

# Lone Crane

## Part I: Kaiho Seiryō as a *Bunjin* Painter

### Prosopographic Considerations and Work Catalogue

Michael Kinski, Frankfurt am Main

In the seventh year of the Bunka era, on the thirteenth day of the first month (16 February 1810), a gathering took place in Kyoto for the first time, hosted by “Teacher Seiryō” 青陵先生, a.k.a. Kaiho Gihei 海保儀平 (1755–1817). Snowfalls had been heavy and snowy days alternated with sunny ones, but it was not too cold. And so it was that some fifty people sat together and enjoyed drinking in each other’s company – not only Seiryō’s students but also people who earned a living from painting. When everyone was quite drunk, Azuma Tōyō 東東洋 (1755–1839), a famous artist, suddenly suggested they use the opportunity to paint together. Everyone agreed, and Tōyō started with the image of a gourd-shaped wine decanter from which a horse’s head protruded – this being the beginning of the year “Metal (older brother) / Horse” 庚午 (*kanoe uma*) according to the sexagenary cycle of the lunisolar calendar. Renowned painter and print artist Kawamura Bunpō 河村文鳳 (1779–1821) came next and painted a sparrow in flight. In total, ten artists filled a scroll for mounting and displaying in the decorative alcove of the main sitting room of contemporary houses. Since it had neither name nor seal, Kawamura Kinsuke 河本公輔 (1775–1832) volunteered to write a 189-character Chinese text detailing the scroll’s provenance in the upper third and set his seals to it. Seiryō then sent the scroll to Mr Ishizaki, an acquaintance of his in the province of Etchū (present-day Toyama Prefecture).

Somewhat later, in the fifth month, another, smaller meeting took place. This time, Seiryō wrote the explanatory text and contributed to the landscape picture that covered the majority of the scroll, the other two artists being Nakabayashi Chikutō 中林竹洞 (1776–1853) and Yamabe Sekkyo 山辺雪居 (1766–1812). These two *gassaku* 合作 (collaborative) scrolls were only brought to the present author’s attention during the final stage of work on this article by the Hakutakuan Collection. Both works are fine indicators of

the degree to which Seiryō took an active part in the Kyoto art scene, how much he knew other artists and was recognized by them. At the same time, they show that he was also known as a teacher with his own group of students; the allusion to his *monjin* 門人 (pupils) is probably a reference to what lay at the heart of his conventional image: Seiryō as a Confucian scholar and pioneer of economic thought.

There are no references in Seiryō's writings either to the Kyoto gatherings or the persons who signed their contributions to the scrolls. Nor are they mentioned in the research literature on Seiryō's life and thought.<sup>1</sup> This article represents a first step towards recasting Seiryō as an active member in the cultural salons and networks of his time. It presents material this author has collected over the last few years<sup>2</sup> and also returns to questions posed in an earlier article concerning the monolithic identity of an original "thinker" versus the multi-layered Edo-period subject as a node in overlapping intellectual and cultural networks.<sup>3</sup>

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1 One exception is Tanimura Ichitarō's biographical introduction to his collection of selected writings by Seiryō. He quotes part of a letter by Seiryō (probably now lost), addressed to one Heibei 平兵衛, a.k.a. Mr Ishizaki (the recipient of the first scroll) or Nakazakaya 中酒屋, a resident of Fukumitsu 福光 in Etchū. In this letter he mentions Nakabayashi Chikutō (as well as another painter, Matsumoto Kensai 松元研齋 1768–1832). The second document is an address by Azuma Tōyō, which contains an expression of gratitude for the previous day's delicious meal, so delicious that "this morning my faeces and urine were of exquisite fragrance" 今朝大小便共香気をまし申候. TANIMURA 1935a: 10. Based on this, YAGI 2006: 168, 177 refers to Chikutō (and Kensai), whose painting-gatherings Seiryō attended, "although on the surface he was only a Confucian scholar fond of text composition" (but also wrote evaluations of paintings and served as a go-between for artists and rural connoisseurs). For a fuller explanation of the scrolls see pp. 56–57, 62–63.

2 The author expresses his heartfelt gratitude to art historians Paul Berry, Scott Johnson, and Yokoya Kenichirō 横谷賢一郎, without whom he would not have been aware of many of the artworks presented in this text. He would also like to thank Takahashi Hiromi 高橋博己, emeritus professor at Kinjō Gakuin University, for his unstinting help in correcting the characters the author was unable to decipher in the sources introduced here and for providing intelligible *yomikudashi* 読み下し versions. Responsibility for any remaining mistakes or misunderstandings lies entirely with the author. Thanks also to Hamish Todd and Ohtsuka Yasuyo for providing access to the album *Kaiki kan* 瑰琦観, held by the British Library (and formerly owned by Scott Johnson), and for following up on the recommendation to have it digitalized. The grant awarded by Tokyo University in November 2019 and the support of Tokumori Makoto 徳盛誠 were immensely helpful in viewing a number of extant manuscripts of Seiryō's works.

3 KINSKI 2018. Where not indicated otherwise translations in this article are the author's. They do not aspire to smooth readability but attempt to stay as close to the syntax and semantics of the original as possible. This also includes giving alternative suggestions for rendering central expressions in case their connotations could not be covered by only one

## Prosopographic Considerations

Accounts of Seiryō's biography have long depended almost exclusively on the information he provided in the fifth part of *Talks About Lessons from the Past* 稽古談 (*Keiko dan*), supplemented by a few remarks from his other major works.<sup>4</sup> In recent years, however, this picture has been supplemented with details introduced by Yagi Kiyoharu and Aoyagi Junko in their respective works.<sup>5</sup>

While earlier studies classified Seiryō exclusively as a scholar of political economy, Hiraishi Naoaki has drawn attention to the fact that this colourful personality often presented himself as someone who considered “text composition” 文章 (*bunshō*) to be his fated task.<sup>6</sup> Hiraishi portrays Seiryō (at least during his younger years) as a member of the *literati* 文人 (Chin. *wenren*, Jap. *bunjin*) – or “cultured person” circles – at the end of the eighteenth century. He engaged in writing Chinese poems, drew pictures in the Chinese style and contributed prefaces and afterwords to picture albums and collections of poetry popular at the time.

*Remark:* In Ibi Takashi's words, a *wenren* / *bunjin* is a type of intellectual found in East Asia. Originally, the word was used in opposition to *wuren* / *bu-jin* 武人 (meaning “military person”) and denoted someone of literary or cultural accomplishments. While this is the broader connotation, the word acquired a narrower sense after China's Six Dynasties period (220 / 222–589); it is this strand of *bunjin* that made an appearance in mid-Edo Japan.<sup>7</sup> For Ibi, a “cultured person” is someone who: (1) is highly learned and engages in extensive reading; (2) does not take part directly in the execution of essential works of political power; (3) is accomplished in classical literary arts like po-

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English equivalent. In rare cases completely different words had to be used when key concepts of Chinese treatises were interpreted differently by later recipients. This does not make for easy reading, and the author hopes for the reader's forbearance.

4 “Major works” refers to those published in *Kaiho Seiryō zenshū* 海保青陵全集 (The Collected Works of Kaiho Seiryō) (KSZ) (KURANAMI 1976). See for example KURANAMI 1990; KURANAMI 1970: 481–500 (484–90); MINAMOTO 1971: 51–58. See also KINSKI 1997: 115–98 (116–19).

5 YAGI 2006; YAGI 2018: 75–88; AOYAGI 2009: 213–37.

6 HIRAISHI 1980: 46–68. On the centrality of “text composition” for Seiryō's self-image cf. *Keiko dan* 稽古談 (Talks about Lessons from the Past), KSZ: 111; NST 44: 346.

7 IBI 2009: 3–4. Ibi bases his exposition on YOSHIKAWA 1963: 103–9 (English cf. YOSHIKAWA 1989: 84–89) and NAKAMURA 1982: 375–407. Lawrence Marceau makes use of the Yoshikawa and Nakamura contributions, and draws attention to the problem of using *literati* as an equivalent. MARCEAU 2004: 2–13. Nevertheless, the author decided to render *bunjin* as *literator* or *literati*, and discusses his reasons in Part II of this article.

etry, calligraphy and painting, and is talented in or pursues several of these; and (4) does not follow widely accepted value standards but treasures replenishing the concerns of his or her inner spiritual life and adopts a non-conventional, escapist stance combined with a reverence for the past.<sup>8</sup> It must be emphasized that not all of these features are necessarily present in equal measure. The example of Seiryō will show that a wide range of artistic accomplishments must be assumed and that there must be no complete break with the sphere of politics. Allowances should be made for apparent contradictions within an individual depending on whether the focus lies on the “public” role the *literati* may adopt from time to time (or even pursue in the main) or their “private” involvements. Thus, it will come as no surprise that in the case of Seiryō, his professed self-identification with the mission of a Confucian scholar goes hand in hand with a pronounced and at times denigratory critique of Confucius, Mencius and their contemporary followers, as well as a conspicuous preoccupation with Daoism or – better – the thought of the Old Master 老子 (Laozi / Rōshi) and Master Zhuang 莊子 (Zhuangzi / Sōshi); this applies to his writings and poems, his paintings and – as was far from uncommon in a *bunjin* – his lifestyle.

It was supposedly this lifestyle of a free-living, unshackled intellectual that determined the way in which Seiryō reworked the experience of his travels through major parts of central Japan between 1784 and 1806, and which shaped his later thoughts on politics and economics.<sup>9</sup>

Although Hiraishi’s arguments did not make a deep impression on biographical accounts in subsequent publications,<sup>10</sup> Yagi Kiyoharu followed

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8 IBI 2009: 4.

9 HIRAISHI 1980. However, at the time Hiraishi was not able to substantiate his claim with concrete examples of Seiryō as a *bunjin*.

10 KOJIMA 1987: 70–110, TAJIRI 2011: 170–73, WATANABE 2010: 277–300, BOWRING 2017: 251–54, YOSHIDA 2018: 209–61. Of course, the publications by Tajiri and Bowring provide general introductions to Edo-period intellectual history and therefore cannot go into detail. Furthermore, neither author is an expert on Seiryō. Tajiri and Kojima do nevertheless mention Seiryō’s travelling and its role in the formation of his thought, but neither touches on the *literati* motif. Yoshida, for his part, avoids the subject of the *literati*, although it is hinted at in his summary of Tokumori Makoto’s position. YOSHIDA 2018: 215–16. Instead, Seiryō is introduced in the first sentence as a “person who can be called the pinnacle of thought on political economy as it evolved out of the current of traditional Confucianism”. Ibid.: 211. The exclusive focus on economic and political thought is maintained throughout the chapter. Footnote 21 alone turns in a roundabout manner to the question of Seiryō as a *bunjin* before rejecting the idea. Ibid.: 259. Watanabe Hiroshi, too, does not question Seiryō’s role as a “thinker”, although he does not focus his portrayal on political and economic ideas alone but also touches on subjects such as elements of a theory of perception and cognition. WATANABE 2010: 278–83. The broader cultural and intellectual environment and *bunjin* activities, however, are not mentioned.

his example by stressing the role of Seiryō's travelling in the formation of his outlook on society, reconstructing the social contacts that can be identified in Seiryō's writings and their influence on his often unconventional ideas.<sup>11</sup> Although in his most recent article Yagi added a number of hitherto unknown – or at least uncommented on – details to the biography of Seiryō's activities, he nevertheless held to the construction of Seiryō as a *bunjin* who only became a political thinker in the last quarter of his life, in the wake of his extensive travels up to 1806.<sup>12</sup>

Aoyagi Junko's representation of Seiryō is dominated by her works on questions of political economy; however, in her prosopographical articles she records traces of his involvement in *bunjin* activities. She characterizes Edo as a place of intense cultural activity where scholars and artists worked and interacted in overlapping circles, involving persons from diverse walks of life – samurai retainers of the government or regional lordships as well as medical doctors, traders and courtesans. Aoyagi follows up on the idea of “networks” in which Kaiho Seiryō participated, drawing in the process on Ibi Takashi's study of *literati* salons, Eiko Ikegami's exposition of the “bonds” linking followers of aesthetic practices such as poetry, tea meetings and flower arranging, and on Tanaka Yūko's discussion of the exchanges between encyclopaedists like Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂 (1736–1802) and Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1747–1818), writers of popular literature like Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816), and woodblock print artists including Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) and Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (1753–1806).<sup>13</sup> She sees the intellectual environment of Edo as a vital clue for understanding the gestation of Seiryō's view of political economy and enquires into the relationship circles in which he moved before undertaking his extensive travels to the Kansai region and other parts of central Japan.<sup>14</sup> In her opinion, three layers must be distinguished: (1) an early period of intense engagement with Confucianism and its political ideas in the school of Usami Shinsui 宇佐美瀧水 (1701–76), one of Ogyū Sorai's leading students;<sup>15</sup> (2) a subsequent stage when the adult Seiryō – as a

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11 YAGI 2006: 190–91.

12 YAGI 2018: 85.

13 IBI 2009; IKEGAMI 2005; TANAKA 2008.

14 AOYAGI 2010: 131–33. Aoyagi had already suggested the need for such an approach in AOYAGI 2008 and made it the focus of her attention in AOYAGI 2010.

15 Ibid.: 134–42.

“cultured person”<sup>16</sup> – immersed himself in the world of Chinese poems and paintings;<sup>17</sup> and (3) a lifelong friendship with Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751–1809) and his younger brother Morishima Chūryō 森島中良 (1756–1810; also known as Horimoto Ippo 堀本一甫), at whose mansion Seiryō lived for a time when he was “sixteen or seventeen years” old.<sup>18</sup>

Of these, the second stage is of interest in the context of the present article. Aoyagi documents Seiryō’s contacts with other “cultured persons” using the names mentioned in his works and other related documents. In this way, she identified nine persons in Edo, as detailed below.<sup>19</sup>

1. The Buddhist monk Shaku Unshitsu 釈雲室 (1753–1827) is known as a painter and poet in his own right. Although Seiryō himself does not mention Unshitsu, they were both former students of Usami Shinsui. Unshitsu left details of his time with Shinsui in his collection of autobiographical notes, in which he describes his acquaintance with Seiryō, as well as his father and younger brother.<sup>20</sup>

2. Ichikawa Kansai 市河寛齋 (1749–1820) came from a samurai family in service to the lord of Kawagoe. He had studied under a disciple of Ogyū Sorai and at the school of the Hayashi family in Edo; in later years he held the position of Confucian scholar in the territory of Toyama. He was a central personality on Edo’s *kanshi* (Chinese poetry) scene for some time and founded the River and Lake / Private Poem Society 江湖詩社 (Kōko Shi Sha, 1787),<sup>21</sup> which introduced renowned poets like Ōkubo Shibutsu 大窪詩仏 (1767–1837), Kashiwagi Jotei 柏木如亭 (1763–1819) and Kikuchi Gozan 菊池五山 (1769–1849). Kansai appears as “Tsuru’s friend” in the *Mixed Talks About Ropes / Patterns and Meshes / Details* 綱目駁談 (Kō-

16 Ibid.: 133.

17 Ibid.: 142–49.

18 Ibid.: 149–54. The Katsuragawa family served the shōgun household as medical doctors. However, both Hoshū and Chūryō are known for their interest in “Dutch Studies” or *Rangaku* 蘭学. Aoyagi stresses their role as a source of Seiryō’s knowledge on Europe and certain basic concepts from the natural sciences.

19 Ibid.: 144–48. The following discussion is a digest of Aoyagi Junko’s findings supplemented with further details either provided by TOKUMORI 2013 or added by the present author.

20 Ibid.: 137, 144. Aoyagi alludes to *Unshitsu zuihitsu* 雲室隨筆 (Unshitsu’s Essays). Cf. MORI, KITAGAWA 1979: 78–79.

21 As Tokumori Makoto explains, the word *kōko* 江湖 (Chin. *jianghu*) points to the private domain as well as to rural as opposed to urban areas; a *kōko no kyaku* 江湖之客 (“guest from the rivers and lakes”) is someone who tours the country, as Seiryō did in the second half of his life. TOKUMORI 2013: 58–59.

*moku bakudan*).<sup>22</sup> It can be surmised that Seiryō's relationship with the slightly older scholar influenced his interests as a painter and poet, although not much is known about his involvement with the Kōko Shi Sha. Kansai is also the only person to have inadvertently left a possible rare indication of Seiryō's physical appearance in a four-line poem of twenty-eight characters entitled "Seiryō came up from Keishi":

After taking stock [of our appearance with] teeth left only here and there and heads gone bald / On [the last] ten years' affairs we talked / exchanged delights and troubles / [My] girlchild having heard that there was a guest from the Flowery Capital / Half hid under the rattan blind and delighted her eyes in watching.<sup>23</sup>

青陵至自京師  
相值齒疎頭禿後 十年世味話甜酸 女兒聞有京華客 半下蘆簾偷眼看

Tokumori Makoto mentions Kansai as being Kashiwagi Jotei's *kanshi* teacher, while the latter had been a member of the "Society" since its beginnings in 1787. A personal acquaintance between Jotei and Seiryō is suggested in a letter addressed to Kansai in 1808, in which Jotei refers to Seiryō by name.<sup>24</sup> He also included a poem by "Kaiho Gihei" in the anthology *Poems by Talented Men [from Land] Within the Four Seas* 海内才子詩 (*Kaidai saishi shi*, vol. 1), which he put together in around 1812–13.<sup>25</sup>

22 K SZ: 238. On Kansai, see AOYAGI 2010: 144. "Tsuru" 鶴 (crane) refers to Seiryō.

23 *Kansai Sensei ikō* 市河寬齋遺稿 (Master Kansai's Posthumous Writings), vol. 2.71b. <https://www.nishogakusha-kanbun.net/database2/0238/2/>. See also IBI 1990: 108–09; TOKUMORI 2013: 74–75. Since this poem was written in 1799, Kansai would have been fifty-one and Seiryō, forty-five. In contrast to Tokumori's conjecture, it could be that the loss of teeth and hair was not meant to be a realistic depiction but rather a humorous metaphor for aging or the entrance to the last third of life. However, 齒疎頭禿 could not be verified as a set expression. Contemporary Chinese poems and their formats, such as *shichigon zekku* 七言絕句 ("seven words in [four] separate phrases"), will be discussed in Part II.

24 "Seiryō is [still] the usual interesting person." 青陵例のおかしな人也. Cf. TOKUMORI 2013: 55.

25 Ibid.: 55 gives the title of the poem as "Bonsai Pine" 盆松 ("Bonshō"). Tokumori provides the text of the poem, an equivalent in Japanese and an interpretation. Ibid.: 73–74. *Kaidai saishi shi* is included in FUJIKAWA 1983. The poem in question appears on page 23v of the original, attributed to "Kaiho Kōkaku" (the name used by others – Manwa 萬和 – is mentioned together with the sobriquet "Seiryō" and the information "Edoite" 江戸人). [https://www2.dhii.jp/nijl/kanzo/iiif/200010310/images/200010310\\_00045.jpg](https://www2.dhii.jp/nijl/kanzo/iiif/200010310/images/200010310_00045.jpg). In the table of contents, where personal names are listed, one also finds "Kaiho Gihei".

Kikuchi Gozan, too, left testimony on Seiryō suggesting a personal relationship between the two. In his *Tales of Poems in the Hall of the Five Mountains* 五山堂詩話 (*Gozan Dō shiwa*), Seiryō appears as one of many contemporary poets who gives an account of his own lyrical endeavours. Gozan provides the following commentary:

Kai Seiryō, [also known as] Kōkaku. For poems and text [composition] he makes Han [Yu]<sup>26</sup> his mentor / teacher. Once, he intoned the chain [of verses] on an autumn evening for me. [...]

“Minutely viewed, the stars become [written] characters  
Quietly listened to, the insects intone prose”

Just these ten characters, verily they are Changli 昌黎<sup>27</sup>

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26 This refers to Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824). For more information on the Chinese scholar-official and Seiryō, see Part II.

27 This is an allusion to Han Yu’s “Autumn Melancholy” 秋懷 (“Qiuhuai”), a poem describing the feelings aroused by an autumn evening and likening the atmosphere of waning life to the inner disposition. “Changli” is a sobriquet under which Han Yu is known. The poem has gained some scholarly attention, cf. MATSUMOTO 1988 and MAKIZUMI 2019. As the epithet “Prince of Prose” 文公 (*Wengong*) suggests, Han Yu was long influential in the development and study of written-style Chinese, both in China and Japan. His lyrical work, however, was not as highly esteemed. Herbert Giles nevertheless credited him with writing “a large quantity of verse, frequently playful, on an immense variety of subjects, and under his touch the commonplace was often transmuted into wit. Among other pieces there is one on his teeth, which seemed to drop out at regular intervals, so that he could calculate roughly what span of life remained to him”. GILES 1901: 161–62. This perhaps endeared him to writers of Chinese poems in Edo Japan. Takahashi Hiromi deplors the fact that the writing of poems in the Chinese style was forgotten during the recent Edo boom, but in fact it entered its golden age during the eighteenth century, with Kyoto as its radiant centre. TAKAHASHI 1988: 17. Similarly, Ibi Takashi stresses that writing *kanshi* was a prestigious “literary form born in the area of most advanced culture, China, occupying the highest rank and running at the forefront of the age’s literary production.” IBI 2001: 11. While Ogyū Sorai’s recommendation that composing *kanshi* was essential for improving one’s understanding of ancient Chinese helped popularize the writing of poems and pursuing other *bunjin* pleasures – not only among Confucian scholars but among other social groups – a reorientation of style can be observed from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Sorai is known for his “classicism”, or put simply, a modelling of writing on the “ancient words” of early times up until the Han Dynasty. For a detailed study see RAN 2017: 40–133; cf. also FLUECKIGER 2003: 109–10, 176–79 and 2011: 63, 91–93. Around the Hōreki era 宝曆 (1751–64), a new movement started in the Kyoto and Osaka area and eventually made itself felt in Edo too. In contrast to the conventional (pseudo-)classical phrases and subjects common to the *kobun ji* style, everyday subjects were taken up and expressed in simpler, more ordinary words. TOKUMORI 2013: 54–55. This is adumbrated by Han Yu’s poem on the loss of his teeth; Kansai’s verses on meeting Seiryō might also serve as an



海青陵、皐鶴、詩文韓を宗とす。嘗て余が為に其の秋夕の一連を誦す。  
 細視星成字  
 静聴虫誦書  
 只此の十字、的は是、昌黎

In Gozan’s evaluation, as Tokumori says, Seiryō’s short verse eloquently captures Han Yu’s dual character as a scholar who could not help drawing an analogy between writing, the stars in the heavens and insects singing in the night, and as someone endowed with the capacity to attentively observe his natural surroundings.<sup>28</sup>

3. Not much is known about the earlier life of the next individual, To Chō 杜澗 (1748–1816), except that he was born in Kyoto and probably entered a monastery of the Ōbaku sect, where he not only studied the Chinese classics but also calligraphy, painting, poetry, playing the zither and carving seals.<sup>29</sup>

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example. It is more appropriate, however, to see this new stance as dependent on writers from the Gong’an 公安 school in Ming-period China, such as Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610; also known as Yuan Zhonglang 袁中郎), who criticized the Ancient Rhetoric school for its stress on “form and rhythm” 格調 (*getiao / kakuchō*) and instead favoured the poet’s spontaneity, emotions and experience – in contemporary words, his or her “nature and soul” 性靈 (*xingling / seirei*). Japanese *literati*-scholars like Yamamoto Hokuzan 山本北山 (1758–1812) used *seirei* in their poetry and the influence of contemporary “Xingling school” poets like Yuan Mei 袁牧 (1716–98) on the Kōko Shi Sha is conspicuous. FLUECKIGER 2011: 247–48; GŌYAMA 2012: 67–76. At the same time, Gōyama’s critique (drawing on Nakamura Yukihiko’s 中村幸彦 “Seishin ron” 清新論, 1984: 395 and Ibi Takashi’s “Seirei ron” 性靈論, 1998: 70) that Japanese *kanshi* since the Kōko Shi Sha should be viewed only in the light of a Xingling-style “realism” and “emotionalism” seems appropriate when placed in the context of Margaret Cohen’s concept of the “Great Unread” and its application to Chinese poetry in BROADWELL, CHEN, SHEPARD 2019. But whereas the availability of about fifty thousand Tang-period poems in a full-text database supported Broadwell, Chen and Sheppard in their critical attitude towards canonization and enabled them to show the scope of subjects, the lack of similar corpora for studying Japanese literature places severe limitations on any attempt to seriously challenge common interpretations in the Japanese context using the methods of Digital Humanities.

