōbaku bunka no miryoku*, Osaka Yomiuri Service, Osaka 2011, p. 61, plate 38. The teapot is on loan to the Kyoto National Museum.
- 2 Takahashi Hiromi, *Kyoto geien no nettowāku*, Perikansha, Tokyo 1988, p. 21. For the life of Baisaō, see Norman, W., *The Old Tea Seller: Life and Zen poetry in 18th century Kyoto*, Counterpoint, Berkeley 2008.
- 3 Jōichi Mariko, 'Muromachi suibokuga no sencha – Bunjin zuyō wo megutte', in: *Nomura Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 16, 2007, pp. 54–81. The medical and spiritual benefit of tea was highly praised in poems from the Tang, Song and Ming dynasties in China, and in Japan. It was recited by Buddhist monks in the so-called Gozan *bungaku* or Five Mountain Literature. See also Ōtsuki Mikio, *Sencha bunkakō: Bunjincha no keifu*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, Kyoto 2004.
- 4 Suganuma Teizō, 'Chikuden no Matamata ichiraku jō', in: *Tetsugaku*, vol. 53, 1968, pp. 226–227.
- 5 Moriya Masashi, 'Seiwan chakai zuroku ni miru senchaki no toriawase ni tsuite', in: *Nomura Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 16, 2007, pp. 82–100. Yagasaki Zentarō, 'Bunjingaka Tanomura Chokunyū no kenchiku katsudō ni tsuite', in: *Nomura Bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 16, 2007, pp. 101–106. Fumoto Kazuyoshi, 'Senchaseki no ishōteki tokushitsu', in: *Kagudōgu shitsunai shi*, vol. 5, 2013, pp. 53–89.
- 6 Moriya Masashi, 'Seiwanhi to Seiwan chakai', in: *Osaka no rekishi to bunkazai*, vol. 6, 2000, p. 15.
- 7 Ōeda Ryūhō, *Seiwan chawa*, 6th year of Hōreki (1756), in: Hayashiya Tatsusaburō et al. (eds), *Nihon no chashō II*, Tōyō bunko, Heibonsha, Tokyo 1972, p. 107. Ōeda's work was renamed *Sencha shiyōshū* from its second edition.
- 8 Ōeda in Hayashiya et al. (eds), *op. cit.* (1972), pp. 11–34.
- 9 The interpretation of the text follows Hayashiya Tatsusaburō's annotations for *Seiwan chawa* in Hayashiya et al. (eds.), *op. cit.* (1972), pp. 113–114.
- 10 Baisaō's tea wares were illustrated by Miguma Kanan (1730–1794) in Ban Kokei, *Kinsei kijinden (Biographies of extraordinary people)*, vol. 2, Osaka, the second year of Kansei (1791). Also, Kimura Kōyō, *Baisaō chakizu [Illustrations of tea utensils owned by Baisaō]*, the sixth year of Bunsei (1823), Waseda University Library, Kotenseki Sogo Database, <[http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/w009/w009\\_03769/index.html](http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/w009/w009_03769/index.html)> Accessed 21 May 2017.
- 11 Ryūcatei Ransui, annotated by Narabayashi Tadao, 'Sencha hayashinan [Quick guide for steeped tea]' in: Hayashiya et al. (eds), *op. cit.* (1972), pp. 223–258.
- 12 Hayashiya et al. (eds), *op. cit.* (1972), p. 224.
- 13 Yamamoto Baiitsu, *Seigojō: Baiitsu no chakaiseki zuan*, (Bunjinga kenkyūkai ed.), Bunjinga kenkyūkai, Tokyo 2008. In 2016, the original was exhibited in the exhibition featuring *sencha* in the Owari region at Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum. Aichi Prefectural Ceramic Museum, 'Sencha: Literati painter Yamamoto Baiitsu and *bunjin* culture in Owari Province and Mikawa Province', 2016 <<https://www.pref.aichi.jp/touji/exhibition/2015/t.sencha/index.html>> Accessed 1 February 2019.
- 14 Yamamoto Baiitsu, *op. cit.* (2008), p. 8, fig. 4.
- 15 Yamamoto Baiitsu, *op. cit.* (2008). The editors of *Seigojō*, Bunjinga kenkyūkai (Research group for literati painting), provide interpretations of the metaphoric meanings behind the display images.
- 16 Yamamoto Baiitsu, *op. cit.* (2008), p. 25.
- 17 Yamamoto Baiitsu, *op. cit.* (2008), pp. i–ii.
