2. Tea Harvesting at Uji: Repackaging Uji as a Productive Place

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Abstract: This chapter investigates the production and the dissemination of knowledge about a particular region in early modern Japan, namely, late-seventeenth- to early-eighteenth-century Uji. Uji is an interesting case study that shows how traditional knowledge was being negotiated with the new. Taking a scroll, *Tea Harvesting at Uji* by Kanō Tansetsu as its focus, this chapter argues that the traditional pictorial language of Uji was manipulated to promote the image of Uji as a productive tea region peacefully governed by the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Keywords: Tea, Uji, famous place, poetic pillow, Kanō Tansetsu

Introduction

The scroll opens a little abruptly, but it works: the people crossing the bridge immediately invite the viewer to 'enter' the scroll and follow them.[1] We see boats with boatmen and passengers on board. The men on the large boat are drinking a cup of sake, and the children are trying to catch fireflies. The fresh green willow leaves and the fireflies indicate that the season is late spring or summer. In front of the house, at the foot of the bridge, a man sits chatting with someone inside, possibly the master of this house. He is pointing towards a man and a woman, presumably husband and wife, with two children. His gesture, and that of the woman, carry the viewer further into the scene. The painter of this scroll often uses this kind of device to encourage the viewer to move on. We see a hut by the river where a water wheel is running. Bales of rice have been stored in one of its rooms, indicating that

1 I would like to thank Fan Lin and Doreen Mueller at Leiden University for their support, and Elesabeth Woolley for giving me an important piece of advice on translations. Of course, all errors remain my own. My sincere thanks go to Mary Redfern (then Curator of the East Asian Collections at the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin) for organising the viewing of the work.

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the rice harvest has just finished. Following the river, we encounter a group of men and women engaged in washing and drying cloth, a typical image of bleaching cotton. Here, too, a movement towards the left is created by the faces and bodies of the people, as well as by the river and the lengths of drying cloth. At the end of this part, a child points towards a pine tree further to the left, which somehow indicates a change of scene. Two men run along the other side of the pine tree, one of them pointing towards what is probably their destination: a field of tea trees where men, women, and children are picking tea leaves. The lively and pleasant atmosphere is underlined by the painter's sensitive use of multiple green colours and by the delicate patterns and hues of the labourers' attire, which is too luxurious for picking leaves (and bleaching cotton). Continuing our walk, we find that the picked leaves are carried into a house where tea jars for storage are ready. A pine tree and another tree (perhaps a tea tree) conclude the scroll. The entire scroll is framed by two streams of clouds, at the top and bottom of the image, as if to give the viewer a sense of peeping into another world.[2]

The place the painter visualised in this scroll is Uji, famous for tea production since the fifteenth century. Based on the signature at the end of the scroll, the painter is believed to be Kanō Tansetsu (1655–1714), an artist of the famous Kanō school, which served the Tokugawa shogunate during the Edo Period (1603–1868). Tansetsu was the second son of Kanō Tan'yū (1602–1674), who had established the school in Edo and entered the service of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The first researcher to identify the place in Tansetsu's scroll as Uji was Kōno Motoaki, an expert on early modern Japanese painting. In his discussion of this scroll in volume five of *Japanese Art: The Great European Collections* (Hizō Nihon bijutsu taikan), Kōno explained the scenes with the help of *Illustrations of Famous Places of the Capital* (Miyako meisho zue).[3] The scroll does not have any text, but Kōno convincingly identifies the bridge with a terrace projecting over the river as Uji Bridge, which connected the eastern and western banks of Uji River in the Edo period. Together with the depictions of tea harvesting and cotton bleaching, two of the most famous industries in the area, the identification of the place as Uji is logical.

Kōno wrote only a short commentary and used *Illustrations of Famous Places of the Capital* merely to identify the location depicted in the scroll. Robert Goree's recent analysis of *Illustrations of Famous Places of the Capital* demonstrates that it was not published to convey reality but a sense of prosperity and peace, to be used

2 The image is available on the collection website of the Chester Beatty Library: https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/J_1137/3/LOG_0000/.

3 Hirayama Ikuo and Kobayashi Tadashi eds., *Chestā Bītī Raiburarī*, vol. 5, Hizō Nihon bijutsu taikan (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993), p. 264.

as virtual tours by 'armchair travellers.'[4] Moreover, *Illustrations of Famous Places of the Capital* was published in 1780, almost a hundred years after Tansetsu executed his scroll. It can be argued that what Tansetsu visualised became the precursor of the image of Uji as seen in later published books, including *Illustrations of Famous Places of the Capital*.

Since the body of Tansetsu's works and the seals he used remain to be researched, it is difficult to determine when the scroll was painted. Some characteristics seem to indicate that he painted it in his youth: his frequent use of two people, the right one facing right and the other left, to generate movement of the eye towards the left; the lack of coherence in the pose of bodies, and the ink lines executed with a fragile touch. Tansetsu might still have been in training – there is not enough information to situate this work within his oeuvre. In addition, neither the scroll nor the box containing it provide any information as to who commissioned the scroll and why. Therefore, this paper will focus on an art historical analysis of the scroll to find out how Tansetsu created the image. This orthodox method is helpful in the case of this scroll, because it belongs to the earliest group of works representing the Uji tea harvest and thus the adaptation of the traditional pictorial language to create a new image of Uji is an important question. Uji was a *famous place* (*meisho*) renowned for its religious connotations and poetic resonances created by *waka* poetry since ancient times, and the tea industry was rather a new theme in the area. Investigating Tansetsu's work means exploring the creation of a new image of a *famous place* that underwent a radical change in the early modern period. I will use some books published during the period when the artist was active, not so much to position the scroll within its historical period as to clarify its unique position in the diachronic formation of the image of Uji.[5]

There are several works depicting tea production in Uji whose painters have been identified. One is the screen on the right of *Ritual of Racehorse at Kamigamo Shrine and Picking Tea at Uji* by Kusumi Morikage (dates unknown)[6] (Figure 2.1) and the

4 Robert Goree, *Printing Landmarks: Popular Geography and Meisho Zue in Late Tokugawa Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020), pp. 33–68.

5 However, this does not mean that there are no possible clues. In 1691, when the fifth Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709), visited his trusted advisor Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714) at his residence in Edo, Yoshiyasu presented the shogun with a scroll of tea harvesting at Uji executed by Tansetsu. The event is mentioned in Yoshiyasu's biography, *Annals of the Hall of Rejoicing in Virtue* (Rakushidō nenroku), but apart from the title and the name of the painter no details are given. See Miyakawa Yōko ed., *Rakushidō nenroku*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2011), p. 62.

6 These screens are usually paired, but there has been no research as to whether these screens were intended as a set. Kusumi Morikage trained under Kanō Tan'yū, but he left the school possibly due to the bad behaviour of his son. Morikage worked for the Kaga domain in the Hokuriku region after leaving Edo.