28 TOKUMORI 2013: 56.

29 Proficiency in these arts enabled him to choose the sobriquet “Goteki” 五適 (“Five Aptitudes”). The name “Tochō” no doubt has playful origins, too. His admiration for certain Chinese poets and painters may have led him to take one character each from the names of famous poets Du Fu 杜甫 (712–70) and Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559). To Chō is best known for his accomplishments as a seal carver. YAGI 2006: 167, 175 and AOYAGI 2010: 145 give his name as Nakae Tochō 中江杜澗 and Nakae was certainly the family name he used in secular life. However, the combination would suggest that “Tochō” was one of his pen names – 号 (*gō*) – and the detailed Wikipedia article in fact explicitly describes it as such. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be correct. Mimura Chikusei lists the six combinations of names and sobriquets that can be

After a period of travelling to Kyushu and learning vernacular Chinese in Nagasaki, he returned to Kyoto but then accepted an invitation to Edo, where he continued to study the *literati* style and set himself up as a seal carver. The publication in 1782 of an album of seal images, *Chō's Digest of Old Seals* 徴古印要 (*Chō koin yō*) marked the pinnacle of his career in the capital. However, personal misfortunes brought him to Izumozaki 出雲崎, near Niigata, and Sanjō 三条, where he lived for ten years before returning to Kyoto in 1793 and opening a school. Over the next decade he was a member of *literati* circles in the Kansai area, counting Kimura Kenkadō and others among his acquaintances. The publication of *Mr To Chō's Album of Old Paintings* 杜氏徴古画伝 (*To Shi Chō koga den*) fell during this period, and it was Kaiho Seiryō who contributed the preface, thus confirming the relationship between the two.<sup>30</sup>

4. Seiryō's preface mentions another name, Tō Kyūjo 董九如 (1745–1802), with whom To Chō had studied painting and who moved in the same *literati* circles as Seiryō in Edo.<sup>31</sup> Since the preface to *To Shi Chō koga den* expresses a high regard for both To Chō and Kyūjo, mentions other *bunjin*

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ascertained. Based on this, it has to be assumed that “To” served as a family name while “Chō” was a nickname. In fact, Mimura interprets “To” as a “modified [Sinified] family name” 修姓 (*shūsei*), widely used by Japanese *literati*, although the relation to the original “Nakae”, he says, is unclear (he makes no reference to the connection with Du Fu and Wen Zhengming). MIMURA 1983: 243. The National Diet Library also lists him as Nakae (family name) Shōka 中江松窠 (sobriquet), with To Chō as his “modified name”. <https://id.ndl.go.jp/auth/ndlna/001259306>.

30 For more on To Chō, cf. AOYAGI 2010: 145–46 and the Wikipedia page in his name. *To Shi Chō koga den* was published in 1803 (Bunka 10) and consists of three volumes. It introduces different elements of *literati*-style paintings: plants, rocks and mountains in vol. 1; architectural structures (buildings and bridges), boats, people in different postures and from different walks of life, and again plants, rocks and other natural formations in vol. 2; and landscape compositions, seals and a lengthy afterword 跋 (*batsu*, the author of which is given as 邑重矩士準氏 and has not yet been verified) in vol. 3. The Edo Bunko Collection (Frankfurt University) holds a set of *To Shi Chō koga den*; it is accessible online at: <http://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100265637/viewer>. That same year, in 1803, To Chō moved again, this time to the west coast of Lake Biwa. Later still, he returned to Izumozaki, where he spent the rest of his life.

31 Together with his two sons, Tō Kyūjo is mentioned in *Unshitsu zuihitsu*. AOYAGI 2010: 145. Despite the Chinese-sounding name (which can be read as Dong Jiuru), Kyūjo came from a samurai family in service to the *bakufu* and his common name was Ido Jinsuke 井戸甚助. He was taught to paint by Sō Shiseki 宋紫石 (1715–86; also known as Kusumoto Kōhachirō 楠本幸八郎). The latter also adopted a Chinese-style name as a result of his studies in Nagasaki and is known for his role in popularizing flora and fauna paintings in the “realistic” style of Shen Nanpin 沈南蘋 (1682–?) in Edo.

and offers insights into Seiryō's understanding of *literati* painting, it merits being quoted in full:

[1] In the days when I 余 (*yo*) was in the Eastern Administrative Seat (Edo), I was most friendly with Tōshū Sa Kuntaku. [2] Together we sought a harmonious / intimate / close relationship with Mr Hirokawa Tō. [3] Mr [Tō] in the past had received [instruction in] the method / technique [of painting] by Sō Shiseki, and due to his excelling at [painting] flowers and birds / flora and fauna, he had [made] a name [for himself] in the Administrative Seat. [4] Kuntaku therefore consulted with me and [we] enjoined Mr Tō to read the *Album of Pictures from the Study of Esteemed / Unforgettable Writings* 佩文齋畫譜<sup>32</sup> (Chin. *Peiwen zhai huapu*, Jap. *Haibun sai gafu*) [with us]. [5] Mr [Tō], namely due to his also excelling at [paintings of] mountains and waterbodies [i.e. landscapes] 山水 (*sansui*), was widely heard of to the east of the Checkpoint [region around Edo] 關[東] (Kan[tō]). [6] At last / in the end, he established a method / technique of his own house, and the persons who followed [him] and received [his] work / instruction numbered one hundred [or more]. [7] Mr Chikusai Wakisaka mastered his [style of] ink-bamboo 墨竹 (*bokuchiku*) [painting],<sup>33</sup> Kinryō Koshi mastered [his way of painting] flora and fauna. [8] And with regards to [his] mountains and waterbodies, it was Adept Shōka<sup>34</sup> who mastered them. [9] Thereafter, the adept jaunted / travelled to Etsu 越 [Province of Echigo], while Mr Tō passed away. [10] Myself, I moved to Keishi 京師,<sup>35</sup> and three years after I had moved [there], the adept, too, again returned to Keishi, and his technique / ability 技 (*gi / waza*) was increasingly highly [praised] throughout the world. [11] As a result, he wrote this album [*To Shi Chō koga den*] in three volumes, [and for this purpose] learned from / emulated the example of *Old Man Li's Album* 笠翁畫伝 (*Li weng huachuan / Ryūō gaden*);<sup>36</sup> he depended on Mr Tō's method / technique, exactly adapted [Tō's] intentions, [and thus] for the first time they were

32 Seiryō refers to the Album of Calligraphies and Pictures from the Study of Esteemed / Unforgettable Writings 佩文齋書畫譜 (*Peiwen zhai shuhua pu / Haibun sai shoga fu*). “Peiwen” is the name of the library of the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (1654–1722) and the work itself resulted from an imperial commission. Completed in 1708, it is a collection of 1,844 documents on calligraphy and painting from antiquity to Ming times.

33 Pictures of bamboo in ink became a favoured subject in *bunjin* painting. Cf. n. 72.

34 Seiryō uses To Chō's sobriquet 松窠 in this preface and calls him *dōjin* 道人 or “person on the Way / adept”. A *dōjin* could be someone who entered a monastery and dedicated themselves to the teachings of the Buddha or those of the Masters Lao and Zhuang (Daoism). It could also denote someone who had chosen the life of a (Daoist) “mountain recluse”. In general, it denotes someone who chose to renounce secular life (for example as a Buddhist lay monk) without ordination and living in a monastery.

35 In Edo-period works, Kyoto often appears under this name.

36 Another name for the famous Manual of Paintings from the *Mustard Seed Garden* 芥子園畫伝 (*Jiezi yuan huazhuan / Kaishi en gaden*, 1679).

complete. Consequently, he intended to give [the work] to a publisher. [12] [But] it came to pass / by chance someone from Etsu again offered the adept welcome. [13] [Now] the adept wished to [set out for the] north. [14] He therefore entrusted his friend Shōdō Squire Son 松堂村子<sup>37</sup> with this [publication project]. [15] Squire Son [hails from] a reputable Keishi family, and at the same time, [he] became renowned for flora, fauna, mountain and water-bodies [i.e. landscape pictures]. [16] Consequently, for the sake of the adept he supplemented the parts that had not yet been fully brought to their utmost, and [thus it is now] complete in every respect. [17] The publisher Gyokugi Kan asked me for a preface. [18] I said: “The adept’s book is exceedingly well done. [19] Over the past twenty years, the painting [of pictures] has unfolded greatly. [20] People in Keishi who made a name for their house in this field number a thousand or more. [21] Those [among them who strive for] delicacy / minute detail 微なる者 (*bi naru mono*) [pursue more and more] fineness 緻 (*chi*) every day.<sup>38</sup> [22] Those [among them striving for] pureness 潔なる者 (*ketsu naru mono*) [pursue more and more] pureness every day. [23] They all bring exquisiteness 精妙 (*seimyō*) to its culmination. [24] But what they aim for is the loftiness and extremity of scale 規模之高致 (*kibo no kōchi*) and the true taste 真味 (*shinmi*) of unsophisticated / naive authenticity 質真 (*shisshin*) only.<sup>39</sup> [25] However, the adept was consequently well versed in [his] poems and he was well versed in [his] writings. [26] Therefore, his calligraphy and painting, seal carving and *koto*-zither playing were not necessarily refined and they were not necessarily pure. [27] The essence [of his art] is achieved entirely through the resonance / attuning of breath / *qi*-disposition 氣韻 (*kiin*).<sup>40</sup> [28] This is the reason for the adept’s great [fame] in [our] time / society. [29] The adept’s writings are exceedingly well done. [30] I am glad that what Mr Tō secretly and assiduously strove for is once more well laid out for eternity by this endeavour. [31] Mr Tō occupied a

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37 Mimura Chikusei identifies Shōdō Sonshi as Murakami Shōdō 村上松堂, a student of the famous Ganku 岸駒 (1749/56–1839), who is mentioned in two editions of the *Journal of Heian Personalities* 平安人物志 (*Heian jinbutsu shi*) and who must have been twenty-eight years old when *To Shi Chō koga den* appeared in 1803. That someone so young is described by Seiryō as a master of painting raises Mimura’s doubts, but he has no better explanation for identifying Shōdō Sonshi and aligning it with Seiryō’s account. MIMURA 1983: 245, 265.

38 *Bi* 微 or *bi naru* 微なる essentially means something “very small” or “insignificant”. It is hard to imagine, however, that Seiryō intended this sentence as a slight. The sentence immediately following this one is constructed in parallel but has the word 潔 (*ketsu*) at the beginning and end. It might, therefore, be possible that an error occurred and that 微 should in fact be read as 緻. Even if that is not the case, a positive interpretation of 微 seems in order. This is also in keeping with Chinese treatises on art. Cf. p. 28. For this reason, “delicacy / minute detail” was chosen in correspondence to “[pursue] subtlety” at the end.

39 This term could also be understood as “unsophisticatedness and authenticity”. Cf. fn 92.

40 For an attempt to clarify this and other expressions, see pp. 28–45.

good [i.e. high ranked] government position in the Great Administrative Seat [i.e. Edo] and [had] a support village of several hundred households. [32] In truth, after he waited on the brush,<sup>41</sup> he did not consider serving [the lord] and nurturing [the parents] 奉養 (*hōyō*) to be something good / laudable 美 (*bi*). [33] His brushworks 揮写 (*kisha*), too, are exceedingly few in number. [34] Those who got hold of one of Mr [Tō's] [brush] traces 蹟 (*seki / ato*) [works] wrapped them tenfold [in protective layers] and thought it equal to a jade disc of arm's width 拱璧 (*kyōheki*).<sup>42</sup> [35] For this reason, in [our] times / world, true traces [by his hand] are increasingly rare. [36] That his traces are not numerous [is due to the fact that] his explanations / expositions were not clear [and easy to understand], and besides, [they] did not meet the intention / ambition / will of the gentlemen who followed him.<sup>43</sup> [37] [By contrast], the adept's works are exceedingly clear. [38] Therefore, I prefaced this book and announce [my] joy to Mr Wakisaka Squire Ko. [39] Moreover, [I] thank Shōdō Squire Son for his efforts. [40] This [publication work] expresses Kuntaku's and my own true feelings / understanding 素 (*so*). [41] Henceforth, may the adept's learning / method [of] how to paint rise to fame under all the Heavens and in the following ages. [42] Kyōwa [era], spring of the Water (younger brother) / Boar [year] [1803]

余、東府に在りし日、最も東洲左 (佐) 君澤と善し。俱に睦を広川董君に為す。君、嘗て法を宋紫石に受け、花鳥を善くするを以て、府に名あり。君澤因りて余と謀り、董君を動かして佩文齋画譜を読む。君、乃ち又た山水を善くするを以て、大に閑以東に聞ゆ。遂に一家の法を建て、従いて業を受くる者、百を以て数う。竹齋脇阪君は其の墨竹を得、金陵古子は其の花鳥を得たり。而して其の山水は、則ち松窠道人之を得たり。其の後、道人越に遊び、而して董君は卒す。余は京師に移り、移りて三年、道人も亦た京師に還り、其の技益々世に高し。乃ち其の画譜三巻を著し、笠翁画伝の例に倣い、董君の法に依り、間ま又た其の意を用いて、始めて備わる。將に以て梓に授けんとす。会 (たまたま) 越の人又た道人を迎う。道人將に北せんとす。則ち之を其の友松堂村子に托す。村子は京師の名家、並びに花鳥山水に著わる。乃ち道人の為に、其の未だ全 くは悉くさざる所を補いて、大いに備わる。書林玉枝軒は序を余に乞う。余曰く、「道人の著は甚だ善し。二十年來、画事大に闢く。京師の此の事を以て家に名づくる者は、一千有餘。微なる者は日に緞。潔なる者は日

41 The author did not find any idiomatic expression in Chinese or Japanese that would explain the use of 待 and 筆 here, although 待筆 could be interpreted as meaning “to give oneself over to the brush [brushwork] and hope for good results” in order to make ends meet. However, this would be reading too much into the phrase. It might be that Seiryō used 待 instead of 持 and that he intended to say “after he took up the brush”. Both the Frankfurt and the Kokubunken editions of the text unmistakably show 待.

42 “To wrap something tenfold” and “large jade disc” are expressions denoting something of extreme value. The *locus classicus* for the latter is *Laozi Daode jing* 老子道德經 (*The Old Master's Classic of the Way and its Virtue / Power / Efficacy*), *Siku quanshu* 四庫全集 (Complete Collection of the Four [Book]storehouses) ed. 15v.

43 For a discussion of 意 (*yi / i*) see pp. 43–45.

に潔。皆な精妙を極む。唯だ其の之く所は、規模の高致、質真の真味のみなり。而して道人は則ち詩を善くし、文を善くす。故に其の書画・刻印・弹琴は、必ずしも緻ならず、亦た必ずしも潔ならず。要は尽く気韻中より得來たる。是れ道人の世に高き所以なり。道人の著、甚だ善し。余も又た窃かに董君の刻意する所も、亦た此の拳に因て能く久遠に施くを慶す。董君は大府の良官にして、食邑数百戸。誠に筆を待ちて後、奉養を美にせざるなり。乃ち其の揮写する所も、亦た甚だしくは多からず。君が蹟を得る者は、十襲して之を拱壁に比す。其の故を以て、真蹟は益ます世に少なし。其の蹟の多からざるは、其の論の顯れざるとともに、從游する諸君の意に非ざるなり。道人の著は甚だ著わるなり。故に余は此の書に序し、以て慶びを脇坂君古子に告ぐ。又た勞を松堂村子に謝す。是れ君澤と余との素と云う。然る後、道人の画学は天下後世に高からん」と。享和癸亥の春

5. “Tōshū Sa Kuntaku”, the first person mentioned in Seiryō’s preface to *To Shi Chō koga*, can be identified as Sano Tōshū 佐野東洲 (?–1814). He was active as a calligrapher in Edo and wrote the title characters of the *Kidai shōran* 熙代勝覧.<sup>44</sup> Seiryō called him his closest friend in Edo and together they sought the acquaintance of Tō Jotei.<sup>45</sup>

44 The discovery in 1999, in Berlin’s Museum für Asiatische Kunst, of a lavishly painted handscroll (*emaki* 絵巻) more than twelve metres long caused quite a sensation, and the scroll in question – the *Kidai shōran* or *Excellent View of [Our] Splendid Age* – became famous in Japan when it was shown there in 2003. The scroll shows a shopping street in Edo between Nihonbashi and Kanda in around 1800 (it was probably completed in or before 1806–07), with dozens of stores and houses and more than one thousand six hundred people. While the painter has not yet been identified, the title calligraphy was contributed by Sano Tōshū. At the time, almost nothing was known about Tōshū (and this is still the case). However, researchers were aware that he had adopted Santō Kyōzan 山東京伝 (1769–1858), younger brother of Santō Kyōden, as his son-in-law 婿養子 (*muko yōshi*). The relationship quickly disintegrated, but Ozawa Hiromu surmises that – as one possibility – the anonymous painter could have been a member of the group formed around Kyōden and Kyōzan. OZAWA 2003: 7; cf. also EHMCKE 2007: 181–95. This conjecture is as valid as Aoyagi Junko’s suggestion that because of his friendship with Tōshū, Seiryō might also have known Kyōzan and Kyōden. Both assumptions are based on the simple calculation that since A knew B, it might also be possible that a person C was involved because of an acquaintance either with A or B. This might have been the case, but it could equally be assumed that the artist responsible for the *Kidai shōran* was not related to the Kyōden-Kyōzan group but hailed from the circle formed around Sō Sekishi, Tō Kyūjo, To Chō and other *literati* painters. And just like Seiryō, Tōshū was probably acquainted with the Katsuragawa family since he wrote one of the three forewords to Morishima Chūryō’s *New Tales of the Myriad Countries* 万国新話 (*Bankoku shinwa*, 1800), the other two being contributed by Katsuragawa Hoshū and Udagawa Gensui 宇田川玄隨 (1756–98). He also authored several books – some of them held by Kyushu University – including *Teacher Tōshū’s Script: One Hundred People and One Poem [Each]* 東洲先生書百人一首 (*Tōshū Sensei sho Hyakunin isshu*, 1787). In his afterword to the *Taimadera kebutsu shokuzō gōshi saihō shōkyō zusetu* 当麻寺化仏織造藕糸西方聖境図説 (Explanation for the Picture of the Holy Domain in

6. Besides To Chō, two other students of Tō Jotei are mentioned. However, further information on an artist called Wakisaka Chikusai is only available through Seiryō's account in his *Parting Gift to the East* 東贖 (*Azuma hanamuke*):

[The area] in Hongō's fourth ward along its back street up on Tomizaka [Hill / Slope] 富坂 is called Oyumi Quadrant 御弓町 (Oyumi chō). Here one finds a \*Bannerman who receives two thousand *koku*. He is called Wakisaka Jinbē 脇坂甚兵衛. Last year he retired, passed the family headship to his son, a person called Nabenosuke 鍋之介, assumed the sobriquet Chikusai and [since then has] painted ink-bamboo [pictures]. He is someone with much leisure [time]. Since he chose the life of a *rōnin* in retirement and did not mind entering [life in] a \*hovel, this man is a [good] friend for digesting / having dinner [with]. Now, with regard to partial plots [separate from the main estate belonging to] the head of the present Temple and Shrine Commissioners, Wakisaka Awaji no kami, this Old Man Chikusai 竹齋公 is the only person [who received one].<sup>46</sup>

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the West, Woven from Lotus Root Fibres with [Amida and Kannon] Buddha's Manifestation at the Taima Temple), by Ōbaku-sect monk Dokutan 独湛 (Duzhan; 1628–1706); Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848), writing under his pen name Chosaku Dō Shujin 著作堂主人 (Master of the Penmanship Hall), disclosed that Sano Tōshū had a Chinese edition of the book in his possession during the Bunka 文化 era (1804–18) and that he had seen it at his house. That Bakin was quite familiar with Tōshū might be deduced from his enumeration of the latter's changes of residence: “Tōshū moved from Ginza's 銀座 first ward in the Kyōbashi 京橋 [area] to Tsukiji 築地, and then again decided on a house in the Zenkoku Temple 善国寺 valley in the Kōjimachi 麹町 [district]. The house was [located] in Zenkoku Ji Valley.” Cf. <https://opac.dl.itc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/opac/>.

45 KSZ: 238. On Kansai see AOYAGI 2010: 144.

46 *Azuma hanamuke*, KSZ: 370. Yagi, too, only gives the *Azuma hanamuke* as reference. Cf. YAGI 2006: 175. However, there is the *Survey Report of All [Street-facing] Plots* 諸向地面取調書 (*Shomuki jimen torishirabe sho*), an 1856 survey of estates and landed property in Edo held by regional lords and shōgunal retainers, one of two external sources that mention the name “Wakisaka Jinbē”. <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11287340>. Seiryō's description would suggest a strong relationship between Chikusai and the Wakisaka daimyō family, rulers of the Tatsuno 龍野 lordship (in present-day Hyōgo Prefecture). Wakisaka Yasutada 安董 (1767–1841; Awaji no kami), who also appears in the *Shomuki jimen torishirabe sho*, held the office of Temple and Shrine Commissioner 寺社奉行 (*Jisha bugyō*) between 1791 and 1813 and became a Senior 老中 (*rōjū*) in 1837. The second source is the *Wakisaka Jinbē Ancestor Account* 脇坂甚兵衛先祖書 (*Wakisaka Jinbē senzo sho*), which is part of the genealogical collection *Ancestor Accounts of all [Warrior] Houses* 諸家先祖書 (*Shoka senzo sho*; held by Tsukuba University). If Chikusai was a family member or a retainer (or both), it is strange that Seiryō describes him as a “bannerman”, a direct vassal of the *shōgun*. None of his works as a calligrapher could be verified.

