

AN OUTLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
CHINESE AND JAPANESE-STYLE CALLIGRAPHY IN JAPAN
FROM PRE-EDO TO MODERN TIMES

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the development, from pre-Edo to modern times, of Japan's two main traditions of calligraphy—namely *wayō* (Japanese style) and *karayō* (Chinese style). Emphasis has been placed on the Edo period, in which both the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions were practised by large numbers of calligraphers, but discussions of the calligraphy practised in pre-Edo times, and in the Meiji and Modern periods, have also been included so as to provide appropriate context. In each period examined, reasons behind the development of *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy have been considered. This is carried out in two ways: firstly, through a general investigation of the calligraphy practised in Japan during each period, and secondly, through the translation and analysis of a number of excerpts from treatises on calligraphy written by Japanese calligraphers. Finally, in the conclusion, reasons for and influencing factors behind the popularity of both *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy in the periods examined are discussed.

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Prefatory Note

Japanese names appearing in this thesis follow the Japanese order, that is, family name first, except in the case of calligraphers with common surnames who have often been referred to by their given name to avoid confusion.

Romanization of Japanese titles and terms is given in a modified version of the Hepburn system as used in *Kenkyūsha's New Japanese–English Dictionary* 4th ed. (Kenkyūsha, 1974). For Chinese names and titles I have used modern Mandarin *Pinyin*, except in the case of quotations in which the Wade-Giles or other systems have previously been adopted.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations appearing in this thesis are my own. Translations appearing in the main body of the thesis have been indented and are in slightly smaller type. Words in square brackets in the translations denote words which do not appear in the original texts but have been added for ease of reading. Those in parentheses indicate words which appear in the original text but are not necessarily required in an English translation. Original texts corresponding to the translated excerpts in Chapters Four and Five have been provided in an appendix at the end of the text. No attempt has been made to edit or alter these original texts with the exception of the last excerpt, *Terako ōrai*, in which I have omitted Japanese readings and punctuation marks that appear in the source. References for all translated excerpts are provided in footnotes at the end of each excerpt.

All dates in this thesis correspond to the modern solar calendar unless otherwise stated. For dates of calligraphers and other important figures presented in the text and in the second appendix at the end of the text, I have generally adopted those used in Iijima's *Shodō jiten* 書道辭典 (Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1975) and Komatsu's *Nihon shoryū zenshi* 日本書流全史 (Kōdansha, 1970).

Abbreviations have not generally been used, but for the frequently cited source *Sho no kihon shiryō* 書の基本資料, *SKS* has been used for convenience. In addition, the abbreviations *C:* for Chinese (language) and *J:* for Japanese (language) have occasionally been used.

Chronology

China

Shang-Yin (1766-1122 BC)	<i>Eastern Wei</i> (534-550)
Zhou (1122-221 BC)	<i>Northern Chi</i> (550-577)
Spring and Autumn (772-481 BC)	<i>Northern Zhou</i> (557-581)
Annals	Southern Dynasties (420-589)
Warring States (403-221 BC)	<i>Liu Song</i> (420-479)
Qin (221-206 BC)	<i>Southern Chi</i> (479-502)
Han (201 BC - AD 220)	<i>Liang</i> (502-557)
<i>Early Han</i> (201 BC - AD 8)	<i>Chen</i> (557-589)
<i>Later Han</i> (25-220)	Sui (581-618)
Three Kingdoms (220-280)	Tang (618-906)
<i>Wei Kingdom</i> (222-265)	Five Dynasties and Ten
<i>Shu Kingdom</i> (221-263)	Kingdoms (907-960)
<i>Wu Kingdom</i> (220-280)	Song (960-1127)
Jin (265-420)	<i>Northern Song</i> (960-1127)
<i>Western Jin</i> (265-317)	<i>Southern Song</i> (1127-1279)
<i>Eastern Jin</i> (317-420)	Yuan (1279-1368)
Northern Dynasties (386-581)	Ming (1368-1644)
<i>Northern Wei</i> (386-535)	Qing (1644-1911)
<i>Western Wei</i> (535-557)	Republic (1912-

Japan

Yamato (300-593)	Nanbokuchō (1336-1393)
Asuka (593-710)	Muromachi (1393-1573)
Nara (710-794)	Momoyama (1573-1600)
Early Heian (794-897)	Edo (1600-1867)
Late Heian (897-1185)	Meiji (1868-1912)
Early Kamakura (1185-1279)	Modern (1912-
Late Kamakura (1279-1336)	

The above dates for Chinese dynasties and periods are based on Chang and Miller, *Four Thousand Years of Chinese Calligraphy*; those for periods of Japanese history are based on Nakata, *Nihon no Bijutsu 26: Sho*.

INTRODUCTION

1. General Introduction

For many centuries in Japan, the art of Japanese calligraphy¹ has served as an important topic of scholarly discussion. It has been extensively analysed and scrutinized in Japanese and from a historical standpoint it remains as one of the most important symbols of Japanese culture. Although Japanese studies on the history of Japanese calligraphy in the modern sense are plentiful, they date only from relatively recent times. Okuyama Kindō 奥山錦洞 (1895-1958) is generally accredited with the first such study. In 1927 Okuyama published the work *Nihon shodōshi* 日本書道史, which he describes as "the first systematic history of Japanese calligraphy."² As Uyehara states, however, it was not until after 1945 that substantive writing on calligraphy began to appear.³ In recent years several Japanese scholars have made substantial contributions to the study of calligraphy in Japan. Worthy of mention are Haruna Yoshishige 春名好重 (1910-), Horie Tomohiko 堀江知彦 (1907-1988), Iijima Shunkei 飯島春敬 (1906-), Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美 (1925-) and Nakata Yūjirō 中田勇次郎 (1905-). Collectively, these writers have produced an extensive array of publications ranging from reference books to general works on calligraphy.⁴

¹ Here "Japanese calligraphy" refers to all calligraphy practised in Japan and includes both Chinese and Japanese-based styles.

² Okuyama 1927 quoted in Uyehara 1991: 95.

³ Uyehara 1991: 14.

⁴ That is not to say that no other authors have made any contribution to scholarship on calligraphy in Japan; it is simply these (and a small number of other) calligraphers whose works are often referred to and are generally recognised in writings on Japanese calligraphy. See Uyehara 1991: 17.

Among the most outstanding titles these authors have produced are Iijima Shunkei's *Shodō jiten* 書道辞典 (1975)—an important encyclopedia of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy, Komatsu Shigemi's monumental study of calligraphic styles entitled *Nihon shoryū zenshi* 日本書流全史 (1970), and Nakata Yūjirō's twenty-four volume series *Shodō geijutsu* 書道藝術 (1970-73), which provides a detailed investigation of the work of numerous eminent Chinese and Japanese calligraphers. Also worthy of merit is Heibonsha's twenty-seven volume series *Shodō zenshū* 書道全集—originally published between 1930 and 1932, and then again between 1954 and 1959—which provides a comprehensive analysis of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy from the Shang 商 (1776-1122 BC) and Qin 秦 (221-206 BC) dynasties in China to the Meiji 明治 (1868-1912) and Taishō 大正 (1912-1926) periods in Japan. In addition, each of the aforementioned scholars has produced smaller, general studies which provide a useful background to aspects of Japanese calligraphic history.

In spite of this relatively large amount of Japanese scholarship on the history of Japanese calligraphy, works in English are comparatively few. A substantial amount of English material regarding Japanese calligraphy focuses only on philosophical or aesthetic aspects of the art, and many other works are limited to calligraphy education and training. The majority of other writings on the subject take the form of a few scattered journal articles and a small number of doctoral dissertations. There is therefore still much room for analysis and exploration of Japanese calligraphy in English.⁵

Perhaps the greatest problems facing modern scholars who have embarked upon research of Japanese calligraphy are those relating to the prodigious size of the topic. This has made the task of deciding on an appropriate area of exploration somewhat formidable and has no doubt

⁵ See Uyehara 1987: 174.

caused many to restrict their research to a limited number of specialised areas. Owing to the nature and size of the present study, such problems have, to a large extent, been unavoidable, and the scope of the work has consequently faced a degree of limitation, particularly with regard to the periods covered. Nevertheless, as this thesis focuses on the development in Japan of calligraphy's two main traditions, namely *wayō* 和様 (Japanese-style) and *karayō* 唐様 (Chinese-style), it is hoped that the study will succeed in providing the reader with a general overview of calligraphy during the periods examined while still retaining an element of detail through translation and analysis of works composed within these periods.

The present thesis has been divided into seven chapters covering calligraphy in Japan from the Nanbokuchō 南北朝 period (1336-1393) to modern times. Emphasis has been placed primarily on calligraphy of the Edo-period, in which both the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions played a significant role in calligraphic circles in Japan. Prior to the first chapter—and following this general introduction—an outline of *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy has been provided. Chapter One (Pre-Edo Calligraphy) briefly describes the trends prevalent among Japanese calligraphers during the Nanbokuchō, Muromachi 室町 (1393-1573) and Momoyama 桃山 (1573-1600) periods, and provides a setting for the second chapter (Edo-period Calligraphy). In Chapter Two I have provided an overview of early Edo-period calligraphy followed by three sections relating to both Chinese and Japanese-based styles. The first section contains information on the most widely employed *wayō* style of the Edo period (*oie-ryū* 御家流), the second, on the *karayō* tradition, and the third, on calligraphy developed under the influence of the Ōbaku 黄檗 sect of Zen Buddhism. In these sections reasons behind the appearance of the above styles have been discussed.

Both *wayō* and *karayō* styles were widely employed during the Edo

period. This can be taken as an indication that calligraphy held an important place in Japanese society. It also seems that scholars and calligraphers of the Edo period had begun to take a deeper interest in the finer aspects of calligraphy, for at this time the number of calligraphic treatises produced rose dramatically. Matters taken up in these treatises ranged from discussions on children's calligraphy to writings on the differences between Japanese and Chinese-based styles. Such treatises provide a wealth of information concerning the views held by various calligraphers at the time they were written and present an indication of the trends prevalent among calligraphers of the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions. In Chapter Three I have provided background information regarding the development of such treatises in Japan. This is followed in Chapters Four and Five by translation and analysis of a number of excerpts from Edo-period treatises. Through this translation and analysis, I have endeavoured to provide an insight into the views held by both *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphers during the Edo period, thereby offering reasons for the development of *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy in Edo times. These chapters are followed by a summary of Edo-period calligraphy in Chapter Six and a discussion of Meiji 明治 (1868-1912) and modern-period calligraphy in the final chapter, which describes the changing role of calligraphy in Japanese society.

Throughout the discussion in these seven chapters and the succeeding conclusion, it is anticipated that reasons behind the development of *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy from pre-Edo to modern times will become evident and the trends appearing among the calligraphers of these traditions brought to light. In addition, it is envisaged that this thesis will help fill a gap in the relatively small number of English writings on the history of Japanese calligraphy and stimulate further interest in and scholarship on the topic. Finally, having read this thesis, it is hoped that the reader will gain a clearer

overall picture of the history of this important element of Japanese culture.

2. *Wayō and Karayō Calligraphy*

The art of Japanese calligraphy, with its long, intricate history has undergone numerous changes through the centuries. To a great extent, these changes have appeared to us in an array of calligraphic styles—styles which have served not only as an outlet for artistic talent, but as an indication of the variations and trends present within the world of calligraphy as eras have come and gone. The collective efforts which have been made to classify these styles serve to show that there are indeed a vast number of categories into which each style could fit.⁶ In order to discuss calligraphy in broad terms, (which is often desirable when dealing with a topic so large), it is helpful to gather calligraphic styles into a limited number of general categories. Perhaps the broadest division that can be made between the many styles of Japanese calligraphy which exist is that which lies between the two main traditions of calligraphy in Japan, namely *wayō* 和様 and *karayō* 唐様. Let us now proceed to take a brief look at these traditions.

Before going into any depth of discussion regarding *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy, it is useful to first provide a definition of each. *Karayō* is the word used to refer to Chinese-style calligraphy, that is, calligraphy developed in Japan under Chinese influence. In a narrow sense, it alludes to the style of writing that was popular among Confucian and literary scholars and writers during the Edo period. First and foremost, it reflects the style of writing that is based on the calligraphy of Chinese calligraphers such as Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 of the Song dynasty, Zhao Ziang 趙子昂 of the Yuan dynasty and Wen Zhengming 文徵明 and Dong Qichang 董其昌 of the

⁶ Indeed, if classifying calligraphy was a matter of individual style alone then a separate category could conceivably exist for everyone who has ever taken up the brush.

Ming dynasty.⁷

In contrast to Chinese *karayō*, *wayō* is the term pertaining to Japanese style calligraphy or calligraphy developed under marked Japanese influence. *Wayō* is often used to refer to styles popular during the Edo period (1600-1868) such as the *oieryū* 御家流 or the *Teikaryū* 定家流 styles, but also includes earlier styles such as the *Hosshōjiryū* 法性寺流 of the late Heian period (897-1185) and the *Shōren'inryū* 青蓮院流 of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) which preceded *oieryū*.⁸ It is typified in the calligraphy of Ono no Michikaze 小野道風⁹ (894-966) and Fujiwara Yukinari 藤原行成¹⁰ (972-1027), both of the Late Heian period. As *wayō* calligraphy usually takes on a more cursivised form than that of the *karayō* style, it is often the case that both cursive and semi-cursive calligraphic texts written in Japan are considered to belong to the *wayō* tradition.

I will now discuss the above two traditions in slightly more depth. As each of these traditions encountered different periods of popularity, let us focus on the periods in which they each sustained the greatest recognition: the Edo and Meiji periods for *karayō* and the late Heian through to the Edo period for *wayō*.

⁷ *Karayō* is also occasionally used to denote writing modes for Chinese characters other than the semi-cursive (J: *gyōsho* 行書) or cursive (J: *sōsho* 草書) scripts, that is, the block (J: *kaisho* 楷書), scribe (J: *reisho* 隸書) or seal (J: *tensho* 篆書) scripts. However, for the purposes of this section I shall not refer to *karayō* in this sense.

⁸ One might note, however, that as *wayō* calligraphy occurring prior to the Kamakura period possessed several characteristics different from that occurring afterwards, Heian period *wayō* calligraphy is commonly referred to as *jōdaiyō* 上代様. For further definition consult Iijima (ed.) 1975: 365.

⁹ These characters can also be read as Ono no Tōfū.

¹⁰ These characters can also be read as Fujiwara Kōzei.

Karayō

Perhaps one of the greatest reasons for the distinct spread of *karayō* calligraphy during the Edo period was the Shogunate's committed resolution to aid the promulgation of Confucianism within Edo period society. Confucian education was strongly encouraged and Confucian schools, such as the Kogidō 古義堂¹¹ of Kyoto were opened. Seeing that Confucianism had its roots in China, Confucian scholars naturally looked to China for instruction. Accordingly, Chinese studies flourished and it became the norm for Confucianists to abandon the indigenously inspired *wayō* calligraphy in favour of the *karayō* style that had emerged from the country they looked up to.¹² Confucianists were not, however, the only ones to utilize *karayō* calligraphy. In 1654 the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism was brought from China to Japan by the monk Yinyuan (J: Ingen) 隱元 (1594-1673). After establishing the Ōbaku Manpukuji temple in Uji, near Kyoto, Yinyuan, together with two of his disciples, Muan (J: Mokuan) 木庵 (1611-1684) and Jifei (J: Sokuhi) 即非 (1616-1671), developed a variety of calligraphy characteristic of the sect, which became a representative *karayō* style. The calligraphic skill of these three monks led them to be known as the "Three Great Calligraphers¹³ of Ōbaku" and through them, the Chinese Ming style

¹¹ This school was opened by the Confucianist Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705) in his home.

¹² See Komatsu 1970: 652. Saying this, however, the *karayō* calligraphy that Confucianists employed was often used for the note-taking of expositions and for fast and efficient copying of poetry and prose, with which Confucianism was closely linked. It is therefore likely that not all *karayō* of the Edo period fully expressed the artistic ability of talented Confucian calligraphers of the time [ibid: 652].

¹³ J: *sanpitsu* 三筆, literally "Three Brushes." This term is usually used to refer to three great calligraphers of the Early Heian Period, namely Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786-842), Tachibana no Hayanari 橘逸勢 (778-842) and Kūkai 空海 (774-835), the founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism who was given the posthumous name Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師.

of calligraphy gained popularity. Two later followers of the Ōbaku sect, Kō Gentai 高玄岱, a pupil of Dokuryū 独立 who became a monk under Ingen, and Hayashi Dōei 林道栄 of Nagasaki continued to pursue this style and aided its spread. It can thus be said that the calligraphy of certain Buddhist monks in Japan played an important role in the general promulgation of the *karayō* style.

The Meiji period served as a time of strong development for the *karayō* tradition. Not only did the *karayō* style which had developed in Japan during the Edo period remain influential, but contact with China impelled the rise of several further styles. In the early Meiji period Japanese calligraphers such as Ishii Tankō 石井潭香 (1806-1870), a pupil of Ichikawa Beian 市河米庵, and Nomura Soken 野村素軒 (1842-1927) carried on the tradition of the *karayō* calligraphy entrusted to them by their Edo period mentors. Their calligraphy was rather conservative and their opinions are perhaps well represented in Ishikawa Kōsai's 石川鴻齋 *Shohō shōran* 書法詳論 (1885) which kept to the Edo period tradition of *karayō* calligraphy.¹⁴ In 1880, Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839-1915) of China arrived in Japan and brought with him many copybooks and rubbings and inscriptions of earlier Chinese calligraphic works. This material greatly benefited the Japanese calligraphic world and in particular was taken up by Kusakabe Meikaku 日下部鳴鶴 (1838-1922) and Iwaya Ichiroku 巖谷一六 (1834-1905). These calligraphers admired the *Hokuhi* (Northern Monument) inscriptions brought over by Yang and which had not been available in Japan until then. On the basis of inspiration through contact with Yang, the *Hokuhi karayō* style of calligraphy in Japan began to flourish, and Kusakabe left many fine examples of such inscriptions which are still highly regarded today.