Figure 2.1: Kusumi Morikage, *Picking Tea at Uji*. One of a pair of six-panel folding screens, *Ritual of Racehorse at Kamigamo Shrine and Picking Tea at Uji*. 17th–18th century. Ink and colour on paper, 151.5 x 362.5 cm. Right screen pictured. Important Cultural Property. Okura Museum of Art, Tokyo.

other is a scroll of *Scenes of Tea Production in Uji* by Kaihō Yūsen (1690–1741);[7] both were executed in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Tansetsu's work is very different from these because he did not include the religious institutions that were often depicted in representations of Uji and instead inserted some scenes that were rarely visualised in creating the image of the area. In addition, his focus on the highlights of the depicted industries suggests that Tansetsu's scroll was not meant to provide instruction on the production processes. My art historical analysis will reveal that Tansetsu intended his scroll to show a harmonious, human-centred Uji where everyone had a share in the industry. To create such an image, Tansetsu removed religious references and changed poetic symbols to pragmatic ones. This shift in visuality, where an antique form of representation fostered through the medieval period was breaking down and modernity was emerging, is the focus of this scroll.

From Religious to Secular

Before starting the analysis of this scroll, let us briefly look at the geographical circumstances of the area in question. Uji is located about eight kilometres south of Kyoto. The area is divided by Uji River running from southeast to northwest. Uji Bridge connects its eastern and western banks (Map 2.1). On the western bank is Byōdō-in (Temple of Equanimity), converted from a villa into a Pure Land Buddhist temple by Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992–1074) in 1052.

On the eastern bank, to the north, we find Manpuku-ji (Temple of Ten-Thousand-Fold Happiness), a temple of the Ōbaku Zen sect founded by Yinyuan Longqi (J: Ingen Ryūki, 1592–1673) in 1661. From Manpuku-ji, we can see Uji River curve towards the west and merge with two other rivers, the Kizu and the Katsura. It continues to Osaka Bay as the Yodo River.

Over the centuries, these highly important places of worship became landmarks within the region – making Uji one of those *famous places* one had to visit. These *famous places* were usually visualised with iconic motifs in the region and other motifs and references portrayed in classical literature, as will be discussed in detail later. In the case of Uji, Byōdō-in was one such motif to represent the area. The temple seen from the eastern bank over the bridge facing west epitomised the visualisation of the Pure Land. Indeed, the earliest image of Byōdō-in on record

7 Yūsen was the great-grandson of Kaihō Yūshō (1533–1615), a painter who worked under Kanō Eitoku (1543–1590), the Kanō master who expanded the business of the school through commissions from notable warlords such as Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598). For the illustration, see Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, ed., *Uji cha: meisho e kara seicha zu e* (Uji: Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, 1985), pp. 40–41.

Map 2.1: Map of Uji.

was the wall painting on the west wall of the Amida Hall of the Kanjizaiō-in in Hiraizumi, which was recorded in Documents of the Chūson-ji Sutra Repository from 1313.[8] As art historian Matthew McKelway has pointed out, the painting on the western wall of the Amida Hall had a double meaning: Kyoto was located to the west of Hiraizumi, the same direction as the Pure Land Western Paradise of Amida Buddha.[9] Other visual works representing Uji as a religious site usually depict Byōdō-in as seen from the eastern bank, too. One example is a pair of four-panel folding screens titled *Famous Places Outside the City* by Kanō Eitoku (1543–1590), which was probably made around 1565.[10]

With this geographical knowledge in mind, let us go back to the opening scene of the scroll (Figure 2.2). What immediately draws the viewer's attention is the terrace in the middle of the bridge that juts out over the river. This characteristic terrace is called the *san-no-ma*, which literally means 'the third space,' indicating the space between the third and fourth pillars from the west end (hereafter referred to as the

8 Tsuji Nobuo, *Rakuchū rakugai zu*, vol. 121, *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1976), p. 21.

9 Matthew P. McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 30.

10 Kano Hiroyuki, "Kanō Eitoku hitsu Rakugai meisho yūraku zu byōbu (Uji-gawa, Ōi-gawa)," *Kokka*, no. 1331 (2006): 22. For the illustration, see Plate 2 of this article.

Figure 2.2: Kanō Tansetsu Morisada, *Tea Harvesting at Uji*. 18th century. Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 32 x 519 cm. Chester Beatty Library, CBL J 1137. Part of the scroll pictured. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

san-no-ma terrace). The terrace was constructed in the early modern period, based on the story that warlord Matsunaga Hisahide (1510–1577) drew water from here to host the famous tea master, Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591), during his tea gathering in 1565, and the legend that it had been the location of a shrine dedicated to the Goddess of the Bridge.[11] Some of the earliest representations of this terrace may be found in *The Illustrated Tale of Genji* (Eiri Genji monogatari) published in 1650 with illustrations by Yamamoto Shunshō (1610–1682).[12] The *san-no-ma* terrace was built facing southeast, upstream, and it is depicted like this in other works, such as the *Scene of Uji* by an anonymous painter, which was probably executed between 1668 and 1678[13] (Figure 2.3) and Kaibara Ekiken's *Excellent Views of Kyoto* (Keijō shōran)[14], published in 1706. Since the viewer is facing this terrace in Tansetsu's scroll, the left bank must be the western bank. Remarkably, however, the buildings that identify it as the western bank, Byōdō-in and the Hashihime Shrine, are missing. The Hashihime (Lady of the Bridge) Shrine, where one could worship the Goddess of the Bridge, was located at the bridge's western foot, as can be seen in the *Screen of Uji* and in *Excellent Views of Kyoto* (see 'Hashihime no miya' to the left of Byōdō-in). The two sites also already appear on the screens *Famous Places*

11 Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Uji-bashi: sono rekishi to bi to* (Uji: Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, 1995), pp. 54–55.

12 Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Uji-bashi: sono rekishi to bi to*, pp. 54–55.

13 Noguchi states that if it can be supposed that representations reflect reality, it is possible to situate this work after 1668, when the main halls of Manpuku-ji were constructed, and before 1678, when the *sanmon* (the gate with three spaces between the pillars) was built. Noguchi Takeshi, "Uji zu byōbu," *Kokka*, no. 1392 (2011): 28.

14 For the illustration, see the digitised images in the Waseda University Library, https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ru04/ru04_05298/ru04_05298_p0045.jpg and https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ru04/ru04_05298/ru04_05298_p0046.jpg.

Figure 2.3: Anonymous, *Scene of Uji*. 17th century. Two-panel folding screen, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 146 x 157.8 cm. The Nezu Museum, Tokyo.

Outside the City by Kanō Eitoku.[15] It is not known whether Tansetsu made use of these earlier works and published books, but it is reasonable to assume that he was aware of the presence and the location of these two sites.[16]

15 See Plate 2 of Kano, "Kanō Eitoku hitsu Rakugai meisho yūraku zu byōbu."

16 The painters, including those of the Kanō school created the images on the basis of copies transmitted through generations. For the school's emphasis on training over talents, see Karen M. Gerhart, "Talent, Training, and Power: The Kano Painting Workshop in the Seventeenth Century," in Brenda G. Jordan and Victoria Weston, eds., *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), pp. 18–29. For the details of training based on copybooks, see Brenda G. Jordan, "Copying from Beginning to End? Student Life in the Kano School," in *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting,* pp. 33–58.