The next name, Kinryō Koshi 金陵古子, leads to Kaneko Kinryō 金子金陵 (?–1817), whom Seiryō also describes in *Parting Gift to the East*. The choice of words suggests that the two men were well acquainted with each other:

On Pheasant-bridge Street 雉子橋通 (Kijibashi dōri) in Ogawa Ward 小川町 there is [the mansion of] a \*Bannerman 旗本 named Ōmori Taizaburō 大森泰三郎,<sup>47</sup> who receives [an income of] 6,000 *koku* [of rice]. Among his retainers in retirement, one finds Kaneko Inkei 兼子允圭.<sup>48</sup> [He] calls [himself] Kinryō Sanjin 金陵山人 and is a master of flower and bird [paintings]. In present day Edo, when it comes to flowers and birds, this Kinryō paints [them really very] well. [His abode] is not very far away from the \*[Bannerman] mansion. It [still] lies in the category called “neighbourhood” in Edo. This Kinryō is a very interesting man and an extremely cheerful person. In years, he is one up on Tsuru [me], but [nevertheless] is a young-looking man.<sup>49</sup>

Kinryō had studied with Sō Shiseki and Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763–1840); he is also known as the teacher of Watanabe Kazan 渡辺華山 (1793–1841) and Tsubaki Chinzan 椿椿山 (1801–54), but is otherwise not well documented.

7. Other *literati* contacts of Seiryō in Edo can be gleaned from *Azuma hanamuke*. One is Inage Okuzan 稻毛屋山 (1755–1822), who was active as a seal carver.

Among the men who rent a \*Bannermen longhouse 長屋 (*nagaya*) [compartment] below Otokoza 男坂 [Hill] near [Yushima] Tenjin 天神 [Shrine], there is one called Inage Kanemon 稻毛官右衛門. He is a seal carver. He uses the sobriquet “Okuzan” and is a man born in Takamatsu in San Province 讃州 [Sanuki 讃岐]. Since he is a true *rōnin* 浪人, it is a matter of the first order to call them from time to time and nurture [their spirits] without making their dispositions gloomy and their hearts downtrodden.<sup>50</sup>

In his youth, Okuzan had studied in Kyoto with Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1734–1807) and made the acquaintance of prominent artists such as Ike Taiga 池大雅 (1723–76), Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733–95) and Nagasawa Rosetsu 長沢蘆雪 (1754–99). He learned his art under Taiga’s friend, Kō Fuyō 高芙蓉 (1722–84), one of the most influential figures in the histo-

47 Another possible reading of the name could be “Ōmori Yasuzaburō”.

48 Seiryō writes the family name with 兼 instead of 金.

49 *Azuma hanamuke*, KSZ: 380.

50 *Ibid.*: 370. The advice includes the other *rōnin* acquaintances mentioned in the passage.



ry of Japanese seal engraving.<sup>51</sup> After moving to Edo, Okuzan established his place in the *literati* community and his contacts there included Tani Bunchō, Yamamoto Hokuzan and Kikuchi Gozan.

8. Kushiro Unzen 鉤雲泉 (1759–1811) was another admirer of Sinitic culture. He travelled widely before settling down in Edo, which is where Seiryō came to know him: “In front of the back gate [to the Tentaku Temple 天沢寺] there is a painter of Chinese pictures called Kushiro Bunpei 鉤文平. He is a native of Shimabara 島原 in Hizen 肥前 [and is also] known as Unzen Sanjin 雲泉山人. He is a true *rōnin*. He is an extremely interesting person, reads books constantly and is an aficionado of [antique] items 道具家ノ好事家 (*dōgu ka no kōzu ka*).”<sup>52</sup> As a child, Unzen had accompanied his father to Nagasaki and it was there that he lay the foundations for his knowledge of the classics. In addition, he had Chinese teachers who taught him *wenren* painting and the vernacular language. Years of travelling took him to parts of western Japan, Shikoku and later to Edo, before he finally returned to the region around Okayama in the west. It was at this time that his contact with *bunjin* circles in the Kansai area increased. Like so many others, he met Kimura Kenkadō (on several occasions), having been introduced to him in 1791 by Confucian scholar and painter Totoki Baigai 十時梅厓 (1749–1804).<sup>53</sup> He also made the acquaintance of Minagawa Kien and Rai Sanyō, among others.<sup>54</sup> After living in Kyoto for some time around 1801–02, Unzen returned to Edo, and it was probably at this time that Seiryō came to know him at his house in the Yushima Tenjin area. In 1806 he visited the Echigo region for the first time and later moved with his family to Sanjō 三条 (a place Seiryō first visited in 1789).<sup>55</sup>

9. The last person in Aoyagi Junko’s list is also the most famous – Shiba Kōkan, best known for his interest in European- style painting and his at-

51 Norman Waddell describes Fuyō as “another of the scholarly young men whose lives had been influenced by the passion for sinitic culture current in Edo Japan”. BAISAŌ 2008: 199. He came from a family of Confucian physicians. After moving to Kyoto, he participated in the flourishing *literati* culture of the Kansai area as a painter and calligrapher, but most of all excelling as a seal carver. Yanagisawa Kien, Kimura Kenkadō and others were among his acquaintances.

52 *Azuma hanamuke*, KSZ: 370.

53 AOYAGI 2010: 147. Baigai had studied under Itō Tōsho 伊藤東所 (1730–1804), son of Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670–1736), and enjoyed close links with other prominent figures in Kyoto’s cultural circles, such as Ike Taiga and Minagawa Kien.

54 Cf. the comprehensive Wikipedia entry in Japanese as well as Mori Senzō’s “Kushiro Unzen zakki” 鉤雲泉雜記 (Miscellanea on Kushiro Unzen), in: MORI 1973: 244–55.

55 From there he went to visit To Chō in Izumosaki.

tempts to reproduce it. However, his interests also extended to other art forms, leading him to study under Kanō Yoshinobu 狩野美信 (1747–97) and then explore *ukiyo-e* under Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1725–70). After becoming convinced that “Japanese pictures are vulgar”, he entered the school of Sō Shiseki. He shared an interest in all things Dutch with Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728–80), who probably introduced him to Shiseki, and with Morishima Chūryō. How he came into contact with Seiryō has not been verified, but both the aforementioned students of Shiseki – Hirokawa Tō and Kaneko Kinryō – and Chūryō could have served as mediators. Seiryō does not refer to Shiba Kōkan in his writings; however, they exchanged letters and Kōkan described him as an “interesting conversationalist who translates Chinese books using the [method of] exhaustive investigation of principle 窮理 (*qiongli* / *kyūri*) [found in] Dutch theories” 蘭説窮理を以テ支那の書を訳シ、談話おもしろき人 (*ransetsu kyūri o motte Shina no sho o yaku shi, danwa omoshiroki hito*).<sup>56</sup>

10. Other contacts among Edo art circles may be taken into consideration. Yagi Kiyoharu draws attention to a collaborative work by Seiryō and Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 (1761–1828). It comprises a Chinese poem written by the former and a crane painted by the latter:<sup>57</sup>

Descending [we] play / travel in the fields, ascending [we] flutter in the clouds  
 Being neither attended by wife and child, nor attached to a lord  
 the source of immaculacy, [it lies in] our nature  
 for life following [only our] will / intentions, [we] avoid other flocks of birds

下遊田圃上靡雲  
 不伴妻兒不慕君  
 潔白由来吾等性  
 終身隨意避鷄群

56 *Mugon Dōjin hikki* 無言道人筆記 (Mugon Dōjin’s Brush Records), in: SHIBA 1993: 137. On the exchange of letters, see Aoyagi 2010: 147. As far as could be ascertained, Seiryō did not mention women among his *literati* acquaintances. This is not necessarily surprising considering the conditions of the time. Of course, female *bunjin* did exist, like Ike Taiga’s wife Tokuyama Gyokuran 徳山玉瀾 (1727–84) for example, or Ōtagaki Rengetsu 大田垣蓮月 (1791–1875).

57 As Yagi wrote, Hōitsu’s painting (with Seiryō’s poem) was listed in the January 2006 catalogue of Kyoto art dealer Yamamoto Bijutsu Ten 山本美術店. He received this information from Yokoya Kenichirō, curator at Ōtsu City Museum of History 大津市歴史博物館 (Ōtsu Shi Rekishi Hakubutsu Kan). YAGI 2018: 87.

下りては田圃に遊び 上りては雲に靡く  
 妻児を伴はず 君を慕はず  
 潔白の由来は 吾等の性  
 終身意の随にして 鶏群を避く

This poem is almost identical to a similar composition that can be read as an autobiographical description:

Descending [I] play / travel in the fields, ascending [I] flutter in the clouds  
 Being neither attended by wife and child, nor attached to a lord  
 the source of immaculacy, [it lies in] this person's [i.e. my] nature  
 for life following [only my] will / intentions, [I] avoid other flocks of birds

下遊田圃上靡雲  
 不伴妻児不慕君  
 潔白由来吾輩性  
 終身随意避鶏群

下りては田圃に遊び 上りては雲に靡く  
 妻児を伴はず 君を慕はず  
 潔白の由来は 吾輩の性  
 終身意の随にして 鶏群を避く<sup>58</sup>

Although neither the date of this poem nor the context in which it was written are known, Tokumori Makoto's argument that the "crane" refers to Seiryō himself is convincing.<sup>59</sup> The four lines describe a personality moving freely between heaven and earth, unfettered by obligations towards others – including family and lord – and uncompromisingly preserving his freedom of purpose and purity. Yagi Kiyoharu interprets the slight difference in the two poems as an avowal of the similarity between painter and poet – both being able to enjoy a lifestyle untrammelled by considerations of family or service to a lordship. The choice of words would suggest that the poem adorning the collaborative work by Hōitsu and Seiryō represents both men at the same time. Seiryō styled himself "Crane", while Hōitsu left a number of *tsuru* paintings, making it reasonable to infer that the bird is an allegory for himself.<sup>60</sup> But did the two men meet and decide on the combination of picture and poem together, or did Seiryō write his lines only after he was shown the painting? Did they know each other personally or is the poem merely

58 The poem can be found in TANIMURA 1935b: 131. The *yomikudashi* version is by Tokumori Makoto. TOKUMORI 2013: 53.

59 TOKUMORI 2013: 53.

60 It is of note that Hōitsu's pictures of cranes also show the birds in pairs or groups.

based on interpolation? Since other indications of a relationship between the two are missing, answers to these questions rely on interpretation. And this, unfortunately, is the case for many of the artworks from this period.

### Seiryō's Notions of Painting

In his *Talks About Planting Bulrush* 植蒲談 (*Shokuho dan*, before 1814), Seiryō expressed contempt for certain cultural pursuits:

With regard to senseless / useless livelihoods / occupations, this refers to persons who [for example] make being a teacher of *haikai* [poems] 俳諧ノ宗匠 (*haikai no sōshō*), being a teacher of [the style of the] thrown-in flower arrangement ナゲ入活花 (*nageire ikebana*),<sup>61</sup> *go* playing 碁打 (*gouchi*)<sup>62</sup> and *shōgi*-setting 将碁サシ (*shōgi sashi*) their profession, or those who as men instruct [others] in *koto* 琴 and *shamisen* 三弦 [playing]; [further people] of the kind of the sleight-of-hand performers 手ヅマ遣ヒ (*tezuma tsukai*) or drum players タイコ持 (*taiko mochi*) and [also] physicians who have no patients and who everywhere indulge in alcohol, belong completely [to the kind] of the drum players.<sup>63</sup>

タワヒモナキ渡世トハ、俳諧ノ宗匠、ナゲ入活花ノ師匠、碁打将碁サシヲ業トシテオロ、男子ニテ琴三弦ヲ指南スルモノ、手ヅマ遣ヒ、タイコ持ノ類、医者ノ病家ナフテアチコチノ酒ノ相手ナドヲスルハ全クタイコ持ニ属ス。

This is part of Seiryō's critical attitude towards ways of life he deemed to be unproductive and to not contribute to the wealth of a regional lordship. At the same time, his words betray contempt for professional arts that served their practitioners as commercial activities for earning a livelihood – an unsurprising attitude for a representative of the *bunjin* way of life.<sup>64</sup>

61 The term “thrown-in flower” 抛入花 denotes a style of flower arranging (the name is said to originate with the practice of “throwing” flowers into a vase to create a spontaneous final arrangement; it later became a formalized style) and decorating a room for tea meetings; it can be traced back to the Ikenobō school of *ikebana* (conceptions by Ikenobō Senkō I 池坊専好 [?–1621] are assumed to have been refined by Sen no Rikyū). In addition to the influence of tearoom architecture on the layout of urban residences beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century, a popularization of the *nageire* style can be observed; flowers arranged according to its rules adorned the decorative alcoves found in reception rooms used for representational purposes.

62 Literally the text speaks of “*go* beating”.

63 KSZ: 150.

64 See Part II of this article.

In contrast, the preface to the *To Shi Chō koga den* reveals a different regard for *bunjin* activities. Not only is there no word of criticism towards the endeavours and aspirations of the *literati*, Seiryō identifies himself as having already been committed to this lifestyle in his younger years. He gives no date for the first event mentioned in the preface – a visit to “Hirokawa Tō’s” house in order to convince him to study the *Album of Calligraphies and Pictures from the Study of Esteemed / Unforgettable Writings* (*Peiwen zhai huapu*) together with his friends – but it must have taken place well before To Chō left Edo, sometime between 1782 and 1784. The fact that he was asked to contribute the preface to *To Shi Chō koga den* in 1803 can be read as implicit proof of Seiryō’s ongoing involvement in *bunjin* activities, which probably continued until the end of his life.<sup>65</sup> This side of his biography is borne out by a growing network of *literati* acquaintances outside Edo and a number of paintings and calligraphies that have mostly gone unnoticed by historians of intellectual history. Seiryō even had the following advice to offer:

Now, if it is the case that [you] do not go out the \*gate [of the lordship’s mansion for a long time] then the digestion will also be bad. [You] should do something to work and move the body. [For this purpose] it will be fine to amuse [yourself] by painting pictures. Aside from the military techniques, there is nothing so good for digesting [the contents of your] stomach than painting pictures. Painting one sheet of Chinese / foreign paper with mountains and waterbodies or some such will cause the stomach to become empty and make [you] digest more than walking a long distance [will].<sup>66</sup>

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65 The major writings contained in KSZ disclose almost nothing about Seiryō as a painter or poet. There is one episode, however, which takes place in Sanjō during a (second?) sojourn, probably in late spring or early summer 1804 after Seiryō had given lectures in Minowa (in present-day Gunma prefecture). In Sanjō, too, Seiryō lectured on classical writings and was visited on several occasions by the head priest of the local Hachiman shrine. This priest had studied under a member of the Kano school, Kano Gyokko 狩野玉虎, and received the artist-name Gyokuju 玉樹. “Although he was [in] Japanese [style] painting, he occasionally came to Tsuru’s [my] travel lodgings because he liked foreign / Chinese painting.” *Tennō dan* 天王談 (Talks about the King of Heaven), KSZ: 511. 和画ナリシニ、唐画ヲコノミシユヘニ鶴ガ旅宿ヘ折々来タレリ. The implication is that Gyokuju sought Seiryō’s acquaintance since the latter also engaged in *literati* art (and perhaps had made a name for himself). The hanging scroll described in the opening passage of this article would suggest that in 1810 he was a well-established member of Kyoto art circles.

66 *Azuma no hanamuke*, KSZ: 370.

扱、御門外ヲセヌ事ナレバ、腹コナレ兼テアシカルベシ。何ゾ身ノ働キ動ク事ヲ為ベシ。画ナド書キテ遊ブ事宜カルベシ。武術ノ外ハ書画ホド腹コナル事ナシ。一枚唐紙ニ山水杯ヲ書ケバ、遠方へ歩行スルヨリヘリテコナル也。

Although the idea of physical exercise as a precondition for corporeal and mental health did not exist as such in Edo Japan,<sup>67</sup> Seiryō stresses the positive effects of engaging in *bunjin* activities and it might be surmised that this also concerned their effect on the mental disposition. Before going into more detail about Seiryō's own works, it is worth ascertaining the framework within which he spoke about *literati* art and expressed his understanding of it by taking a closer look at the *To Shi Chō koga den* preface and the inscription on the second collaborative scroll from 1810.

Neither text is a theoretical treatise or offers a systematic account of Chinese-style painting, although such elaborations can be traced back as far as Xie He's 謝赫 (479–?) influential *Catalogue of the Order of Precedence of Old Pictures* 古画品録 (*Guhua pinlu / Koga hinroku*), as well as precursors such as Zong Bing's 宗炳 (375–442) *Preface to Painting Mountains and Waterbodies* 画山水序 (*Hua shanshui xu*) and Wang Wei's 王微 (415–43) *Account of Painting* 叙画 (*Xuhua*).<sup>68</sup> However, these two short texts might be the only existing testimony left by Seiryō that provide in some detail a direct expression of his understanding of Chinese-style painting, its theoretical ramifications, the different genres and styles that existed and how to categorize them – although the brevity of the preface and scroll inscription, together with the dearth of information about how keywords were understood by their author, will raise more questions than they answer. Reference to Chinese and contemporary Japanese expositions of art can do no more than provide a framework within which Seiryō's view of painting can be located.

Despite the art form's long history, Matthew Turner remarks that the vocabulary used by Xie He – and by extension, later authors – remained “suggestive” rather than containing “an exhaustive analysis of the contents” that lie behind the central principles of painting.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a group of recurrent expressions employed to describe pictorial art,

67 The Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630–1714), in his famous *Yōjō kun*, counsels putting the body to work every day and taking a stroll of a few hundred paces after a meal. KAIBARA 1961: 31.

68 OBERT 2007b: 130, 432–64. On Zong Bing and Wang Wei: NAKAMURA 1962: 25–65.

69 TURNER: 2009: 110.

despite their somewhat elusive character.<sup>70</sup> Of these, only a few figure in Seiryō's preface.

a. The text uses two different words to convey, in holistic terms, the idea of an individual style of painting. Both contain the connotation of “technique”; however, *hō* 法 (method / technique) seems to refer to a formal set of rules or principles governing how to paint as well as the practical means of doing so. It is also something that can be transmitted to others [3, 6, 11].<sup>71</sup> In contrast, *gi* or *waza* 技 (technique / ability) probably denotes the individual ability or talent that characterizes the work of an artist rather than the employment of a learnable know-how [10].

b. A second group of words denote certain genres in Chinese painting: “mountains and waterbodies” 山水 (*sansui*) [5, 8, 15], “ink-bamboo” 墨竹 (*bokuchiku*) and “flowers / flora and birds / fauna” 花鳥 (*kachō*). All three are firmly established in art theory literature and point respectively to landscape representations (often panoramic), pictures showing bamboo drawn only in different shades of ink, and images of diverse plants (including trees) and animals (with birds making up a large part).<sup>72</sup> Seiryō implies that an

70 The discussion that follows makes use of ROWLEY 1959; ACKER 1954; LIN 1967; KUHN 1973; BUSH, SHIH 2012; OBERT 2007a, OBERT 2007b; TURNER 2009.

71 Numbers in square brackets refer to sentences in the translation on pp. 15–17. In keeping with this idea of 法, Obert chooses “Verfahrensweisen” as a German equivalent; see for example OBERT 2007b: 193, 476–92.

72 *Bokuchiku* literally means pictures of bamboo in black only. SAITŌ Ryūzō 齋藤隆三 (1875–1961), in his *Gadai jiten* 画題辞典 (Dictionary of Picture Subjects, 1919), cites “Madame Li” 李夫人 of the Five Dynasties period (907–960 or 979) as the first person to paint “ink-bamboo” pictures. However, KANAI Shiun's 金井紫雲 (1888–1954) *Tōyō gaidai sōran* 東洋画題綜覧 (Overview of Picture Subjects in East Asian [Art], 1941–1943) cites Nakayama Kōyō's 中山高陽 (1717–80) *Gatan keiroku* 画譚鷄肋 (Hen's Ribs / Worthless Discussion of Paintings) as tracing the *bokuchiku* style to Wen Yuke 文与可 (1019–1079; also known as Wen Tong 文同) since working with different shades of ink supposedly originated with him. <http://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/artwiki/index.php/墨竹>. *Gatan keiroku*, vol. 1, woodblock print ed. 5v; cf. SAKAZAKI 1917: 652–93 (666). Preceding *bokuchiku*, Kōyō mentions other genres in the following order: *jinbutsu Dō Shaku ga* 人物道釈画 (pictures of human beings, Daoist [saints] and the Buddha), *sansui ga*, *kachō ga*, *gabai* 画梅 (plum flower pictures). Other categories follow (“tigers”, “elephants”, “horses” and “chrysanthemums”). In all cases the reader is introduced – to a minimal degree only – to what is actually painted. Kōyō restricts himself to tracing the history of these genres back to important personalities and describing the genealogies of conspicuous lines of transmission. There was a focus on “ink-bamboo” painting in the Edo period, as suggested by titles like *Ga bokuchiku hō* 画墨竹法 (Method of Painting Ink-Bamboo [Pictures], 1762) and the monk Gyokurin's 玉隣 (1751–1814) *Bokuchiku shinan* 墨竹指南 (Instruction for Ink-Bamboo [Painting], 1799). It is interesting, therefore, that *Practicing Chinese Painting by Oneself* 漢画

artist usually excels in one of these domains, as “Hirokawa Tō” did with “mountains and waterbodies” [5], but could also transmit painting in the other domains to his or her students. Thus, Wakisaka Chikusai followed his master in the “ink-bamboo” style, Kaneko Kinryō acquired expertise in “flowers and birds” and To Chō, the subject of Seiryō’s preface, specialized in landscapes [7, 8].

c. A number of abstract expressions serve to describe the characteristics of artworks and the artists’ aspirations: painters in Kyoto set their sights on “delicacy / minute detail” 微なる者 (*bi naru mono*), in the process pursuing “finesse” 緻 (*chi*) [21]. For others, the aim was the “purenness” 潔 (*ketsu*) of their paintings [22]. The common ground between the two lay in the pursuit of “exquisiteness” 精妙 (*seimyō*) [23]. Seiryō uses these words without further explaining their meaning in relation to the underlying artistic endeavour; the same holds true for the culmination of this vein of painting: “loftiness and extremity of scale” 規模之高致 (*kibo no kōchi*) and the “true taste of unsophisticated / naive authenticity<sup>73</sup> of true taste” 質真之真味 (*shisshin no shinmi*) [24]. Viewed together with the positive evaluation of To Chō in the following two sentences, the reader cannot help but read a critical detachment into Seiryō’s view of what he saw as the prevalent attitude towards Chinese-style painting among Kyoto *literati*. This impression is emphasized by the use of *nomi* 而已 (“only, solely, simply”) at the end of sentence [24]. While To Chō’s accomplishments in calligraphy, painting, seal carving and *koto*-zither playing did not achieve “finesse” 緻 and “purenness” 潔, he not only painted but was well-versed in poetry and text composition [25, 26]. The comprehensiveness of his artistic endeavours seems to have set him apart from the other members of Kyoto’s cultural scene and Seiryō implies that this was not unrelated to his attainment of 氣韻 – *qiyun* or *kiin* –, one of the central concepts of Chinese art theory. Before discussing this sophisticated notion, a few words on the above expressions are in order.