¹⁴ Nakata 1967: 140.



Figure 1

Rubbing from an inscription of the calligraphy written by the Meiji period *karayō* calligrapher Kusakabe Meikaku 日下部鳴鶴 (1838-1922).

(Shimonaka ed. 1957, vol. 25: 46).

Wayō

It is generally considered that most calligraphy of the *wayō* tradition is indirectly based on the calligraphic style of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303?-361?) of China.¹⁵ Although Wang Xizhi's style was admired more as a representative form of the *karayō* tradition rather than as a direct model for what was to become the *wayō* style, his calligraphy inspired creativity within the heart of the famous Late Heian period Japanese calligrapher Ono no Michikaze 小野道風 (894-966). Michikaze adopted the strong, bold characters so typical of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy and altered them to produce a smoother, more flowing style.¹⁶ This form gained great popularity and was embraced by another proficient Late Heian period calligrapher, Fujiwara Yukinari 藤原行成 (972-1027). Yukinari developed Michikaze's calligraphy and produced a style which was said to be the perfection of *wayō* calligraphy. This style thrived and was widely employed until about the beginning of the Edo period. There exist several impetuses for the acceptance among the general population of this form of calligraphy which was relatively different from other prominent Chinese-based styles that already existed in Japan. One such impetus stemmed from the season of political unrest that China faced during the mid-Heian period.¹⁷ Japan had no need to send envoys to

¹⁵ See Haruna 1974: 92 and Haruna 1978: 13.

¹⁶ Such a style can be seen in the *Akihagijō* 秋萩帖 of the Late Heian period (897-1185) which Michikaze is believed to have written.

¹⁷ There existed several influencing factors which led to instability in China at the time. Included was the financial position of the Chinese government which, during this period, lacked the finances required to maintain the armed forces it needed to reaffirm its position of power. The burden of taxes that were installed to combat this position fell heavily on peasants, leading to the increase in social unrest and lawlessness. Another factor was instability of the Tang court and the excessive authority of the eunuchs who were involved in the deaths of a number of emperors. An apparent scarcity of competent ministers was a contributing factor to the deficiency in stable leadership. It is said that many such factors came about as part of a series of events resulting from the rebellion of Lu Anshan during the mid-Tang dynasty. See Roberts 1996: 99-104.

a troubled country, and during the ten-year reign of Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (888-897), on the advice of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), the practice of sending envoys to Tang China was ended. This naturally restricted the amount of Chinese culture that was imported into Japan and caused Japanese intellectuals to perceive Japanese culture in a new and more positive light. It seems that this interest in Japanese culture was also present within the Japanese Court, as in 904, the first Japanese imperial anthology,¹⁸ *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 appeared. In the arts, people began to look towards national developments including Yukinari's new style of calligraphy whose graceful strokes departed from the rigid framework of traditional Chinese calligraphy. This style came to be deemed a representative Japanese calligraphic form, and is hence regarded today as one of the more influential models of *wayō* calligraphy.

During the Kamakura and Muromachi periods several schools of calligraphy such as the Sesonji 世尊寺 school of Kyōto, founded by Yukinari, upheld the importance of maintaining a Japanese style.¹⁹ Prince Son'en 尊円 (1298-1356) continued the tradition of the Sesonji school by emphasising the importance of studying traditional Japanese calligraphy, and went as far as to denounce the then-popular Song style.²⁰ Son'en later became the originator of another school of *wayō* calligraphy referred to as *Son'en-ryū* 尊円流 or *Shōren'in-ryū* 青蓮院流. The Sesonji school continued on through the Muromachi period but lapsed when the seventeenth head of the school,

¹⁸ J: *chokusenshū* 勅撰集. Previous anthologies had usually consisted of Chinese poetry and the like.

¹⁹ That is not to say that these schools always opposed the traditional Chinese styles. Fujiwara Koreyuki 藤原伊行 (1123?-1175), the sixth head of the Sesonji school mentioned in the treatise *Yakaku teikinshō* 夜鶴庭訓抄 (ca. 1170-1175) that plaques, for example, which were "first in importance," should be written "after studying many old models." DeCoker *MN* 49: 3, 1994: 322.

²⁰ Nakata 1973: 167.

九燭臺前十二妹
 主人留醉
 狂歡娛飄飄舞袖
 雙及花蝶
 宛轉歌聲一索珠
 生久欲

Figure 2
 Section from *Hakuraku tenshikan* 白樂天詩卷, written by the representative *wayō* calligrapher Fujiwara Yukinari 藤原行成 (972-1027).
 (Haruna *et al.*, ed. *SKS 13*, 1988: 21).

Yukisue 行季 had no heir, and Jimyōin Motoharu 寺明院基春 (1453-1535) became the successor. From the end of the Muromachi period through into the Edo period it came to be known as *Jimyōin-ryū* 寺明院流.

During the Edo period the most famous type of *wayō* calligraphy was the *oie-ryū* 御家流 style. This style was in fact a progression of the Kamakura period *Shōren'in-ryū* and was the style employed in official documents and in fief and temple schools during the Edo period. The fact that the *oie-ryū* style was easily readable and possessed uniquely Japanese characteristics may have led to its wide acceptance, but it has also been said that this form of writing was rather rigid.²¹ Nevertheless, much as present-day block script, it met the requirements of those who used it, as is reflected by the fact that it maintained its popularity over such a prolonged period.

Needless to say, there were other schools of *wayō* calligraphy that were popular during this period and many calligraphers talented in the *wayō* style, but the end of the Edo period also saw a decline in the use of Japanese style calligraphy and increasing favour for the *karayō* style used in the writings of Confucianists, monks of the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism and the literati. During the Meiji period *karayō* became the most dominant tradition of writing, and has continued to remain in a leading position to the present.

²¹ See Haruna 1985: 222.

CHAPTER I

Pre-Edo Calligraphy

1. Nanbokuchō and Muromachi Calligraphy

The Nanbokuchō (Northern and Southern Courts) period (1336-1392) was a time when Japan faced substantial political instability. In 1333 Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐, after overthrowing the Kamakura Bakufu, founded a new government under his personal leadership.¹ The policies of Godaigo's newly formed government, however, greatly favoured court nobles and this began to cause widespread discontent among the warrior class who had played a part in the emperor's success. This discontent emerged in 1336 in the form of a rebellion against the government led by Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358).² Amidst the rebellion, Emperor Godaigo fled to the mountainous region of Yoshino where he retained leadership and Takauji placed Emperor Kōmyō 光明 on the throne in Kyoto. This marked the beginning of a period of enmity between the factions of Godaigo and Kōmyō which lasted for more than fifty years (the Northern and Southern Courts period) and was marked by constant civil war.

Although Japan's political environment suffered a period of degeneration during this time, the development of calligraphy did not cease altogether. There were perhaps two reasons for this. For one thing, schools of calligraphy of earlier periods seemed to hold a degree of influence in the calligraphy of the upper classes: through conscientiously abiding by and studying the traditions

¹ This event is referred to in Japanese as *kenmu no chūkō* 建武の中興.

² Takauji was, in fact, an accomplished calligrapher whose style such as that appearing in *Waka kaishi* 和歌懷紙 (ca. 1337) has been described as "resplendent" and "free from ennui." Iijima (ed.) 1975: 7.

of these schools, several nobles and emperors of the Northern and Southern Courts period came to be viewed as outstanding calligraphers.³ Accordingly, the standard of brushwork produced by eminent calligraphers of the Late Heian and Kamakura periods was maintained, shedding new light on former established calligraphic styles and encouraging their development.

A second, more significant reason for the continuation of development in calligraphy during the Northern and Southern Courts period and also throughout the Muromachi period which followed, resulted from the frequent trips made by Zen Buddhist monks to the Chinese continent. Through the course of journeys to study and obtain Chinese Buddhist texts, these monks often encountered the calligraphy and techniques of calligraphic masters such as Zhao Ziang 趙子昂 (1254-1322) and Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1036-1101), and on their return to Japan diffused such techniques throughout the calligraphic world.⁴ Zekkai Chūshin 絕海中津 (1336-1405), a renowned poet and disciple of Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1276-1351), was one such monk, and he played an important role in the propagation of block script calligraphy in Japan. During his eight-year sojourn (1368-1376) in Ming China, he came to admire the calligraphy of the learned priest Litan Zongle 李潭宗泐 (1318-1391) and emulated his block script form of writing along with the esteemed style of Zhao Ziang. On his return to Japan, Zekkai brought with him the style he had imbibed and produced the *Jūgyūnoshō* 十牛之頌, a well-known work which is not only representative of his own style of writing but of many Zen priests of the ensuing Muromachi period.⁵ Zekkai's followers also frequently

³ Emperor Kōgon 光嚴 (1313-1364) and Emperor Gokōgon 後光嚴 (1338-1374), for example, were two such talented calligraphers who were both skilled in the *wayō* style endorsed by the popular Shōren'in school of calligraphy at the time.

⁴ Sesson Yūbai 雪村友梅 (1290-1367), and Sekishitsu Zenkyū 石室善玖 (1294-1389), were two such monks, each residing in Yuan China for twenty-one and eight years respectively.



Figure 3

Section from the *Jūgyūnoshō* 十牛の頌 written by Zekkai Chūshin 絶海中津 (1336-1405).

(Geijutsu Shinbunsha ed. 1992: 127).

⁵ See Iijima (ed.) 1975: 424.

employed the block script in their writing.⁶ Although it is difficult to determine whether or not Zekkai's style alone had a significant impact on calligraphy in Japan at the time, it is clear that the Chinese styles Zen priests brought back collectively exerted a degree of influence on the writing they and their followers produced, and in the development of particular calligraphic styles in Japan.

In addition to the many monks who travelled to China, there were also those who remained in Japan and gained recognition as calligraphers there. The general standard of calligraphy of these monks, however, was comparatively low and by the end of the Muromachi period, there was well-nigh no calligraphy amongst them that was worthy of mention.⁷ Furthermore, due to the fact that there existed a strong trend among these and other Zen monks to favour the *karayō* style, there was a lack of dedicated *wayō* calligraphers in the Zen sect. It was not until the end of the Muromachi period that there was a noticeable strengthening of enthusiasm for Japanese styles in the calligraphy of Zen monks, whose works of art and calligraphy came to represent one respected division of Japanese culture.

Momoyama Calligraphy

During the Momoyama period (1573-1600), progressive unification of the many provinces in Japan which had emerged under the rule of powerful local governors and feudal lords during the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi

⁶ See Nakata 1970: 172.

⁷ That is not to say that all calligraphy of monks who remained in Japan during this period was without dexterity. The calligraphy of Ikkyū Sōjun 一休宗純 (1394-1481), a Kyoto monk of the Rinzaï 臨濟 sect of Zen Buddhism, was admired for its elegant simplicity. The works Ikkyū produced, such as his *Nigyōsho* 二行書 and *Yōshitsu jigō* 葉室字号 (1456) proved that Zen calligraphy in Japan during the Muromachi period was certainly not without talent. It is thought that Ikkyū's calligraphy represented his resistance towards the lethargy common in the calligraphy of many Zen monks who, at the time, favoured *karayō* calligraphy. See Nakata, 1970: 173.

periods began to take place. This process of unification was initiated by Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) who aimed to achieve a unified regime to succeed the Muromachi Bakufu he had overthrown. Although Nobunaga managed to attack and defeat many feudal lords who resisted him, his plans abruptly came to an end when in 1582 he was assassinated by his vassal Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528?-1582). After Nobunaga's death, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536?-1598),⁸ another of Nobunaga's accomplished vassals, rose to power and inherited the political dominance that had once belonged to Nobunaga. Through military force, Hideyoshi gained control of many key cities including Kyoto and eventually came to preside over about ten per cent of the whole country.⁹ This unification not only inspired political reforms¹⁰ but instilled among aristocrats a renewed interest in Japan's cultural traditions, including calligraphy, which were "restored to great vitality."¹¹

There existed several trends within the calligraphy of Momoyama period writers. One, which was perhaps in some aspects related to the ideals of the Kyoto aristocracy, was an aspiration to capture and revive the splendour of the seemingly forgotten Heian court.¹² This desire becomes evident upon examining predominant calligraphic works of this period which frequently consist of exquisite writing on elaborately decorated paper,¹³ a feature which

⁸ Toyotomi was actually a name bestowed on Hideyoshi in 1586 by Emperor Goyōzei 後陽成. Hideyoshi's real surname, which he had thitherto used, was Hashiba 羽柴. See Shinmura (ed.) 1991: 2057, *s.v.* はしば.

⁹ See Inoue 1962: 77.

¹⁰ For an explanation of some of the political reforms which took place at the time, consult Inoue 1962: 77.

¹¹ See Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 204.

¹² The artistic proficiency of those in Kyoto's upper classes, who formed "interlocking social circles" developed as the generations lapsed and led to an enhancement of talent within certain areas of Momoyama culture. These aristocrats shared a determination of reviving Japan's cultural life which had suffered a period of decline during the turmoil of the Nanbokuchō and the Muromachi periods. See Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 204.

seems to mirror the extravagance typically exhibited in the decor of the castles both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi built to affirm their sovereignty.¹⁴ A second trend in writing at the time was to follow and emulate the calligraphy of Zen monks and Chinese calligraphers who had gained respect among the Japanese during the Muromachi period, when contact with China had served as a vital source of cultural inspiration. The result of the emergence of the above two trends was a gradual development among Momoyama and early Edo period calligraphers of styles which displayed influence from diverse sources.¹⁵ The styles these calligraphers produced frequently combined elements of Heian calligraphy characterized by its uniquely Japanese elements with features of prevailingly Chinese-based calligraphy of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Such styles can be observed in the writing of certain calligraphers who rose to eminence during this period. Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭乗 (1584-1639)¹⁶ was one such calligrapher, whose writing exhibited evidence of diversity. Shōkadō, who was well versed in the doctrines of the Shingon sect of Buddhism,¹⁷ received training in the Shōren'in style of calligraphy from the imperial prince Sonchō 尊朝 (1552-1597). Although this training had a

¹³ For examples of such decoration, consult Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 213-7.

¹⁴ Extravagance in decoration was typical in Momoyama castle architecture; even usual wall coverings were magnificent paintings of landscapes or figures upon a gold foil background. See Stanley-Baker 1984: 139.

¹⁵ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 204.

¹⁶ Also known as Takinomotobō Shōjō 滝本坊昭乗.

¹⁷ A major Buddhist sect and branch of Mahāyāna Buddhism founded by Kūkai in the 9th century. The basic doctrines and patterns of practice of this sect were established by Kūkai and have remained essentially unchanged since his time. The Shingon sect "maintains the closest affinity with Hinduism and with the Lamaist Buddhism of Tibet and the Himalayan countries" [Kōdansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 7: 113]. It does however differ from the common belief that the Buddhist teachings are derived from the historical Buddha (Śākyamuni), saying that "its basic sutras, the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (J: *Dainichikyō*) and the Vajraśekhara-sūtra (J: *Kongōchō-gyō*) were expounded by the Mahāvairocana Buddha (J: *Dainichi*), the Dharmakāya (Body of Dharma), the Ultimate Reality" [Kōdansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 7: 113, *s.v. Shingon sect*].

degree of influence on Shōkadō's calligraphy, he also studied the works of Chinese calligraphers such as Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322) and Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559), and was captivated by the calligraphy of the Shingon patriarch Kūkai 空海 (774-835). These mixed influences can be seen in several of Shōkadō's works dated to the early Edo period. His versions of certain poems from the *Shin kokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集¹⁸ dated to 1637, for example, combine a cursive style similar to that of the Heian period masters Ono no Michikaze and Fujiwara Yukinari whilst incorporating a number of unconventionally formed spiral shaped characters derived from the calligraphy of Kūkai.¹⁹

Also within the group of Momoyama period writers whose calligraphy was influenced by disparate sources was the prominent calligrapher Konoe Nobutada 近衛信尹 (1564-1614).²⁰ Nobutada, together with Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦 (1558-1637) and Shōkadō Shōjō, later came to be regarded as one of the "Three Great Brushes of the Kan'ei Era" (*Kan'ei no sanpitsu* 寛永の三筆).²¹ Through his calligraphy, he played a part in engendering an interest in the *jōdaiyō* style, which had sustained a downturn during the Nanbokuchō

¹⁸ A collection of Japanese poetry completed around 1205 compiled by poets such as Fujiwara Teika, Fujiwara Ietaka 藤原家隆 (1158-1237) and others.

¹⁹ A similar example appears in Shōkadō Shōjō's 松花堂昭乗 version of *Shōan gannen goshu uta awase* 正安元年五種歌合, also dated to the early Edo period. This work combines a cursive form of characters quite similar to Wen Zhengming's 文徵明 cursive style with a *hiragana* style somewhat resembling that of the calligrapher Fujiwara Korefusa 藤原伊房 of the Heian period. For a photograph, see Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 245.

²⁰ Nobutada was the son of the then Prime Minister (*daijōdaijin* 太政大臣) Sakihisa 前久 and was given the posthumous name Sanmyakuin 三藐院. His calligraphy was unique and bold and his style, which many calligraphers admired and imitated, became known as *Konoe-ryū* 近衛流 or *Sanmyakuin-ryū* 三藐院流. See Iijima (ed.) 1975: 70 (introduction).

²¹ Although Nobutada did not live during the Kan'ei Era (1624-1644), his prominence led to his taking on of this title.