It should also be mentioned that the image of the right-hand side of the Uji Bridge may have been cut off at some point. The depiction of only the prow of a boat emerging seems to be an incomplete composition for the beginning of a scroll. In that case, it would be interesting to know what was depicted on the eastern bank. However, let us leave this aside and focus on what Tansetsu is doing here. Instead of the Hashihime Shrine, he depicts a house where a man is being served a drink[17] and points towards a couple and (presumably) their children, giving a glimpse of local people's everyday life. On realising this, the viewer becomes aware of the idea of Uji that Tansetsu is trying to convey. He is downplaying the religious meanings of the place while highlighting its vernacular aspects as a place for conducting daily business.

Two men are sitting on the bridge, others are crossing it from right to left. A man and a woman wearing white robes and a man wearing a hat are travellers who have probably come to visit Uji's iconic religious sites; other indications are their travellers' staffs and the black leggings (*kyahan*) worn by the man with the hat. These figures resemble those appearing on earlier works showing the passage on the bridge. Since there are no religious sites in this scroll, we can only guess their destination, but what is remarkable is the attention they get. The man sitting on the right and the man carrying the baskets are both looking at the man with the hat, and the man looking back while lifting his left hand is taking in all three travellers. In this way, we are reminded that Uji is a famous destination, even though the actual sites are nowhere to be seen. The important point is that the attention the travellers get sets them apart from the locals and their daily chores.

The role of the bridge in this image is to show that this place is none other than Uji and to create a one-way passage towards the western bank, where people engage in their daily business. The representation of the bridge here lacks the lively comings and goings between the religious sites of the western and eastern banks seen in the works by previous painters. The two men at the foot of the bridge looking at each other may also be travellers; they are probably the attendants of a person of higher status, because one of them is carrying a *hasami bako* on his shoulder, a travelling

17 Kōno speculated that this house is the tea house run by a master called Tsūen (dates unknown), as explained in *Illustrations of Famous Places of the Capital*, but whether it is represented in this scroll remains in doubt. It is introduced in *A Kyoto Souvenir from Dekisai*, published in 1677, as a tea house at the foot of Uji Bridge on the eastern bank. See Asai Ryōi, "Dekisai Kyō miyage," in Noma Kōshin ed., *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho*, vol. 11 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1976), p. 651. In 1793, the Tsūen family submitted a record of family history titled *A Record of Miscellaneous Matters Regarding the Uji Bridge* (Uji bashi shoji todome ki) to the shogunate, claiming that their job included the prevention of fire and the formation of pools of water in case of heavy rain, and the supervision of the passage of the procession of tea jars and visiting shogunal inspectors. For this reason, the family used lanterns with the inscription *goyō* (literally 'official business'). The record was kept updated until 1850. See Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Uji-bashi: sono rekishi to bi to,* pp. 35–37.

chest used to carry the belongings of high-ranking members of the warrior class. It is not clear whether they are about to cross the bridge or are simply waiting for their master. No one stands on the *san-no-ma* terrace to watch the upstream view. Again, Uji does not attract visitors as a site of religious institutions in this scroll.[18]

In earlier representations of Uji (for example, in Eitoku's screen), boats were often transporting brushwood. Tansetsu, however, stresses the aspect of merrymaking. The people in the boats are clearly enjoying themselves. Whether they are also travellers who have come for sightseeing is unclear, but the fact that Tansetsu presents Uji River as a place where people can enjoy themselves pushes the religious aspect of the region even further into the background. His representation of children catching fireflies may be the first to depict this motif in the history of representing Uji. According to a chronological list of the representations of Uji made by art historian Takeuchi Misako, fireflies appear only once, in *The Infinite Treasury of Plum Blossoms* (Baika mujinzō), a collection of poems by Rinzai Zen monk Banri Shūku (b. 1428) in the late fifteenth century: his poem was the inscription of a painting of fireflies at Uji.[19] In the poem, Banri Shūku compares the light emitted by fireflies to the flames of war in ancient China, based on Uji's history as the battlefield of the Genji and Taira clans.[20] The comparison between the fireflies and the souls of the deceased is still seen in some gazetteers, for example in Asai Ryōi's (d. 1691) *A Kyoto Souvenir from Dekisai* (Dekisai Kyō miyage).[21] Given this long history of comparison, Tansetsu's affectionate eye on children who are absorbed in catching fireflies is remarkable. It is possible that, by employing children, he foregrounded their enjoyment of the fireflies as natural things without alluding to their literary and historical meanings. The painter deliberately changed the current of the river to show this scene effectively. As the *san-no-ma* terrace is facing upstream, the current should run from the front to the back of the image. Instead, Tansetsu sectioned the scene with a mist of gold powder and positioned the boats beneath the mist, so that they would follow the movement of the scroll, from right to left, thereby going against the current of the river.

To sum up, unlike earlier works, Tansetsu's scroll does not show Uji as a religious site. There are no religious institutions for travellers to visit. The Uji Bridge carries people to the left bank where others are conducting their daily affairs. The house

18 Noguchi suggests that some of the depictions in *Scene of Uji* suggest a decline in the sacredness of the west bank, such as the men feasting near Byōdō-in and a mother holding her child and talking with other women in Makinoshima. Noguchi, "Uji zu byōbu," 27.

19 Takeuchi Misako, "Ryūkyō suisha zu byōbu shinshutsu bon no shōkai o kanete jō," *Kokka*, no. 1138 (1990): 28.

20 Ichiki Takeo, trans., *Baika mujinzō chūshaku*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1993), pp. 20–21.

21 Asai Ryōi, "Dekisai Kyō miyage," pp. 651–652.

at the foot of the bridge looks like a tea house rather than the Hashihime Shrine. Travellers attract attention as markedly different beings from the locals. People enjoying their boat ride and children catching fireflies add a merry atmosphere to the scroll. All this indicates that Tansetsu's scroll is based on a different scheme than Eitoku's screen and the anonymous *Scene of Uji*.

From Poetic to Practical

Along the river we see a waterwheel in operation, as well as a hut with two rooms; the left room serves as storage for rice bales and the right room has a kind of apparatus inside, which may relate to the waterwheel, although the mechanism is rather puzzling. The current here is the opposite of that in the opening scene; the river flows from left to right as is clear from the waterwheel rotating counterclockwise, and a boat moves towards the right.