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独稽古 (*Kanga hitori geiko*, 1807) only mentions “mountains and waterbodies”, “flowers and birds”, and “human beings” as the central genres of *literati* pictures. *Kanga hitori geiko* vol 1: 3b vol 2: 6a. For more on this painting manual, see pp. 41–42. Despite NAKAYAMA Kōyō’s minute distinction of genres and enumeration of other botanical and zoological categories besides “flowers and birds” in a strict meaning of the word, *kachō* could also include diverse plants, insects and mammals such as hare and deer. See both SAITŌ 1919 and KANAI 1941–1943. <https://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/artwiki/index.php/花鳥画>

73 The expression 質真 is mentioned in the *Old Master. Laozi Daode jing, Siku quanshu* ed. 8b. Cf. n. 92.



While “finesse” 緻 and “pureness” 潔 do not figure in equal measure, *wei* / *bi* 微, *jing* / *sei* 精 and *miao* / *myō* 妙 appear to be firmly established categories for writing about paintings since Xie He’s *Guhua pinlu*. William R.B. Acker adjusts his translation of these words according to context and does not aim for a precise match between the original and one English equivalent. Thus, *wei* / *bi* 微 can appear as “delicacy”, “minute”, “precise” or “finesse”.<sup>74</sup> The options for *jing* / *sei* 精 are “elaboration”, “essence”, “refinement” and “refined”.<sup>75</sup> *Miao* / *myō* 妙 is mostly rendered as “subtlety”.<sup>76</sup> In one lone instance it becomes “skill”.<sup>77</sup> Dieter Kuhn, who uses Acker’s work, strives for one-word matching. He has “minute” and “minuteness” for 微<sup>78</sup> and defines it as a word that describes a “technical skill”.<sup>79</sup> The character 精 is translated as “refinement” and “refined”<sup>80</sup>, but Kuhn finds Acker’s “essence” acceptable, since the word contains both “a technical as well as a mental / spiritual sphere”. When only the technical side is being referred to, he opts for “refinement” as the most apt equivalent.<sup>81</sup> Kuhn also follows Acker’s use of “subtlety” for 妙.<sup>82</sup>

Whereas these translations of Chinese expressions reveal an interpretative intent,<sup>83</sup> Mathias Obert – for reasons that will be discussed below – chooses a different approach. He tries to offer German equivalents on a more literal basis so as not to superimpose the connotations certain words may already have in the context of European art history and philosophy. For him, 微 pertains to the idea of “im Unscheinbaren” (“unimposing”), which is certainly closer to the character’s basic meaning in the most common contexts.<sup>84</sup> Although on one occasion he renders 精 as “verfeinert” (“refined”), he prefers to talk about “das Feinstoffliche” or “feinstofflich” (“something of

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74 ACKER 1954 / 1974: 11, 12 / 18 / 18 / 29.

75 Ibid.: 9 / 10 / 11, 12, 21 / 32.

76 Ibid.: 9.

77 Ibid.: 29.

78 KUHN 1973: 344–58 (347, 348, 349).

79 Ibid.: 349.

80 Ibid.: 347, 350 / 347, 348.

81 Ibid.: 350.

82 Ibid.: 350. In order to convey the idea of a gradation of skill, he also views the use of “skill” in one case “justifiable”. Ibid.

83 The interpretative stance, of course, is understandable when considering the “suggestive” and even elusive character of the words in question.

84 OBERT 2007b: 456, 459.

ultimately fine material / matter” and the corresponding adjective).<sup>85</sup> In one place he stresses the corporeal connotations of this word, without which any interpretation necessarily goes astray; at the same time, he alludes to a spiritual / mental dimension by suggesting “Feinstofflich-Geistiges” (“something of ultimately fine material / matter and spirit”) as an equivalent.<sup>86</sup> The reference to the corporeal side of 精 is in keeping with Obert’s general understanding of landscape painting as an act in which the painter has to let the “Feinstofflich-Geistiges” flow out of his “diverse vital functions” (“verschiedene Lebensfunktionen”) – meaning processes like breathing that keep a person alive within and connected with the fabric of the biosphere – and into the act of painting in order to help the “view” (“Ansicht”) of a landscape attain its unity.<sup>87</sup> This might also be where 妙 or “wunderbare Vollendung” (“miraculous completion”) comes into play.<sup>88</sup>

In addition, Seiryō uses the expression “true taste of unsophisticated / naive authenticity” 質真之真味 (*shisshin no shinmi*). The present author did not find any instance of this in the research work and art treatise translations he consulted. The same is true of the two individual components, “unsophisticated / naive authenticity” 質真 (*zhizhen / shisshin*) and “true taste” 真味 (*shinmi*).<sup>89</sup> But in any case, 質 (*zhi / shitsu*) and 真 (*zhen / shin*) separately are central terms. Obert offers “massiv stofflich” (“massively material”) for 質, and 真 appears as “Echtheit” (“authenticity”) or as “das Echte” (“the authentic”).<sup>90</sup> Before investigating what could be meant by “authenticity” and “the authentic”, it must be pointed out that the compound characters 質真 (*zhizhen / shisshin*) appear in the *Old Master* 老子 (*Laozi / Rōshi*).<sup>91</sup> Examples of translations into Western languages include: James Legge, “solid truth”; Richard Wilhelm, “das wahre Wesen” (“the true being / essence”); Arthur Waley, “[something] in its natural pure state”; Lin Yutang, “pure worth”; J. J. L. Duyvendak, “réalité la plus solide”; D. C. Lau, “plain virtue”; Wing-tsit Chan, “true substance”; Robert G. Henricks, “simplest

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85 Ibid.: 455 / 456, 459 / 459.

86 Ibid.: 360.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.: 99, 455. There is also the participial construction “wunderbar vollendet” (“miraculously completed”). Ibid.: 456.

89 This is probably due to a lack of experience and knowledge in this field of studies.

90 Ibid.: 496 / 277–88, 478.

91 *Laozi Daode jing, Siku quanshu* ed. 8b.

reality”; Hans-Georg Möller, “handfeste Echtheit” (“tangible authenticity”); and Roger Ames and David Hall, “the most pristine and authentic”.<sup>92</sup>

92 LEGGE 1891: 84; WILHELM 1911: 46; LIN 1948: 211; WALEY 1958: 193; DUYVENDAK 1987 (electronic ed.); LAU 1963: 102; CHAN 1963: 174; HENRICKS 1989: 9; MÖLLER 1995: 37; AMES, HALL 2003: 141. Henrick’s, Möller’s and Ames’ & Hall’s publications profit from the remarkable archaeological finds of Mawangdui 馬王堆 and Guodian 郭店 in 1973 and 1993 – either one or both. The Ames & Hall translation – as the title suggests – is interpretative and takes certain liberties, as did AMES’ and Henry ROSEMONT’s earlier English version of *The Analects of Confucius* (1998). Nevertheless, the individual translation of 質 and 真 as “pristine” and “authentic” is fitting – when viewed in the context of third and second century BCE Chinese language. Of course, this dissection into separate components of what Lin Yutang considers “bisyllabic words” constitutes what he calls the “masochistic” “monosyllabitis” and “chewing up” of words he recognizes among Western sinologists. LIN 1967: 36–37. Cf also OBERT 2007b: 449–50. As the above examples show, earlier translations into Western languages tried to create “synthetic” expressions that condensed 質真 into one idea. The same can be said of the explanation of the word found in the *Dai Kanwa jiten*: “being unembellished and authentic” かざりげなきまことなこと (Morohashi 36833.49 gives *Laozi* 41 as an instance of this). Kaiho Seiryō also preferred this approach when he gave the following explanation for the verse 質真若渝 in his commentary on the *Old Master*: 質直若渝 “[Comment] To make ‘honesty’ 直 into ‘truth / authenticity’ 真 is wrong. – ‘Change / Turn’ 渝 is the changing / undulating of a river’s flow / course. It corresponds to ‘lie / fake’. The true simple-hearted / unsophisticated honesty 質直 means the [child’s] lie when the father has stolen a sheep [and the child vouches for the father’s innocence].” 直ヲ真ニツクルハアシ、渝ハ川ノ瀬ノカワル事也。偽ノ事也。真ノ質直ハ父ノ羊ヲ攘ミタル時ハ偽ヲ言フ也。 *Rōshi kokuji kai* 老子国字解 (Explanation of the *Old Master* in Japanese Characters / Words), KSZ: 900. Seiryō’s claim that the text originally should have contained 直 instead of 真 might appear strange and unfounded, but D. C. Lau, too, amends 真 to 德 (“virtue”). LAU 1963: 189. (Duyvendak, the only one of the aforementioned translators to comment on the phrase, argued that “la critique moderne veut lire *tō* ‘Vertu’ au lieu de *tchen* ‘vrai, réel’ du texte traditionnel” and explains that in the ancient script the two characters looked similar to each other; however, he thinks that a mistake on the part of the copyists can be excluded, also because the sentence with 質真 has a suitable meaning, the quality of “real” and “solid” being highly valued in Daoism. DUYVENDAK 1949: 78–79.) Of the two Mawangdui *Laozi*-manuscripts (written on silk), the older one (A; prior to 206 BCE) is damaged in this section and only has two characters left of § 41. The younger version (B; prior to 179 BCE) contains almost the whole of § 41, but unfortunately, of the phrase in question, only the character 質 can be identified. The Guodian Bamboo Slips (c. 300 BCE) nearly provide § 41 *in toto*; only a few characters are missing or illegible, including 質. But the rest of the phrase has been deciphered as 真若渝. Thus, one finds corroboration for 質 and 真 in at least one of the early manuscripts. It is unknown when the *Rōshi kokuji kai* was written. Yagi Kiyoharu surmises that the text had already been completed by the Kansei 寛政 years (1789–1801) since Seiryō mentions “my explanation of the *Old Master*” 余ガ老子ノ解 in the *Bunpō hiun* 文法披雲 (Tearing Away the Clouds Covering the Method of Text Composition) of 1798. KSZ 738. YAGI 1980: 45, 54. Takase localizes the work between Seiryō’s 1792–93 trip to the Echigo region – he lectured on the *Old Master* in a village near Minowa; *Keiko dan* 2, KSZ: 44 – and his sojourn in Kaga in 1805–06, by which

Again, Seiryō does not explain how his use of “authenticity” 真 should be understood. Nor is it helpful that in his commentary on the *locus classicus* for 質真 in the *Old Master*, he argues that the character 真 was wrongly inserted in the place of 直, which he understands as “unsophisticated honesty”. Its meaning can only be inferred insofar as “unsophisticated / naive authenticity” comes at the end of a string of other abstract expressions (“delicacy / minute detail”, “finesse”, “pureness” and “exquisiteness”), which describe characteristic elements of artworks by established painters<sup>93</sup> – it marks their culmination, so to speak. In contrast, To Chō did not achieve comparable degrees of refinement and pureness and, by inference, “authenticity”. Nevertheless, Seiryō singles out his art as superior.

Mathias Obert discusses “Echtheit” (“authenticity”) and “das Echte” (“the authentic”) in the context of Jing Hao’s 荆浩 (ninth century) *Record of the Brush-[Use] Methods* 筆法記 (*Bifa ji*). This text is a conversation between the painter and a mysterious old man, who reveals the principles of painting

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time it must already have been completed. TAKASE 1980: 158. Given Seiryō’s differing stance on 質真 *shisshin* in the *Rōshi kokuji kai* and his preface to *To Shi Chō koga den*, should it be assumed – in the event that the *Rōshi kokuji kai* is the older of the two texts – that Seiryō changed his opinion prior to writing the preface? Or did his *Laozi* commentary come later and thus reflects his final understanding? These questions cannot be answered. It is even possible that he did not connect the 質真 in the *To Shi Chō koga den* preface to the word in *Laozi* 41 or that Seiryō-the-literatus took a different position to Seiryō-the-commentator. Two further remarks are in order: (1) Among the two commentaries on the *Old Master* deemed most reliable (until the discovery of the Mawangdui and Guodian texts) – namely Wang Bi’s 王弼 (226–49) and Heshang Gong’s 河上公 (traditionally dated to the Early Han period but – probably – third to fourth century) –, Seiryō is assumed to have followed Wang Bi’s, as did his teacher Usami Shinsui. Wang Bi explained 質真若渝 as: “Unsophisticated / naive truth [or someone of naive truthfulness] does not treasure / revere the [sole] truth. Therefore, it changes / undulates.” 質真者不矜其真故渝. *Laozi Daode jing*, *Siku quanshu* ed. 8b. Heshang Gong has in the same place: “A person of unsophisticated simplicity / honesty is like the five colours, which have changes / undulations, fade and become less bright”. 質朴之人若五色有渝淺不明. *Ibid.*: 4a. (2) Seiryō’s aforementioned allusion to the father who has stolen a sheep refers to *The Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu*) 13.18. There, the subject is “uprightness”, as expressed by 直 (\**drijik* [*zhi*] / *choku*). Seiryō had already used the father-sheep-son context in his explanation of *Laozi* 25. KSZ 865–67. For more on drawing on the *Lunyu* to elucidate the *Old Master*, see Part II.

93 Seiryō does not give any names, but *bunjin* painters active around 1803 include Matsu-mura Goshun 松村呉春 (1752–1811), Minagawa Kien, Ganku, Kawamura Bunpō and Azuma Tōyō. The esteem Seiryō expressed for To Chō’s work in his preface does not necessarily imply he had a lower regard for the endeavours of other contemporary artists. After all, the text was commissioned by the publisher, who had an interest in the financial success of the project. The preface, therefore, also serves as advertisement and should not be read as an expression of Seiryō’s “true” conviction.

and explains that 真 can be “obtained from the outward appearance of things by taking their measure”.<sup>94</sup> Obert interprets this instruction as a refutation of the commonly held “illusionary-mimetic understanding of painting”, which is also initially evinced by Jing Hao when he encounters the old man.<sup>95</sup> In contrast, the latter expounds a “transformativist” view of art; he is determined to overcome the naive idea that the painted image is (only) “like” true reality – meaning a copy or effigy. “Authenticity”, as the ideal to be achieved in landscape painting, signifies “reality livingly at work” (“Wirklichkeit, die da lebendig am Werk ist”).<sup>96</sup> It is achieved in a “concrete embodiment of reality in the painted” and not in a “pictorial / metaphorical illusionary representation”.<sup>97</sup> This understanding also underpins the distinction between the “material form” 形 (*xing / kei*) of all things visually encountered in the physical world and the idea of their “meaningful appearance” 象 (*xiang / zō*), which Obert finds in his sources<sup>98</sup> and which can – beyond sensory perception or intellectual insight – only be obtained by means of a “living actualization” (“lebendiger Vollzug”).<sup>99</sup>

The artist, in Obert’s understanding, is not a separate entity who stands before a world of physical phenomena and objectifies it in paintings, either as the result of technical training to imitate it perfectly or a process of intellectual reflection and interpretation. Rather, the painting is reality in a different guise, an expression, not a reproduction. This is only possible because the painter, too, is part of this world; he or she is “touched” by it, is bound into it by physical, visceral processes of exchange and permeation. At the heart of this lies the notion of “breathing” 气 (*qi / ki*) – discussed in the next paragraph – as the mediating instance of all movement in reality and a key concept in art treatises.<sup>100</sup>

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94 OBERT 2007b: 277–78, 477–78. LIN 1967: 64 offers “true reality” as a translation for 真. Lin’s rendering of 度物象而取其真 as “There is an external appearance which may not be mistaken for the true reality (*chen*)” does not strike this author as exact. Obert’s “Indem an den [sinnhaften] Erscheinungsgestalten der Vorkommnisse Maß genommen wird, wird an ihnen das Echte aufgenommen” is preferable. OBERT 2007b: 478. For the original, see <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=990949>.

95 OBERT 2007b: 277.

96 Ibid: 277.

97 Ibid: 278.

98 Ibid: 278. Obert deduces this distinction already from Zong Bing’s *Hua shanshui xu*.

99 Ibid: 158.

100 OBERT 2007a, OBERT 2007b: 137–202, e.g., 158–59.

Jing Hao's *zhen* 真, and Obert's explanation of it, do not correspond with Seiryō's use of the word in his preface, which in context obviously cannot be read as the ultimate realization of what painting is meant to be. Corroboration for this is found in the text inscribed on the second *gassaku* scroll from 1810, mentioned at the beginning of this article. It not only contains another instance of Seiryō's understanding of *shin* 真, but also a second word that takes the place of *zhen* 真 as it is explained in the *Bifa ji*:

[1] Text composition has two meanings. [2] [One] is called "description", [the other] is called "argumentation". [3] The skill lies in breathing / atmosphere. [4] The delight lies in the eyes. [5] Where one copies the outward appearance 形 and delights in it, that is called description. [6] When the pleasure lies in principle, then the skill lies in the spirit / spiritual 神 (*shin*). [7] Where one copies the heart and it is purely refined 粹 (*sui*), that is called argumentation. [8] When one has a picture with flowers, birds, mountains and waterbodies, how can this be different [from what was said about text composition]? [9] Under these conditions, when one paints a sparrow, then the apes<sup>101</sup> will lower their bodies and observe it. [10] When one paints a cherry [tree], then the butterfly will bring its friends and they will come. [11] It is not that this technique is not exquisite. [12] Only, because it is something that is attained through outward [appearance], it is shallow. [13] The woodcutter on the foggy mountain peak and the fisherman in the rainy valley do not ask for something extremely detailed. [14] They do not wish for something like extreme resemblance. [15] As for something attained in [a state of] opaqueness – it is not that this [use of the brush] is not coarse. [16] Only, because it questions the inside [of things], it is deep. [17] But why is it that without difference between past or present, east or west, capital or countryside, old or young, those who delight in the authentic / real [looking] are numerous, while those who take pleasure in the purely refined are few? [18] The shallow is easy to observe / see, while the deep is difficult to fathom. [19] Mr Ishizaki from Etchū [province], by nature / character he is respectful and modest; his behaviour is lofty and noble, he is fond of reading books and immerses himself in texts and word [meanings], and [thus] his predilections are different from the [run of the mill of this] age. [20] He did not stop asking me for a painting. [21] I have not yet learned [how to do] paintings. [22] In seizing the brush, I am still extremely clumsy / unskilled. [23] Therefore, I ventured to do a painting [but] I had the two masters Chikutō and Sekkyo add far away mountains to the upper part [of the picture]. [24] This I send him and ask that he may [now] be satis-

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101 Seiryō speaks of the ape-like creatures 狻狻 (*sheng sheng* / *shōjō*, also 猩猩) mentioned in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* 山海經 (*Shanhai jing*), who crouch when moving.

fied. Bunka, [year] Metal (older brother) / Horse in summer, fifth month, Seiryō Kaku<sup>102</sup>

文章有二致曰叙事曰議論其巧在氣其喜在目写形而喜者謂之叙事也其悦在理其巧在神写心而粹者謂之議論画之有花鳥山水其何異於此乎来画雀則狂狷卑身而候画桜則蜂蝶携友来其技非不妙惟得之外矣靄嶽之樵雨溪之漁不求甚細不欲甚似髣髴得於模糊之中者其筆非不粗惟問之内故深矣然無古今無東西無都鄙無老少喜真者多而悦粹者何少也浅者易窺形深者難測也越中石崎氏性敬謹行高邁好讀書耽文辞嗜好与世異矣余画不休余未嘗学画焉又甚拙於把筆乃強作図使竹洞雪居二子加遠山於上方贈之以塞其責云。文化庚午之夏五月 青陵鶴

There is no indication here that Seiryō understood 氣 (*qi / ki*) in a literal sense as “breathing”. Nor can it be claimed, therefore, that he shared the notion of a corporeal / physical mediation of the world through the act of painting, which Obert sees as a central premise of Chinese art treatises. Nevertheless, there are other correspondences, and these concern the difference between an “illusionary authenticity achieved by formal-mimetic means” and the “true / real appearance” as a “concrete embodiment of reality via the painted”. And yet, while Jing Hao’s treatise calls the latter *zhen* 真, in Seiryō’s short text that is the word he uses for mimetic reproduction – as in the lifelike rendering of a sparrow or a cherry tree.<sup>103</sup> With this in mind, the same would seem to hold true for the preface. The finesse of the established Kyoto *bunjin* finds its expression in painting natural phenomena *as if*

102 The *yomikudashi* version would read 文章、二致有り。曰く、叙事、曰く議論。其の巧は氣に在り。其の喜びは目に在り。形を写して、喜ぶ者は、之を叙事と謂うなり。其の悦び、理に在るは、其の巧は神に在り。心を写して粹なる者、之を議論と謂う。画の花鳥山水有ると、其れ何ぞ異ならんや。此に於いてか、雀を画けば、則ち狂狷身を卑くして候す。桜を画けば、則ち蜂蝶友を携えて来たる。其の技、妙ならざるに非ず。惟だ之を外に得る故に浅し。靄嶽の樵、雨溪の漁、甚だ細やかなるを求めず。甚だ髣髴と似るを欲せず。模糊の中に得る者、其の筆粗ならざるに非ず。惟だ之を内に問う故に深し。然して古今無く、東西無く、都鄙無く、老少と無く、真を喜ぶ者多くして、粹を悦ぶ者の少なきは何ぞや。浅き者は窺い易くして、深き者は測り難し。越中の石崎氏は、性敬謹にして、行いは高邁、読書を好み、文辞に耽り、嗜好は世と異なれり。余が画を乞いて休めず。余は未だ嘗て画を学びず。又た甚だ筆を把ることに拙なり。乃ち強いて図を作り、竹洞・雪居の二子をして、遠山を上方に加えしむ。之を贈り、以て其の責めを塞ぐと云う。文化庚午の夏五月 青陵鶴

103 The understanding of 真実 as a perfect or complete reproduction of outward form was not uncommon in early nineteenth-century Japan. It can be seen, for example, in Katsushika Hokusai’s *Album of Three Forms* 三体画譜 (*Santai gafu*). Taking as his point of departure the three variants of script – “true / authentic” 真 (*shin*), “passing” 行 (*gyō*) and “grass-[like] / cursive” 草 (*sō*) –, Hokusai draws human beings and other animals in three shapes, from a detailed depiction, which he calls *shin*, to a least detailed one. See for example the rabbits on page 26v. <https://www.dh-jac.net>.

they were real. But this is not what the old man in the *Bifa ji* was aiming for. Nevertheless, his idea of the “authentic / real” is not absent from the 1810 scroll inscription. Seiryō expresses it with the word *sui* 粹.<sup>104</sup> This quality does not depend on a perfect rendering of the outward appearance but denotes a kind of purity or refinement that draws on the “inner” dimension of things – Seiryō speaks of what lies “inside” 内 (*uchi*) [16] and of the “heart” 心 (*kokoro*) – even though their outward appearance in a painted rendering might remain vague or unsophisticated. This, one might conclude, is the quality he also stresses in his praise of To Chō’s art. In the preface, however, he does not talk of *sui* but uses another central concept in Chinese art theory: *qiyun / kiin* 氣韻.

d. In modern scholarship, Chinese treatises are read through the prism of a contemporary conceptual framework. This is an inevitable result of researchers being educated in certain modes of thinking. Nevertheless, one cannot deny their earnest efforts to come to grips with their sources and develop new sensibilities. This holds true even for George Rowley’s treatment, despite his purely essentialist chapters on European and Chinese thought. It is perhaps even more applicable in the case of Roger Goepfer’s attempt to find behind painting “the almost mystical notion that the core of all things pertaining to art lies in intimate communication with the founding principle of all phenomena and even with the force of life itself”<sup>105</sup> or Kuhn’s distinction between a spiritual and a technical sphere.<sup>106</sup> Finally, Turner develops his argument on the observation that “current accounts of the aesthetic appreciation of nature are incomplete insofar as they take their impetus primarily from a culturally bound set of issues that overlie the ground of aesthetic experience”; he links this with the hope that by “addressing classical Chinese painting”, in other words, “by stepping outside of that [Western] tradition, we can become more aware of the multifarious dimensions of our potential aesthetic experiences”.<sup>107</sup>

But in this way Chinese, and by extension, Japanese art – the same premises are at work in the field of intellectual history – are transformed into versions

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104 This is the same character as the one used for the aesthetic concept of *iki*, made famous by Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造 (1888–1941) in *Iki no kōzō* 粋の構造 (*The Structure of Iki*, 1930). Seiryō’s use of the word, however, seems to carry none of the connotations of the contemporary sentiments of *iki*.