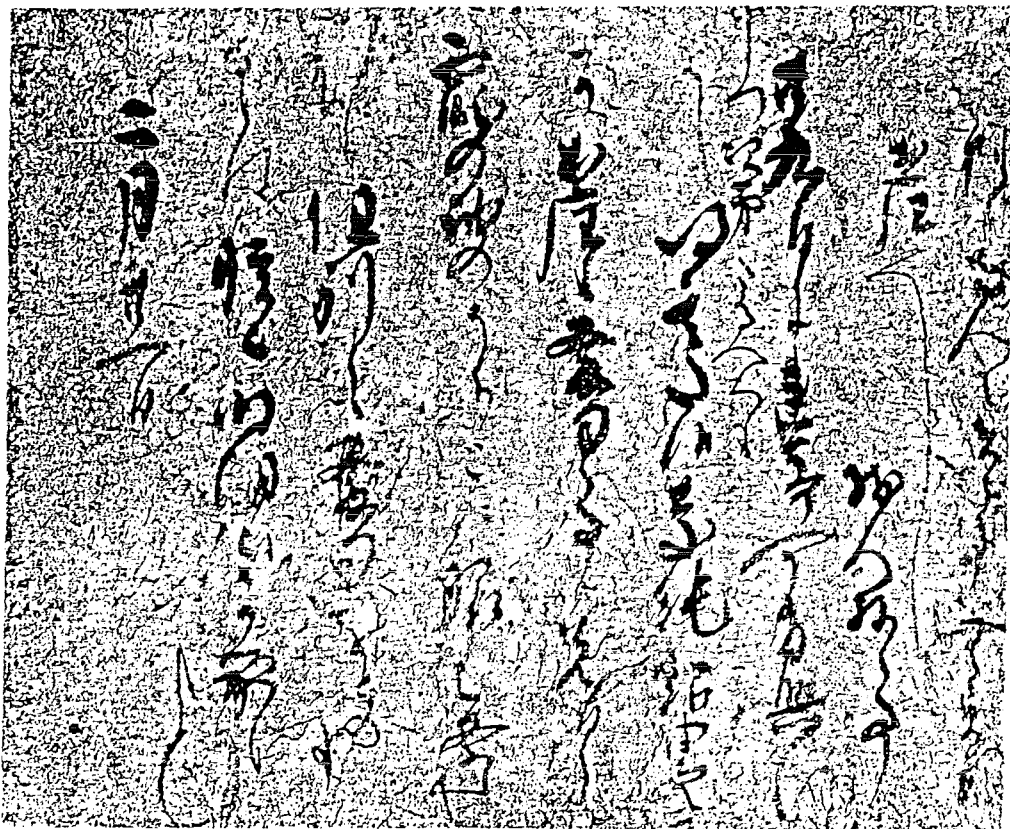


Figure 4

Cursive calligraphy written by Konoe Nobutada 近衛信尹 (1564-1614).
(Geijutsu Shinbunsha ed. 1992: 146).

and Muromachi periods. Though in his early years Nobutada had concentrated on and studied the Shōren'in tradition of calligraphy, he later began to take an interest in the "brusque" style of Fujiwara Teika.²² Nobutada was also an admirer of the Zen style of calligraphy which often disregarded traditional rules, placing a greater emphasis on expressionist and subjective styles. It is thought that Nobutada's personal style integrated elements of the Shōren'in style with those from Teika's less restricted calligraphy. As can be seen in writings such as his *Shojō* 書状 and his *Totō tenshinzō* 渡唐天神像,²³ his calligraphy was "stronger in structure and more assertive in brush work"²⁴ than the somewhat restrictive Shōren'in style. Karasumaru Mitsuhiro 烏丸光広 (1579-1636) was another representative calligrapher of the Momoyama period who also was influenced by the calligraphy of Fujiwara Teika and by the Zen style, which he adopted from Isshi Monju 一絲文守 (1608-1646), a follower of his companion Takuan 沢庵 (1573-1645). Mitsuhiro combined the Zen style he admired with the Heian calligraphy he had begun learning at an early age under the influence of the poet and critic Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽齋 (1534-1610) and produced calligraphy enriched with a "distinctively personal vitality and energy."²⁵ Mitsuhiro sought to play a part in reviving *waka* poetry,²⁶ something that was perhaps brought about by his interest in Teika's skilled poetry and calligraphy, which he studied before adopting the writing of the Momoyama calligrapher Hon'ami Kōetsu,²⁷ whose style he

²² Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 205.

²³ For a description of these works, consult Iijima (ed.) 1975: 273.

²⁴ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 205.

²⁵ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 207. Mitsuhiro's *Gantan shihitsu* 元旦試筆 (ca.1637) for example, is one work which displays these characteristics. For a photograph, see Geijutsu shinbunsha (ed.) 1992: 145.

²⁶ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 207.

²⁷ See Komatsu 1970: 532.

also admired.

One other trend that featured in the culture—including the calligraphy—of the Momoyama period, although perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent, was the promotion of ideals of the Japanese tea ceremony, which encouraged an appreciation of the beauty present in informal and rustic art. The preparation and drinking of tea was recorded in Japan several centuries before the Momoyama period, when it was used for medicinal purposes, but it was during the Muromachi period when it had secured a position of importance within Japanese culture that this practice began to flourish.²⁸ Masters of the tea ceremony who admired unembellished beauty found aesthetic value in old works of calligraphy, especially those such as letters and diaries which were not originally intended to be works of art, but which displayed an element of roughness. The most prominent tea master of the Momoyama period was Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522-1591).²⁹ Rikyū's calligraphy such as that in his *Shojō* 書状 possessed an ambience of rusticity and was representative of the calligraphy written by and admired by tea adepts of the Momoyama period and the following Edo period.

²⁸ For a brief history of the tea ceremony in Japan (*cha-no-yu* 茶の湯), consult Soshitsu Sen XV 1984: 6-14.

²⁹ Sen no Rikyū is regarded as the perfecter of *wabi-cha* 侘び茶, a tradition of the tea ceremony in which a conservative taste for the simple and quiet is accentuated.

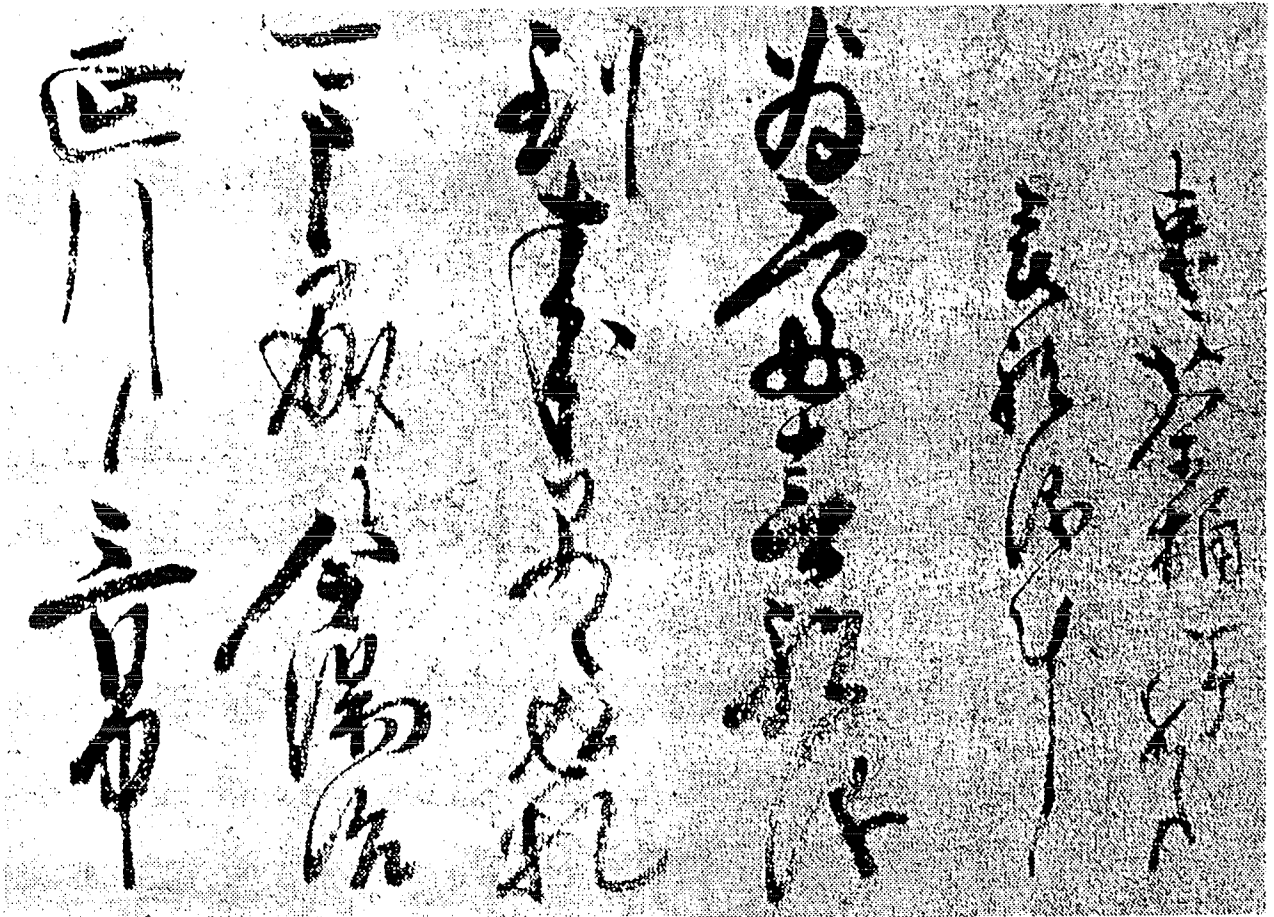


Figure 5

Writing by the Momoyama period tea adept Sen no Rikyū 千利休 (1522-1591).

(Geijutsu shinbunsha ed. 1992: 152).

CHAPTER II

Edo Period Calligraphy (1600-1868)

After the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598, discord began to develop among the leading *daimyō* in Japan. This led to the formation of two opposing forces who came to battle in 1600 at Sekigahara in Mino province.¹ One force, representing the *daimyō* of the western provinces, was led by Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成 (1560-1600); the other, standing for the *daimyō* of the eastern provinces, was led by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542-1616). The outcome was a sweeping victory to the eastern forces. Ieyasu was subsequently appointed to the position of *Sei taishōgun* 征夷大將軍,² which prepared the way for his establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in Edo. These events marked the end of the Momoyama period and the beginning of the Edo period.

Although certain political changes took effect during the early Edo period, it was not until the mid Edo period that significant changes were seen within the world of calligraphy. During the early stages of the Edo period, calligraphy still exhibited traces of influence from calligraphy of earlier periods. For one thing, there still existed—albeit in diminishing number—calligraphers who admired and practised the Heian styles which were also popular during the Momoyama and Muromachi periods. One prominent calligrapher in this category was Araki Sohaku 荒木素白 (1600-1685). Sohaku, who gained recognition as an expert scholar of *jōdaiyō* calligraphy, initially studied under the guidance of the renowned calligrapher Karasumaru Mitsuhiro. Mitsuhiro was "an active collector of Heian calligraphy"³ and was familiar with Heian-

¹ 美濃国. The area located in present-day Gifu prefecture.

² Commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force against the barbarians.

period poetry. This perhaps helps to explain why Sohaku came to adopt an interest in the Heian styles. Sohaku also studied calligraphy as a disciple of Fujiki Atsunao 藤木敦直 (1582-1649), and later came to admire the cursive calligraphy of the *Hon'ami gire* 本阿弥切⁴ believed to have been written by Ono no Michikaze of the Late Heian period (897-1185). Although Sohaku was able to produce nearly identical copies of noted works, it may be said that this ability merely came about as a result of diligent copying and did not display true individual talent. Nevertheless, his calligraphy was the source of a short-lived school named *Sohaku-ryū* 素白流 and he is still remembered as one of the leading *wayō* calligraphers of the early Edo period. Another skilled calligrapher of the early Edo period who took an interest in *jōdaiyō* calligraphy was Konoe Iehiro 近衛家熙 (1667-1736). Born into a regent family, Iehiro rose to the position of Minister of the Right⁵ at twenty-eight and thirteen years later was appointed Prime Minister and Chief Advisor to the Emperor.⁶ His position allowed him access to many calligraphic masterpieces of earlier periods, which provided him with the means to study and master the styles of eminent Heian poets and authors from a young age. Iehiro matured into a skilled calligrapher who was not only proficient in the block, cursive and semi-cursive scripts, but could also write using the seal and scribe forms. Iehiro also gained great respect as a calligrapher of *kana* and has been described as the forerunner of talented *wayō* calligraphers of the Edo period.⁷ At the age of fifty-nine Iehiro shaved his head and became a monk, taking on the

³ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 207.

⁴ The fragments of a scroll consisting of sections from the famous *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集. These fragments were said to have been owned and cherished by Hon'ami Kōetsu and accordingly given the name *Hon'ami gire*. See Suzuki *et al.* 1996: 123.

⁵ J: *udaijin* 右大臣.

⁶ J: *kanpaku dajōdaijin* 関白太政大臣.

⁷ See Haruna *et al.*, *SKS* 4, 1990: 52.

name Yorakuin 予楽院, by which he became commonly known. Although he retired into an easy and comfortable lifestyle in his later years, his popularity remained consistent until his death at the age of seventy. Considering that, generally speaking, highly talented calligraphers tended to possess a degree of influence on calligraphic trends within the general population, one might have expected Iehiro's writing to have caused a resurgence of Heian-period *jōdaiyō* calligraphy, but this did not occur. There are probably two reasons for this: firstly, Iehiro's elevated position in society to some extent prevented him from having contact with those among the masses, which inhibited his chance to propagate his ideas on the importance of maintaining the Heian styles in Edo times. Secondly, it seems that there were few if any calligraphers among the masses who could actually reproduce the high level of Iehiro's calligraphy in their own work. Rather than spend many months or years perfecting older styles, many calligraphers turned to *oie-ryū* 御家流 and other styles which were possibly less difficult to master and comparatively easier to read and write.

1. *Wayō Calligraphy – Oie-ryū*

Undoubtedly the most widely employed calligraphic style of the Edo period was one within the Japanese tradition, namely the *oie-ryū* mode. This style, which was generally referred to as *Shōren'in-ryū* 青蓮院流 or *Son'en-ryū* 尊円流⁸ prior to the Edo period, originated within the Shōren'in temple in eastern Kyoto. The seventeenth abbot of the temple, Prince Son'en 尊円

⁸ Although it is usual for a school of calligraphy to be named only after its founder, the style that Son'en initiated was most commonly referred to as *Shōren'in-ryū*. This probably reflects the influence that the Shōren'in school had on the style of calligraphers who studied there. Seeing that strict rules were in place regarding the passing on of calligraphic tradition within the Shōren'in school with punishment promised for those who disregarded these rules [Haruna 1974: 229], it is likely that the school was perceived as having the predominating influence on the development of the style, even though Son'en was generally regarded as its founder.

(1298-1356), was an extremely talented calligrapher who led Shōren'in to become one of the most prominent schools of calligraphy in Japan. Many emulated Son'en's calligraphy, which was strong in brushwork yet elegant in appearance. It displayed his understanding of the ideals of Heian period calligraphy as learnt from the Sesonji 世尊寺 school as well as clarity most likely derived from his contact with Song calligraphers such as Zhang Jizhi 張即之 (1186-1263).⁹ In its later years, the Shōren'in school produced many talented calligraphers who kept Son'en's style alive up until and through the Edo period. There were also several priests who produced offshoots of the Shōren'in mode, such as Prince Sonchin 尊鎮 (1504-1550), whose style of writing formed the basis of a school known as *Sonchin-ryū* 尊鎮流, and Prince Sonchō 尊朝 (1552-1597), the founder of *Sonchō-ryū* 尊朝流 which evolved during the early years of the Momoyama period.

Towards the end of the Edo period, the Shōren'in mode Son'en had founded came to be known as *oie-ryū*. Although the exact origin of this term is unclear, references can be found in some late Edo period texts. In this connection, Komatsu quotes the following passage from the *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記, a fundamental work on Edo-period history:

Takebe Dennai, who is also called Katabumi, became a disciple of the Shōren'in Prince Sonchin and was said to be a talented calligrapher. Because his son Dennai Masaoki also followed him and excelled in the way of calligraphy, in the first year of Keichō, he was called by Fushimi and appointed amanuensis [to the court], and was given a fief of five hundred *koku*. He was frequently in [court] service and presented the calligraphy he had written [there]. Because the Satsuma feudal lord and high ranking noble, Tadayoshi, first passed on [this] way of writing to the young noblemen, it is said that it accordingly came to be known as *oie-ryū*.¹⁰

As Komatsu states, if we interpret this passage literally, we can conclude

⁹ See Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 81.

that the term *oie-ryū* was the name given to the calligraphy that Dennai, who served as a calligrapher to the Tokugawa Shōgun, wrote. It therefore became the calligraphic style of the Tokugawa household (*Tokugawa no oie no shoryū* 徳川の御家の書流), hence the coining of the term *oie-ryū*. There is however doubt as to whether or not this is actually how the term originated, for it is known that (*ie / ka*) 家 was used to allude to the Shōren'in temple, such as in the form *Shōren'inika* 青蓮院家. Furthermore, the terms *ieyō* 家様 and *ie-ryū* 家流 were both used to refer to the Shōren'in style of calligraphy,¹¹ and it is therefore quite possible that the term *oie-ryū* developed from these words. Accordingly, unless we are confident as to the etymology and meaning of the character 家 (*ie*) in 御家流 (*oie-ryū*), we can not be fully sure how the term originated. However, in light of the information to hand, it seems reasonable that both of the aforementioned factors had a part to play in the coining of the term.

There were two main reasons for the proliferation of the *oie-ryū* mode during the Edo period. Firstly, there was the fact that Tokugawa Ieyasu particularly favoured the style and it accordingly came to be employed by the Tokugawa Shogunate.¹² For the purpose of unification of fiefs it was desirable to provide a common mode of writing Chinese characters, and since the mode employed by the shogunate was the logical choice, it was not long before fiefs under the shogunate's control also began to employ *oie-ryū* in everyday use.¹³ This naturally brought about a situation in which peasants, merchants and others, who were subject to the authority of fiefs, were taught to write

¹⁰ Komatsu 1970: 612: 建部伝内は賢文といひしは、青蓮院尊鎮法親王の門に入て能書の聞あり。その子の伝内昌興も父を継て入木の道に達せしかば。慶長元年伏見にてめし出され。右筆とせられ。采邑五百石賜ひ。常は近侍して筆翰の事奉り。薩摩守忠吉朝臣はじめ公達の方々へ。筆道をつたへまいらせければ。これよりして御家流と唱へしとぞ。

¹¹ Komatsu, 1970: 345.