The details have been simplified to such an extent that it is hard to identify all the tools and utensils, but the square box held by a man on the left-hand side on the bank is a *masu*, which is an implement for measuring rice. The rice is scooped into a tub of the type held by the man in the middle, who wears a brown kimono. With the help of these measuring tools, they fill rice bales holding about seventy-two litres of rice.[22] They seem to have finished their work and are putting away their tools. A man on the right holding a flask is already pouring a cup of sake to celebrate the completion of the rice storage. Behind him is a thresher, a tool that is usually set in motion by pedalling. However, Tansetsu seems to suggest that the waterwheel is the thresher's source of power, although the depicted structure is doubtful. The waterwheel is too far from the riverbank, and the role of the pipe that connects the box in the river with the hut is obscure. If the waterwheel was moving the thresher, it should be closer to the hut, and its axle should be attached to the thresher in some way to maximise the power of the water.

A waterwheel is one of the iconic features of Uji River. Uji was so famous for producing waterwheels for irrigation that the monk Kenkō (1283–1350) mentioned them in his famous *Essays in Idleness* (Tsurezuregusa).[23] Although there is a practical side to the relationship between Uji and waterwheels, most of the association comes from poetry. In the poetic tradition, the waterwheel was an indispensable part of Uji as a symbol of grief – the sadness of life being as constant as the turning

22 One *masu* holds about 1.8 litres (1 *shō*) of rice, and ten *shō* of rice (around 18.039 litres) will fill a tub. Four tubs would be enough for one rice bale.

23 Yoshida Kenkō, "Tsurezuregusa," in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, trans. Nagazumi Yasuaki, vol. 44, (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1995), p. 121.

of the wheel; primarily, a poetic play on the words Uji and *ushi*, meaning sad, gloomy.[24] A poem by the Buddhist monk Kisen (dates unknown) in *Collection of Waka Poems, Ancient and Modern* (Kokin wakashū), from the early tenth century, reads as follows:

> My dwelling is a hut, southeast of the capital, and I live quietly there:
> People say, I hear, that it is because I found the world distasteful that I came to live on Ujiyama, the mountain of grief.[25]

Art historian Tamamushi Satoko speculates that the belief in Pure Land Buddhism among the aristocracy in the eleventh century, characterised by the completion of Byōdō-in in 1053, further enhanced the image of Uji as a place of sadness and uncertainty and gives an example of a *waka* poem in *The Collection of Poems Compiled by Fujiwara no Sadayori* (Sadayori shū) in the early eleventh century, which employs the motifs of a waterwheel and Uji/*ushi* to represent this sentiment:

> I lament over the world, as I see a waterwheel by Uji River running,
> My sleeves are wet with tears.[26]

As these poems show, due to its association with sadness, Uji became a 'poetic pillow' (*utamakura*). Poetic pillows are a special category of place names and allusive terms used in *waka* poetry to create a particular poetic sentiment. They might introduce a specific physical feature of the place mentioned, real or imagined, or allude to connections with other forms of literature or historical events, or, alternatively, be used for wordplay to layer multiple meanings.[27] Poets used poetic pillows to create a web of references connecting their own poem with poems of the past, and a web of allusions associated with the pillow. In the case of Uji, Uji River was a source of motifs for producing webs of allusions, such as the bridge, with its associations with coming and going and thus with parting.[28] Willow trees were another motif; their association with bridges created a sense of parting in poems in Tang Dynasty China (618–907), which were probably

24 Edward Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 131, see also note 31 on pp. 275–276.

25 Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry*, p. 130.

26 Tamamushi Satoko, "'Ryūkyō suisha zu' to 'Uji no kawase no mizuguruma': kayō to fūryū to byōbu e no kōkyō," in *Nihon bungei shichōron* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1991), pp. 865–866.

27 Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry*, p. 28.

28 Timon Screech, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), p. 63.

introduced to Japan in later years.[29] An example that became widely known today as *Screens of Bridge and Willow*, crystallises these layered literary references.[30]

In Tansetsu's scroll, however, no sense of sadness can be detected. The people on Uji Bridge and Uji River are working or enjoying themselves. The waterwheel is simply a tool, without any connotation of gloominess. This, again, marked a radical change in the use of motifs in images. The waterwheels in Uji failed to capture people's attention, possibly because warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) had cleared Uji Bridge in 1594 during the construction of Fushimi Castle. The bridge was reportedly reconstructed by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1599, but it seems that five years were enough for people keen on fashionable lyrics and songs to forget about it. Instead, the waterwheel in Yodo River started to feature in a song performed by *kabuki* players. The song alluded to love by comparing a waterwheel to one half of a couple waiting for the other.[31] Although the waterwheel in Uji disappeared from literature, it persisted in images, mainly because it indicated that the place was indeed Uji. Tansetsu's scroll not only used this iconic motif to represent the region, but it also removed literary references, turning the waterwheel into a practical tool for agriculture.

The completion of harvesting and storing rice bales and the man pouring a cup of sake from a flask in celebration of this add a merry atmosphere to the scene. Rice was an important crop, not only because it was a staple food, but also because rice production formed the basis for taxing the domains. Thus, rice cultivation scenes became part of the imagery admonishing military elites to practice moral conduct; regional productivity depended on their protection and good governance. The theme of rice cultivation often comprised the procedure from beginning till end, from planting rice seedlings to storing grain. The scenes would also be set in an imaginary place, representing an ideal world governed by just rulers.[32] As Kōno

29 Adachi Keiko, "Nishu no ryūkyō zu byōbu," *Kokka*, no. 1135 (1990): 7, 10–11. Screech states that willow trees were included not only because these were common on riversides, but also because they reminded people of women's dishevelled hair, and thus of women who were sad and lonely, as read in the poem by Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241). Screech, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan,* p. 65.

30 For the illustration, see Takeda Tsuneo et al., *Keibutsu ga: shiki keibutsu*, ed. Daiichi Shuppan Sentā, vol. 9, Nihon byōbu e shūsei (Kōdansha, 1977), pp. 76–79.

31 Tamamushi, "'Ryūkyō suisha zu' to 'Uji no kawase no mizuguruma': kayō to fūryū to byōbu e no kōkyō," p. 874.

32 Screech, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan*, pp. 149–151. It is said that the images of rice cultivation and silk production scenes as admonition were originally created in China by Lou Shou (1090–1162), a magistrate of Wuqian in Linan, who created twenty-one images of rice production and twenty-four images of silk manufacture, each with a poem explaining the scene, to describe the life of farmers under good governance, especially the proper conduct of local officials. Lou Shou presented the set to Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) of the Southern Song dynasty. Roslyn Lee Hammers, *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving: Art, Labor and Technology in Song and Yuan China* (Hong Kong: University Press, 2011), pp. 41–60. Although the set presented to the emperor no longer exists, a copy published as a printed

mentions, the relation of this scene to Uji is not obvious.[33] Indeed, the storage of rice is difficult to relate to an admonitory context as it is the only scene relating to rice cultivation in Tansetsu's scroll. A more plausible suggestion would be that it was meant to show Uji as 'countryside.' Adding people and things unrelated to the theme of an image is a well-known method to amplify its sense of reality. This can already be seen in the screen of Uji by Eitoku. To the right of the Hashihime Shrine, we see a man and his ox at work in the rice field, providing a glimpse of daily life in a screen in which Byōdō-in plays the central role.[34] In Tansetsu's scroll, too, men at work indicate a rural area, with the waterwheel identifying the region as Uji.