105 GOEPFER 1959: 23.

106 KUHN 1973.

107 TURNER 2009: 108–09.



of European thought that necessarily cannot reach the level of sophistication perceived in the original. This problem pertains even to the work of Chinese and Japanese scholars who have been socialized in the same mode of epistemological perceptions. Mathias Obert convincingly describes the shortcomings of prior approaches to landscape painting and criticizes attempts to construct painting as a method of cognition in its own right besides philosophical thought or as an expression of the artist's subjective internal moods when confronting objective external realities.<sup>108</sup>

Just because the European conceptualization of painting understands the act of casting the observation of natural phenomena into the frame of a picture as an act of mimetic reproduction – albeit one that can include various intellectual processes of how to come to terms with the observed and the manners of representation – this does not necessarily have to be a valid approach to understanding Chinese art treatises. Obert strives to take his sources at face value. This already starts at the most basic and, at the same time, essential level – that of translation. The focus on language allows him to expose another dimension of his sources – namely, the importance of bodily involvement and its mediating role –, which would stay suppressed if the constituent words of Chinese art theory from the outset were seen as purely theoretical expressions on a par with philosophical terms harkening back through the ages to Platonic idealism and Aristotelian logic.

*Qi / ki*, for example, has been identified as a constituent notion of different strains of thought in Chinese intellectual history. Among scholars writing in European languages, it has become common to translate it as “matter / energy” to convey the idea of a fundamental principle in metaphysical and ontological thought with seemingly material and immaterial aspects. It also lends itself to other abstract notions such as “vital energy” and “spirit”. Obert, however, not only draws attention to the basic meaning of “breath” or “breathing”<sup>109</sup>, he consistently renders the word as “Atmen” (“breathing”) or “lebendiges Atmen” (“living breathing”), since in his understanding 氣 does not denote a static entity or being (“ein statisches Seiendes”) but

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108 OBERT 2007b: 66–92.

109 Nathan Sivin calls *qi* an “untranslatable term” and enumerates a “multitude of phenomena” for which the word was used before 300 BCE: “air, breath, smoke, mist, fog, the shades of the dead, cloud forms, more or less everything that is perceptible but intangible; the physical vitalities, whether inborn or derived from food and breath; cosmic forces and climatic influences that affect health; and groupings of seasons, flavors, colors, musical modes, and much else.” LLOYD, SIVIN 2002: 196.

“something dynamic, a phenomenon of moving and occurring”<sup>110</sup>. This necessarily informs his conception of the act of painting as described in art treatises. Suddenly these texts do not speak of something taking place on the spiritual level when they use an expression such as *qiyun / kiin* 氣韻, but of an “attunement of the living breathing” that informs both the act of painting itself and the result.<sup>111</sup> The picture is not the realization of a mentally envisioned design, but flows out of the movement of the brush on paper.<sup>112</sup> While the painter moves the brush in synchrony with his inhalation and exhalation, he finds himself in tune with the world and does not mimic it but creates it – or at least, gives expression to it. This notion supports Obert’s interpretation of Jing Hao’s 氣者心隨筆運: “As far as ‘breathing’ is concerned, [the following applies]: The inner sense moves along with the brush, and without fail the [meaningful] appearances are taken hold of.”<sup>113</sup>

*Remark:* The author sympathizes with Obert’s aims and agrees with the need to discuss Chinese and Japanese intellectual history within the scope of the languages and forms of writing it finds itself expressed in and the terminology used in the existent sources before transfiguring them with concepts derived from European epistemology. Nevertheless, caution is in order. Before following Obert’s interpretations unreservedly, corroboration of his insights from different angles of research by other scholars is indispensable. The author did not find traces of how *Welt als Bild* was received among experts of Chinese and Japanese art history. Obert’s creative use of the German language in his discussions might not be conducive to readily transporting his terminology to other languages. There are further concerns, namely the lack of attention to linguistic and etymological research. It is doubtful that *qi* 氣 was understood in the same way as seven hundred years earlier when Xie He used *qiyun* 氣韻. During this long period, the Chinese language underwent changes, semantically as well as phonetically; the loss of large portions of classical literature during the Qin period resulted in efforts to reconstitute ancient texts and write commentaries on the words and their usage that were no longer intelligible even in Han times. And *qi* had already acquired meanings other than “breathing”, as can be deduced from early examples of medicinal literature. A consciousness of the difficulty of translating *qi* had been present in Sinological studies from early on. Marcel Granet explained it as “breathing” on the one hand and “momentum”, “temperament” and “energy” on the

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110 OBERT 2007b: 146.

111 Ibid.: 160.

112 OBERT 2007a: 163; OBERT 2007b: 189–93.

113 OBERT 2007b: 480. Cf. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=990949>.

other.<sup>114</sup> Robert Gassmann and Wolfgang Behr, both experts of Chinese antiquity and its language, give “(driving) force”, “motility” and “ability to move” as equivalents.<sup>115</sup> Suffice it to say that during Chinese intellectual history, basic vocabulary stayed constant and no considerable increase of new terms and concepts can be observed. Instead, central expressions such as *qi* acquired additional connotations. It is difficult, therefore, to adopt an overly restrictive understanding of this word. But even if Xie He and those after him did not use the character 氣 in the sense of “breathing” alone, Obert’s argument that *qi* pointed to a corporeal interrelation between the artist and the world around him, and which informs the act of painting and moving the brush, is valid.<sup>116</sup>

One of the most common translations for 氣韻 is “spirit resonance”. This was used by William Acker and others in English-language academia who followed him.<sup>117</sup> Lin Yutang, despite his denigration of “taking words apart”, opts for “tone and resonance”.<sup>118</sup> Goepper’s and Kuhn’s “Resonanz des Geistigen” sounds like a German translation of Acker’s version.<sup>119</sup> Obert, not surprisingly, criticizes these renderings as “shearing off *qi*’s bodily connotations”<sup>120</sup> and prefers “attunement of the living breathing”.<sup>121</sup>

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114 GRANET 1934: 402.

115 GASSMANN, BEHR 2011: 145.

116 In his chapter on *qiyun / kiin*, Nakamura Shigeo discusses the individual usages and connotations of 氣 and 韻 in some detail. NAKAMURA 1965: 165–69. He arrives at the conclusion that 氣韻 in Xie He’s treatise refers to the “resonance of force / energy” of the “painted object and that the [act of] painting transmits it to the silk on which the artist paints. Ibid.: 174. He emphasizes that while in literary theory even prior to Xie He, 氣 was understood as the writer’s “force / energy” that expressed itself in writing, this was not the case in the field of painting. For him, it is unmistakably the “resonance of force / energy” of the painted object that is thematized. Ibid.: 175. Obert, of course, is aware of the use of 氣 in medicinal thought and other contexts where it appears as a “force” or “energy”. OBERT 2007b: 143–48. However, he is convinced that in all instances the word “ultimately serves to capture a relationship to the world” and therefore translates it as “breathing”. Ibid.: 146.

117 ACKER 1954 / 1974: 4; TURNER 2009: 109; BUSH, SHIH 2012: 40. The latter offer a helpful summary of interpretations and translation of 氣韻. Ibid.: 10–16.

118 LIN 1967: 34, 36.

119 GOEPPER 1959: 9; KUHN 1973: 344.

120 OBERT 2007b: 449.

121 That *qi* and *yun* are separate notions can be deduced from the quoted passage on *qi* in the *Bifa ji*. It continues (following Obert) with “As far as ‘attunement’ is concerned: With hidden [brush]-trace the corporeal forms are placed, and thus the entirely given effect does not remain common.” 韻者隱跡立形備儀不俗. OBERT 2007b: 480. <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=990949>.

There is no indication of how Seiryō understood the expression when he used it in his preface to *To Shi Chō koga den*. It can only be inferred that in his eyes, the effect of *qiyun* in To Chō's work made his art superior to that of more refined Kyoto artists.

In an attempt to shed light on the meaning of this expression, Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih quote a passage from Tosa Mitsuoki's 土佐光起 (1617–91) *Great Transmission of the Rules of Painting in this Country* 本朝画法大伝 (*Honchō gahō taiden*), originally cited by Makoto Ueda as:

“The spirit's circulation” means that the painter, as he sets out to work, lets the spirit of his soul circulate through his body. When his soul is small and his spirit is insufficient, his brushwork will be stunted, feeble and always unsatisfactory [...] he should let the spirit expand through his body, with his soul filling up heaven and earth [...].<sup>122</sup>

Bush and Shih also point out that Mitsuoki replaced 韻 *yun* with the homonym 運 *yun* (“movement”, “revolution”) “as is common in later Chinese art criticism”.<sup>123</sup> The translation is not fortuitous since Mitsuoki does not talk of “spirit” and “soul”. Rather, the text begins with: “The circulation of the breath / force / energy means that when one first sets out to paint, one lets the force / energy of one's heart circulate through the body and fill it.”<sup>124</sup> And a few lines later: in a state where the “heart” does not think or stir, the painter should enter a disposition (“heart”) where “*qi* repletes the body completely and moves through Heaven and Earth” 気を身体に充滿して天地に亘る. The “heart” – as in other contexts – is not equivalent to a “soul” but comprises both cognitive, sensory and bodily aspects. In Mitsuoki's exposition, it stands in obvious connection to 氣 since its *qi* at first circulates through the body and fills it up. This internal stage is followed by a second, external one where the “heart” is devoid of thought and perception and the *qi* moves out into the world. The idea of 氣 circulating through the body seems to resemble notions of Chinese medicine as they were present in Japan and it is likely that Mitsuoki derived his understanding from there. The text offers no indication that the word is understood as “breathing”, but

122 BUSH, SHIH 2012: 13. Cf. UEDA 1967: 136. An Edo-period manuscript can be accessed via the Koku Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kan 国文学研究資料館: <https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100269795/viewer>.

123 BUSH, SHIH 2012: 13.

124 This is the beginning of the first paragraph of the *Honchō gahō taiden* and incidentally refers to Xie He's “six methods”. 氣運とはまつ描かんと思時我心気を身体に運し充しむる事なり. An Edo-period manuscript can be accessed via: <http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/>

the corporeal aspects are present – even if *qi* now is the “force” that animates the body and courses through it. “Attunement / resonance” 韻 is conveniently subsumed under the idea of “circulation” that fits the medicinal context as the background for conceptualizing *qi*.

In contrast, a few decades later, in Hayashi Moriatsu’s 林守篤 *Net of Paintings* 画筌 (*Gasen*, 1721), 氣 and 韻 are understood quite literally as “breath” and “sound”. The work opens with an explanation of the “six methods”:

First [paragraph] says: “Breathing and attunement / resonance, vitality and movement”. Moriatsu privately thinks this should mean that one paints for example all living things – extending to the ten thousand things such as ghosts and divinities, human beings, wild birds and wild animals, plants and trees, [namely] all those that contain a soul and an [animating] force / energy 靈氣 (*reiki*), that produce a voice, expel breath, that are filled with vitality and move around – just as one sees them before one’s eyes.<sup>125</sup>

This is certainly not the understanding of 氣 that Obert had in mind and it could not be farther from Mitsuoki’s interpretation. The two examples show the broad range of possible readings for 氣韻. Much closer in time to Seiryō’s preface is Miyamoto Kunzan’s 宮本君山 *Practicing Chinese Painting by Oneself* 漢画独稽古 (*Kanga hitori geiko*). This contains another indication of how 氣韻 could be understood:

Not only restricted to mountains, waterbodies, flowers, birds and human beings – in all cases it is not that one speaks of *literati* paintings only when one paints pictures boldly / zestfully 灑落 (*satto*). And again, it is not that in the case of a picture by a [professional] painter 行家 (*ekaki*), it is only a picture of minute detail and has no taste / elegance 風韻 (*fūin*). As for taste / elegance, it can be sought nowhere else but in the attunement / resonance with the force / energy / feeling / mood 氣韻 [of life] which arises involuntarily / independently. When drawing 写 a mountain in summer, one enters a mood 氣 whereby one is among these mountains and waterbodies during summertime and keeps off the heat of summer, and when one draws it [in this state], one describes 写 the sentiment / flavour of summer as it exists by itself well. This precisely is the attunement / resonance with the force / energy / feeling / mood 氣韻 [of life] as it exists by itself. This is not restricted to mountains and waterbodies; since flowers, birds and human beings all have this sentiment / flavour, one can know [them] by inference.

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125 The *Gasen* is available via <https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho>.

山水花鳥人物にかぎらず、すべて画を灑落かく斗を、文人の画といふにはあらず、また行家の画も、細密の画ばかりにて、風韻のなきといふにもあらず、風韻といふは、自然の気韻なるものなく、別にもとむるにあらず、夏の山を写せば、自身が夏の頃此山水の中に居て、暑などをしのぎて居る気になりて写せば、夏の自然の趣意の能写るなり、是則自然の気韻なり、是も山水にかぎらず、花鳥人物皆此気韻ある事なればをして知るべし<sup>126</sup>

Not everything executed in a style reminiscent of *bunjin* painting has to be labelled as such, and – conversely – the (professional) artist’s attention to minute detail does not mean that his work lacks the “taste” found in *literati* pictures. Artistic quality originates in “attunement / resonance with the force / energy / feeling / mood”, but Kunzan’s understanding of it rests neither on medicinal models nor on “breath” as the mark of all living beings. Instead, he refers to those connotations of 氣 that denote “mood” or “atmosphere”. Intending to paint a mountain in summertime, the artist attains a mental or psychic state of immersion that allows him to experience a summerly scene as if he were there and to paint it. It is this immersive approach or “mood”, and the comprehension based on it, that is the prerequisite for painting other phenomena as well.

Kunzan does not explain in detail how the painter surmounts the division between himself and the scene that becomes the subject of his picture. But his choice of words suggests that the state of mind or “mood” is not contemplative, nor does the artist just imagine what he is going to capture with brush and ink. Rather, it is real – *qi* has to be read as a disposition where he finds himself in the scene that is going to be painted.

Where Seiryō writes as a *bunjin* painter he gives no indication whether the passage in the *Kanga hitori geiko* might reflect his understanding of *qiyun* / *kiin*. But Kunzan’s words can be linked to Seiryō’s remarks on how to acquire “wisdom” 智 (*chi*). This is a recurrent theme in his works and it is discussed in detail in *Talks About Foreknowledge* 前識談 (*Zenshiki dan*, 1811): To grasp an object as it is, the observer first has to dissociate himself from it. For this purpose, he frees himself of all one-sided views and considerations of value. Seiryō calls this point of observation the “position of emptiness” 空位 (*kūi*).<sup>127</sup> However, merely achieving this state does not suffice.

126 MIYAMOTO Kunzan: *Kanga hitori geiko*, vol. 2, Wakayama: Nanki Shorin 南紀書林 1807: 6rv (woodblock print edition in this author’s possession; electronic versions can be found at <https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/>)

127 *Zenshiki dan*, KSZ: 565–66. Seiryō gives Confucius as an example for the first step. In an episode already mentioned earlier – a father who had stolen a sheep and was consequently denounced by his son – Confucius chose a position free from conventional

To ensure total detachment, a position is called for where conventional standpoints as well as the unfettered “position of emptiness” can be observed. This is the “true position of emptiness” 真の空位 (*makoto no kūi*).<sup>128</sup> A similar understanding is expressed in Seiryō’s interpretation of *Master Zhuang* 莊子 (*Zhuangzi / Sōji*). Whereas *Lunyu* and other Confucian classics concentrate on the “method for nurturing wisdom”, texts from outside this tradition – *Old Master*, *Master Zhuang* and *Master Han Fei* 韓非子 (*Han Feizi / Kan Pishi*) – provide an exhaustive step-by-step instruction on how to proceed.<sup>129</sup> This is especially true of *Master Zhuang*. Following its three major divisions, Seiryō distinguishes the consecutive stages of “I see myself” 我觀我 (*ware ware o miru*), “I become [another] thing” 我為物 (*ware mono to nasu*) and “Everything [and everyone] brings benefit to oneself” 皆利我 (*mina ware o ri su*).<sup>130</sup>

The middle stage is of particular interest in understanding 氣韻 *qiun / ki-in*. Seiryō explains it as “turning one’s self / body into various other things, regarding it and [then] knowing these various other things”.<sup>131</sup> He enumerates a list of examples: other people, persons of a different age or social rank, one should become a woman, a wild animal, a bird, a tree, plant, stone, water, cloud and wind. This, he says, is the “technique” to attempt to become “breath / force / energy” 氣.<sup>132</sup> It might read like an inventory of *bunjin* picture subjects, but of course the context of this discussion of cognition is not painting *literati* subjects but ultimately, “taking care of the realm and the state”<sup>133</sup>, as is so often the case in Seiryō’s writings. However, it might not be too far off the mark to think that Seiryō, if asked about his understanding of 氣韻, might have thought along these lines.

e. The last expression in Seiryō’s preface linked to the terminology of art treatises is “intention / ambition / will” 意 (*yi / i*), which is used in two sentences [11, 36]. In this case, too, the translation variants reflect the range of

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considerations of good and bad and criticized the son’s reaction. Ibid. *The Analects of Confucius (Lunyu)* 13.18, SBBY 7: 5a, LEGGE 1960: 270.

128 *Zenshiki dan*, KSZ: 567.

129 Ibid.: 569.

130 Ibid.: 569–77.

131 Ibid.: 571. In this case, as with the interpretation of the other stages and the *Zhuangzi* parts in general, Seiryō rejects the older commentaries. This will be discussed in Part II of this article. For a fuller treatment of Seiryō’s theory of cognition, see MINAMOTO 1971: 71–74; KOJIMA 1987: 88–99; TOKUMORI 2013: 175–92, 288–94.

132 *Zenshiki dan*, KSZ: 572.

133 Ibid.: 571.

possible connotations. Although it cannot compare with other words such as *qi* / *ki* of even greater centrality in a number of strains of Chinese intellectual history, the word presents problems of understanding. For George Rowley, 意 means “the artist’s conception (i), the transformation of the idea in the hands of a specific painter who was the instrument for conveying it”; he also explicitly gives “conception” as an equivalent.<sup>134</sup> Unsurprisingly, Mathias Obert takes issue with what he views as the careless interpretation and translation of Chinese words in the light of concepts grounded in European art history. He cites Lin’s “concept (of rhythmic forms)”, Bush and Shih’s “concept”, Goepfer’s “Konzeption” and Escande’s “concevoir” as examples that convey the impression that Wang Wei 王維 (701–61) in his *Discussion of Mountains and Waterbodies* [Painting] 山水論 (*Shanshui lun*) had suggested “translating the conception of the picture, which has already been conceived in its concrete form by the power of imagination, into the painted picture”.<sup>135</sup> Painting, it seems, is the process of “leading the materialized artwork (“materialisierte Bildgestaltung”) towards a conceptually predefined ideal”.<sup>136</sup> In contrast to such an interpolation of the idea of an “image conception and its design draft” (“Bildvorstellung und ihr Gestaltentwurf”), Obert takes the general connotations of the character 意 (“awareness”, “consciousness” and “movements of consciousness”, in German “Bewußtheit”, “Bewußtsein” and “Bewußtseinsleben”) as his point of departure. In his argumentation it acquires the connotation of a “certain mindset” (“bestimmte Sinneshaltung”) – including an “intention” (“Absicht”) with a focus on “objects of perception and thought as well as on purposes of acting”.<sup>137</sup> He perceives an “intentionality striving for meaningfulness” but not necessarily a “pictorial imagining” (“bilmäßiges ‘Vorstellen’”). In the context of Wang Wei’s treatise, this “mindset” or 意 is the “inner attitude that is concentrated on something” (“auf etwas ausgerichtete Haltung”), a “receptivity

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134 ROWLEY 1959: 36, 81.

135 OBERT 2007b: 309–10 with references to Lin 1967: 39; BUSH, SHIH 1985: 173 (BUSH, SHIH 2012 is identical); GOEPPER 2000: 14; ESCANDE 2001: 56, 110. Obert could have mentioned that BUSH, SHIH 2012: 353 provide other possible equivalents of 意: “idea, imagination, meaning”. Similarly, a sentence from a treatise by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031–95) is translated as: “As your spirit leads and your imagination (*i*) constructs, you will see indistinctly the images of human beings, birds, grasses, and trees, flying or moving about. Once they are complete in your eyes, then follow your imagination to command your brush.” Ibid.: 122.

136 OBERT 2007b: 310.

137 Ibid.: 310–11.



for something”.<sup>138</sup> This might lead to a “more specific intention” or the “will to act”. Between this “ambivalent understanding” of 意 as both a general “mindset” and a concrete “meaningful intention” (“Sinnabsicht”), technical considerations of proportions and structural relations between represented elements and their characteristics come into play.<sup>139</sup> Ultimately, however, questions of how to represent certain details are not an end in themselves – “the general meaning of any one mountain-waterbodies scene in its entirety is nothing less than ‘world reality’ (‘Weltwirklichkeit’) insofar as this can be unlocked in a specific aesthetic manner”. In other words: painting does not mimic but achieves the processes of world creation and transformation. It is this aim, rather than single drafts of different forms, that the painter’s “mindset” has to focus on.<sup>140</sup>

In this instance too, Seiryō’s preface reveals little about his understanding of 意. It would seem obvious, however, that his use of the word denotes something that can be conveyed (or conveys itself) from person to person, in this case from teacher to student. Thus, To Chō not only learned Hirokawa Tō’s method of painting, he also inherited his master’s “intentions”, adapted and completed them. [11] On the other hand, they did not correspond to the “intentions” of those who studied with “Mr Tō” and who found neither that his explanations were clear enough nor that his style or way of instructing met with their “intentions”. [36] These two instances do not hint at 意 as a “mindset” or “intention” with a focus on “objects of perception and thought, as well as on purposes of acting” aimed at achieving – in the form of a painting – the world as an ongoing process of creation. This would be something highly individual and not transferable to others. The idea of a “conceptually predefined ideal” inherent in notions of “conception”, “idea” and “imagination” seems closer to what Seiryō might have understood when talking of 意.