¹² Korezawa (ed.) 1981: 5.

oie-ryū. Furthermore, official documents, notice boards and the like were all written in the *oie-ryū* mode, and those aspiring to positions in government were all required to learn the same style. The shogunate's position in regard to *oie-ryū* therefore affected everyone, ranging from those in high ranking positions to commoners, thereby greatly enhancing the standing of *oie-ryū*.

The second—and perhaps greatest—reason for the spread of *oie-ryū* during the Edo period is that it was, as mentioned earlier, comparatively easier to read and write than other writing modes for Chinese characters in existence at the time. Perhaps one of the greatest criticisms of the *oie-ryū* style was that it was lacking in the lustre and vitality of the *karayō* styles practised by Confucianists, the literati and other calligraphers during the Edo period. Indeed, *oie-ryū* had failed to incorporate much influence from talented calligraphers after Son'en and had therefore lost a degree of individuality. It was also somewhat lacking in brush strength, making it rather dull in comparison to other Chinese-based styles of the Edo period.¹⁴ However, these factors also contributed to ease in reading the style and when it came to the issue of practicality for everyday use, *oie-ryū* was clearly superior. There was little variation in its form and the strokes in each character possessed a uniformity not found in many other writing modes for characters.¹⁵ It served well to satisfy the needs of the commoner and others who required a practical style for general purposes. Even dedicated *karayō* calligraphers of the day recognised the value of *oie-ryū*. The great *karayō* calligrapher Sawada Tōkō 沢田東江 (1732-1796), in the supplement to his *Tōkō sensei showa*, referring to *oie-ryū* as *zokuyō*, wrote the following:

¹³ That is not to say that all fiefs readily accepted the *oie-ryū* style. The Tokugawa Shogunate strictly enforced the adoption of the script, in some cases going as far as to imprison those who refused to comply. See Korezawa (ed.) 1981: 5.

¹⁴ See Haruna 1985: 222.

¹⁵ See *ibid.* 1985: 222.

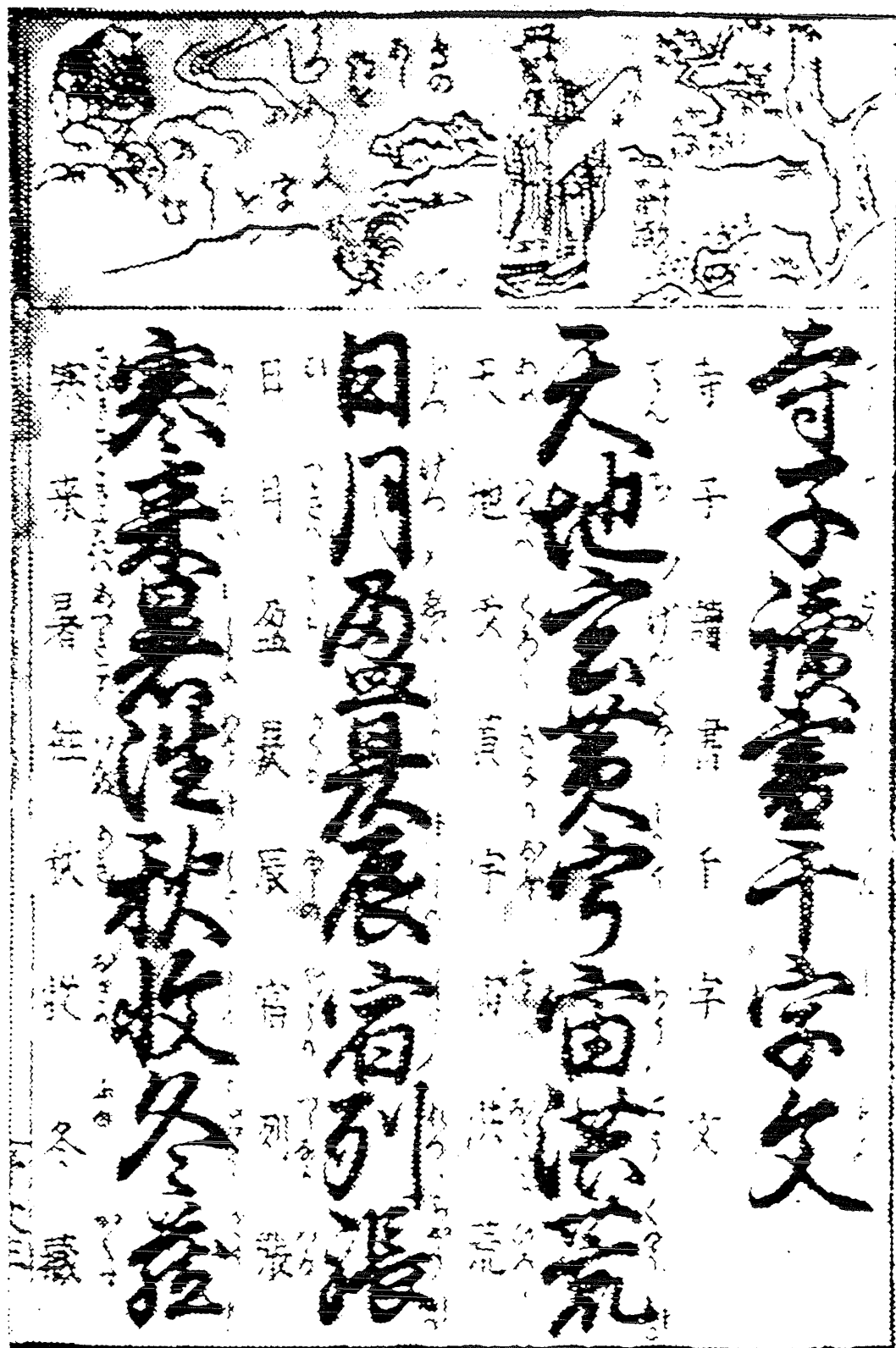


Figure 6
Section from the *Oie-ryū senjimon* (enlarged).
(Haruna 1974: 230).

Therefore, for simply recording names and settling one's business, one can say that *zokuyō* far excels *karayō*.¹⁶

As this statement shows, in terms of practicality, *oie-ryū* was superior, but from an aesthetic perspective other modes, especially Chinese-based *karayō* styles, were favoured. Let us now turn and examine these *karayō* styles and discuss the reasons behind and the implications involved in their popularity during the Edo period.

2. The *Karayō* Tradition

As mentioned above, an important impetus to the spread of *karayō* calligraphy in Edo period Japan was the Shogunate's decision to promote Confucian studies in Edo society.¹⁷ This decision was made for several reasons. Firstly, Confucianism was able to meet the political concerns of the rulers. Its emphasis on the importance of a social order based on those in authority offered those in power legitimacy for their political hegemony. It also advocated an unchanging and hierarchical society which appealed to commoners who desired to maintain the status quo and a secure social position. Another reason was that economic developments, the spread of elementary education and the rapid growth of printing during the Edo period made it much easier to promote Japanese Confucian scholarship among the masses than before.¹⁸ As Confucianism gradually spread across the country, various fiefs set up fief schools which taught a curriculum often based around Confucian studies. It was thus the case that a substantial percentage of the literate population was exposed to Confucianism of some form or another.¹⁹

¹⁶ Kokusho kankōkai 1970: 473, quoted in Haruna 1974: 228: 然れば、只名をしるし用事を足し候には、唐様よりは俗様のほうはるかにまさり申可候。

¹⁷ See p. xii above.

Although Confucianism itself was not the source of the rise of interest in Chinese-based *karayō* styles during the Edo period, it was an associated factor, since Confucianism naturally put forward China as a source of scholarly and artistic inspiration. Furthermore, since Confucianism and writing based on Chinese models were closely related,²⁰ Chinese poetry came to be esteemed among many Confucianists, who produced a wide variety of skilfully written poems. The leading Confucian thinker Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728), for example, began composing Ming-style poetry from about 1705 and eventually wrote over six hundred poems, "making his techniques known to a wide audience."²¹ Sorai believed that the Confucian Sage was to be found

¹⁸ Except for the introduction of movable type in the early years of the Edo period, during the long period from about 1650 until the beginning of the Meiji Period, few changes were seen in printing technology. Nevertheless, there were still close to 370 active publishers in Edo at this time and by the mid-18th century Edo rivalled the publishing of Kyoto where approximately 42 percent of the 1200 nationwide publishers were based. Among the great amount of material produced during the Edo period, a large number of works on Confucian philosophy were written and published. See Kōdansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 6: 248-9, *s.v. printing, premodern*.

¹⁹ It was often the case that these schools, in accordance with the preferences of the shogunate, adopted Neo-Confucianism (J: *shushigaku*) in place of exegetical study of the ethically oriented Confucian classics. Neo-Confucianism developed during Song dynasty (960-1279) China under Buddhist and Tao influences and "formed a philosophy integrating the metaphysical and the physical." It was also widely accepted in Japan and Korea from the 12th to the 19th centuries. [Kōdansha ed., 1983, vol. 7, p. 190, *s.v. shushigaku*]. Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561-1619) is said to be the founder of this tradition of Confucianism in Modern Japan. See Komatsu 1970: 652.

²⁰ Moves such as the Shogunate's decision to encourage the reading of the Four Books and Five Classics 四書五經 (J: *Shisho gokyō*, C: *Sishu wujing*) often led to the reading and the subsequent writing of Chinese poetry as well. [Komatsu 1970: 654]. The Four Books and Five Classics had been introduced to Japan by the middle of the thirteenth century, but "it was in the Edo period that they became especially important." The Four Books consist of *The Great Learning* 大學 (J: *Daigaku*, C: *Daxue*), *The Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸 (J: *Chūyō*, C: *Zhongyong*), *The Analects* 論語 (J: *Rongo*, C: *Lun yu*) and *Mencius* 孟子 (J: *Mōshi*, C: *Mengzi*). The Five Classics consist of *The Book (or Classic) of Changes* 易經 (J: *Ikyō*, C: *Yijing*), *The Book of Documents* 書經 (J: *Shokyō*, C: *Shujing*), *The Book of Odes* 詩經 (J: *Shikyō*, C: *Shijing*), *The Book of Rites* 禮記 (J: *Raiki*, C: *Liji*) and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋 (J: *Shunjū*, C: *Chunqiu*). Kōdansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 2: 329, *s.v. Four Books and Five Classics*.

"solely in pristine Chinese poetry, prose, rites (or etiquette), and music."²² In his *Sorai sensei no gakusoku* 徂徠先生学則 (*Master Sorai's Regulatory Principles*, 1715), Sorai stated that one could not rely on modern renditions (which many Neo-Confucianists had developed) of old texts and called for a return to the reading of classics in the original.²³ It is perhaps such recognition of the value of orthodox Chinese literary styles that preceded the rise in popularity of pure Chinese poetry among many Japanese Confucianists. Evidence of such popularity is exhibited in the establishment around this time of several societies for Chinese poetry such as the *Kontonsha* 混沌社 in Osaka set up by Katayama Hokkai 片山北海 (1723-1790) and the *Sanpakusha* 三白社 founded by Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1734-1807) of Kyoto. As the founders of these societies often had many followers,²⁴ it is likely that esteem of Chinese prose rose to an even higher level within society subsequent to their establishment.

Just as the introduction of Confucianism brought about an appreciation among many Confucian scholars of Chinese poetry, so the appreciation of Chinese poetry promoted respect for China in general and Chinese-style calligraphy. Such was the extent of this respect that many Confucianists created Chinese-style names for themselves which normally consisted of three characters, the first being a single character surname. Ogyū Sorai, for example, wrote his name as 物徂徠 (Butsu Sorai), Sorai's disciple Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 (1683-1759) used for his name the characters 服子遷 (Fuku Shisen) and the Mutsu province²⁵ Confucianist Hirano Kinka 平野金華 (1688-1732)

²¹ Miner 1985: 213.

²² Miner 1985: 213.

²³ See Kōdansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 6: 73.

²⁴ Kien, for example is said to have had as many as three thousand followers. See Shinmura (ed.) 1991: 2465, s.v. みながわ.

made himself known as Hei Shika 平子和.²⁶ Haruna tells us that it was at this period of heightened interest in the Continent that humorous stories such as that telling of a certain Confucianist who moved from Edo to Shinagawa to be one *li* (about four kilometres) closer to China arose.²⁷ Stories such as these were not altogether inconceivable. The following excerpt from the *Hitsudō hidenshō* 筆道秘伝鈔 published in 1692 shows the extent of enthusiasm of certain scholars for China at this time:

Similarly, considering those who have an inclination towards learning, these people readily imitate the Chinese, in some cases growing their hair long and wanting to wear the clothes of Chinese people, calling their clothes *shenyi*.^{28 29}

It is not surprising then, that the writings of prominent Chinese calligraphers were valued in Japan at this time.

During the Edo period, there were several Chinese calligraphers whose calligraphy gained popularity among Japanese scholars and Confucianists. As with earlier periods, Wang Xizhi was esteemed and generally regarded as the most accomplished calligrapher,³⁰ but there were many Chinese calligraphers of the Yuan and Ming dynasties who also rose to prominence. Among them

²⁵ 陸奥国. The area located in present-day Aomori prefecture.

²⁶ Haruna gives these characters the reading *Hei Shiwa* [Haruna *et al.*, *SKS* 4, 1990: 52]. In Morohashi, however, the characters 子和, which were used as a popular sobriquet in China from as early as the Three Kingdoms dynasty (AD 220-280), are given the sole Japanese reading *Shika*, which is the reading I have adopted here. See Morohashi (ed.) 1990, v. 3: 782, *s.v.* 子和.

²⁷ Haruna 1974: 236.

²⁸ J: *shin'i* 深衣. A type of dress popular in ancient China.

²⁹ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 161: 又學問のこころざしある者を見るにはや唐人のまねをして、或は髪をながくし、深衣とて唐人の衣服を着したがる。For further information on this work, see page 87 below.

³⁰ Haruna 1974: 241.

were Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559), Zhao Ziang 趙子昂 (1254-1322), Zhu Yunming 祝允明 (1460-1526), Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), Zhang Ruitu 張瑞圖 (1570-1639) and Wang Duo 王鐔 (1592-1652). Of these, it was perhaps Wen Zhengming and Zhao Ziang whose calligraphy was most highly valued.³¹ Wen Zhengming was experienced in the disciplines of art and poetry as well as calligraphy, but it is for his calligraphy that he is best known. Among the many styles in which he wrote, he was recognized for his cursive and semi-cursive script calligraphy, such as that appearing in his *Caoshu qianziwen*,³² but was also proficient in the small block script, as can be observed in such works as his *Lisao* and *Jiuge*.³³ Wen Zhengming's greatest achievement is said to be his calligraphy of small characters the size of a "fly's head."³⁴ Zhao Ziang, also commonly known as Zhao Mengfu, was best known as an artist, but was also a talented calligrapher.³⁵ Following in the manner of Wang Xizhi, Zhao Ziang practised a number of calligraphic styles, but as with Wen Zhengming, was particularly proficient in the block script.

³¹ Haruna 1974: 238.

³² 草書千字文 (*Cursive Thousand Character Classic*).

³³ 離騷·九歌. Two sections from a famous collection of verse named *Chuci* 楚辭, written by the Warring states dynasty poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (?340-?278 BC) and several of his followers.

³⁴ 蠅頭書 (J: *yōtōsho* C: *yingtoushu*). Tseng 1993: 217. This term simply refers to characters which are notably small, not necessarily those which are literally as small as the head of a fly.

³⁵ Zhao Ziang was one of the few if not the only calligrapher who valued the use of calligraphic brushstroke techniques in his paintings. In perhaps one of the most frequently quoted poems on this method of artwork, Zhao says:

"A rock should be painted in the technique of *Fei-pai* [flying white]; a tree by using *Chuan-shu* [the type found on the inscriptions of ancient bronzewares of the Chou dynasty]. In writing bamboo, one should first know the *Pa-fa* [the eight laws for *K'ai-shu*]. Those who understand these principles realise that the roots of calligraphy and painting have always been one."

[Translation by Chang and Miller 1990: 175].

千字文

天地玄黃宇宙洪荒日月盈昃宿列張寒來暑往
 禮收冬藏閏餘成歲律呂調陽雲騰致雨露結為霜
 金生麗水玉出崑岡劍號巨闕珠稱夜光果珍李柰
 菜重芥薑海鹹河淡鱗潛羽翔龍師火帝鳥官人皇
 始制文字乃服衣裳推位讓國有虞陶唐弔民伐罪
 周發殷湯坐朝問道垂拱平章愛育黎首臣伏戎羌
 遐通靈臺率賓歸王鳴鳳在樹白駒食場化被神州
 頽及萬方蓋此身髮四大五常恭惟鞠養豈敢毀傷
 女慕貞潔男效才良知過必改得能莫忘固談彼短
 靡恃已長信使可覆器欲難量墨悲絲染詩讚羔羊
 景行維賢剋念作聖德建名立形端表正空谷傳聲
 虛堂習聽禍因惡積福緣善慶尺璧非寶寸陰是競
 資父事君曰嚴與敬孝當竭力忠則盡命臨深履薄
 夙興溫清似蘭斯馨如松之盛川流不息淵澄取璣
 容止若思言辭安定萬初誠美慎終宜令崇業研藝
 藉甚無竟學優登仕攝職從政存以甘棠去而益詠
 樂殊貴賤禮別尊卑上和和睦六唱婦隨外受傳訓
 入奉母儀諸姑伯姁猶子比兒孔懷兄弟同氣連枝
 交友投分切磨箴規仁慈隱惻造次弗離節義廉退
 顛沛匪虧性靜情逸心動神疲守真志滿逐物意移
 堅持雅操好爵自縻都邑華夏東西二京背印面浴

千字文

天地玄黃宇宙洪荒日月盈昃宿列張寒來暑往
 禮收冬藏閏餘成歲律呂調陽雲騰致雨露結為霜
 金生麗水玉出崑岡劍號巨闕珠稱夜光果珍李柰
 菜重芥薑海鹹河淡鱗潛羽翔龍師火帝鳥官人皇
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 周發殷湯坐朝問道垂拱平章愛育黎首臣伏戎羌
 遐通靈臺率賓歸王鳴鳳在樹白駒食場化被神州
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 景行維賢剋念作聖德建名立形端表正空谷傳聲
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 容止若思言辭安定萬初誠美慎終宜令崇業研藝
 藉甚無竟學優登仕攝職從政存以甘棠去而益詠
 樂殊貴賤禮別尊卑上和和睦六唱婦隨外受傳訓
 入奉母儀諸姑伯姁猶子比兒孔懷兄弟同氣連枝
 交友投分切磨箴規仁慈隱惻造次弗離節義廉退
 顛沛匪虧性靜情逸心動神疲守真志滿逐物意移
 堅持雅操好爵自縻都邑華夏東西二京背印面浴

Figures 7a, 7b
 Sections from the famous *Thousand Character classic* (*Qianziwen* 千字文) written here in small characters by Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470-1559) in both the block (*top*) and cursive (*bottom*) scripts. (Tseng 1993: 218).