Most likely, this scene was based on copies rather than actual observation. Tansetsu may have used some images of rice production scenes that were current in the Kanō school. The appliance that looks like a thresher can be seen in a pair of six-panel folding screens by Kusumi Morikage (Figure 2.4), in which two men set their right feet on it. This appliance first appears in the woodblock-printed version of the *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* published in Ming dynasty China in 1462 by Song Zonglu, reprinted in Japan in 1676 and illustrated by Kanō Einō (1631–1697), the eldest son of Kanō Sansetsu (1589/90–1651), the master of the Kyoto branch of the Kanō school. Little is known of the exchange of imagery between the Kyoto and Edo branches of the Kanō school; Tansetsu's scroll might indicate that Kanō painters in Edo used copies and printed books published by Kanō painters in Kyoto.[35] The inaccuracy in the structure of the waterwheel and the way in which the rice bales have been stored (they seem to have been thrown in carelessly, even though each bale would weigh around sixty kilos) can probably be explained by this circumstance.

One final problem to be solved is a break in the seasonal cycle: harvesting and storage are conducted in autumn, whereas the scenes before and after take place in summer. This suggests that a powerful scheme of poetic pillow was at work even in Tansetsu's time. Still, what the artist did was innovative. As mentioned, Uji was always set in autumn to reference a feeling of sadness. Tansetsu changed the

book by Lou's descendants became well known and eventually reached Japan. Reizei Tamehito et al., *Mizuho no kuni Nihon: shiki kōsaku zu no sekai* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1996), p. 4.

33 Kōno explains that these rice bales are for paying the annual tax. Kōno, the entry of this scroll in Hirayama and Kobayashi, *Chestā Bītiī Raiburarī*, p. 264.

34 See Plate 2 of Kano, "Kanō Eitoku hitsu Rakugai meisho yūraku zu byōbu (Uji-gawa, Ōi-gawa)."

35 A pair of screens by Sansetsu in the collection of Tokyo University of the Arts also has this type of thresher. Reizei et al., *Mizuho no kuni Nihon: shiki kōsaku zu no sekai*, pp. 30–31. For details of Song Zonglu's *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving*, see Reizei et al., *Mizuho no kuni Nihon: shiki kōsaku zu no sekai*, pp. 24–25. Kōno Michiaki, a historian of agricultural tools, states that while the use of Song Zonglu's edition by the Kanō school painters in Kyoto is evident, this is not the case for those in Edo. Reizei et al., *Mizuho no kuni Nihon: shiki kōsaku zu no sekai*, p. 25. The interaction between the Kanō schools in Kyoto and Edo will be clearer if other images including this type of thresher in the works by the Edo Kanō painters are confirmed as based on Song's edition, and information on the commissioning process emerges.

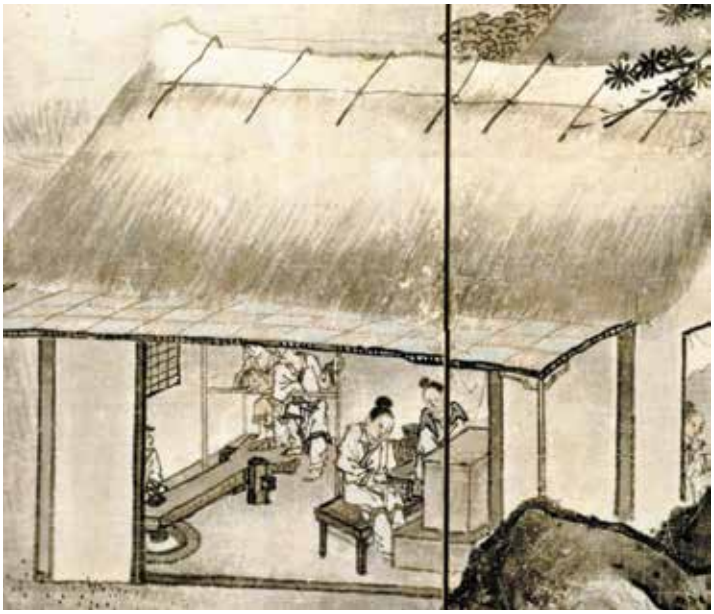

Figure 2.4: Kusumi Morikage, *Farming Scenes*. 17th century. Pair of six-panel folding screens, ink and light colour on paper, 155.7 x 345 cm each. Part of the first and second panels of the right screen pictured. Tokyo National Museum. Image: TNM Image Archives.

atmosphere of Uji to a place filled with cheerfulness by highlighting the region's productivity. A pine tree, a symbol of eternity due to their being evergreen, stands behind the rice storehouse and adds a celebratory tone to the scene. It even extends its branches leftward to guide the viewer to the next scene, working as a partition between two sections and as guidance from one part to the next. Taken as a whole, the scene shows Tansetsu's ingenuity in challenging the traditional scheme of depicting Uji by fully deploying traditional motifs.

Cotton Bleaching as Harmonious Labour

What comes next in Tansetsu's scroll is a cotton bleaching scene in Makinoshima village, located on the western riverbank in the northern part of the Uji region. Cotton bleaching was a famous industry in Uji; it featured in some early *waka* poems, but there are no details on the industry from the early modern period. It has been argued that embankment works ordered by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1594 caused the water level of Uji River to fall, leading to the decline of the cotton bleaching industry.[36] As *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Humanity* (Jinrin kinmō zui, published in 1690) says:

36 Ashikaga Kenryō et al., "Uji-gawa no chisui," in *Chūsei no rekishi to keikan*, vol. 2, Uji-shi shi (Kyoto: Uji Shiyakusho, 1974), pp. 608–609.

> Cotton bleaching started in Makinoshima in Uji. In Kyoto, it was on the Gojō-gawara River. Nowadays, Nara produces the best quality of cotton.[37]

This implies that, by the late seventeenth century, the industry was no longer in full operation in the Uji region. The unrealistic way of drying cotton cloth in Tansetsu's scroll may, again, have been the result of the use of models in copybooks, from which the painter made an assemblage of the industry as imagined since ancient times. Eitoku's screen and a fan painting by his father, Kanō Shōei (1519–1592), likewise show the cotton bleaching industry by Uji River, and these depictions may have laid the foundations for envisioning the industry in that area (Figure 2.5). Although the industry itself no longer flourished, its importance for representing Uji did not diminish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is evident from works by Morikage (Figure 2.1) and Yūsen,[38] which testify to the continued importance of the industry in signifying Uji even though this no longer accorded with contemporary historical realities. But did Tansetsu's scroll carry the same connotations?