### Catalogue of Works

Aoyagi Junko’s articles provide a valuable reconstruction of Kaiho Seiryō’s interactions while he lived in Edo. But although a relationship between his intellectual environment and his later writings can be assumed, she does not

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138 Ibid.: 311.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.: 312.

show how – or if – Seiryō’s involvement in the *literati* culture of the shōgunal seat also shaped his understanding of economics, politics and society. She faithfully traces any mention in his works of individuals with whom he was in contact, but she does not explain how this involvement in Edo’s *literati* scene flavoured his style of writing or shaped certain processes of conceptualization. Nevertheless, her research is a major step forward in giving a full account of Kaiho Seiryō as a multi-layered personality; it also helped Tokumori Makoto in what is, to date, the most substantial reconstruction of Seiryō’s life and intellectual work, enabling him to draw a differentiated picture which supported the image of a playful *bunjin* by highlighting the rhetorics and writing style found in his works.

What was missing previously was a comprehensive picture of Seiryō’s involvement with *literati* circles after his time in Edo and the material traces he left as a shogunal painter and composer of Chinese poems 漢詩 (*kanshi*). Kuranami Seiji’s *Complete Works of Kaiho Seiryō* (*Kaiho Seiryō zenshū*) does not contain a single example. The “Catalogue of Works” presented below lists the few specimens to be found in Tanimura Ichitarō’s *Collection of Seiryō’s Posthumous Writings* 青陵遺編集 (*Seiryō ihen shū*) and Minamoto Ryōen’s volume in the *Nihon no meicho* series. Aoyagi Junko is aware of the calligraphies and paintings held by the Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of History<sup>141</sup> but has not yet written about them.<sup>142</sup> Most of all, the catalogue contains the present author’s “findings”, which of course were only possible with the help of others: works of art and poetry that present Seiryō as firmly embedded in the *literati* circles of the Kansai area.<sup>143</sup>

## A. Landscapes

### (1) Hanging scroll: *Tateyama*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)

Seals 落款 (*rakkan*): Seiryō (two seals at end of last line of the inscription)

Date: probably 1806 (Bunka 3); the explanation at the end of the inscription

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141 Confucius and others.

142 This might well be part of her PhD thesis still under preparation.

143 Information on the works listed in the catalogue is rudimentary. Indications of size, for example, are mostly missing. Items for which the author has personally been provided with photographs are marked with an asterisk; those he has seen for himself have two asterisks. Square brackets denote works mentioned by other researchers without much detail and which the author was unable to verify. Where neither marking appears, this indicates that the item is documented in other publications with illustrations.

mentions that the picture was drawn during Seiryō's climb of Mount Tateyama. This took place at the beginning of the seventh month of Bunka 3. Item holder: Minamoto Ryōen gives Hotta/Hatta Heibē 発田平兵衛 (Takaoka) as the owner of the scroll.<sup>144</sup>

Description: the lower section shows a mountain landscape with numerous steep peaks; in the foreground a path leads up a cliff on the right, with a rock formation and a group of pine trees on the left. A man with a travelling hat and walking sticks climbs the path.

Upper section: Chinese poem of twenty-eight characters in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format. However, the text has been split up into six lines.<sup>145</sup> This is followed by another two lines explaining that Seiryō painted the picture when he climbed Mount Tateyama 立山 (present-day Toyama Prefecture, 3,003 m) and giving “Seiryō Kaku” as a sobriquet and appellation he used for himself.<sup>146</sup> It finishes with *narabi ni sha su* 并写 (“and also painted [by him]”) and Seiryō's two seals.

(2) Hanging scroll: *Landscape I\*\**

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals, left side, below sobriquet and name)  
 Undated (probably drawn during Seiryō's sojourn in Kanazawa 1805–06)  
 Item holder: Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of History 石川県立歴史博物館 (Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsu Kan), Kanazawa

Description: landscape with the embankment of a river or sea on the bottom left side and a low rock formation and bamboo in the foreground; in the background, mountains with a red sun rising or setting. The inscription on the left-hand side, just below the middle line, comprises four lines with twenty characters. The sixth line is lower, at the left fringe of the scroll, and contains only the sobriquet and name “Seiryō Kaku” as well as *narabi ni dai su* 并題 (“and also inscribed [by him]”). Two seals follow.

(3) Hanging scroll: *Landscape II\**

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals below signature)  
 Undated  
 Item holder: unknown

144 MINAMOTO 1971. Colour plate at the beginning of the volume.

145 The poem is identical to one that appears in TANIMURA 1935a: 235.

146 “Kaku” or “Tsuru” (crane) is the second part of Seiryō's other sobriquet, Kōkaku; Seiryō used it to refer to himself in his writings.

Description: the scroll shows a landscape-setting of ever-rising mountains. In the centre, between the lower rock formations in the front and steep mountains in the back, is a group of trees (four stems) with red and green leaves. They stand over a stretch of water on the left-hand side of the composition. Part of a mountain path can be seen to the right of the vegetation. On an outcropping on the left, a small male figure might sit, looking down onto the water. The upper third of the scroll has a Chinese poem of twenty-eight characters in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format in five lines. A sixth line contains the sobriquet and name “Seiryō Kaku” followed by *narabi ni dai su* 并題 (“and also inscribed [by him]”) and two seals. A photograph of the scroll appeared in the sales catalogue of the gallery Shinko Bijutsu Watanabe 新古美術わたなべ (Kyoto).

## B. Human Beings

(4a–c) *Three Hanging Scrolls with Buddhist Figures* (Monju 文殊, Kannon 観音 and Fugen 普賢)

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)

Seals: unidentifiable

Date: probably painted and written during Seiryō’s sojourn in Takaoka (1806)

Item holder: unknown

Description: Tanimura Ichitarō’s collection of writings by Seiryō has a page with photographs of three hanging scrolls in the opening section. They show the popular bodhisattvas Monju (Mañjuśrī, bodhisattva of wisdom), Kannon (Avalokiteśvara, bodhisattva of compassion) and Fugen (Samantabhadra, bodhisattva of practice) in the lower half and inscriptions of about two hundred and fifty characters in fourteen lines in the upper half. The signatures indicate that Seiryō is responsible for the paintings and texts: “[by] Kaiho Kōkaku and also modestly inscribed [by him]” 海保皐鶴并題. In addition, the Fugen inscription states that Seiryō one evening “precisely copied” 臨写 (*rinsha su*) the three bodhisattvas which originally had been painted by the Ming period artist Chen Xisan 陳希三. Unfortunately, the quality of the photographs is too poor for details to be recognized.<sup>147</sup> At the time Tanimura saw the scrolls they were in the possession of one Itō Tomoyoshi (?) 伊東与義 of Takaoka.<sup>148</sup>

147 TANIMURA 1935a: 237–38. For a translation and annotations see SAKAMOTO 2009. Not much is known about Chen Xisan (Chen Xian 陳賢) but Sakamoto Yoriyuki says that he was popular in Japan in the wake of the reception of Ōbaku Zen. Ibid.: 78.

148 TANIMURA 1935a: Plate at beginning of volume.

(5) Hanging scroll: *Confucius*\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription), anonymous artist (painting)

Seals: Seiryō (one seal on the figure's right side)

Date: 1805 (Bunka 2), autumn, ninth month, ninth day

Item holder: Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of History 石川県立歴史博物館 (Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsu Kan), Kanazawa

Description: the upper half consists of a Chinese text in fifteen lines with 184 characters and two additional smaller characters – which might have been missing at first – inserted in line seven beside other characters. The lower half shows Confucius in typical gown and pose with respectfully joined hands. As indicated by the date – *chōkyū no hi* 重九之日 –, the inscription was written on the ninth day of the ninth month according to the lunisolar calendar. The painting style is more refined than in item no. 6, but it is not by Seiryō. This is suggested by the signature line – “Kaiho Kōkaku respectfully inscribed [this]” 海保阜鶴拜題 – and by reference to the “person who made this painting” 作此図者 in the text. There is no indication of the artist since he left neither signature nor seal. Art historian Paul Berry suggested in a personal communication that the picture was drawn by an anonymous middle-level artist working in a Kanō-school style as can be seen for example in the drapery brushwork and other details.

(6) Hanging scroll: *Old Man*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)

Seals: Seiryō (two seals above figure's left shoulder)

Undated, 106.3 x 35.5 cm, silk

Item holder: Hakutakuan Collection (Kyoto) (HT0002)

Lower half: the figure's attire does not look Japanese but is reminiscent of the garments worn by men from antiquity in Chinese paintings. The head of the kind-looking old man is bald and he boasts a lavish white beard. It might be considered a counterpart to the depiction of the male figures in scrolls no. 5 and no. 7.

Upper half: Chinese text of forty-nine characters followed by two lines with a signature and motif explanation of seventeen characters. (For a fuller treatment, see pp. 68–71)

(7) Hanging scroll: *Han Yu* 韓愈 (768–824)\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)

Seals: Seiryō (two seals above figure's left shoulder)

Undated, 105.3 x 33.4 cm, silk

Item holder: Hakutakuan Collection (Kyoto) (HT0177)

Description: the lower third shows the picture of a bearded man wearing a Chinese gown and hat reminiscent of the garments worn by scholars and office holders, with both hands (covered by the sleeves) joined together in a respectful pose – identified by this author as a depiction of Han Yu.<sup>149</sup> The painting style is similar to that of no. 6.

Upper section: Chinese text of nearly two hundred characters. The line with Seiryō's sobriquet and name stands below the inscription to the left side of the figure's head and ends with two seals.<sup>150</sup>

### C. Flowers, Birds and Animals

#### (8) Hanging scroll: *Flower with Poem*\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals above figure's left shoulder)  
 Undated  
 Item holder: Yokoya Kenichirō (Ōtsu)

Description: the scroll shows the picture of a *magnolia kobus* or *kobushi* 辛夷 with white buds – of varying size, mostly closed (only one open) – in the lower half and a four-line Chinese poem of twenty-eight characters (including one “omitted character” or *datsuji* 脱字) in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format in the upper half. The signature line gives “Seiryō Kaku” as sobriquet and name; it finishes with *narabini sha su* 并写 (“and also painted [by him]”) and Seiryō's two seals. Another larger seal has been placed in the lower third on the right-hand side of the picture.

This item is identical to the one in Minamoto 1971: 53. In that publication, Minamoto gives the owner as the Tanimura family of Takaoka. Perhaps the scroll had been in the possession of Tanimura Ichitarō in the past. Whether this also indicates that it was painted during Seiryō's time in Takaoka is open to conjecture.

#### (9) Landscape painting and poem on fan\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting)  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals on left side of signature)  
 Undated  
 Item holder: Yokoya Kenichirō (Ōtsu)

149 Similar representations of the scholar-official can be found on the internet. What is more, the inscription contains the character 韓 in the first line and “Changli” 昌黎, the name of Han Yu's birthplace, under which he was known, in the seventh line.

150 For a fuller treatment, see Part II, next issue.

Description: this fan-shaped work shows a landscape painting with hilly terrain in the front and hills in the background. The sun – perhaps on New Year’s Day – is rising behind them. In between probably lies a stretch of water. The terrain in the foreground has two stands (one larger, one smaller) of stylized trees with fluffy crowns. The rest of the vegetation is also depicted in a very stylized manner, with shrubs reduced to green dots. To the left of the centre line, Seiryō placed a short Chinese poem of ten characters in four lines beginning with the words “first day” 初日 (*shonichi*). Two short lines follow: one with the signature “Seiryō”, the other saying “and also inscribed [by him]” 并題. On the left of this are two seals.

#### D. Calligraphy

##### (10) Hanging scroll\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (calligraphy)  
 Subject: Lake Biwa  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals, left side, lower half)  
 Undated (perhaps written during Seiryō’s sojourn in Kanazawa 1805–06)  
 Item holder: Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of History 石川県立歴史博物館  
 (Ishikawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsu Kan), Kanazawa

Description: calligraphy in boldly written characters, unmistakably Seiryō’s hand, in three lines with a total of twenty-eight characters in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format of Chinese poems. This is followed by another line with the name Lake Biwa 琵琶湖 (these also appear in the first line) on top, and sobriquet and name (“Seiryō Kaku”) at the bottom (below this are two small seals)

##### (11) Object in the shape of a fan\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription)  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals in last line of inscription after the signature)  
 Undated  
 Item holder: Yokoya Kenichirō (Ōtsu)

Description: this fan-shaped item bears a Chinese poem of twenty-eight characters in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format. An additional line gives the title as “Suwa” 諏訪. Suwa is the name of a city in “Shin Province” 信州 (Shinshū), present-day Nagano Prefecture, which is mentioned in the poem’s first line. This is followed by “Seiryō Kaku” 青陵鶴 (sobriquet and name) and two seals.

The poem can be found in Tanimura 1935: 234, where it is said to be in the possession of the shrine-priest family Seki 関 in Takaoka – with no indica-

tion as to whether this family owned the poem in this exact fan shape or in some other format.<sup>151</sup>

(12) Wooden *tanzaku* 短冊 / Chinese poem entitled “Tiger” 虎\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals following Seiryō’s signature)  
 Undated (perhaps 1800–01 during Seiryō’s sojourn in Ōtsu)  
 Item holder: Yokoya Kenichirō (Ōtsu)

Description: on a very thin and dark slip of wood, Seiryō left two lines of Chinese text – a poem of twenty-eight characters in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format, signed with “Seiryō Kaku” and two seals at the end. Above the poem there is a heading with the character 虎 (*tora*) for “tiger”.

(13) Wooden shop sign\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō  
 Seals: Seiryō (three seals, one to the right of the inscription and two to the left)  
 Undated (written after Seiryō moved to Kyoto in 1806)  
 Item holder: Matsuda Bunka Dō 松田文華堂 (Kanazawa)

Description: wooden shop sign painted white with the name of the stationary supplier “Bunka Dō” 文華堂 (Hall of the Flower / Culture of Writing) in cursive “grass hand” 草書 (*sōsho*) style and three lines of Chinese text, both before the name and after it. These three lines of text contain “Seiryō Kaku”. Nagayama Naoharu states that the shop’s owner, Kokubaiya (Matsuda) Heishirō 黒梅屋平四郎, counted among Seiryō’s acquaintances in Kanazawa and that Seiryō sent him the sign board after he moved to Kyoto.<sup>152</sup>

E. Collaborations

a. Albums

(14) *Chikudō gafu* 竹堂画譜 (printed)\*\*

Artist(s): Ki Chikudō 紀竹堂 (paintings), Minagawa Kien (preface) and Kaiho Seiryō (afterword or *batsu* 跋)  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals below signature)

151 It can be argued, however, that it was this fan that was in the possession of the Seki family. Otherwise, it would have to be assumed that Seiryō left his poems on several different occasions and on different materials.

152 NAGAYAMA 2003: 52.



Date: 1800, fifth month, 27.2 x 17.4 cm, paper

Publisher: Heian Shorin 平安書林 (Kyoto)

Item holder: British Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Arts (New York), etc.

Description: album with ten or eleven full-spread paintings<sup>153</sup> by Kyoto artist Ki Chikudō 紀竹堂 (?-?), featuring a preface by Minagawa Kien and an afterword by Seiryō. Both texts are printed in a woodblock technique known as “stone printing” 石摺 (*ishizuri*), which imitates a rubbing taken from an inscription carved into stone. Seiryō’s text covers one complete spread and consists of fourteen lines with about two hundred characters. It is followed by the signature “Seiryō Kaiho Kaku” and the character *dai* 題 (“inscribed by”). The publication date suggests that at this stage Seiryō was valued for his calligraphy but did not yet contribute paintings of his own. The list of laudators at the end of the album includes Confucian scholars Itō Tōsho, Jinsai’s grandson, and Nakai Chikuzan 中井竹山 (1730–1804) as well as two members of the court nobility.

(15) *Kawachi Sankōtei shoga chō* 河内三缸亭書画帖

Artist(s): Katayama Hokkai 片山北海 (1723–90), Minagawa Kien, Rai Shunsui 頼春水 (1746–1816), Kimura Kenkadō, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Toyoshima Hōshū 豊島豊洲 (1737–1814), Kikuchi Gozan and Kaiho Seiryō, among others

Seals: Seiryō (three seals)

Date: around 1805

Item holder: National Institute of Japanese Literature 国文学研究資料館 (Kokubun Gaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kan)

Description: in around 1805, a collector going by the name of Sankōtei (perhaps one Tanaka Iemon 田中伊右衛門 from Yamada in the province Kawachi) published a collection of 238 calligraphies and paintings with contributions by well-known persons active in *literati* circles from both the Kansai and Kantō areas.<sup>154</sup> The album is in the fanfold book style, with smaller leaves of (sometimes coloured) paper (sometimes six or seven to each spread) pasted inside. The preface was written by famous Confucian scholar and *bunjin* Minagawa Kien and bears the date Bunka 2 (1805), fifth month, third day (*chūka mikka* 仲夏三日). Seiryō contributed a calligraphy (a Chinese poem of twenty-eight characters in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format) on slide 35 of the electronic version.<sup>155</sup> In this example, he did not sign with his sobriquet but with “Kaiho” and “Kaku” (part of his name).

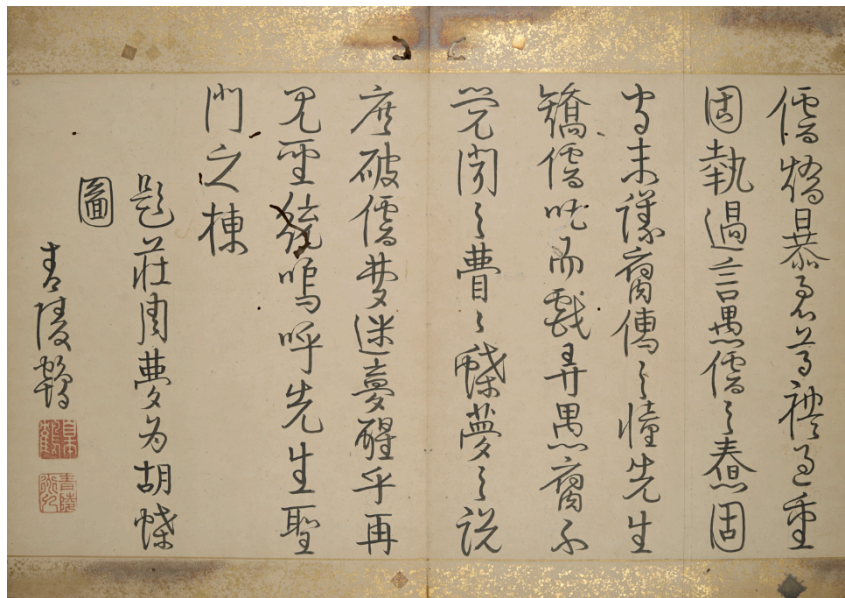
153 The number varies according to the edition.

154 MIYAZAKI 1987: 5. Cf. also AOYAGI 2009: 226.

155 The electronic version is accessible via the National Institute of Japanese Literature: [https://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta\\_pub/CsvSearch.cgi](https://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/CsvSearch.cgi).



III. 1. Catalogue no. 6; by permission of Hakutakuan Collection (HT0002)



Ill. 2 & 3. Catalogue no. 16ab (*Kaiki kan* 31v, 32r & 32v, 33r); Seiryō: inscription, Azuma Tōyō: Zhuangzi; by permission of British Library (Or 14871)



Ill. 4. Catalogue no. 16ab (*Kaiki kan* 22v, 23r): Seiryō; by permission of British Library (Or 14871)



Ill. 5. Catalogue no. 21: Seiryō, Chikutō, Sekkyo collaboration; by permission of Hakutakuan Collection (HT1938b)



(16ab) *Kaiki kan* 瑰琦觀 or *View of Beautiful Gems and Jades*\*\*

Artist(s): introductory calligraphy by Minagawa Kien, paintings and inscriptions by numerous *bunjin*, among them Murase Kōtei 村瀬栲亭 (1744–1819), Rai Shunsui, Azuma Tōyō, Kaiho Seiryō and Kamo no Suetaka 加茂季鷹 (1752–1842), who contributed the afterword  
 Date: around 1806–10, one contribution as late as 1849, 24.5 x 17.5 cm, paper  
 Item holder: British Library (London) (Or 14871)

Description: for a fuller account of this album see pp. 71–77. It contains two contributions by Seiryō: a painting and a calligraphic text.

## b. Single Items

(17) Folding screen: *Ama no hashi date* 天橋立\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription) and Fuchigami Kyokkō 淵上旭江 (1753–1816) (painting)  
 Seals: Fuchigami Kyokkō (seal bottom left, after signature)  
 Date: winter 1800–01  
 Item holder: Ōtsu City Museum of History 大津市歴史博物館 (Ōtsu Shi Rekishi Hakubutsu Kan)

Description: folding screen (*byōbu*) with two panels. The middle and lower parts show a magnificent panoramic view of *Ama no hashi date*, the “Heavenly Bridge” (near the city of Miyazu in modern-day Kyoto Prefecture), one of the country’s most celebrated natural views, by painter Fuchigami Kyokkō. Seiryō contributed an exposition in Chinese with about six hundred and fifty characters in forty-five lines. It opens with the characters 沈潛剛克高明柔克 (“For [treating] those who are plunged and soaked [sc. in wine and pleasures] there is the hardness predominating; for [treating] those who are high-standing and [bright =] enlightened there is the softness predominating”),<sup>156</sup> which can be found in the chapter “Great Rule” 洪範 (*Hongfan / Kōhan*) of the *Book of Documents* 書經 (*Shujing / Shokyō*); it continues with: 是上帝所錫于夏王之大法也 (“This is the Great Law which the [Divine] Lord on High 上帝 (*jōtei*) deigned to bestow on the Xia kings”).<sup>157</sup> An additional line at the end gives the date as “Metal (older brother) / Monkey” 庚申之冬 (*kōshin / kanoe*

156 *Book of Documents*, SBBY 7.4r. The translation follows KARLGREN 1950: 32.

157 Seiryō accorded the *Hongfan* great importance and dealt with it in one of only two works printed during his lifetime, *Talks about the Great Rule* 洪範談 (*Kyōhan dan*, 1814). KSZ: 581–686. Thus, he explained in his commentary on the text that the “great rule amounts to compass and square [i.e. measuring tools for gauging] the Ten Thousand Things and Ten Thousand Affairs 万事 (*banji*) between Heaven and Earth”. KSZ: 585. The keywords quoted at the beginning of the *byōbu*’s text are explained in KSZ: 646–50.