Although the comparatively large number of surviving works and copybooks written by these calligraphers greatly added to their popularity,³⁶ their study of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy also gained them much respect among some Japanese calligraphers. Wen Zhengming's technique was particularly admired by the proficient Japanese calligrapher Kitajima Setsuzan 北島雪山 (1636-1697) who passed the technique on to his pupil Hosoi Kōtaku 細井広沢 (1658-1735). Hosoi, who has been described as "an expert in *karayō*,"³⁷ went on to write of such techniques in the *Hattō shinsen*³⁸ and also produced the five volume, one hundred section *Kanga hyakutan* 觀鶯百譚 in which he included several general comments on Japanese and Chinese calligraphic methods, making "contributions to the advance of the *karayō* style."³⁹ In the third section of this work, we find the following passage which displays Kōtaku's appreciation of the dexterity of Zhengming (referred to as Hengshan 衡山) and Ziang in their calligraphy:

Wise men of the Ming dynasty said that Grand Tutor Zhong Wei dynasty Zhong You⁴⁰ is generally regarded as the founder of Correct Script, and his use of the brush [in this style] is the oldest. Youjun's Xizhi's [calligraphy] was slightly different and was strong yet elegant. Works such as his *Huangting jing* and *Yueyi lun* were all magnificent writings. In the following Tang and Song dynasties, there were no calligraphers [able] to succeed him, [but] Zhao Songxue Ziang and Wen Hengshan directly followed Youjun in their small block calligraphy, and were finally able to equal [his ability].⁴¹

³⁶ Haruna 1974: 241.

³⁷ Komatsu 1970: 21.

³⁸ 撥鏡真詮. A work published in 1756 which describes elements and provides a detailed description of the *hattōhō* 撥鏡法 method of calligraphy which evolved in China and is believed to have existed since Wang Xizhi's time. It is supposed that Wen Zhengming and Zhao Ziang both employed this technique. See Haruna 1974: 241.

³⁹ Nakata 1973: 159.

⁴⁰ Text written in a smaller font here (and hereafter) represents words written in a small subtext (*warichū* 割註) in the original manuscript.

In the hundredth and last section, Kōtaku added that it was common knowledge that Hengsheng (Zhengming) was a virtuous man, that he wrote in a variety of styles and that his calligraphic method was marvellous.⁴² It is likely that appraisals such as these reinforced the view among many Japanese Confucianists and scholars that the calligraphy produced by Chinese calligraphers was somewhat superior to that produced in Japan.

3. Ōbaku Calligraphy

For those who practised *karayō* calligraphy, having access to original Chinese calligraphic works and copybooks was naturally a matter of considerable importance. However, with the advent of Japan's policy of national seclusion (*sakoku* 鎖国) which remained in effect from 1639 until a year after Perry's arrival in 1853, access to such materials was severely limited. In order to "legitimize and strengthen its authority both domestically and in East Asia,"⁴³ the Tokugawa Shogunate issued a series of edicts which proscribed Christianity, forbade missionaries, traders and others entry into Japan and prohibited Japanese from travelling overseas. This seclusion was not total, however, for it permitted access for a number of Chinese, Dutch and Koreans. Moreover, certain temples were granted an exemption to Japan's interdiction on foreign contact. Such was the case for the Manpukuji Temple in Uji, near Kyoto, established by the naturalized Buddhist monk Yinyuan (J: Ingen) 隱元 (1594-1673). Yinyuan arrived in Japan in 1654 accompanied by twenty monks and ten artisans and

⁴¹ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 273-4: 明の先賢云、凡書祖鍾太傅、魏鍾繇、用筆最古、至右軍、羲之、稍變迥媚黃庭經樂毅論、皆神筆也、此後歷唐宋絕無繼者、惟趙松雪、子昂、與文衡山小楷直追右軍、遂與之抗行矣。

⁴² Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 361: 衡山先生、徳行の高き事、諸書にあらはれ、筆法の天下に妙なる事…皆人の知ところ也。

⁴³ Kōdansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 5: 346, s.v. *National Seclusion*.

founded the Ōbaku (C: Huangbo) sect of Zen Buddhism which later became the third largest Zen sect in Japan after the Rinzai and Sōtō sects. In 1659, the reigning emperor granted Yinyuan a sizable plot of land on which he built the temple that formed the sect's headquarters. Yinyuan named this temple Manpukuji 万福寺 and the mountain on which it stood Ōbakusan 黄檗山 after the temple (C: Wanfusi 万福寺) and the mountain (C: Huangboshan 黄檗山) respectively, that he had left in Fujian Province when he came to Japan. From its completion in 1663, the Manpukuji temple offered Japanese the chance to become familiar with the customs and paraphernalia of late Ming culture which Ōbaku monks had brought with them. Such things as the style of chanting Buddhist texts, food and even some personal items of these monks were a source of fascination for the isolated Japanese, but perhaps most influential was their calligraphy.⁴⁴ As Shimizu mentions, many of the prominent monks of the Ōbaku sect were "excellent well-schooled calligraphers who rated the art of fine writing high among the accomplishments of a learned monk."⁴⁵ Because Yinyuan and two of his disciples, Muan (J: Mokuan) 木庵 (1611-1684) and Jifei (J: Sokuhi) 即非 (1616-1671) were particularly proficient in the art of calligraphy, they came to be known as the Three Brushes of Ōbaku (*Ōbaku no Sanpitsu*). Although in China Yinyuan would possibly have been no more than a "passer-by of Ming dynasty calligraphy whose writing was not particularly distinctive,"⁴⁶ in Japan, his writing gained recognition as *karayō* calligraphy and there were several literary scholars and writers who imitated his style. It was the calligraphy of Muan, however, that was the most eagerly sought after by members of the Ōbaku sect. Muan came to Japan in 1655 at the request of Yinyuan and assisted in the construction of the Manpukuji

⁴⁴ Kōdansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 6: 47.

⁴⁵ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 118.

⁴⁶ Korezawa (ed.) 1981: 43.

秋年
 一
 五
 十
 初
 望
 及
 信
 路

 碧
 玉
 麒麟
 乳
 俊
 亦
 山
 峰
 紫
 竹
 南

 甚
 雅
 道
 生
 入
 心
 乍
 却
 世
 名
 今

 後
 自
 是
 年
 事

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 福
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 憂
 也
 之
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Figure 8
 Cursive calligraphy by Muan
 木庵 (1611-1684).
 (Shimonaka ed. 1959, vol.
 22: 67).

temple. He served as abbot there for sixteen years, until 1684, and produced an "extraordinary" quantity of calligraphy.⁴⁷ The third member of the Three Brushes of Ōbaku, Jifei, was also invited to Japan by Yinyuan. Jifei worked in Nagasaki for six years before coming to Manpukuji near its completion in 1663. Just one year later, he decided to return home but upon meeting the lord of the Kokura domain in Kyushu, he was persuaded to stay, and founded the Ōbaku Fukujuji temple there before moving to the Sūfukuji temple in Nagasaki where he remained until his death in 1671.

Although it is the Three Brushes of Ōbaku who are perhaps most frequently mentioned when discussing Ōbaku calligraphy, there was one other Ōbaku calligrapher who also gained great respect among Chinese style writers during the Edo period and influenced *karayō* calligraphy. This calligrapher, Dai Li 戴笠 (1596-1672), perhaps better known by his monastic name, Dokuryū 獨立, arrived in Japan one year before Yinyuan, in 1653. One of the best educated and accomplished of all the Chinese who sought refuge in Japan in the mid-seventeenth century, Dokuryū was well-versed in the art of seal engraving and in medicine, but was also a skilled calligrapher. Several years after his arrival in Japan, he served as a monk under Yinyuan and practised calligraphy with "one of the pioneer calligraphers of the literary movement in Japan,"⁴⁸ Kō Ten'i 高天漪 (1639-1722), who adopted Dokuryū's calligraphic method. Kō Ten'i then passed this method on to his son Kō Isai 高頤齋 (1690-1769) who in turn imparted it to Sawada Tōkō 沢田東江 (1732-1796), another of the leading *karayō* calligraphers of the Edo period. Kitajima Setsuzan is also said to have studied under Dokuryū for a time,⁴⁹ so it is likely that his influence was great.

⁴⁷ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 118.

⁴⁸ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 271.

⁴⁹ Geijutsu shinbunsha (ed.) 1992: 160.

With the combined influence from Ōbaku calligraphers and prominent Chinese calligraphers described above, *karayō* calligraphy in Japan rose to great popularity during the Edo period. Not only were *karayō* styles esteemed and imitated, but several calligraphers and scholars produced writings on topics dealing with *karayō* calligraphy. *Wayō* calligraphy—which was practised by much of the population—also featured in the writings of a number of Edo period authors. The appearance of such writings, or treatises, perhaps displays the deep level of interest that Japanese calligraphers held in matters relating to calligraphy of both the Japanese and Chinese traditions. It is important to note, however, that during the Edo period (and in earlier periods), *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy were not the only topics to be taken up by calligraphers and scholars. In fact, almost any subject dealing with calligraphy can be found among the many treatises that were compiled from as early as the Heian period (794-1185) through to the Meiji (1868-1912) and Modern (1912-) periods. Let us now enter into a discussion regarding the history of these treatises in Japan (Chapter Three), followed by translations and analysis of excerpts from several Edo-period works (Chapters Four and Five).

CHAPTER III

Treatises on Calligraphy

During the Tang Dynasty (618-906), sometimes referred to as the "Golden Age of Chinese Culture,"¹ calligraphy in China came to enjoy great popularity and a number of scholars and calligraphers began to compile works dealing with various aspects of the discipline. Towards the end of the seventh century, the theoretician Sun Guoting 孫過庭 (648?-703?),² for example, wrote the great essay *Shupu xu* 書譜序 (*Preface to the Manual on Calligraphy*) which provided information regarding popular script forms of the Tang Period. Many copies of this work were made and for a long time it was employed not only as a text for calligraphic theory, but as an outstanding model of the cursive script in which it was written. Later, in 849, the scholar Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (810?-880) compiled and produced the *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄, a comprehensive work which gave an account of the theories and criticism of calligraphy from prominent exponents such as Wang Xizhi through to Zhang Huaiguan 張懷瓘 (eighth century) and others. Yanyuan claimed that those who possessed this work and the *Lidaiming huaji* 歷代名畫記 which he completed two years earlier would have everything they needed to know about painting and calligraphy.³

In Japan, the corresponding Nara and Heian periods also saw calligraphy flourish. The spread of Buddhism had a substantial influence on calligraphy,

¹ Chang and Miller 1990: 238.

² Sun Guoting is also sometimes referred to as Sun Qianli 孫虔禮, this being the name that appears in a number of Chinese literary sources. It is not clear which of the two names is his personal name and which is his literary name. Guoting, perhaps one of the most important calligraphers after Wang Xizhi, was particularly skilled in the cursive and block scripts. Chang and Miller 1990: 253.

³ Chang and Miller 1990: 253. See also Nakanishi 1981: 887, *s.v.* 法書要錄.

as Buddhist scriptures were copied by Japanese calligraphers. Such was the extent of the copying of such texts that a form of calligraphy known as *shakyōtai* 写經体 (sutra-copying form) developed. Contact with China also assisted in the evolution and development of the work of Japanese calligraphers, who eagerly sought after texts and copybooks of renowned Chinese calligraphers such as Wang Xizhi. The Nara and Heian periods also saw the emergence of a number of skilled calligraphers of both the Chinese and Japanese traditions. Firstly, there were the great Japanese calligraphers Kūkai 空海 (774-835), Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786-842) and Tachibana no Hayanari 橘逸勢 (778-842), collectively known as the "Three [Great] Brushes" (*sanpitsu* 三筆). These calligraphers played a large part in the dissemination of Chinese-based styles in Japan and many of their works still exist today, including several plaques written by Emperor Saga.⁴ Another three calligraphers who were highly regarded were Ono no Michikaze 小野道風 (894-996), Fujiwara Sukemasa 藤原佐理 (944-998) and Fujiwara Yukinari 藤原行成 (972-1027), all of the Late Heian period (897-1185). These calligraphers were commonly known together as the "Three [Brush] Traces" (*sanseki* 三蹟), and are generally accredited with the development and spread of Japanese-style calligraphy in Japan. Together they produced a large number of representative Heian period texts of calligraphic merit. Worthy of mention are Michikaze's *Byōbu dodai* 屏風土代, Sukemasa's *Shikaishi* 詩懷紙 and Koreyuki's *Hakuraku tenshikan* 白樂天詩卷, which have all been highly appraised.⁵

Although calligraphy played a dominant role in Nara and Heian period culture, and had gained great popularity among poets, artists and scholars, its history, in comparison to that of China, was as yet relatively short and

⁴ See Haruna 1985: 172-3.

⁵ For further information on these works, consult Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 10*, 1990: 30-34.

calligraphers had yet to produce many significant writings relating to calligraphy in Japan. One of the earliest works considered by some to contain "extensive essays in the theory and criticism of calligraphy"⁶ is Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 (*The Tale of Genji*). In chapter 32 of this work, *A Branch of Plum*, the author describes a calligraphy contest, praising the elegant Japanese styles produced.⁷ The discussions on calligraphy contained within this tale, however, take up only a small percentage of the work as a whole and do not reach the depth of discussion found in later works such as the *Gakusho shōkei* described in Chapter Four below. Kūkai, mentioned above, was another of the earliest Japanese writers to touch on the topic of calligraphic theory in his writings. In addition to his position as an esteemed religious figure, Kūkai's role as a poet of Chinese was prominent. Several early works he produced dealt only with poetry. This was the case in his *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論 (*Secret Teachings of Poetic Mirrors*), ca. 819, which consisted of excerpts from a number of poetic treatises of the Six Dynasties (222-589) and Tang (618-906) periods, and his *Bunpitsu Ganshinshō* 文筆眼心抄 (*The Essentials of Poetry and Prose*), completed in 820. The collection of Kūkai's writings entitled *Henjōhakkī Shōreishū* 遍照發揮性靈集, (*The Collected Works of Kūkai's Prose and Poetry*), commonly abbreviated as *Shōryōshū* 性靈集,⁸ however, contained a number of comments on calligraphic method. It is likely that the inspiration for these comments came between 804 and 806 during Kūkai's sojourn in Tang dynasty China, where he studied Chinese poetry and calligraphy as well as the esoteric Buddhist teachings he brought back to Japan. As with Shikibu's *Genji Monogatari*, the discussions on calligraphic

⁶ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984: 50n and DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 201.

⁷ See Seidensticker 1977, vol. 1: 517-8.

⁸ These three characters can be read as either *Shōreishū* [see Haruna, 1978: 44] or *Shōryōshū* [Iijima (ed.) 1975: 180], but it is usually the case that they are take the latter reading when standing alone.

method contained in the *Shōryōshū* form only a small part of the work as a whole. However, since it contains a significant number of informative theories which relate to calligraphy, this work is sometimes regarded as the earliest calligraphic treatise and Kūkai as the first calligraphic theorist to emerge in the history of calligraphy in Japan.⁹ Kūkai, like other calligraphers, encouraged students of calligraphy to study many old models, stating that the methods for learning calligraphy were essentially the same as those for learning poetry. He emphasized, however, that rather than attempting to produce identical copies of the writings of calligraphic masters, one should concentrate on the various techniques employed by these calligraphers to produce such works. He also warned that limiting one's study to the writing of only one or two calligraphers was insufficient, and stated that one must examine a variety of methods and styles.¹⁰ Kūkai studied many styles himself and was proficient in the block, semi-cursive, cursive, seal and scribe scripts as well as the flying-white script said to have been invented by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132-192) during the Later Han dynasty (25-220). From the Heian period until recent times Kūkai has been regarded as an excellent calligrapher, as is reflected in the common proverb: "*Kōbō mo fude no ayamari*" (Even Kōbō makes mistakes with his brush).

During the Late Heian and Kamakura periods, several treatises which dealt entirely with calligraphy began to appear. The first of these is believed to be the *Yakaku Teikinshō* 夜鶴庭訓抄 (ca. 1170-1175), written by Fujiwara Koreyuki 藤原伊行 (1123?-1175), the sixth head of the Sesonji school of calligraphy, for his daughter Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu 建礼門院右京大夫 or Lady Daibu (b. ca. 1157). Koreyuki's position as a court calligrapher gave him a knowledge of court conventions and etiquette, which he incorporated in his instructions to Lady Daibu. The topics covered in the *Yakaku teikinshō*

⁹ See Iijima (ed.) 1975: 180.