- 18 Funasaka Fumiko, 'Koishi Genzui hitsu sencha kaiki "Fukushima Genho tsuifuku chaen no ki"', in: *Nomura bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 16, 2007, p. 109.
- 19 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2007), pp. 107–122. Funasaka Fumiko, 'Koishi Genzui hitsu senchakaiki "Gochiku saryō chagu mokuorku"', in: *Journal of chanoyu*, vol. 233, 2015, pp. 53–73.
- 20 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015). Demura Yoshifumi, Kawasaki Masashi, and Tanaka Naoto, 'Kinsei no Maruyama jishū jūin ni okeru kūkan kōsei ni kansuru', in: *Infrastructure Planning Review*, vol. 18, 2001, p. 389.
- 21 Demura et al., *op. cit.* (2001), p. 393. For catalogues of exhibitions of calligraphy and paintings in the Edo period, see Gotō Kenji (ed.), *Shoga tenkan mokuroku shūsei: eiinsatsu*, Nihon shoshigaku taikēi, 107, Seishōdō shoten, Tokyo 2017. These exhibition styles were incorporated into steeped tea gatherings at the end of Edo period. Miyazaki Shūta, 'Meien zuroku no jidai', in: *Bungaku*, vol. 7, issue 3, 1996, p. 36.
- 22 Demura et al., *op. cit.* (2001), p. 392, fig. 20.
- 23 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 56.
- 24 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 56.
- 25 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 56. Ogawa Kōraku, *Sencha dōgu meihinshū*, Tankōsha, Kyoto 2003, p. 21.
- 26 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), pp. 56–57. Ogawa, *op. cit.* (2003), p. 59.
- 27 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 57.
- 28 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 57.
- 29 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 58.
- 30 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 58.
- 31 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2015), p. 58.
- 32 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 114.
- 33 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2007), pp. 107, 115–117. Shunkin, a famous literati painter of the time, improved the way of *hincha*, which is a kind of game involving commenting on the taste of different types of steeped tea and guessing the 'brand' name of the tea leaves.
- 34 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 107.
- 35 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 107–109.
- 36 Funasaka, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 109.
- 37 Tsubaki Chinzan, *Sencha shōjū*, the ninth year of Tempō (1838), reproduced by Fūzoku emaki zue kankōkai, n.d., Iruma City Museum, inv. nr. 39554. <<http://www.alit.city.iruma.saitama.jp/search/artifact/det.html?data.id=39554>>.
- 38 Tsubaki Chinzan, *op. cit.* (1838).
- 39 Sakazaki Shizuka, *Nihon garon taikan*, Meiji shoin, Tokyo 1917, pp. 1305–1306. Ogawa Kōraku, *Sencha dōgu meihinshū*, Tankōsha, Kyoto 2003, p. 26.
- 40 The Museum of Ceramic Art, Hyogo, *Ogata Shuhei ten*, The Museum of Ceramic Art, Hyogo, Shinoyama, 2013, pp. 12, 188. Ex-collection of Tanaka Kakuō (1782–1848), founder of the Kagetsuan school of steeped tea. The bamboo storage box for the cups bears Rai Sanyō's (1782–1832) poem based on Lu Tong's tea poem in Mokubei's hand.
- 41 In Tanomura Chikuden, *Album of brush and ink reflections*, ink and light colours on paper, the third year of Bunsei (1832), 23.3 x 15.5 cm, now in the Museum Yamato Bunkakan.
- 42 Kōno Motoaki (ed.), *Bunjinga 2: Gyokudō, Chikuden, Beisanjin*, Edo meisaku gajō zenshū, Shinshindō, Tokyo 1994, pp. 58, 174. Genzui's afterword was written in the sixth year of Tempō (1835).
- 43 Mitsuoka Tadanari, *Tōji taikēi 25: Mokubei*, Heibonsha, Tokyo 1975, fig. 148.
- 44 Uekiya Kinta, 'Sōmoku kihin kagami', 1824, in: Ueno Masuzō (ed.), *Yakuho zusan, Sōmoku kihin kagami*, Edo kagaku koten sōsho 21, Kōwa shuppan, Tokyo 1979, pp. 75–336. The digitised printed book is available at National Diet Library Digital Library <<http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2606286>>.
- 45 Uekiya Kinta, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 168.
- 46 Ueno Masuzō, 'Kaisetsu', in: Ueno Masuzō (ed.), *Yakuho zusan, Sōmoku kihin kagami*, Edo Kagaku koten sōsho, 21, Kōwa Shuppan, Tokyo 1979, pp. 6–7.