Legend has it that cotton bleaching was taken up in Uji in 1284 on the instructions of a monk named Eison (1201–1290) from Saidai-ji Temple in Nara. When Eison was charged with supervising the construction of Uji Bridge, he, in accordance with Buddhist teaching, forbade the fishermen of Makinoshima village to fish and taught them cotton bleaching to make their living.[39] Depicting cotton bleaching thus became part of the imagery of sacredness that characterised Uji, especially when it was represented together with Buddhist institutions such as Byōdō-in, and the thirteen-storeyed rock pagoda tower on a small island on the upper stream of Uji River, beneath which fishing tools and boats that had reached the end of their working lives were buried.[40] As has already been pointed out, however, Tansetsu's scroll does not include the religious institutions of the area.

The lack of relationship between the depicted scene and other historical and geographical characteristics of the area is strengthened by the mist that covers the top and bottom of the image, hiding most of the background. As a result, the viewer's eye is fixed on the figures who are harmoniously working together in finely decorated attire that is too beautiful for their work. Stripped of religious connotations, the cotton bleaching industry, though outdated, signified Uji, pinning down an image of productivity through labour in a peaceful atmosphere.

37 Asakura Haruhiko, ed., *Jinrin kinmō zui* (Tōyō bunko 519. Heibonsha, 1990), p. 197.

38 For Yūsen's work, see Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Uji cha: meisho e kara seicha zu e,* p. 8.

39 Fujii Manabu and Moriya Shigeru, "Shūkyō to hōjō shisō," in *Chūsei no rekishi to keikan*, vol. 2, Uji-shi shi (Kyoto: Uji Shiyakusho, 1974), pp. 158–160.

40 Fujii Manabu and Moriya Shigeru, "Shūkyō to hōjō shisō," pp. 158–160.

Figure 2.5: Kanō Shōei, *Uji Bridge from Famous Places in the Capital and Legendary Figures*. 16th century. Fan painting, ink, colour, and gold on paper. 19.2cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection. 11.6380.8. Photograph ©Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Harvesting Tea as Harmonious Labour

The cotton bleaching scene is again closed off with a pine tree; the tea harvesting scene is next – another representation of harmonious labour (Figure 2.6). In the final section of the scroll, Tansetsu shows the interior of a large house where the leaves are piled up in baskets, and tea jars are prepared for storage (Figure 2.7). It looks as if the tea producers have already concluded the whole steaming process and are about to put the final product into jars. Another pine tree ends the scroll on an auspicious note. Throughout the scene, some of the men are relaxing, while the women are diligently picking leaves, with children helping them; the pickers' attire is again too beautiful for farm work. Young and old, men and women, everyone has a share in the scroll.

Uji is famous for its tea production, most notably powdered and whipped tea (*matcha*). Scenes of tea shrubs covered with bamboo mats were iconic for the Uji tea industry as early as the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth century. João Rodrigues (ca. 1562–1633), a Portuguese Jesuit priest and interpreter who stayed in Japan from 1577 to 1610, wrote about the mats spread over the shrubs, a unique method developed in Uji:

> Its new leaves, which are used in the drink, are extremely soft, tender, and delicate, and frost may easily make them wither away. So much damage can be done in this way that in the town of Uji, where the best tea is produced, all the plantations and fields in which this *cha* is grown are covered over with awnings or mats made of

Figure 2.6: Kanō Tansetsu Morisada, *Tea Harvesting at Uji*. 18th century. Chester Beatty Library, CBL J 1137. Part of the scroll pictured. ©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

Figure 2.7: Kanō Tansetsu Morisada, *Tea Harvesting at Uji*. 18th century. Chester Beatty Library, CBL J 1137. Part of the scroll pictured. ©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

> rice straw or thatch. They are thus protected from damage by frost from February onwards until the end of March, when the new leaf begins to bud. They spend a great deal of money on this for the sake of the profit that is to be obtained, as we shall say, for the trade in *cha* is very great.[41]

The reason for spreading mats over the shrubs, however, was not to protect the tea leaves from frost, but rather to block the sunlight and to prevent theanine from transforming into bitter-tasting catechin. This process makes the tea taste sweeter.[42] This careful and inventive procedure caught the attention of prominent cultural and political figures of the day, among them tea master Sen no Rikyū, who established tea gatherings in the rustic style known as *wabi cha*, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, mentioned above, whom Rikyū served. In 1591, Hideyoshi visited Uji to see the harvest on the fifteenth day of the third month.[43] He favoured the newly emerging tea producer Kanbayashi Hisashige (dates unknown) to ensure the quality of his tea and encouraged him to work even harder.[44]

41 João Rodrigues, *João Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society 3 (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001), pp. 272–273.

42 Ōmori Masashi, *Ocha no kagaku: iro, kaori, aji o umidasu chaba no himitsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2017), p. 30.

43 Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Uji cha: meisho e kara seicha zu e*, p. 24. Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensansho, ed., *Tokitsune-kyō ki*, vol. 4, Dai Nihon kokiroku (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964), p. 201.

44 Uji-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, *Uji cha: meisho e kara seicha zu e,* p. 26.

In the following years, the relationship between Uji's tea production and politics intensified. In 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) won the decisive Battle of Sekigahara, which enabled him to seize power. Ieyasu was inaugurated as shogun in 1603 but handed the title to his son Hidetada (1579–1632) in 1605 to establish the Tokugawa family line. The new Tokugawa shogunate included Uji in its direct holdings, and the Kanbayashi family, renowned tea producers and local district intendants since Toyotomi Hideyoshi's time, continued their duties under Tokugawa rule. The Tokugawa shogunate used prominent local figures to protect the tea industry, which had come to play a vital role in samurai culture. A key moment in this respect was the first Procession of the Tea Jars (*ochatsubo dōchū*), which took place in 1633 during the reign of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651). The tea produced by the Kanbayashi family for the shogun and his close associates was carried in tea jars to the shogunal capital Edo. Officials were dispatched from Edo to Uji between the fourth and fifth month to supervise the packing of the tea into the jars and their transportation. The way back to Edo was carefully guarded by officials and members of local households, which testifies to the prestige of the product and to the power of the shogunate.[45] The procession continued throughout the Edo period.

By the late seventeenth century, tea produced in Uji became widely known as the product that represented the region. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Humanity* lists tea producers at the top of the section on primary sectors of agriculture and adds the following information to an image of a tea harvest:

> Tea producers. Tea was brought from China. The founder of the Kennin-ji Temple, Yōsai, went to the country of Song and came back to Japan with the seeds of tea. Also, Abbot Myōe planted tea on Mt. Togano'o. It is said that this was the beginning [of tea production]. The legend goes that the monks of this mountain made their living from producing tea until the Middle Ages. Subsequently, tea was widely planted in the area around Uji, making this [drinking of tea] into a beautiful and enjoyable custom. The manners of tea ceremony have been set and transmitted to our times. As for the steeped tea, it is available everywhere because all the cities and countryside produce it.[46]

In the image, a tea master supervises the harvest in the Kanbayashi field. The family name is given on the flag, and from it we can infer that the area is Uji. The stern facial expression of the tea master emphasises strict supervision and quality

45 For details, Taka Oshikiri, "The Shogun's Tea Jar: Ritual, Material Culture, and Political Authority in Early Modern Japan," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 4 (2016): pp. 927–945.