¹⁰ See Haruna 1985: 244-5.

range from rules for writing essays, poems, court documents and the like, to the implements to be used for calligraphy and the attire to be worn when writing in an official capacity. It also includes lists of talented calligraphers. Although the *Yakaku teikinshō* was written primarily for Lady Daibu, comments regarding the work which appear in a later treatise, *Saiyōshō* 才葉抄,¹¹ suggest that it was read by a larger audience, and was regarded as a significant work. *Saiyōshō*, a collection of teachings imparted to Fujiwara Koretsune 藤原伊經 (d. 1227) by Fujiwara Norinaga 藤原教長 (1109-1180) in 1177, is perhaps one of the more well-known treatises on calligraphy. The topics covered in this work include the structure and form of characters, the attitude to be adopted when writing, and comments on the use of models. It also includes several references to both Japanese and Chinese calligraphers, and comparisons between calligraphic practice in China and Japan. Although Norinaga was regarded as a talented calligrapher, throughout his career he was rivalled by the skilled calligrapher Fujiwara Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164) whose writing he criticized, referring to "the inferior quality of his work and to the superiority of a traditional approach to calligraphy."¹² As can be observed in *Saiyōshō*, Norinaga was well-versed in calligraphic method, yet in terms of calligraphic ability, he was perhaps unable to attain the level of recognition achieved by Tadamichi for his calligraphy.

Two other early treatises to appear that dealt with calligraphy alone were the *Kingyoku sekidensho* 金玉積伝抄 and the *Kirinshō* 麒麟抄. The

¹¹ Section 29 of this treatise contains the following passage :

The way to write plaques, poem sheets, petitions, prayers, sutras, the Four Registers of Mt Hiei, religious certificates, and chapters of the Lotus Sutra—this is explained extensively in the *Yakaku Teikinshō*. This treatise contains what was handed down to us by our predecessors, and we should have faith in it.

[Translation by DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 271].

¹² DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 261.

Kingyoku sekidensho, which contains teachings on the methods to be used when writing a variety of documents, employs Buddhist concepts based on the principles of Yin and Yang.¹³ The work is generally attributed to Prince Kaneakira 兼明 (914-987), but the exact date of compilation remains unclear. According to scholars such as Komatsu, it is believed to have been compiled no earlier than the Muromachi period (1393-1573).¹⁴ The ten-volume *Kirinshō* covers a broad range of topics including methods of choosing and correctly using writing utensils, methods for holding the brush, writing techniques for different scripts, *kana* calligraphy and the like. As with the *Kingyoku sekidensho*, it is unclear when and by whom the *Kirinshō* was written or compiled. Some early sources suggest that it was written by Kūkai, and others attribute its compilation to Fujiwara Yukinari. However there is doubt as to the validity of these claims, with some scholars believing the work to have been compiled at a much later date.¹⁵

During the Kamakura period, several more treatises on calligraphy appeared. Three works to gain recognition were *Yakaku shosatsushō* 夜鶴書札抄, *Shinteishō* 心庭抄, and *Yūhitsu no jōjō* 右筆条々.¹⁶ The first of these works, *Yakaku shosatsushō*, is generally accredited to Fujiwara Yuki Yoshi 藤原行能 (1182-1253?), but as DeCoker mentions, the fact that the date listed in the colophon of this work, the first year of Kenji 建治元年 (1275), does not fall within Yuki Yoshi's lifetime casts doubt as to whether he actually composed the work. The content of *Yakaku shosatsushō* is much the same as

¹³ Komatsu 1970: 44. The terms Yin and Yang (J: *Onyō* or *Onmyō* 陰陽) refer to the two complimentary principles that are said to bring about all changes observed in the world. They are based in an ancient Chinese system of belief most likely developed during the Zhou dynasty (1027-256 BC). Kodansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 6: 103, *s.v.* *Onmyōdō*.

¹⁴ Komatsu 1970: 44.

¹⁵ See Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 3 and Komatsu 1970: 44.

¹⁶ DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 271. See also Komatsu 1970: 41-44.

that of *Yakaku teikinshō*. It contains instructions for writing sutras, plaques, and other official documents and includes a discussion on methods of calligraphy (*juboku no hō* 入木の法) as well as a relatively large section on the writing of letters. The second of the aforementioned Kamakura-period treatises, *Shinteishō*, is also occasionally referred to as *Juboku shinteishō* 入木心庭抄. Fujiwara Tsunetomo 藤原経朝 (1215-1276) is believed to have composed this work which, interestingly enough, was completed in 1276, only ten months before his death. It includes a number of sections dealing with the writing of sutras and prayers, and others regarding the use of the ink, inkstone and brush when writing. The discussions on calligraphy it contains are concise and simple and were possibly also suited to those with only a rudimentary knowledge of calligraphic methods. The third treatise, *Yūhitsu no jōjō*, is similar in content to *Shinteishō*, although it contains approximately three times as much information. *Yūhitsu no jōjō* is believed to have been composed by Fujiwara Yukifusa 藤原行房, the grandson of Tsunetomo. In his later years Yukifusa joined the army of Prince Takanaga 尊良 (1311-1337), but followed him to his death in 1337 by committing suicide. Although Yukifusa's work displayed well his knowledge of various aspects of calligraphy, he left few other writings to posterity and consequently little is known of his life as a calligrapher.¹⁷

Despite the fact that most of the above treatises provide a useful insight into calligraphic practices of the earlier periods and into the teachings of certain schools of calligraphy at the time, their content, in comparison to later discourses on calligraphy, was somewhat limited. Accordingly, some scholars do not regard these works as actual treatises, and consider *Jubokushō* 入木抄 of the Nanbokuchō period (1336-1393) to be the first genuine treatise on calligraphy.¹⁸ *Jubokushō*, written in 1352 by Prince Son'en 尊円 (1298-1356),

¹⁷ Komatsu 1970: 202-3.

¹⁸ See Haruna 1985: 248.

the founder of the Shōren'in school 青蓮院, has been described as "one of the most important of all Japanese essays on calligraphy."¹⁹ The work consists of twenty sections, each dealing with a particular aspect of the art. The topics covered include the way of holding the brush, the size of characters, the choice of a model, implements for writing, and the comparison of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy from a historical perspective. It was composed for Emperor Go-Kōgon 後光嚴 (1338-1374; r. 1352-1371) to be used as a manual for his study of calligraphy. The emperor was only fifteen years old at the time, which Son'en seems to have taken into account, for many instructions appear to be aimed at those beginning study as a calligrapher. This treatise was not, however, used solely by Emperor Go-Kōgon, but was employed widely by many calligraphers of the Shōren'in school, and remained a popular handbook for calligraphers long after Son'en's time. It can thus be considered a significant work in the history of calligraphic treatises in Japan.

Although several more treatises appeared throughout the following Muromachi and Momoyama periods, it was not until the Edo period that treatises on calligraphy started to appear in large numbers.²⁰ Haruna also tells us that it was not until the Edo period that calligraphic treatises started to take on a prescribed form.²¹ Before the Edo period, many treatises focused on secret teachings of various schools of calligraphy, which developed under the influence of schools that wanted to set themselves apart from other schools.²² Treatises of the Edo period, however, were often longer and contained information on a wider range of topics. As a rule, their focus was not on secret teachings, but on aspects of calligraphy in general. Their authors sought

¹⁹ Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984 cited in DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 197.

²⁰ The list of Edo-period writings on calligraphy contained in Yoneda, for example shows the extent of development such treatises at the time, See Yoneda: 1991: i-xvii.

²¹ Haruna 1978: 45.

²² DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 201.

to inform readers on matters they considered to be important, such as the size and form of characters, the ways calligraphy should be taught to children, differences between Chinese and Japanese-style calligraphy, and on the works written by eminent calligraphers. Although these matters were also sometimes alluded to in pre-Edo period treatises, the level of discussion in such earlier works was frequently no more than rudimentary. The authors of Edo-period treatises, in contrast, often assumed a prior knowledge of calligraphy, particularly with reference to names and works of prominent calligraphers. This is possibly due to the fact that during the Edo period, calligraphy was practised by a much wider group in society including peasants, merchants and others, whose understanding of such matters was greater than that of earlier periods. Let us now examine, through translation, excerpts from some of the Edo period treatises which discuss the matters mentioned above, and consider their role in society of the time. The following translation and analysis of these excerpts will be dealt with in two chapters. The following chapter contains two excerpts relating to *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy written by the scholar and calligrapher Hagino Kyūko 萩野鳩谷. Chapter Five contains seven excerpts from works of three early and mid-Edo period calligraphers, namely Sawada Tōkō 沢田東江, Koshio Yūshō 小塩幽照 and Hori Ryūsui 堀流水軒.

CHAPTER IV

*Edo-period Treatises (1)**Gakusho shōkei: Two Translated Excerpts*

The following passages, respectively entitled *Karayō no setsu* 唐様の説 (*Theories on Chinese Style*) and *Wayō no setsu* 和様の説 (*Theories on Japanese Style*), are found in the work *Gakusho shōkei* 學書捷經 (*Abstract Methods for Calligraphic Study*), 1778, by Hagino Kyūroku 萩野鳩谷 (1717-1817) of Izumo province.¹ Hagino, who wrote many works on the topic of calligraphy, was also known by the sobriquet Kyūshi 求之 and the popular name Kinai 喜内, and assumed the name of Hakkyū 白求 as well as Tengu 天愚. He was perhaps best known in society by the name Tengu Kuhira 天愚孔平. According to tradition, Hagino was born to the wife of Kong Yinchun 孔胤椿, a sixty-fifth generation descendant of Confucius. Yinchun's wife, while still pregnant, was taken to Japan by Japanese pirates where she became the wife of a man whose surname was Hei 平. Taking both this surname and that of his real father, Kong 孔, Hagino was named Kuhira 孔平. Hagino was regarded in society as something of an eccentric man, but upon examining writings such as his *Gakusho shōkei*, one can clearly see that he was a serious and knowledgeable writer. In this work Hagino wrote on various topics including Chinese and Japanese styles of calligraphy, womens' brushwriting, copybooks for those beginning calligraphy, and methods of holding the brush.

Although the present translations contain several obscure names and terms, I have attempted to provide translations and explanations of these where possible. It should be noted that each passage has been divided into several smaller sections. Although the original texts read as continuous passages,

¹ 出雲. The area located in present-day Shimane prefecture.

they contain a number of important points which are probably more easily discussed in segments, hence the present format. The references for these sections are provided in a footnote at the end of each section. Let us now examine the first of these two passages, *Karayō no setsu* (*Theories on Chinese Style*).

1. *Theories on Chinese Style*²

Those who study calligraphy correctly learn the method of holding the brush, and when they look at old copybooks, they harmonize their heart and their hand, resisting various bad habits and naturally attain the excellence contained in such works. They do not wait to hear others at length. The wise do not speak, and those who speak do not understand.³ On account of [sayings] such as these, in ancient and modern times men of distinction have been of few words and there have been no experts among the pretentious.⁴

Here Hagino begins by stressing the importance of maintaining a correct method of holding the brush when looking at old copybooks in order to achieve a high standard of calligraphy. As can be seen in a later section of the *Gakusho shōkei*, *Hahitsu no hō* 把筆の法 (*Brush-Holding Methods*),⁵ the method of holding the brush when writing was a matter of priority for Hagino. In this section Hagino stated that if one desires to progress in writing, one

² The following passage, divided into five sections, is a translation of that which appears in Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 426-7. A facsimile version of the original can also be found in Nishikawa (ed.) 1978-9, vol. 6: 195-6. See also Appendix A, pp. 137-8.

³ Although Hagino does not reveal the source of this saying, he is clearly quoting Laozi 老子, the founder of Taoism who began the 56th chapter of his work *Daodejing* (ca. 240 BC) with the phrase: 知者不言、言者不知。 (*zhizhe buyan, yanzhe buzhi*). Waley translates this phrase as, "Those who know do not speak; Those who speak do not know." [Waley 1934: 210].

⁴ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 426 (l. 3-7). See Appendix A, p. 137.

⁵ See Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 428-9.

must first correctly hold the brush, and added that good and bad forms of characters generally come from the way of using the brush, just as good and bad ways of using the brush come from the way one holds it. Hagino also believed that if one's method of holding the brush was bad, then one's brushwork would not be free and no amount of practice would result in improved calligraphy.⁶ Hagino advocated the *sōkō* 双鉤 method of holding the brush, whereby the thumb, index and middle fingers are placed on the stem of the brush. This method was similar to the *hattō* 撥燈⁷ method employed by Wen Zhengming, whose calligraphy Hagino studied. The *hattō* method was employed by a number of leading *karayō* calligraphers including Kitajima Setsuzan, Hosoi Kōtaku, Sawada Tōkō and Qing dynasty⁸ Yu Lide 俞立德 who travelled to Japan and taught Kitajima the style of Wen Zhengming. Like Hagino these calligraphers also occasionally wrote on methods of holding the brush when writing.⁹

Hagino also suggests here that quietness was regarded as a virtue for the wise and on account of such views, men of distinction were of few words. In calligraphy, being quiet and having a focused spirit was regarded as an important attribute and was a point noted in several treatises on calligraphy, including the *Saiyōshō* 才葉抄, a collection of the teachings of the calligrapher Fujiwara Norinaga 藤原教長 (1109-1180), who stated: "When you want to write, first grind the ink, focus your spirit, and quiet your thoughts."¹⁰

⁶ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 428-9: 手の早く上達せん事を欲せば、先筆の把様を正すべし、凡字體の美悪は、筆の使ひ様にあり、筆使ひの善悪は筆の把様にあり、筆の把様あしければ、筆使ひ自由ならずして、字形悪しく、何程習ひても、上達せず。

⁷ The characters 撥燈 (*hattō*) are occasionally used for this term.

⁸ 清 (1644-1912).

⁹ See, for example, Hosoi Kōtaku's *Hattō shinsen* 撥燈真詮 (ca. 1756) or the eleventh section of Sawada Tōkō's *Tōkō sensei showa* 東江先生書話, *Hahitsu hattōhō no koto* 把筆撥燈法の話 in Nishikawa 1978-9, vol. 6: 1-18 and vol. 3: 128-9 respectively.

Instructions such as these were common and continued to be taught by a number of Edo-period writers¹¹ so it is not surprising that Hagino mentions such views here. Let us now continue and examine the second section of *Karayō no setsu*.

Because in China everything is refined, calligraphers also, in accordance with that [tendency] hold advanced discussions and set up various terms such as The Eight Faults¹² and the like. Although the related theories are not unsatisfactory, since their principles are unclear they are of no use. To briefly give one example: the Eight Faults are things which calligraphers detest, but unless one is familiar with them, one cannot appreciate the associated theory. Those who understand the theory are naturally free from these Eight Faults. This [though], is worthless distinction. If one wishes to let others become acquainted with the Eight Faults then there is nothing better than letting them know about how to hold the brush and about harmony of the heart and hand. The various schools of thought regard such things as these as frivolous, [yet] they do not know how to argue in a talented way and present [only] inaccurate theories. One should not employ these [theories].¹³

¹⁰ Translated by DeCoker [*MN* 43:3, 1988: 273].

¹¹ See, for example, the translation of *Terako ōrai* 寺子往来 below (p. 98-9).

¹² C: *babing* 八病. The eight faults to avoid when composing poetry. These faults, which generally relate to the use of characters in couplets or verses of poetry, are as follows: (1) *Pingtou* 平頭 (Using similarly pronounced characters for the first and second characters of both the upper and lower verses of a couplet). (2) *Shangwei* 上尾 (Using similarly pronounced characters for the last character of both the upper and lower verses of a couplet). (3) *Fengyao* 蜂腰 (Using similarly pronounced characters for the second and fourth characters of either the upper or lower verse of a couplet). (4) *Haoksi* 鶴膝 (Using similarly pronounced characters for the fifth character of both the first and third verses of a section of poetry). (5) *Dayun* 大韻 (Using characters with the same pronunciation for any two characters in a ten character couplet). (6) *Xiaoyun* 小韻 (Using similarly pronounced characters for any two characters within the first nine characters of a ten character couplet, with an exception of using the same character twice). (7) *Bangniu* 傍紐 (Using a two-character combination where the initial consonant or vowel of both characters is the same but the two characters do not rhyme - similar to alliteration in English). (8) *Zhengniu* 正紐 (Using characters of the same pronunciation even if the tone is different). These Eight Faults were originally identified by the Chinese politician and scholar Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513).

Here, in common with many Edo period *karayō* calligraphers, Hagino first asserts his respect for China, saying everything there is refined, and mentions the custom of its calligraphers to hold advanced discussions. However, he subsequently expresses his dissatisfaction with the theories produced by these calligraphers and various schools of thought, noting a lack of clarity in their principles. Hagino's statement that if one wishes to let others become acquainted with the Eight Faults then there is nothing better than letting them know about how to hold the brush and about harmony of the heart and hand suggests that he believed one would naturally come to understand and master difficult theories if one first studied basic aspects of brushwork and learnt to control the feelings within one's heart through the practice of calligraphy. This is similar to the comments of Prince Son'en 尊円 (1298-1356) who, in the fourth section of his *Jubokushō* 入木抄, entitled *Fudezukai kanyōtaru koto* 筆仕肝要たること (*The Importance of Brushwork*), says:

The shape of a character is, in a manner of speaking, a person's appearance, and the vigour of the brush is the expression of the workings of his heart. Ultimately, the study of any Way is a labour of the heart. If you base your study on the heart of the classic calligraphers and study the Way thoroughly, you will naturally master its mysteries.¹⁴

Let us now examine the third section of *Karayō no setsu* which provides a list of copybooks recommended by Hagino.

True and good copybooks are extremely rare. For many years I have sought after [these] and obtained several [as follows]. For seal script, The Qin dynasty¹⁵ *Lisi yishan bei*.¹⁶ For late Tang dynasty inscriptions and *bafenshu*,¹⁷ Tang dynasty Xuan Zong's¹⁸ *Jinwen xiaojing yuzhu*¹⁹ as well as his *Shitai*²⁰ inscription. For block script, Jin dynasty²¹ Wang

¹³ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 426 (l. 7-16). See Appendix A, p. 137.

¹⁴ Translation by DeCoker [*MN* 43:2 1988: 213].

¹⁵ 秦 (221-207 BC).