*saru no fuyu*) and the signature: Seiryō Kaiho Kōkaku 青陵海保臯鶴. A seal is missing. Kyōkkō signed his picture with 旭江 and two seals in the bottom left.

Seiryō and Kyōkkō did not necessarily know each other or work together. Yagi mentions that one Kotani Shunshō 小谷春宵 of Ōtsu had acquired Kyōkkō's painting and asked Seiryō to write an accompanying text.<sup>158</sup>

(18) Hanging scroll: *Mount Iwaki* 岩木山\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription), Iwase Hanzan (painting)

Seals: Seiryō (two seals above figure's left shoulder)

Undated

Item holder: unknown

Description: this almost quadratical item, mounted as a hanging scroll, consists of an impressive painting of Mount Iwaki 岩木山, near Hirosaki 弘前, fringed by wooded hills. The foreground shows fields interspersed with vegetation and small villages. The upper third features a Chinese text of twenty-four lines and about two hundred and forty characters by Seiryō. He signed with “Seiryō Kaiho Kōkaku” and “selected by” 撰 in an additional line. To the left of “Kōkaku” he placed two seals.

The painter, Iwasa Hanzan 岩佐半山 (1787–1814), is almost unknown. He came from a merchant family (originally from the province of Ōmi) in Hirosaki and studied under Ganku in Kyoto.<sup>159</sup> It has to be assumed that the collaboration between Hanzan and Seiryō took place in Kyoto after the latter settled there in 1806. There is no indication that he ever travelled as far north as Hirosaki. Hanzan, after some years, returned to Hirosaki.<sup>160</sup>

(19) [Painting of cranes]

Artist(s): Sakai Hōitsu (painting) and Kaiho Seiryō (inscription)

Date: could not be verified

Item holder: unknown

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158 YAGI 2018: 81.

159 AOMORI KENSHI HENSAN BUNKA ZAI BUKAI 2010: 90. The *Aomori kenshi*, unfortunately, does not provide more information on Hanzan and does not mention the documents it used for its chapter on *bunjin* activities in the Hirosaki lordship. Hanzan will be one of the subjects in Part II of this article.

160 The author became aware of this scroll when the gallery Shinko Bijutsu Watanabe (Kyoto) offered it for sale online in summer 2019. He received a number of photographs and permission to use them in exchange for giving due credits.

Description: Yagi Kiyoharu mentions this collaboration showing a crane (or group of them) by Sakai Hōitsu and a Chinese poem by Seiryō of twenty-eight characters in the “seven words in [four] separate phrases” format. For a fuller account see earlier, pp. 22–23. It was offered for sale by the Yamamoto Art Gallery 山本美術店 (Kyoto) in a catalogue in January 2006.<sup>161</sup>

(20) Hanging scroll: *Pine tree*\*

Artist(s): Ōhara Donkyō 大原呑響 (1761?–1810) (inscription and painting), Kaiho Seiryō, Machiguchi Kaikyō 町口海嶠 (劉韶), Matsumoto Kensai, Minagawa In (Kōsai) 皆川允 (篁齋) (1762–1819), Oguri Kō 小栗光, Seita Ryūsen 清田竜川 (清勲) (1747–1809), ? Taigaku 台嶽 and ? Tansai 坦齋 (inscriptions)<sup>162</sup>

Seals: Seiryō (two seals below signature)

Undated, 124.3 x 42.4 cm, silk

Item holder: Hakutakuan Collection (Kyoto) (HT1620)

Description: the painting of a pine tree with a strong trunk and structured bark was done by Ohara Donkyō, as can be deduced from his signature and his two seals outside the trunk on the lower right-hand side of the picture. The bark’s structure divides the trunk into segments used by the other participants for their inscriptions in Chinese. Counting from the top down, Seiryō filled the second segment on the left with a text of twenty characters along with his sobriquet and name (“Seiryō Kaku”) and two seals. There are nine segments in total, including one by Minagawa In (Kōsai), son of Minagawa Kien.

(21) Hanging scroll: *Collaborative Landscape*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription and painting), Nakabayashi Chikutō (mountain scenery), and probably Yamabe Sekkyo (mountain scenery)

Seals: Seiryō (three seals below the signature of the inscription and two seals left of Seiryō’s name on the lower right-hand side), Chikutō (one seal below signature) (Sekkyo used a stylized name cypher or *kaō* 花押 below his name)

Date: 1810 (Bunka 7), fifth month, 105.3 x 35.3 cm, silk

Item holder: Hakutakuan Collection (Kyoto) (HT1938b)

Description: the upper third of the scroll is made up of Seiryō’s inscription in sixteen lines with 226 characters. It bears the date “Bunka, [year] Metal (older brother) / Horse in summer, fifth month” and the signature “Seiryō Kaku”. The lower part shows a landscape with steep mountains done by Chikutō and Sekkyo, plus an embankment with trees (some of them pines) on the left and a

161 YAGI 2018: 81, 87.

162 The participants in this collaborative work were identified by the Hakutakuan Collection’s curator (personal communication). He surmises that “Taigaku” could be Noro Kaiseki 野呂介石 (1747–1828), who used “Taigaku” as a sobriquet.



waterbody in the middle and right painted by Seiryō. The centre front shows a boat with three passengers (under a canopy) and a steersman. The waterbody is cut in half by two narrow peninsulas stretching into it from the left and right. They are connected by an arched bridge. Some houses can be seen on the right-hand peninsula. Chikutō signed with his sobriquet and *sanjin* 山人 (mountain hermit), plus a seal to the right of the highest mountain peak. Sekkyo left his signature above the trees (with fluffy red crowns) on the left. Below the right-hand peninsula one finds “painted by Seiryō” 青陵写 together with another two seals besides the name.

(22) Picture in the shape of a fan\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō (inscription), Shibata Gitō 柴田義董 (1780–1819)  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals in last line of inscription), Gitō  
 Undated, 47.0 x 18.7 cm, paper  
 Item holder: author

Description: the right side is made up of a wisteria branch painted by Shibata Gitō, a student of Matsumura Goshun and known for his landscape and flora-fauna pictures (*kachō ga*). The signature “Gitō” is identifiable and the second character is overlaid with the artist’s seal. It has been placed slightly to the left of the fan and above the lower part of the wisteria branch.

The upper left half contains a Chinese poem by Seiryō of twenty-eight characters in the format “seven words in [four] separate phrases”. However, these have been split into eight lines of alternately five or two characters. This is followed by “Seiryō Kaku” (sobriquet and name), while the last line ends with *dai* 題 (“inscribed by”) and Seiryō’s two seals.

F. Miscellanea

(23) Calligraphy / Preface to a *Record of the Taishō Garden* 帶笑苑記序  
 (*Taishō en ki jo*)\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō  
 Seals: no seals  
 Date: summer 1791  
 Item holder: Uematsu family (Numazu)

Description: on his way back to Edo from the Kansai area in the summer of 1791, Seiryō stopped at the way station of Hara 原, one of the stops along the East Sea Road 東海道 (*Tōkai dō*). There he stayed in the house of Uematsu Rankei 植松蘭溪 (1729–1809), a wealthy landowner, hotel-entrepreneur and art collector. At the time, Rankei had been to Kyoto several times; he was in contact with leading artists such as Ike Taiga and Maruyama Ōkyo and commissioned artworks from them, which he displayed in his mansion. He also

invested much care in his garden, ordering plants from wholesalers in Osaka. He had asked Minagawa Kien to write an account of the garden's history and background and suggest a name for it. However, Rankei was not satisfied with the proposal by Kien, who had never visited the location. In the end, Seiryō expressed his gratitude to his host by writing a eulogy on Rankei's garden and proposed calling it the "Garden of Always Bearing a Smile" 帶笑苑 (Taishō en). This delighted the owner and the name stuck. Seiryō's Chinese text and a Japanese translation was provided by Takahashi Satoshi.<sup>163</sup> It is part of a larger booklet – the *White Fox Hair Pelt* 狐白裘 (*Ko hakukyū*) – to which Seiryō and other guests of Rankei's contributed during a joint dinner. As suggested by photos the author received with the help of Numazu City Cultural Assets Centre, Seiryō probably also wrote down the texts composed by the other participants.<sup>164</sup> Seiryō's account bears the date "summer [of the year] Metal (younger brother) / Boar" 辛亥之夏 (*kanoto i / shingai no natsu*), which corresponds to 1791. The signature says "Seiryō Kaiho Kōkaku".

(24) Calligraphic / handwritten text\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō  
 Seals: Seiryō (two seals at end of text)  
 Date: 1792 (Kansei 4), spring  
 Item holder: Hakutakuan Collection (Kyoto)

Description: the title is given as *Ran Shūken ki* 蘭秀軒記 (Account of Ran Shūken) and is made up of about seven hundred characters in fifty-three lines (contents still unascertained). Two lines give the date "Kansei, spring of [the year] Water (older brother) / Rat" 寬政壬子之春 (*Kansei jinshi / mizunoe no haru*) and signature, as Seiryō signed with "Eastern Capital, resident retainer, Seiryō Kaiho Kōkaku" 東都處士青陵海保阜鶴.

(25) *Laudatio* for Kimura Kenkadō: *For Boku Seishuku* 贈木世肅 (*Boku Seishuku ni okuru*)

Author: Kaiho Seiryō  
 Date: 1792 (Kansei 4), autumn  
 Item holder: could not be verified

Description: Yagi Kiyoharu cites in full a Chinese text by Seiryō containing a eulogy on Kimura Kenkadō and referring to his encounters with him in Osaka in 1789, 1791 and 1792. The title is given as *For Boku Seishuku* 贈木世肅

163 TAKAHASHI 2011: 114–17.

164 Seiryō wrote about Uematsu Rankei in his *Talks about Lessons from the Past*. This will be discussed in the next instalment of this article.

(*Boku Seishuku ni okuru*).<sup>165</sup> The document bears the date “Kansei, [year of] Water (older brother) / Rat” (*Kansei jinshi no aki*). Seiryō signed it with “Eastern Capital, resident retainer, Seiryō Kaiho Kōkaku” 東都處士青陵海保阜鶴.<sup>166</sup>

(26) Calligraphy / *Record of the Old Kettle [Called] Brushwood Boat* 古釜柴舟記\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō  
 Seals: Seiryō (three seals following Seiryō’s signature)  
 Date: 1794 (Tenmei 6), ninth month  
 Item holder: privately owned

Description: this Chinese text with approximately sixty lines and seven hundred and fifty characters was offered for sale online in the summer of 2020. Its contents have not yet been ascertained; some lines of text seem to be missing in the photos that could be seen online. The date at the end says “Kansei sixth year, autumn, ninth month” 寬政六年秋九月 and the signature that follows – the only of its kind – reads “administrative seat of Mu[sashi] province, resident retainer, Seiryō Kaiho Kōkaku” 武州府處士青陵海保阜鶴.

(27) Calligraphy / *Plate of the One Hundred Blessings* 百福図 (*Hyakufukuzu*)\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō  
 Seals: Seiryō (three seals, one before the text, two following the signature)  
 Undated (1800–01 during Seiryō’s sojourn in Ōtsu)  
 Item holder: Ōtsu City Museum of History (Ōtsu Shi Rekishi Hakubutsu Kan)

Description: wooden board, 172.6 cm x 27.1 cm, with nine lines of Chinese text (roughly eight hundred characters). Seiryō wrote this text for his merchant patrons, who were active participants and organizers of a festival now known as “Ōtsu matsuri” 大津祭. With a history going back to 1638, it was modelled after Kyoto’s Gion Festival and features floats or “drawn mountains” 曳山 (*hikiyama*) paraded through the streets. Seiryō’s patrons from the Nakabori district 中堀町 carried a float showing a figure of Zhuge Liang (Kongming; 181–234) 諸葛亮 (孔明), a popular and well-known figure from Chinese history and one of the main characters in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義 (*Sanguo yanyi*). The text explains the history of the fes-

165 “Seishuku” is Kenkadō’s personal name and “Boku Seishuku” is a Sinified version of his name.

166 YAGI 2018: 79, 85–86.

tival and is known as the *Plate of the One Hundred Blessings*.<sup>167</sup> The signature reads “respectfully selected by Kaiho Kōkaku” 海保臯鶴撰.

(28) Chinese text / Preface to the *To Shi Chō koga den* 杜氏澗古画伝\*\*

Author: Kaiho Seiryō  
Date: 1803  
Item holder: Frankfurt University

Description: Seiryō wrote a preface to To Chō’s *Album of Old Paintings* in Chinese. For a full account see earlier in this article, pp. 15–18. Tanimura Ichitarō included it in his collection.<sup>168</sup>

(29) [Chinese text / inscription for a painting]

Author: Kaiho Seiryō  
Date: 1805  
Item holder: Tokyo University, Shachiku Bunko 洒竹文庫

Description: Nakashima Kōshō 中島孝昌, a merchant in Kawagoe 川越, included a picture inscription written by Seiryō in his *Bunkō satsu* 文孝冊, a collection of poems and paintings. The contributors also include Yamamoto Hokuzan and Santō Kyōden.<sup>169</sup>

(30) Calligraphy: *Elucidation of Prostitution* 娼説 (*Shōsetsu*)\*\*

Artist(s): Kaiho Seiryō  
Seals: Seiryō (two seals following Seiryō’s signature)  
Date: summer 1805, written during Seiryō’s time in Kanazawa  
Item holder: Matsuda Bunka Dō (Kanazawa)

Description: Seiryō composed this text, arguably written more elegantly than the *Ran Shūken ki*, for wealthy rice merchant and pawnbroker Tomizuya Shichizaemon 富津屋七左衛門. In it, he expressed support for the establishment of red-light quarters, arguing that buying the services of prostitutes was based on the natural desires of men. It is not clear how this version came into the possession of the Matsuda family. A short paragraph at the end gives the date as the summer of Bunka 2 (1805). This is followed by a signature line: “Seiryō the Adept, Kaku” 青陵道人鶴. To the left of this are two seals.

167 ŌTSU SHI REKISHI HAKUBUTSU KAN 1996: 47 and personal communication with Yokoya Kenichirō.

168 TANIMURA 1935a: 240–41.

169 AOYAGI 2009: 228.

Another version of the text was included by Tomita Kagechika 富田景周, a high-ranking samurai retainer of the Kaga lordship and an acquaintance of Seiryō, in his *Elegance of the Swallow Terrace* 燕台風雅 (*Endai fūga*). This can also be found in Tanimura 1935: 238–39. Kagechika commented on the *Shōsetsu*, saying that he had been told that prostitution had vanished in the past due to official legislation but that it had risen again in recent years as a result of Seiryō’s discussion of the subject.<sup>170</sup>

(31) [Chinese poems in *Endai fūga*]

Author: Tomita Kagechika  
 Artist: Kaiho Seiryō  
 Date: written during Seiryō’s time in Kanazawa (1805–06)  
 Reference: Nagayama 2003

Description: according to Nagayama Naoharu, Tomita Kagechika included two Chinese poems written by Seiryō in his *Endai fūga*, one of them entitled “Presenting a *Magnolia Kobus* Flower” 賦辛夷花.<sup>171</sup>

(32) Chinese poems

Artist: Kaiho Seiryō  
 Date: written during Seiryō’s time in Takaoka and Kanazawa (1805–06)  
 Reference: Tanimura 1935

Description: in his collection of writings by Seiryō, Tanimura Ichitarō cites a number of Chinese poems in the possession of families in Takaoka and the Ishizaki family in Fukumitsu.<sup>172</sup>

(33) Various Chinese texts

Author: Kaiho Seiryō  
 Date: written during Seiryō’s time in Takaoka and Kanazawa (1805–06)  
 Reference: Tanimura 1935

Description: besides Seiryō’s preface to the *To Shi Chō koga den* and the *Shōsetsu*, Tanimura Ichitarō cites another eleven short Chinese texts. One is the preface to the *Bunpō hiun* (Tearing Away the Clouds Covering the Method of Text Composition). He also gives the composition Seiryō submitted during his time in Takaoka, when a text was solicited for inscription on the

170 TOKUMORI 2013: 329. For more on this subject, cf. also SAKAMOTO 2012: 142–64.

171 NAGAYAMA 2003: 53. The author has not yet ascertained the contents of these poems nor the relation to item 8 in this catalogue.

172 TANIMURA 1935a: 233–36.

newly cast bell of the town's Daibutsu Temple 大仏寺.<sup>173</sup> The collection includes the inscriptions on the three paintings of Buddhist figures at the beginning of the book.<sup>174</sup>

(34) [Various Chinese texts]

Author: Kaiho Seiryō

Description: a number of further texts in Chinese are mentioned in passing by Aoyagi Junko and Yagi Kiyoharu.<sup>175</sup>

(35) Hanging scroll mentioning Seiryō as host of a *bunjin* event\*

Artist(s): Azuma Tōyō (horse head in wine decanter), Kawamura Bunpō (sparrow), Kawamura Kihō 河村琦鳳 (1778–1852) (fish), Tokuhiko Sekimon 徳弘石門 (1777–1825) (branches), Yamamoto Tanen 山本探淵 (active during Bunka to Tenpō eras) (swallow), Yano Yachō 矢野夜潮 (1782–1829) (bat), Yoshimura Kōkei 吉村孝敬 (1769–1836) (frog), Yamabe Sekkyo (sun), ? Tōkyo 陶居 (butterfly) and Kawamoto Kinsuke (inscription)

Seals: no seals, but Tōyō used a stylized name cypher (*kaō*)

Date: 1810 (Bunka 7), first month, 105.5 x 35.3 cm, silk

Item holder: Hakutakuan Collection (Kyoto) (HT1938a)

Description: a description of the scroll can be found at the beginning of this article. Items 21 and 35 should be considered a pair; they are mounted in the same way and came into possession of the Hakutakuan Collection in the same box. The inscription by Kawamoto Kinsuke reads:

On the first month, thirteenth day, at the time of Teacher Seiryō's first gathering, the people who came together to drink were not only his students, but

173 In the end, the town officials favoured the proposal by Minagawa Kien, who was the teacher of one Tomita Tokufū 富田徳風, a learned local resident. NAGAYAMA 2003: 49.

174 TANIMURA 1935a: 237–46.

175 AOYAGI 2009 mentions: an account of a family treasure held by Tomita Tokufū, entitled *Record of the Dragon Head Staff* 龍頭杖記 (p. 231); a preface (summer 1811) to *Medical Decisions Continued* 続医断 (*Zoku idan*, held by Keiō University, p. 233), written by Kaya Tanen 賀屋澹園 (1779–1842), a doctor in Kyoto; and an inscription for a landscape painting commissioned by a rich merchant named “Mr Inami” 井波氏 from Etchū Province, who visited Seiryō in Kyoto for this purpose in 1812 (p. 234). YAGI 2018 cites: an account of Kanayama Shrine behind the Nakashima family's house in Kawagoe, entitled *Record of the Kanayama Shrine* 金山神祠記 (*Kanayama shinshi ki*) and included in the *Collection of Writings by Teacher Kaiho Seiryō* 海保青陵先生文集 (*Kaiho Seiryō sensei bunshū*) and held by the Mukyū Kai Oda Bunko 無窮会織田文庫 (Tokyo).

[also] those who in Keishi made gripping the brush their trade – all [of them] gathered. In the spring of Fire (older brother) / Horse [year] there is a lot of snow. Leading up to the thirteenth day, it sometimes had been snowing and then again it had been sunny, [but] it was not extremely cold. The guests in their seats numbered fifty persons, and all were drunk. Mr Azuma raised a hand and said, “I wish we had a silk canvas and could make a painting.” All said, “Good [idea].” Hence [Mr Azuma] softened the brush and shaped a horse. He made it [look] as if it stuck out of a wine decanter. It was already the middle of the day. It was as if he wanted to make it difficult [for someone else] to take over and add [something]. The next was Bunpō. He moistened the brush [on his tongue] and after some time said, “[You] made it so that there is almost no ground left for me to drop my brush.” Therefore, he shaped a flying bird above [the horse]. And again, suddenly others came and took over. Next was Josui, and he shaped water greens. Then [followed] Kōkei, Kihō, Tanen, Sekimon, Sekkyo, Sesshū [and] Yachō, altogether ten persons, and they made one scroll together. Teacher [Seiryō] sent it far away to Mr Ishizaki of Etchū [province]. [However], the painting had neither name nor seal. Therefore, I (*yo*) endeavoured to inscribe these proceedings in the upper part. Recorded by Shishū Miyake Kai [i.e. Kawamoto Kinsuke]<sup>176</sup>

正月十三日為青陵先生發會之辰集飲者不啻門人凡京師把筆為業者盡會焉庚午春多雪至十三日或雪或霽亦不甚寒座客五十人皆醉焉東洋氏拱手曰願得絹素作画皆云善乃和筆作馬將自匏中出之狀蓋以歲在午也且欲使難於繼成焉次則文鳳吮筆良久曰是殆使我無地於落筆焉因作飛鳥於其上亦以出於其不意而取趣者也次則如水作水菜次孝敬琦鳳探淵石門雪居雪洲夜潮以上十人為一幅先生遠贈越中石崎氏画有不記名款者因余題其事於上方 子洲 三宅會識

176 The *yomikudashi* version (established with the help of Takahashi Hiromi) reads: 正月十三日、青陵先生發會の辰、集飲する者、啻に門人のみならず、凡そ京師の筆を把りて業を為す者、尽く会す。庚午の春、雪多し。十三日に至りて、或いは雪ふり、或いは霽れて、亦た甚しくは寒からず。座客五十人、皆な酔う。東洋氏、手を挙げて曰わく、「願わくは絹素を得て、画を作らん」と。皆な云う、「善し」と。乃ち筆を和して、馬を作る。匏中より之を出さんとする状を將(もつ)てす。蓋し歳午に在るを以てなり。且つ継ぎて成さんことを難からしめんと欲す。次は則ち文鳳なり。筆を吮(な)めて、良(や)や久しうして曰く、「是れ殆んど我をして落筆するに地無からしむるなり」と。因りて飛鳥を其の上に作る。亦た以て其の不意に出でて、趣を取る者なり。次は則ち如水、水菜を作る。次は孝敬・琦鳳・探淵・石門・雪居・雪洲・夜潮、以上十人、一幅を為す。先生、遠く越中の石崎氏に贈る。画に名款を記せざる者有り。因りて余をして其の事を上方に題せしむ。子洲 三宅會識す

Two Examples: *Old Man* and *View of Beautiful Gems and Jades*

Judging by the dates given in the “Catalogue of Works”, Seiryō’s involvement in *bunjin* activities initially took the form of written contributions. This is true for the early examples from the Kansei era, such as the *Taishō Garden* text or the eulogy for Kimura Kenkadō in 1792. But it was still notable even a decade later, when he was asked to write an afterword to Chikudō’s album (*Chikudō gafu*) or the preface to To Chō’s manual (*To Shi Chō koga den*). It seems that around 1800 and the following years, Seiryō was appreciated for his calligraphic style, which Tomita Kagechika later described as being modelled on Zhang Tianxi’s 張天錫 handwriting.<sup>177</sup> Not all of the paintings by Seiryō that could be ascertained so far are dated, but those that are were painted either in 1805 or later. This might indicate that he took up this art (or felt confident enough to present his works and even contribute to collaborative efforts) only after having established his reputation as a calligrapher. If the remarks on the *gassaku* scroll of 1810 are to be taken at face value (and not as an expression of modesty), he was quite self-conscious of his abilities and considered his attempts at painting to be “still extremely clumsy” [22]. This is certainly the impression conveyed by earlier attempts like the following two examples.

a. *Old Man*

Compared to the paintings showing Confucius and Han Yu, this work strikes the observer as much less refined. This might be due in part to the state of preservation: the colours of both the figure and the background appear faded. Originally, they may have resembled the coloration of the *Confucius* scroll. The old man’s head is proportionally too big and the fall of the folds of his robe are somewhat stiff. The picture looks two-dimensional, somewhat awkward and sketchy – in this respect, it fully represents the professed amateurish stance of *bunjin* painting. This does not mean that anonymous *Confucius* looks more natural. The facial expression, body pose and depiction of the

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177 Zhang Tianxi lived during the Jin 金 Dynasty (1115–1234) and is known for his *Collection of Cursive Writing and Tones* 草書韻會 (*Caoshu yunhui*), which includes a preface dated 1231. An electronic version of the book printed during the Edo period in Kyoto (undated) can be retrieved via <https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/>. Cf. YAGI 2018: 78. Seiryō’s calligraphic style has not yet been the subject of research. Currently, only three of the written works in the catalogue – nos. 23, 25 and 30 – have been introduced and commented on in the research literature, while the paintings have received no attention at all.



garment all conform to an established stereotype. In this regard, the old man might even appear more natural. But an analysis of style is better suited to experienced art historians.