46 Asakura Haruhiko, ed., *Jinrin kinmō zui*, p. 86. For the illustration, see the digital collection in the National Diet Library, Tokyo (https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/2592441/1/4).

control. Women of all ages are engaged in picking tea leaves and collecting them in baskets. A man with a rope basket on his shoulder may be carrying lunch for the pickers. Together, text and image provide information on the locality of production, the availability of the products, and the importance of tea producers in Uji.[47]

As the text says, the tea ceremony was a major factor in perpetuating the fame of Uji's tea. The population of tea practitioners grew rapidly in the Genroku period (1688–1703), a time when society became more peaceful and stable. The year 1690 was counted as the hundredth anniversary of Sen no Rikyū's death, and the return to Rikyū's *wabi* style tea was greatly promoted.[48] Printed books on tea practice were published in huge numbers, assisting novice practitioners in learning the tea ceremony.[49] Many wealthy townspeople began taking up hobbies, including the tea ceremony, to create their networks, hoping to use it to make connections in towns full of strangers and newcomers.[50] Such was the increase of information on the tea ceremony and on tea that even Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), a German doctor who came to Japan in 1690, described Uji and its tea in his diary.[51] The different ways in which tea was explained in Nakagawa Kiun's (d. 1705) *Denizens of Kyoto* (Kyō warabe, published in 1658) and in *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Humanity,* published thirty-two years later, demonstrate the increasing social and cultural status tea held in the late seventeenth century. The former explained tea as a valuable thing helping people to mingle, stay awake, and clear their chest while the latter described it as "a beautiful and enjoyable custom," emphasising the establishment of the tea ceremony. It is fair to say, then, that tea had become widely known as a *famous product* (*meibutsu*) of Uji and that it had become deeply embedded in urban socialisation culture by the late seventeenth century.

47 It is possible that one of the reasons why the Kanbayashi tea producers are listed at the top in this section was their role of chief magistrate serving the shogunate. A change in the order of listing things from the formal analysis to the social status of the owner of the object is also seen in the list of famous tea objects since *Ganka meibutsu ki* published in 1660, in which these were listed beginning from the shogun, the Three Collateral Houses of the Tokugawa and followed by the other daimyo. See Takeuchi Jun'ichi, "Meibutsu ki no seisei kōzō: jikken to henshū no hazama dai ichi bu," in *Cha no koten*, ed. Tsutsui Hiroichi, vol. 10, Chadōgaku taikei (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 2001), pp. 45–62.

48 Paul Varley, "Chanoyu: From the Genroku Epoch to Modern Times," in *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu*, ed. Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 165–168.

49 Murai Yasuhiko, "Kinsei chadō no tenkai," in *Chanoyu no tenkai,* vol. 5, Chadō shūkin (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1985), pp. 43–44.

50 Moriya Takeshi, *Genroku bunka: yūgei, akusho, shibai*, Nippon sōshi (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1987), pp. 38–41. Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 140–144.

51 Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, ed. and trans. Beatrice M Bodart-Bailey (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), p. 318.

This context may explain why Tansetsu's scroll was commissioned. Picturing famous agricultural products and their area of production may have been driven by the growing fame of the product itself. Three points should be made in this regard, however. Firstly, tea harvesting at Uji was probably one of the earliest themes linking a particular type of agricultural product with a specific area of production. In addition to the social and cultural importance that tea gained, as discussed above, a change in the idea of natural resources occurred, from sacred things to natural products used for growing wealth and for human welfare.[52] This may have encouraged people to focus on the product and the process of its making. However, not all products were depicted in paintings. What made tea harvesting at Uji a suitable theme for a scroll painting?

Secondly, the fact that Uji was known as a famous poetic and religious place, and the fact that a framework existed for depicting it as such, provided opportunities for depicting its tea industry in painting.[53] The question of what gets to be represented and what is left out is inherently difficult to answer in the history of images, but it is fair to say that being a *famous place* helped the representation of Uji's tea production along. Considering this, should we assume that Tansetsu's scroll simply integrated tea harvesting scenes into the existing image of Uji as a *famous place*? The fact that some iconic features are missing, and the depiction of the waterwheel as a practical tool suggests otherwise. Tansetsu's scroll builds on existing pictorial traditions, but its focus is on people at work.[54] Similarly, the theme of tilling and weaving falls too short to serve as the framework for Tansetsu's scroll. As we have seen, it is difficult to sense admonitory references; in addition, he selected a few highlights, not the whole process of cultivation. Rather, the depicted industries form a backdrop for showcasing the figures: their gestures and eye contact drive the

52 Art historian Christine Guth discusses this point in the first chapter of Christine Guth, *Craft Culture in Early Modern Japan: Materials, Makers, and Mastery*, University of Kansas Franklin D. Murphy Lecture Series (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2021). As for the natural resources' role as economic revenue sought by the eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune, see Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan*, Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 115–124.

53 A scroll depicting cotton production in what might be the Kawachi region (present-day Osaka), which was famous for the industry, is in the collection of the Asian Art Museum, National Museums of Berlin. It is argued that this scroll follows the traditional pictorial language of the image of weaving in the *Weaving and Tilling,* but the place in the image is not clearly identifiable as Kawachi, despite what the current title suggests. See Nagai Ken, "'Kawachi momen seishoku zukan' o megutte," in *Bi ga musubu kizuna: Berurin Kokuritsu Ajia Bijutsukan shozō Nihon bijutsu meihin ten,* ed. Kōriyama Ichiritsu Bijutsukan et al. (Tokyo: Howaito Intānashonaru, 2008), pp. 25–26.

54 In this regard, Tansetsu's continuation of his father's legacy should be evaluated in relation to Kusumi Morikage and Hanabusa Itchō (1652–1724), two former Kanō artists who were expelled by their master (Morikage was by Tan'yū and Itchō was by Yasunobu, Tan'yū's youngest brother) but are regarded highly as painters of people's daily lives.

viewer's gaze and the pictorial narrative of the scroll. By 'populating' Uji, Tansetsu creates a new, human-centred image of Uji, thereby challenging the poetical and religious biases of earlier imagery.

Lastly, then, why did the image of tea cultivation emerge in the late seventeenth century, a rather late birth, considering that it was already renowned by the beginning of the seventeenth century? This late emergence may explain the length of time required for a new image to be accepted by society. Images of tea harvesting are rarely seen until the mid-seventeenth century. One of the earliest images can be found in the fictional travel gazetteer *A Kyoto Souvenir from Dekisai*, published in 1677. The book features an imaginary traveller named Dekisai who travels to Kyoto and writes about what he has seen there. Tea harvesting in Uji is depicted together with text describing how people in Uji delicately tend to their shrubs.[55] Gazetteers of this kind and guidebooks to *famous places* were part of the travelling craze that emerged in the late seventeenth century. *Tea Harvesting at Uji* by Tansetsu emerged at the nexus of these social, cultural, and iconological conditions.