Youjun's²² *Yueyi lun*²³ and *Sanzang shengjing xu*,²⁴ Tang dynasty Ouyang Xun's²⁵ *Huangfujun bei*²⁶ and *Jiuchenggong fu*,²⁷ and Di Xuan's²⁸ *Qianziwen*.²⁹ The above compositions were all printed during the Song

¹⁶ 李斯嶧山碑 (*Li Si's Yishan monument*). Li Si was the Qin dynasty scholar who studied law under the supervision of Xun Zi 荀子 (?298-?238 BC) and later rose to the position of Prime Minister and official inscriber for the court. Li Si was a talented calligrapher, proficient in the small seal script which he is said to have played a part in establishing [see Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 971]. *Yishan bei* is the name of an inscription, the text for which was written by the first emperor of the Qin dynasty praising the virtue of that dynasty.

¹⁷ 八分書. The name given to one form of scribe script having an undulating appearance. This script is said to have been created by Wang Cizhong 王次仲 of the Qin dynasty. See Harada (ed.) 1989: 245.

¹⁸ 玄宗 The posthumous name given to the sixth emperor of the Tang dynasty, Long Ji 隆基 (685-762). At the beginning of his reign, Xuan Zong installed ministers of his choice and pursued his own politics, initiating reforms in both the political and military fields. He successfully ruled the Chinese Empire until he was pushed from his throne by An Lushan 安祿山 in 755-6 [see Roberts 1996: 96-100]. As a calligrapher, Xuan Zong produced several talented works including the model texts for the *Wangrenjiao bei* 王仁皎碑 inscription of 719 and the *Shitai xiaojing* 石臺孝經 (*Stone Mounting Book of Filial Piety*) of 745. [For photographs of excerpts from these works, see Iijima (ed.) 1975: 215]. Xuan Zong was proficient in the *bafen* 八分 (scribe), essay cursive and semi-cursive script forms.

¹⁹ 今文孝經御注 (*Official Commentary to the Scribe Script Book of Filial Piety*). It should be mentioned here that the characters 今文 refer to the form of writing commonly in use during the Han 漢 dynasty (201 BC - AD 220), namely scribe script. See Harada (ed.) 1989: 132.

²⁰ 石臺 (*Stone Mounting*). This refers to the *Shitai xiaojing*, mentioned above, which was named after being placed on a high stone mounting in the city of Chang'an (present-day Xi'an city, Xi'an province). See Iijima (ed.) 1975: 215.

²¹ 晉 (265-420).

²² 王右軍 An alternative name for Wang Xizhi 王羲之 derived from his position of General of the Right Forces (*Youjun jiangjun* 右軍將軍).

²³ 樂毅論 (*Discourse on Yue Yi*). A work originally written by Xia Houxuan 夏侯玄 of the Three Kingdoms Wei dynasty 三國魏 (222-265) regarding the Warring States dynasty military commander Yue Yi. By the Liang dynasty 梁 (502-557), a number of copies of the work had already been produced. The first of these is attributed to Wang Xizhi.

²⁴ 三藏聖經敘 (*Preface to the Sacred Scriptures of the Tripitaka*). A collection of the writings of Wang Xianzhi.

dynasty³⁰ and are indeed marvellous works. In particular, in the *Shengjing xu*,³¹ in addition to the printed text of the book, one can see that those who owned copies have stamped the work. There are a number of red seals [in the work] and because one of them reads as *Yanzhou jianshang*,³² it is believed to have been held and cherished by Wang Yuanmei.³³ As holographs which have been directly transmitted, there is Yuan dynasty³⁴ Zhao Ziang's³⁵ *Xingshu tianma fu*³⁶ and *Dazi jinlu tie*,³⁷ the *Wang*

²⁵ 歐陽詢 (557-641). A well-known politician and calligrapher of the Zhen 陳 dynasty (557-589). Ouyang was well versed in the seal script, but is probably best known for his block script works. Ouyang produced the texts for several stone tablet inscriptions, the most important of these being the *Huadusi bei* 化度寺碑 (*Stone Tablet for the Huadu Monastery*). See Chang and Miller 1990: 239.

²⁶ 皇甫君碑 (*Huangfu Jun Monument*). A block script inscription also known as the *Huangfu dan bei* 皇甫誕碑 or the *Huangfu fudan bei* 皇甫府君碑. This monument is believed to have first been written sometime during the early seventh century.

²⁷ 九成宮賦 (*Ode to the Jiucheng Shrine*). This work, written in Ouyang Xun's seventy-sixth year (632) is believed to have been erected at the order of Wenhuan 文皇 of the early Tang dynasty after he rested at the Jiucheng Shrine. See Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 175.

²⁸ 弟玄 Biography obscure.

²⁹ 千字文 (*Thousand Character Classic*). The original text of this famous work was composed by sixth century Zhou Xingci 周興嗣 under the imperial order of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 502-549) of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502-557). Emperor Wu is supposed to have had a collection of a thousand different characters from the writings of Wang Xizhi which he ordered Xingci to arrange into intelligible four-character verses. Several versions of the *Qianziwen* exist and for many centuries the text was used as an elementary textbook in China. See Chang and Miller 1990: 422.

³⁰ 宋 (960-1126).

³¹ 聖經敍 (*Preface to the Canon*). An abbreviation of the *Sanzang shengjing xu* mentioned above in note 24.

³² 弇州鑒賞 (*Appraisal of Yanzhou*).

³³ 王元美 An alternative name of Wang Shizheng 王世貞 (1526-1590). Shizheng, who was regarded as a master of classical literature was also known by the sobriquet Yanzhou Shanren 弇州山人, hence the supposition of his possession of this work.

³⁴ 元 (1230-1368).

³⁵ 趙子昂 (1254-1322). See previous section on the *karayō* tradition (p. 23 above) for information on this calligrapher.

*youjun caoshu qianziwen*³⁸ compiled by Wen Zhengming³⁹ of the Ming dynasty,⁴⁰ Zhengming's *Xingshu sanshiliu xianzan*,⁴¹ Zhu Yunming's⁴² *Kuangcao dazi qiuxing bashou*⁴³ and his epilogue to the *Zhongzi shanglin fu*⁴⁴ and Dong Qichang's⁴⁵ *Xingshu dazi tangshi jueju*.⁴⁶ Of people from this country, there is Chūsho Sanryū's⁴⁷ calligraphy. [However], none of this possesses 'mystery and divinity'.⁴⁸ Among these fifteen [copybooks], although there are titles which have been made known in society, when comparing them [with other works, it is apparent that] they are not of this kind. Of these, there are twelve which have been printed already. The remainder have in turn gradually been printed and disseminated. People of like mind should certainly know that what I say

³⁶ 行書天馬賦 (*Semi-Cursive Tianma Verse*).

³⁷ 大字金鱸帖 (*Large Character Golden Sea Bass Copybook*).

³⁸ 王右軍草書千字文 (*Wang Youjun's Cursive Thousand Character Classic*).

³⁹ 文徵明 (1470-1559). See previous section on the *karayō* tradition (p. 23 above) for information on this calligrapher.

⁴⁰ 明 (1368-1644).

⁴¹ 行書三十六賢贊 (*Semi-Cursive Thirty-six Enlightened Inscriptions*).

⁴² 祝允明 (1460-1626). A Ming scholar and calligrapher from Jiangsu 江蘇 province otherwise known as Zhi Shan 枝山.

⁴³ 狂草大字秋興八首 (*Raging-Cursive Large Character Eight Verses of Autumn Sentiment*). Poetry composed by the Tang dynasty poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770).

⁴⁴ 中字上林賦 (*Medium-sized Character Ode to Shang Lin*). A work composed by Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 of the Han dynasty regarding the appearance of the imperial gardens in present Xi'an prefecture, Xiayi province, which were referred to as Shang Lin.

⁴⁵ 董其昌 (1555-1636). A literary man of the Ming dynasty. Qichang was a skilled calligrapher who excelled in both the block and semi-cursive scripts. From an early age he studied the calligraphy of Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558-638) and Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785), but later turned to the works of Wang Xizhi and Zhong You 鍾繇 (151-230).

⁴⁶ 行書大字唐詩絕句 (*Semi-Cursive Large Character Quatrain of Tang Verse*).

⁴⁷ 中嶼三隆. An alternative name for Kitajima Setsuzan 北島雪山 (1636-1697).

⁴⁸ *Shinmyō* 神妙. This term probably originated from two of the three terms that were used in China to grade superior calligraphers, namely divine (J: *shin* 神), mysterious (J: *myō* 妙) and skilled (J: *nō* 能). See DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 224 (n. 81).

is not incorrect. Needless to say, I would like those who study calligraphy to focus their attention on old copybooks.⁴⁹

As mentioned above, for those who practised *karayō* calligraphy during the Edo period, having access to original Chinese calligraphic works and copybooks was a matter of considerable importance. Here Hagino states that "true and good copybooks are extremely rare," yet the fact that he sought after these for a long time and obtained several works, which he lists, indicates that there still did exist a number of Chinese copybooks in Japan during the Edo period, and that they were not totally impossible to obtain. As with other *karayō* calligraphers in Japan, it seems that the works of Wang Xizhi, Ouyang Xun, Zhao Ziang and Wen Zhengming were particularly favoured by Hagino. Several of the fifteen copybooks Hagino mentions are also identified and recommended by other *karayō* calligraphers. Matsushita Useki 松下烏石 (1699-1779), in his *Shogaku Taigai* 書学大概 (*The Rudiments of Calligraphic Study*), also names Xuan Zong's *Xiaojing* and Wang Xizhi's *Yueyi lun* as copybooks to be frequently referred to, while Sawada Tōkō, in his *Tōkō sensei showa*, similarly recommends Li Si's *Yishan bei* and Xuan Zong's *Shitai xiaojing*.⁵⁰ With regard to copybooks produced in Japan, Hagino mentions only Chūsho Sanryū's (Kitajima Setsuzan's) calligraphy but says that none of this can be classified as "mysterious and divine." The first copybooks to appear in Japan were those introduced from China; it was not until the mid-Edo period that copybooks began to be produced in Japan in large numbers.⁵¹ It is therefore likely that Chinese copybooks, although few, were more disseminated in society than their Japanese counterparts, and that Japanese calligraphers, especially those of the *karayō* tradition, would naturally turn to older (Chinese)

⁴⁹ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 426 (l. 16-34). See Appendix A, p. 137.

⁵⁰ See Haruna 1974: 246.

⁵¹ See Haruna 1974: 246-7.

copybooks for inspiration when writing, as is recommended by Hagino in the last sentence of the above section. Let us now examine the following section, in which Hagino indicates his thoughts on discourses on *karayō* calligraphy.

As for discourses on *karayō*, since several works such as the *Rinchi seigan*⁵², the *Kigō shōkei*⁵³ and the *Hitsugen benyō shoka bigen*⁵⁴ have been written, I will not refer to them here. With regard to the large characters mentioned above, there are those from four or five *sun*⁵⁵ to those reaching over one *shaku*⁵⁶ [in height].⁵⁷

As we can see, Hagino avoids going into detail regarding discourses on calligraphy which suggests that he placed a greater emphasis on studying calligraphy through the copying of models than by studying theories on calligraphy. This seems to be in accordance with Japanese tradition. Fujiwara Norinaga accentuated in his work *Saiyōshō* the importance of examining and possessing many models, while in the treatise *Jubokushō*, Son'en strongly encouraged the use of appropriate models for writing. The three works he mentions in the above excerpt all appear to be relatively obscure.⁵⁸ Hagino states that the size of the large characters in his copybook collection range from four or five *sun* to over one *shaku*. This is similar to the definition of large characters in China given in section nine of Sawada's *Tōkō sensei showa*, which says that in China all characters bigger than three or four *sun* are

⁵² 臨池正眼 (*Straightforward Aspects of Calligraphic Study*).

⁵³ 揮毫捷徑 (*Abstract Methods of Brushwriting*).

⁵⁴ 筆硯便用書家微言 (*A Calligrapher's Humble Opinion of the Brush and Inkstone for Use in Letters*).

⁵⁵ 四五寸 That is, approximately 4.8 - 6 in. (about 12.1 - 15.2 cm).

⁵⁶ 尺 That is, approximately 11.9 in. (about 30.3 cm).

⁵⁷ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 426 (l. 34)- 427 (l. 3). See Appendix A, p. 137.

⁵⁸ None of these works is mentioned in Iijima's *Shodō jiten* or Morohashi's *Daikanwa jiten* (which lists a large number of well-known Chinese and Japanese texts).

regarded as large characters.⁵⁹ Let us now examine the final section of *Karayō no setsu* which provides an anecdote on the talented *karayō* calligrapher, Chūsho Sanryū (Kitajima Setsuzan).

Sanryū, [also mentioned above,] was an Edo Confucianist who later moved to Nagasaki. He had a desire to escape from society and frequently omitted dates in his calligraphy. He did not settle on one name [but] because among the various names he used, the sobriquet Sessan (雪參) was common, he mistakenly became known in society as someone from Setsuzan.⁶⁰ My grandfather Tōkei⁶¹ was in Edo and was familiar [with Sanryū] from an early age. Later, remembering [Sanryū] nostalgically, he took an excursion to Nagasaki and was on close terms with him. At that time, the disciple Kōtaku⁶² came to ask after him and [my grandfather] introduced him to Sanryū and made him a disciple. To call Sanryū a calligrapher because he produced many titles after Kōtaku is an error. Originally his surname was Chūsho, his name was San and his sobriquet was Ryū, and these were read together. The characters⁶³ are read Chūsho. His *katakana* was [written in] cursive script and he collected this and made it into books. He added his name to these and for a short time wrote his name as Sessan 雪三 for amusement. He presented these writings to Kōtaku, but Kōtaku was not on familiar terms with him and did not understand the meaning [of these characters]. Afterwards, [Kōtaku] mistook this cursive script as the characters for Setsuzan 雪山. Because it was recorded this way even in the editing, [Setsuzan] announced the meaning [of these characters] but because this [writing] had already been printed this [misunderstanding] was unavoidable. My father was told that this was a regrettable matter. Of the calligraphy of Sanryū that was passed down into my family, if it were to be made into one book, there

⁵⁹ See translation *On Large, Medium and Small Characters* below (p. 75).

⁶⁰ *Setsuzanjin* 雪山人. The characters 參 and 山 can both be pronounced *san* in Japanese. The locality of the Setsuzan mentioned here is uncertain, although there exist several mountains with this name. See Morohashi (ed.) 1990, vol. 12: 10, *s.v.* 雪山.

⁶¹ 東溪 Biography obscure.

⁶² Hosoi Kōtaku 細井広沢 (1658-1735).

⁶³ Literally, *sound / pronunciation* (J: *on* 音).

would probably be one hundred pages of large and medium-sized characters and five or six hundred pages of small-sized *katakana* and characters.⁶⁴ Because all of this is talented calligraphy, it is not usual. Although this matter is unrelated, I have recorded it so that Sanryū's name might be made known.⁶⁵

In this final section, which constitutes approximately one third of the passage, Hagino focuses his comments on the calligrapher Sanryū (Kitajima Setsuzan) who was regarded as one of the forerunners of *karayō* calligraphy during the Edo period. Setsuzan was born in Higo province,⁶⁶ the son of a medical practitioner. At the age of twenty, he moved to Nagasaki with his older brother Kōan 江庵 to study medicine. It was there that he encountered the Chinese calligraphers Dai Li, Jifei and Yu Lide with whom he began to study the calligraphic method of Wen Zhengming. During the early years of the Kanbun era (1661-1673) Setsuzan also studied the teachings of Wang Yangming,⁶⁷ but it was for his calligraphy that he eventually became most well-known. Hagino mentions here that his grandfather was on familiar terms with Setsuzan from an early age and also refers to his family's sizable collection of Setsuzan's "talented calligraphy." Although in the last sentence of the above section Hagino gives the reason for his mentioning of Setsuzan as wanting to make Sanryū's name known, it is possible that he also desired to

⁶⁴ 豆大の小字. The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

⁶⁵ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 427 (l. 3-21). See Appendix A, pp. 137-8.

⁶⁶ 肥後国. The area located in present-day Kumamoto prefecture.

⁶⁷ 陽明学 (J: *yōmeigaku*). A system of thought founded by the Ming dynasty Chinese philosopher Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529) who taught on methods regarding betterment of the individual through the union of thought and action, placing stress on practice. *Yōmeigaku* contrasted with the "intellectualist, rationalist approach" of Neo-Confucianism which emphasized study of the Classics. It was perhaps during the Edo period that *Yōmeigaku* rose to greatest popularity, but its followers tended to be isolated from one another and it failed to gain the amount of support received by Neo-Confucianism. Kodansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 8: 335, *s.v.* *Yōmeigaku*.

establish his family's connection with Setsuzan, since having an association with talented calligraphers was regarded as important in order to make one's own name known.

As can be seen from *Karayō no setsu*, Hagino held a degree of respect for China and Chinese-based styles, possessing several popular Chinese copybooks and a large amount of Kitajima Setsuzan's calligraphy. Although he does not speak well of the theories of certain Chinese calligraphers and schools of thought, from his description of Chinese works in his possession as "true and good copybooks" and his readiness to link Setsuzan and his calligraphy to his own family line, it is apparent that Hagino viewed *karayō* calligraphy in a favourable light. Let us now turn and examine Hagino's passage on *wayō* calligraphy, *Wayō no setsu (Theories on Japanese Style)*, which appears directly after *Karayō no setsu* in *Gakusho shōkei*.

2. *Theories on Japanese Style*⁶⁸

In recent times literature has flourished, and calligraphers of the Japanese tradition have emulated Chinese style [calligraphy] and have embellished [the calligraphy in] their own letters. They display their artistic ability with their characters now thick, now thin, and do not display uniformity in these changes. In some cases people regard Xi and Xian⁶⁹ as founders [of their calligraphy] and expound their theories and in other cases there are those who teach block script.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ The following passage, divided into six sections, is a translation of that which appears in Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 427-8. A facsimile version of the original can also be found in Nishikawa (ed.) 1978-9, vol. 6: 196-7. See also Appendix A, p. 138-9. As is the case for *Karayō no setsu* above, the references for each translated section are provided in a footnote at the end of each section.