The overall impression of this picture – the age of the character, baldness, fringe of white hair, long and full white beard – suggests that this could in fact show the Old Master 老子 (*Laozi / Rōshi*), one of the central figures of philosophical Daoism or Lao-Zhuang thought 老莊思想 (*Rō Sō shisō*).<sup>178</sup> This conjecture is borne out by the accompanying inscription, although it does not give a name:

Someone who wants to take / receive something [from others], without fail [first] must give [something to other] people. Giving [something] without fail [to other] people, this is called benevolence. Someone who does not want to precede [other] people, without fail goes after them. Going without fail after [other] people, this is called propriety / appropriateness. Ah, the Teacher discarded benevolence and thus was [an epitome of] benevolence. Ah, the Master discarded propriety / appropriateness and thus was [an epitome of] propriety / appropriateness.<sup>179</sup>

The devoted disciple, Kaiho Kōkaku, [painted this] and also inscribed [it] in the Bronze Camel wards in the Lair of Sitting and Proceeding / Department

欲取之者必予于人必予  
于人是之謂仁無先人者  
必後于此必後于此是之  
謂義吁嗟先生弃仁而  
仁吁嗟夫子弃義而義

私淑弟子海保臯鶴并題於  
銅駝房坐進洞

The reference to the “Bronze Camel wards” (Dōda bō) indicates that Seiryō painted and wrote this item in Kyoto.<sup>180</sup> It also offers a clue for dating the

178 This is the name preferred by a number of Japanese experts of intellectual history in order to avoid confusion with other variants also called “Daoism”.

179 The *yomikudashi* version reads: 之れを取らんと欲する者は、必ず人に予ふ。必ず人に予ふるは、是れ之を仁と謂ふ。人に先んずる無き者は、必ず此に後くる。必ず此に後るは、是れ之を義と謂ふ。吁嗟、先生は仁を棄てて、仁なり。吁嗟、夫子は義を棄てて義なり。私淑の弟子、海保臯鶴并に銅駝房坐進洞に題す。

180 “Bronze Camel” is presumably a reference to the name of the wards along the main road from the imperial palace in the Chinese capital leading to the west. At the starting point, a bronze statue of a camel had been placed. Similarly, in Kyoto the wards to both sides

painting. When Seiryō came to the city in 1796, his lodgings were in the Ryōton zushi 了頓函子 area.<sup>181</sup> This lies near Nijō Castle, too far to the west of the district known as Dōda. But on arriving in Kyoto in 1806 after his sojourn in Kanazawa, Seiryō lived for some time in the house of one Zeniya Heibē 錢屋平兵衛 in Kiyamachi Nijō sagaru 木屋町二条下ル (second ward),<sup>182</sup> which is located in the Dōda area. And even the abode listed by the *Heian jinbutsu shi* 平安人物志 directory of 1813 – Oshi kōji Tomino kōji nishi iru 押小路富小路西入ル – still lies on the western fringes of the place in question. The picture may well have been painted in 1806 or sometime later.

Despite numerous critical remarks on Confucianism, Seiryō considered himself a Confucian scholar.<sup>183</sup> At first glance, it might appear strange, therefore, that he presented a central figure of philosophical Daoism in painting, praised the Old Master for being an epitome of “benevolence” and “propriety”, and even identified himself as a “devoted disciple”. In the wake of the interest shown by Ogyū Sorai for the “various masters” 諸子 (*zhuzi* / *shoshi*),<sup>184</sup> his students, too, paid attention to their thought. Seiryō’s own teacher, Usami Shinsui, had written a commentary, *The Old Master’s Classic of the Way and its Virtue* [According to the] *Wang Commentary* 王註老子道德經 (*Ōchū Rōshi Dōtoku kyō*, printed 1770); similarly, Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680–1747) is also known for the *Special Explanation of the Old Master* 老子特解 (*Rōshi tokukai*, printed 1783), which he co-authored with Miyata Kinpō 宮田金峰 (1718–83).<sup>185</sup> Popular expositions in the vernacular language, such as Issai Chozan’s 佚齋樗山 (1659–1741) *Bumpkin Master Zhuang* 田舎莊子 (*Inaka Sōji*, printed 1727), are further evidence of a rising interest. Seiryō is no exception. He left a commentary on the *Old Master* and wrote an *Explanation of Master Zhuang* 莊子解 (*Sōji kai*).

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of the fairway from the Nijō 二条 road to the palace precincts were called “Bronze Camel wards”. At the same time “Dōda bō” and “Zashin Dō” could be studio names.

181 YAGI 2018: 80.

182 AOYAGI 2009: 231–32.

183 For Seiryō’s consciousness as a Confucian scholar see *Honpu dan* 本富談 (Talks about Prosperity at the Roots), KSZ: 123. Vgl. TOKUMORI 2013: iii.

184 The name denotes the schools of thought that flourished after the death of Confucius until the end of the Warring States period. These included Confucians, Daoists and Legalists. From the Confucian point of view, the rivals were considered heretics.

185 There had been earlier works, for example Hayashi Razan’s commentary on the *Old Master* (林註老子 or *Rinchū Rōshi*) and Matsunaga Sekigo’s 松永尺五 (1592–1657) discussion of *Master Zhuang* (莊子抄 or *Sōji shō*).

While the latter has been lost, *Talks About Foreknowledge (Zenshiki dan)* give an impression of how he interpreted Zhuangzi's ideas.

In the inscription above the *Old Man* painting, Seiryō's idiosyncratic approach towards philosophical Daoism is conspicuous. The structure of the phrase at the beginning follows paragraph 36 of the *Laozi*.<sup>186</sup> He simply adapted it to his purposes to make it fit the following discussion of "benevolence" and "propriety", while only adumbrating that the *Old Master* – as well as *Master Zhuang* – took a critical stance to these central virtues of Confucianism. At the beginning of the *Old Master Explained in Japanese Characters* a similar passage can be found.<sup>187</sup> This will be discussed in detail in the second part of this article – together with the following final example from this instalment.

#### b. *Gems and Jades*

The *Kaiki kan* 瑰琦觀 or *View of Beautiful Gems and Jades* contains two contributions by Seiryō (pages / spreads 21 and 30). This beautiful album has not yet been the subject of any research.<sup>188</sup> It is introduced by a Minagawa Kien calligraphy featuring the title characters, a date – "[era of] Bunka, [year] Fire (younger brother) / Rabbit" 文化丁卯 (*Bunka hi no to u*; 1807) – and his signature and stamp. A Chinese poem by Murase Kōtei follows.<sup>189</sup> The *Kaiki kan* contains nineteen pictures<sup>190</sup> and seven texts,<sup>191</sup> with four vacant spreads in-between. Some explanation of its contents and purport can be found in the concluding remarks by Kamo no Suetaka on spreads 33 and

186 *Laozi Daode jing, Siku quanshu* ed. 41r. 將欲歛之必固張之將欲弱之必固強之將欲廢之必固興之將欲奪之必固與之是謂微明。"If one wants to shrink [something], one must without fail first stretch it; if one wants to weaken another, one must without fail first strengthen him; if one wants to overthrow another, one must without fail first raise him up; if one wants to take away from another, one must without fail first make gifts to him." The author's translation is an adaptation of HENRICKS 1989: 258.

187 KSZ: 797–98.

188 The author was made aware of its existence by Scott Johnson, the former owner, who sold it to the British Library some years ago. The author had two opportunities to examine it in 2019.

189 This is the name under which Minamoto Korehiro 源之熙, a Confucian scholar who served the Satake 佐竹 daimyō family of Akita, is known in *literati* circles. After retirement in 1791, he moved to Kyoto where he opened a school and made a name for himself as a painter and calligrapher.

190 Of these, four also feature a longer textual element.

191 This count does not include the opening calligraphies, preface and postscript.

34. Few of the works in the *Kaiki kan* bear dates and it would seem that the picture on spread 7 by Nagasawa Rosetsu, one of the most prominent representatives of the Maruyama-Shijō school of painting, is also the earliest. While most of the other contributions might have been produced from around 1806 to 1810, the ninth spread bears a calligraphy and a painting of a plant dating from “Kaei [era], [year] Earth (younger brother) / Rooster, second month, days of the first decade” 嘉永巳酉如月上浣日 (*Kaei tsuchi no to tori jogetsu jōkan no hi*; 1849). The author seems to be Mikame Shinan 三瓶信庵 (179?–1862). This is suggested by the sign 信庵麴 and the reference to Naniwa 浪華 (Osaka) – where this calligrapher was – in the second line on the colophon. The two other dated works were produced in “Bunka [era], [year] Fire (older brother) / Tiger, sixth month” 文化丙寅六月 (*Bunka hi no e tora rokugatu*; 1806), which appears on spread 21, and – following Kōtei’s poem – “Metal (older brother) / Horse, third month, Metal (younger brother) / Sheep” 庚午三月辛未 (*kōgo / ka no e uma, sangatsu, shinmi / ka no to hitsuji*), which corresponds to 1810 (Bunka 7).<sup>192</sup>

*Remark:* The Rosetsu picture (spread 7) is probably a forgery. This was suggested to the author by scholars well versed in this painter’s works and others from the same period – Timothy Clark, Matthew McKelway and Kaneko Nobuhisa 金子信久 (Fuchū Art Museum). McKelway’s catalogue documents eight phases of changes in the signatures and seals used by Rosetsu. It would seem that the horseshoe-like stamp he used in 1794, with two parts reading “Nagasawa” 長澤 and “Gyo” 魚,<sup>193</sup> resembles the one found in the *Kaiki kan*, although the latter looks more compressed and the strokes are weaker. There is no correspondence, however, between the cursive style of the signature given here and Rosetsu’s usual signature. Even when the artist did write his name in cursive, it looked different.<sup>194</sup> The motif of the picture is reminiscent of Du Fu’s 杜甫 (712–70) poem on the “Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup” and paintings alluding to it, but once again, it does not look like it was painted by Rosetsu himself.<sup>195</sup> It can only be surmised that the editors of the album decided not to leave out such a well-known painter and therefore produced one spread reminiscent of his style.

192 The artist’s sobriquet has not yet been identified; it seems to say 古北道人 (Adept Kohoku). Osaka (Naniwa 浪華) is given as the place where the calligraphy was written.

193 For a catalogue and discussion of Rosetsu’s seals, see MCKELWAY 2018: 276–85.

194 See for example *ibid.*: 65, 184.

195 The art historians to whom the author showed the picture unanimously agreed on this. This assumption is supported by comparing the picture in the *Kaiki kan* with the style of Rosetsu’s *Drinking Festival of the Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup* 飲中八仙図 (*Inchū hassen zu*), held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset>.

The extended timeline from Rosetsu's death through the early years of the Bunka era to 1849 raises questions as to the way such an album was produced. Two methods come to mind. One possibility is that the calligrapher-painters contributed individual sheets of paper with their respective works, and that these were later glued together at the fringes, folded and provided with a cover and back so as to create a fanfold album.<sup>196</sup> The other alternative is that they used a ready-made blank album and passed it around among the contributors – either over a relatively short period of time or an extended one.

In the case of the *Kaiki kan*, the second method was likely used. This can be deduced from the correspondence between pages and paintings or calligraphies. The fanfold album was not made from one long scroll of paper. Rather, individual sheets of paper were glued together and then folded. What is more, the gluing points did not match the folds and uniformly long sheets of paper were not used. The first sheet probably served as the surface to which the cover was attached. It is followed by a sheet of *hanshi* 半紙 or “half [sized] paper”, one of the standardized formats used during the Edo period, with a length of 35.2 cm. However, this is followed by longer sheets measuring approximately 51.5 cm, until there is a *hanshi* near the end – with two shorter sheets of 10.0 cm and 26.4 cm (viewable part), to which the back was glued. In terms of height, the album roughly corresponds to the *hanshi* format with 24.5 cm, while the width of 17.3 cm is approximately half the *hanshi* size. Including the first page with the character *kai* 塊 and the last part of Kamo no Suetaka's afterword, there are thirty-four spreads altogether.<sup>197</sup> Of these, numbers 12, 22, 26 and 28 remain blank. The mismatch between gluing points and folds is a strong indication that the contributors used a pre-existing album for their calligraphies and paintings. Rather than their finishing the work over one or several meetings, at which all were present (either on all occasions or at least once), it can be surmised that the album was passed around among them. This presumably happened over a period of some years, including 1807, when Kien wrote the opening calligraphy (and died), and 1810, the time of Kōtei's poem.

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196 Gluing together sheets of paper of the same size to make scrolls several metres long was a method used since the tenth century. One conspicuous example is the so-called *emaki mono* 絵巻物 (“illustrated scroll”). Of course, such long rolls of paper could also be folded in an accordion-like manner.

197 This would give a total length of nearly twelve metres.

It remains a puzzle as to why some of the contributors chose to put their work on a spread with a gluing line in the middle of either the right or left half, when some of the vacant spaces would have afforded them a more attractive working space without a glue line down the middle. This choice might, of course, be attributed to a feeling of modesty and consideration for other contributors (of higher standing). The album gives no clue as to the answer. However, some conclusions on the general purpose of and mood behind the collection of inscriptions and paintings can be deduced from Kōtei's poem (spreads 3 and 4) and Suetaka's afterword.

[I] gave up [listening to] the noise of string and pipe [instruments], [rather I] draw forth a scroll [of calligraphy and painting] and keeping silent listen to the *fenghuang* bird / phoenix and the crying crane. In apprehension [of the uselessness of travelling far [I] rescinded horseshoes and treading on my teeth / last legs. Hiding [below] the parasol tree (*firmiana simplex*) [I] play with the flowers [and delight in them as well as in how] the moon lets the clouds look like smoke.<sup>198</sup>

抛来絲竹管 / 絃之鬧披卷 / 默聽鳳鳴鶴 / 警擯却馬蹄 / 履齒之勞隱 / 梧閑  
弄花 / 月烟雲 庚午三月辛未 栲亭之熙

Escaping the noise of the world for writings and painting, eschewing travelling and taking pleasure in the song of birds, the shade of trees, the beauty of flowers and the play of moonlight with the clouds – Kōtei's words evoke a mood that, arguably, reflects the attitude towards life shared by many *literati*. At the same time, it sets the tenor for the paintings and calligraphies that follow. The afterword by Suetaka takes a different angle:

In the thunderous age of gods there deigned to be a god. His honourable name was Sohodo 曾保杼. It is said that this god without going anywhere rules / knows everything under Heaven. In later times, something named the *sohotsu* [*sōzu*] そほつ of Yamada was supposed to have been modelled after this deity, and this was in various ways mistakenly thought to mean Genpin Sōzu 玄賓僧都 (734–818) or [even the device called] *sōzu* 添水.<sup>199</sup> This album of

198 The *yomikudashi* version reads: 糸竹管絃の鬧を抛来す 卷を披き黙して鳳や鳴鶴を聴く 警して馬蹄や履齒の勞を擯却す 梧に隠れて閑かに花を弄ぶ 月は雲を烟らせる. Kōtei's poem bears the sobriquet “Korehiro” and two square seals.

199 Here, Suetaka refers to attempts to explain the origin of the name for a device used in agriculture. It could be an item designed either to channel water to fields or to frighten away animals; it consisted of a frame with a bamboo tube that moved down when filled with water. Reference to the use of scarecrows appears in the tenth-century poetry collection *Kokin waka shū* 古今和歌集 as “head priest of Yamada” 山田の僧都 (*Yamada no sōzu*). As Suetaka shows, this name was brought into connection with

paintings, too, while it collected the calligraphies and paintings of people who have made a name for themselves throughout the realm / world without transporting their feet anywhere like that god, comforts the eyes, and therefore I dare to think that even that god, too, would deign to be envious, and in this spirit I have written this down.<sup>200</sup>

千早振神代に神ませり御名を曾保杼となん申す其神足はゆかて天の下の事を  
しろしめすとなん後世に山田のそほつといふ物は此神をかたとれりとそさる  
を玄賓僧都の事とし或添水なりなとさま / \ に誤伝ふめり此画帖も其神の如  
くあしはゆかて天下に名たゝる人々の書画を集つゝ居なから目をなくさむる  
ゆへなか / \ に其神もうらやみ給ひなんかしとうちおもへるまゝにするすの  
み 加茂季鷹

Suetaka combines antiquarian knowledge with high praise for the contributors of the album and the quality of their work. However, he does not have to say anything specific about the paintings and calligraphies nor about the history of the collection. Rather, the fact that a prestigious figure like Suetaka – a priest at the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto, a scholar of Japanese antiquity and a poet – wrote the afterword, along with Kien’s calligraphy, lends further glamour to the album.

Seiryō contributed a painting and an inscription. The picture style (spread 22) in shades of black, grey and white is very similar to the “Landscape painting and poem on fan” (item 9 in the catalogue): it contains stylized and somewhat spindly trees as well as dots for shrubs and other elements of vegetation. The trees resemble the style known as the “deer-head stem technique” 鹿角幹法 (*rokkaku kan hō*), which Kunzan mentioned as being “used for various trees” 諸木二用.<sup>201</sup> The background shows a steep mountain with a much lower one to the right and a rock formation in front. The foreground is made up of seven trees, slightly off centre, rising up into the picture so that their roots and the terrain on which they grow cannot be seen. This is one of the established methods to achieve spatial depth. Between the trees and the mountains extends a waterbody. Similar to the landscape in item 21 (a collaborative hanging scroll), this particular picture is divided into two parts by a narrow peninsula on the right, which is connected by a

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Genpin, a Nara period Buddhist monk with the high rank of *sōzu* 僧都 (“head monk”), and the device *sōzu* 添水 or “water provider” with a similar construction as described above, which was used in garden architecture because of the pleasant sound made when the tube hits a stone on the ground.

200 The author is very grateful to Sasaki Takahiro 佐々木孝浩 (Keiō University) for his help with Suetaka’s elegant and artful characters.

201 *Kanga hitori geiko*, vol. 1: 37r.

wooden bridge to a promontory with a copse of trees on the left (and another small peninsula behind it). In the upper right, Seiryō signed with 青陵 and placed two seals.

The inscription on spread 31, featuring eight lines with sixty-four characters and three additional lines for the subject explanation and signature, reads:

Confucians correct tyrannical lords. [Therefore] their revering the rites [or rules of propriety] is excessively heavy, and they persist in excessive / mistaken words. [As for] the silliness of foolish Confucians, of course one hears that they do not yet discuss the stupidity of [these lords'] rotten/corrupt custodians. The Teacher corrects Confucians, he scolds them and teases their foolishness and rottenness. Even hearing this unintentionally, one feels foolish / gloomy. The lecture on the butterfly's dream, I wish that it would destroy the Confucians' dreams, that it would wake [them] from their deluded dreams. [How wonderful it would be] to see the line [of transmission of the teachings] of the sages [restored] again. Ah, the Teacher is one wing of the school of the Sages. Inscribed on the picture where in a dream Zhuang Zhou becomes a butterfly, Seiryō Kaku<sup>202</sup>

儒矯暴君尊禮過重  
固執過言愚儒之愬固  
聞未議腐傳之憧先生  
矯儒叱而戲弄愚腐不  
覺聞之蒼々蝶夢之說  
庶破儒夢迷夢醒乎再  
見聖統嗚呼先生聖  
門之棟  
題莊周夢為胡蝶  
図  
青陵鶴

The line with the subject explanation already gives a hint of what will follow on the next spread, where one finds the “Teacher” of Seiryō's text, namely Master Zhuang or Zhuang Zhou, asleep in a crouching pose on the left, looking almost Dharma-like, and a butterfly in flight on the right. The artist, Azuma Tōyō, left his signature 東洋 and a square ink in the bottom left. The close correlation between the inscription and the painting seems to sug-

202 The *yomikudashi* version reads: 儒は暴君を矯む。礼を尊ぶこと過重にして、過言に固執す。愚儒の愬、固より聞く、未だ腐傳の憧を議せざるを。先生、儒を矯め、叱して愚腐を戲弄す。不覚にも之を聞きて蒼々たり。蝶夢の説庶わくは儒夢を破り、迷夢より醒めんことを。再び聖統を見る。嗚呼、先生は聖門の棟なり。 莊周の夢に胡蝶と為る図に題す 青陵鶴。



gest that writer and painter worked together. And in this case, the hypothesis does not seem to be off the mark since the *gassaku* scroll described at the beginning of this article (catalogue item 35) can be taken as evidence of the acquaintance between the two men.

The picture, as well as Seiryō's text, is of course an allusion to the famous episode in *Master Zhuang*.<sup>203</sup> The title explanation – Zhuang Zhou turning into a butterfly – is rather straightforward and expresses a superficial understanding. But it would be premature to arrive at such an interpretation without a further look at the writer's view of Zhuangzi. The unrestrained critique of Confucianism and Confucian scholars, however, is unmistakable. Knowing this stance from other remarks in Seiryō's writings, this cannot be mistaken for playful self-deprecation. The writer turns in earnest to Master Zhuang in the hope that he will help to wake the “school of the sages” from its sleep. Together with the sentiments expressed in the *Laozi* scroll, this raises questions about the role of philosophical Daoism in Seiryō's works, but also in the broader context of *literati* culture as a whole. This will be taken up in Part II.

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203 *Zhuangzi*, *Siku quanshu* ed. 31rv (commentary by Guo Xiang 郭象, 252–312, commentary).

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