Re-framing the Ideal

Regarding travel, was the wish to travel also a motivation behind the production of Tansetsu's scroll? It may have been, but elements such as the deliberate change of the current of Uji River and the replacement of the Hashihime Shrine with an ordinary house suggest otherwise, even if the scroll was only intended for the 'armchair traveller.' In the final scene of Tansetsu's scroll, we see a child dancing with a fan in front of tea jars filled with tea leaves, which adds to the cheerful and celebratory atmosphere, suggesting that there was no need to worry about the safe delivery of these jars. These highlights sufficed as carriers of the idea of Uji as a place where diligent people produced various products including tea.

The purpose of Tansetsu's scroll was not to depict reality. Its objective was to create a fictional space. From beginning to end, the images are framed by two streams of mist at the top and bottom. This gives the viewer the impression that they are peering into a space that is set apart from their own. The pine trees, symbols of eternity used to mark the scroll's various sections, can be seen as another frame; the division into sections underlines the scenes' fictional character.[56] These horizontal and vertical frames suggest a glimpse into an ideal world, in which people dressed

55 Asai Ryōi, "Dekisai Kyō miyage," pp. 649–650. For the illustration, see the digital collection of the Ranpo Bunko, Rikkyō University provided by the National Institute of Japanese Literature (https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/api/iiif/100289203/v4/RKRP/RKRP-00053/RKRP-00053-0212.tif/full/full/0/default.jpg).

56 The role of rocks and pine trees as the frames that indicate the ideal character of the image is discussed by Satō Yasuhiro, "Takao kanpū zu ron," *Bijutsushi ronsō*, no. 16 (1999): pp. 25–26.

in finely decorated attire interact harmoniously, in the best season for harvesting and for packing the product.

These frames were effective tools for introducing a new image of a particular place. Frames made viewers conscious of the fact that they were looking at an image that was separate from the world they were in. This is clearly seen at the beginning of the scroll, where locals standing on Uji Bridge demonstrably look at travellers as if to differentiate themselves from the casual visitors. At the same time, the locals are also objects of the gaze of viewers; the frame presents and emphasises the 'daily' aspects of their life. From a different point of view, this framing might also have prevented viewers from considering that productivity was not necessarily the same as prosperity. Although the yearly tax levied on tea masters was reduced to half the initial amount in 1636, two years after Iemitsu's procession to Kyoto, its economic impact did not last long. Although commodity prices went up, the price of tea remained fixed since 1642. In addition, frequent fires (1670, 1684, 1697, 1696) and flooding damaged the industry, resulting in the accumulation of debt by tea producers.[57]

Conclusion

There is a tautology in the meaning of *famous place*; it is a place that is famous for something. This 'something' changes with time and according to people's inclinations. In addition, the image of a place changes if accepted by most people. Uji as a poetic and religious place was the product of the imagination shared by people who largely belonged to the upper strata of society before and well into the early modern period. These meanings did not disappear completely, of course, but the image of Uji as a tea production site gained a wider appeal among more diverse audiences in the late seventeenth century. This was driven by social, cultural, and historical changes affecting Uji as well as the culture, production, and the consumption of tea.

Kanō Tansetsu's *Tea Harvesting at Uji* emerged at the nexus of these changes. Tansetsu dismantled the traditional image of a religious and poetic Uji and reassembled the fragments to show a human-centred Uji. The activities he depicted – storing rice, bleaching cotton, and harvesting tea leaves – were the highlights of industries requiring human hands. In this way, Tansetsu highlighted cooperative labour and its productivity. The scroll shows an ideal world framed by mist and pines that underscore the scenes' imaginary character. In quite a revolutionary manner, Tansetsu used simple human activities and pleasures to present a novel way of imagining a place that had once been fraught with pessimism and sadness.

57 Wakahara Eiichi and Yoshimura Tōru, "Chashi nakama to chatsubo dōchū," in *Kinsei no rekishi to keikan*, vol. 3, Uji-shi shi (Kyoto: Uji Shiyakusho, 1976), pp. 156–161.

Glossary

Asai Ryōi	浅井了意
Amida Hall	阿弥陀堂
Baika mujinzō	梅花無尽蔵
Banri Shūku (1428–?)	万里 集九
Byōdō-in	平等院
Chūson-ji	中尊寺
Dekisai Kyō miyage	出来斎京土産
Eison (1201–1290)	叡尊
Eiri Genji monogatari	絵入源氏物語
Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992–1074)	藤原頼通
Fushimi Castle	伏見城
Ganka meibutsu ki	玩貨名物記
Genroku	元禄
hasami bako	挟箱
Hashihime Shrine	橋姫神社
Hiraizumi	平泉
Jinrin kinmō zui	人倫訓蒙図彙
Kaibara Ekiken (1630 –1714)	貝原益軒
Kaihō Yūsen (1690–1741)	海北友泉
Kanbayashi Hisashige (? – 1589)	上林久茂
Kanjizaiō-in	観自在王院
Kanō Eitoku (1543–1590)	狩野永徳
Kanō Shōei (1519–1592)	狩野松栄
Kanō Tansetsu (1655–1714)	狩野探雪
Kanō Tan'yū (1602–74)	狩野探幽
Katsura River	桂川
Kenkō (1283–1350)	兼好
Keijō shōran	京城勝覽
Kisen (dates unknown)	喜撰
Kizu River	木津川
Kokin wakashū	古今和歌集
Kusumi Morikage (dates unknown)	久隅守景
Kyō warabe	京童
Kyahan	脚絆
Makinoshima	槙島
Manpuku-ji	萬福寺
Masu	枡
Matcha	抹茶

Matsunaga Hisahide (1510–1577)	松永久秀
Meibutsu	名物
Meisho	名所
Miyako meisho zue	都名所図会
Nakagawa Kiun (d. 1705)	中川喜雲
Nara	奈良
Ōbaku Zen	黄檗宗
Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582)	織田信長
Ochatsubo dōchū	御茶壷道中
Rakushidō nenroku	樂只堂年錄
Sadayori shū	定頼集
Saidai-ji	西大寺
san-no-ma	三の間
Sekigahara	関ヶ原
Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591)	千利休
Song Zonglu (dates unknown)	宋宗魯
Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616)	徳川家康
Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651)	徳川家光
Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709)	徳川 綱吉
Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598)	豊臣秀吉
Tsurezuregusa	徒然草
Uji	宇治
Utamakura	歌枕
wabi	侘
Waka	和歌
Yamamoto Shunshō (1610–1682)	山本春正
Yamashiro	山城
Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714)	柳沢吉保
Yinyuan Longqi (Jap. Ingen Ryūki, 1592–1673)	隱元隆琦
Yodo River	淀川

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