⁶⁹ 羲献. An abbreviation for Wang Xizhi 王羲之 and his son Xianzhi 献之. See also below.

⁷⁰ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 427 (l. 23-26). See Appendix A, p. 138.

Hagino first acknowledges the rise in popularity of Chinese-based styles and the trend of Japanese calligraphers to incorporate the styles in their own writing. He seems dissatisfied, however, with the apparent inability of Japanese calligraphers to maintain uniformity in their writing when employing these styles. Hagino mentions that in some cases people regard the two Wangs, Xizhi and Xianzhi, as the founders of their calligraphy. Respect for Xizhi, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, for Xianzhi,⁷¹ was frequently displayed in the comments of a number of leading *karayō* calligraphers such as Sawada Tōkō, who described these calligraphers as "successive masters."⁷² In addition, as mentioned above, several prominent calligraphers including Tōkō and Matsushita Useki also recommended copybooks of Xizhi's writings to be used as models for study,⁷³ which undoubtedly added to his popularity. Hagino also mentions here that there were those who taught the block script. Although block script was well established in Japan, and from the Heian period onwards showed "a suggestion of qualities not to be seen in Chinese works," it had "always been based on Chinese models,"⁷⁴ and calligraphers often recommended Chinese works alone when listing models to be used for block script practice.⁷⁵ It is likely that the block script mentioned here is that of Chinese calligraphers whose works were available in Japan during the Edo period. Let us now examine the following section in which Hagino emphasizes

⁷¹ Although both Xizhi and Xianxi were highly regarded as calligraphers, it is generally Xizhi, often referred to as Dawang 大王 (The Greater Wang), who was viewed as the more outstanding of the two.

⁷² Haruna 1974: 245.

⁷³ Copybooks such as the *Yueyi lun* 樂毅論, the *Lanting xu* 蘭亭序, and the *Shiqi tie* 十七帖 were all popular and continued to be recommended by later Edo period calligraphers such as Ichikawa Beian 市河米庵 (1779-1858). Haruna 1974: 245.

⁷⁴ Nakata 1973: 99.

⁷⁵ Such was the case in section eight of Sawada Tōkō's *Tōkō sensei showa* (see translation below, p. 67-69).

the differences between calligraphy of the Chinese and Japanese traditions.

Because characters are indeed written within the Japanese tradition, the foundations [for writing characters] are the same [as for Chinese styles]. However, when one has departed from these and become a writer of letters, one places the most importance on beauty [of characters] and on delaying in movement of the brush, and argues against a writing style. Chinese style [calligraphy] places the greatest importance on one's temperament and writing style, and is not preoccupied with the form of characters. Such things, which Chinese style [calligraphy] regards highly, are things which the Japanese tradition despises. Things that are disdained by the Japanese tradition are made into those which are esteemed by Chinese styles; their teachings are set completely apart.⁷⁶

As Hagino implies above, the method of calligraphy employed in writing letters was somewhat different from that used when producing finished works. He comments that when one has departed from traditional foundations for writing and become a writer of letters, then one places the most importance on beauty of characters and on delaying in movement of the brush. This statement differs slightly from the view of earlier calligraphers such as Prince Son'en, who in his work *Jubokushō* states: "As for letters, it is a rare instance that one from the brush of a master of old can be used as a model, because they wrote these quickly without paying attention to the form."⁷⁷ Son'en did, however, acknowledge the fact that using letters as a model for writing had become a common practice, saying, "In recent times, people seeking models mostly want to use letters."⁷⁸ Of interest in this connection is Hagino's comment that contrary to the Japanese tradition, Chinese style calligraphy places the greatest importance on one's temperament and writing style, and is not preoccupied with the form of characters. In China, such views were common

⁷⁶ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 427 (l. 26-31). See Appendix A, p. 138.

⁷⁷ Translation by DeCoker [*MN* 43:2, 1988: 221].

⁷⁸ Translation by DeCoker [*MN* 43:2, 1988: 220].

among artists and calligraphers and can be found in the statements of those such as the fourteenth-century landscape painter and calligrapher Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374) who to show his indifference towards form said, "I paint bamboo simply to let out the untrammelled air from my chest. I do not care whether the viewer calls it weeds or rushes. It doesn't matter to me."⁷⁹ Similarly, the eleventh century Sung calligrapher, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101) once remarked, "When you have no intention of making your calligraphy good, then it is good."⁸⁰ Hagino makes a point of stating that opinions such as these were not prevalent within the Japanese tradition of calligraphy, which regarded the form and beauty of characters an important matter. In the following section, Hagino stresses the importance of maintaining consistency in one's writing.

Nevertheless, because people emulate the Chinese styles while learning [calligraphy of] the Japanese tradition, their brushwriting is inconsistent and [the two traditions] interfere with each other. The saying in society that if one learns [calligraphy of] the Japanese tradition and studies the Chinese styles then one's form of characters will lose their shape and their writing will become poor, is not untrue. The fact is that we should regard Xi and Xian as the authorities [on calligraphy], and esteem them. The Japanese tradition repeatedly miswrites [calligraphy of] Chinese styles and subsequently simplifies the calligraphy of Xi and Xian.⁸¹

Here Hagino states that despite the difference between Chinese and Japanese styles, there are those of the Japanese tradition who implement Chinese style calligraphy in their writing and consequently produce brushwriting that is inconsistent. He then implies that a calligrapher must restrict his or her writing to only one of either the Japanese or Chinese traditions of calligraphy to avoid poor writing and misshapen characters, but adds that Xi and Xian should be regarded as the authorities on calligraphy,

⁷⁹ Translation by Chang and Miller 1990: 2.

⁸⁰ Translation by Chang and Miller 1990: 2.

⁸¹ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 427 (l. 31)-428 (l. 2). See Appendix A, p. 138.

suggesting that he favoured *karayō*, or Chinese style calligraphy. Hagino also accuses the Japanese tradition of subsequently simplifying the calligraphy of Xi and Xian. Chinese-style calligraphy, however, was by no means free from simplified forms of characters. In his *Jubokushō*, Prince Son'en criticized Song calligraphy⁸² as lacking in mystery and divinity and said that there were too many abbreviated characters in calligraphy of the Chinese tradition.⁸³

Let us now examine the fourth section of *Wayō no setsu*, in which Hagino continues his emphasis on the importance of maintaining consistency in one's calligraphy.

Because extremely poor handwriting weighed down with frequent errors comes from divergence from correct methods, when looking from [the perspective of] the basic rules of calligraphy, such [divergence] should be detested. However, in society, this has become a usual practice [when writing] letters. Of [those whose] manners do not change, although they know their mistakes, they have reached a position where they do not reform them. It should be taught that if one learns the Japanese tradition even while making some errors, then there is benefit therein. Even though Xi and Xian are regarded as the authorities [on calligraphy], expounding their extremely different [styles] has no benefit; on the contrary, it is disadvantageous.⁸⁴

Hagino again voices his disapproval of the calligraphy found in letters of *wayō* calligraphers, saying that their writing frequently reflects divergence from correct methods, which is a cause of "extremely poor handwriting weighed down with frequent errors." He also states, however, that if one remains within the Japanese tradition even while making some errors, then one's calligraphy will benefit, and in such an instance, imparting the teachings of

⁸² That is, calligraphy in the style of the Song era, which "was very popular in Japan when Son'en wrote *Jubokushō*." DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 225.

⁸³ DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 225.

⁸⁴ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 428 (l. 2-9). See Appendix A, p. 138.

Xizhi and Xianzhi causes only problems. From these statements, it seems that although Hagino viewed *karayō* calligraphy as superior to that of the Japanese tradition, he regarded consistency as a matter of great importance, and maintained that a *wayō* calligrapher should practise only *wayō* calligraphy and not incorporate methods taught in the *karayō* tradition. The "errors" he mentions here possibly refer to adherence to teachings which were not emphasized or looked favourably upon by *karayō* calligraphers, such as placing importance on the beauty of characters and on delaying in movement of the brush as mentioned in the second section of this passage above.

Let us now examine the fifth section of *Wayō no setsu*, in which Hagino discusses the importance of block script in writing.

For learners, the block script is also good, but since Chinese styles primarily esteem strong and sound brush strength, it is the custom in China to constantly teach the block script. Because the Japanese tradition values a relaxed [hand], [it is taught that] when one constantly learns the block script, one's characters will have sharp corners and an inflexible aspect, which is undesirable. In short, one should know that China and Japan are separate and the teaching methods for Chinese styles are not employed without reason. The Japanese tradition is simply ignorant [of this] and so there are many errors in its character forms. Furthermore, its teaching method is uninformed and accordingly, among the several copybooks [to hand, some] have made the teaching method for letters clear, saying that in order to correct one's form of characters, one should be well acquainted with China and Japan and reform any mistakes they have. The others adhere [only] to the Japanese tradition and do not imitate Chinese styles. They record *hiragana* and do not write in block script. They write in a prescribed form and do not expound [the styles of] Xi and Xian.⁸⁵

Hagino states here that in China, since strong and sound brush strength is esteemed, block script is constantly taught, suggesting that block script was learnt because it was preferred to other script styles. Other writers of the Edo

⁸⁵ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 428 (l. 9-18). See Appendix A, p. 139.

period, however, emphasized the fact that teaching of the block script was necessary since unless those in China were well versed in block script, they could not meet the needs of daily life which frequently required its use. In his *Shogaku ron* 書学論, Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747) stated that in China, everyone regardless of sex or social standing learnt the block script and that those who did not know it could not adequately carry out daily tasks.⁸⁶ In Japan, however, especially within the Japanese tradition, there were many who stressed the importance of learning cursivised scripts from an early stage. Son'en, for example, in his *Jubokushō*, said that one should first learn semi-cursive characters, as they were "the Mean."⁸⁷ Hagino acknowledged that the Japanese tradition taught against constantly studying the block script, but emphasized that one should realize that there was a rationale underlying the rules associated with the *karayō* tradition. In a later section of the *Gakusho shōkei*, *Saisho no hōjō no setsu* 最初の法帖の説 (*Theories on First Copybooks*), Hagino underscored the role the block script had to play even within *wayō* calligraphy, stating that if one did not first learn block script then one's brushwork would lack strength, and even if the Japanese tradition did not require the use of block script when writing, it should be learnt at first without fail.⁸⁸ In the above section Hagino also points out that some copybooks stress, as he does, the importance of being acquainted with both China and

⁸⁶ Quoted in Yoneda 1991: 157: 中華の人は貴賤共に書学の最初に楷書を学び候、其仔細は朝廷国家の文書より民間日用の事に至る迄、男女皆楷書を用ひ候故、楷字を知らずしては世間の用足らず候、楷字を学候へば貴賤男女内外の所用皆弁じ候。

⁸⁷ See DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 218. There were also *karayō* calligraphers such as Sawada Tōkō's disciple Sano Tōshū 佐野東州 (d. 1814) who spoke on the disadvantages of learning the block script before learning semi-cursive styles. See Yoneda 1991: 159.

⁸⁸ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 431: 始に楷體を学びざれば其本立ず、後々まで筆力勁健ならずして、行草をも書得ぬなり、故に行草唐和共に始は楷體を用ゆべし、殊に行草は文字に目角少ふして便ならず、和様などは、後には楷法の用少なけれ共、始は必斯すべし。

Japan in order to reform any mistakes they have made, but others adhere only to the Japanese tradition and do not write in block script. Here again, Hagino's statement that these copybooks did not expound the styles of Xi and Xian suggests that Hagino preferred *karayō* calligraphy to that of the Japanese tradition. In the following and final section of *Wayō no setsu*, Hagino brings to attention the ignorance of those of the Japanese tradition with regard to conventions, perhaps indicating his preference for Chinese-style calligraphy.

For *hiragana* one relaxes the hand. [Having] a prescribed form is a usual practice for letters. For the main part of a letter, the four seasons and five annual ceremonies, and other matters taken up in collections of model letters written at different times of the year are by large set out along with all the other expressions employed in letters. If one extends his [abilities] according to these, then one will not lack anything in daily correspondence. The task cannot be done, however, if one does not know how to write a letter [properly]. With regard to the time-honoured conventions, [those of] the Japanese tradition are ignorant and there are many transmitted conventions;⁸⁹ furthermore, this is not a pressing everyday matter. Accordingly, I do not go into detail.⁹⁰

Finally, Hagino emphasizes the importance of being well-versed in the correct methods and conventions in order to correctly write a letter. He sums up his statements by declaring, "With regard to the time-honoured conventions, the Japanese tradition is ignorant and there are many transmitted conventions," which further suggests that he held little respect for *wayō* calligraphy. His last comment that this was not a pressing matter and did not require detailed explanation also suggests a lack of interest in conventions expounded by the Japanese tradition.

As we have observed in the above two passages, Hagino Kyūroku

⁸⁹ J: *denkai* 伝会. The meaning of this term is uncertain.

⁹⁰ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 428 (l. 18-24). See Appendix A, p. 139.

decidedly favoured the *karayō* tradition. He held great respect for the Chinese calligraphers Wang Xizhi and Wang Xianzhi in addition to calligraphers such as Wen Zhengming and Zhao Ziang whose copybooks he owned. Hagino stated that in order to learn calligraphy effectively, one should concentrate on the study of popular copybooks and on brushwork, rather than on the various theories expounded by calligraphers and schools of thought. His passage on *wayō* calligraphy clearly showed his dissatisfaction with the Japanese tradition's apparent lack of ability to maintain consistent brushwriting methods. Hagino asserted that in order for the brushwriting of calligraphers of the Japanese tradition to improve, these calligraphers had to become well acquainted with the conventions of both Chinese and Japanese style calligraphy, and also correct any mistaken ideas or practices they had.

Although Hagino did not rise to great prominence during the Edo period, and his work did not gain wide acclaim, as we have seen, the principles they expounded were also touched upon by other prominent calligraphers and the lists of copybooks recommended in the first passage were also popular among other leading *karayō* calligraphers. The passages provide insight into the way *karayō* calligraphers may have regarded certain matters relating to both *karayō* and *wayō* calligraphy and hint not only at the reasons behind the preference of individual calligraphers for Chinese style calligraphy, but also give an indication of the type of attitudes that may have assisted *karayō* calligraphy in gaining such a favourable reputation among many calligraphers of the Edo period. In this respect we can regard these passages as representative calligraphic treatises.

Although *karayō* and *wayō* calligraphy was frequently discussed in discourses on calligraphy, as one might expect it was by no means the only topic relating to brushwriting that was taken up in the writings of calligraphers and scholars in Edo times. Let us now examine a selection of excerpts from treatises written during this period that cover a variety of other important

topics. The excerpts to be translated and analysed appear in three works of the early and mid-Edo periods, namely Sawada Tōkō's 沢田東江 *Tōkō sensei showa* 東江先生書話, *Hitsudō hidenshō* 筆道秘伝抄 by Koshio Yūshō 小塩幽照 and Hori Ryūsuikei's 堀流水軒 *Terako Ōrai* 寺子往来. The format of the following translations will be the same as for those in the present chapter, namely the division of each passage into several smaller sections followed by a discussion of each section.

乃多岐をばたきり固くなり。筆つてもさびれぬ。其
 色もあざむく。人あつて。筆のさびりけをさぐぬ者の
 りも。筆を筆つても。極めを書き。固く。おぼれて
 筆の事か。筆も。見聞の。さびれ。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 書。筆も。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 思ふ。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 こ。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 く。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 を。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 多。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。

得が。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 若。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。

字書に字体の説

多。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 ろ。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 奴。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 細。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 行。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 史。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 諸。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。

と。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 世。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 此。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 正。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 唐。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。

唐様の説

書。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 今。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 古。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 今。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。

議。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 其。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 者。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 是。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 其。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 乃。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 其。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 其。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。
 其。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。筆は。

Figure 9
 Section from Hagino's Gakusho Shōkei.
 (Nishikawa ed. 1978, vol. 6: 194).

CHAPTER V

*Edo-period Treatises (2)**Tōkō sensei showa and Other Works**1. Tōkō sensei showa*

Sawada Tōkō, the author of *Tōkō sensei showa*, made a large contribution to calligraphy in Japan, particularly with regard to the *karayō* tradition. Sawada was born the son of a merchant, but from a relatively early stage he studied Confucianism under Inoue Randai 井上蘭台 (1705-1761), who was well-versed in the teachings of Hayashi Hōkō 林鳳岡 (1644-1732), the grandchild of the great Edo period Confucianist Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657). He later focused on calligraphy, and studied the styles of the Chinese calligraphers Wen Zhengming and Zhao Ziang under Kō Isai 高頤齋 (1690-1769), the son of Kō Ten'i 高天漪 (1639-1722). Later, however, he concluded that since Wen and Zhao had both studied and admired the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, rather than learning Wen and Zhao's styles, one should simply focus on Wang's works as they did. This was just one of the many points Sawada raised in his *Tōkō sensei showa*. Other matters he was to discuss in this two-volume work included methods of writing, the form and size of characters, differences between calligraphic practices in China and Japan, as well as information on the works of prominent Chinese calligraphers. Four passages have been selected from *Tōkō sensei showa* for translation. These passages are as follows:

(i) Section Five, *Sōsho yomegataki to iu koto*¹ 草書よめがたきといふ話 (*On Cursive Script Being Difficult to Read*), a short anecdote on the

¹ The original text for this passage appearing in Nishikawa 1978, vol. 3: 121 gives the character 話 in the title of this excerpt the reading *koto* コト, which I have adopted here.

trouble sometimes encountered when reading cursive-style calligraphy.

(ii) Section Eight, *Shōni gakushohō no koto* 小児学書法の話 (*On the Way Children Study Calligraphy*), a description of the scripts and works that children (those aged between eight and twenty years) should use to study calligraphy, with reference to the way calligraphy is learnt by children in China.

(iii) Section Nine, *Daiji chūji shōji no koto* 大字中字小字の話 (*On Large, Medium and Small Characters*), definitions of characters of differing sizes and lists of works in which models of these characters can be found.

(iv) Section forty-two, *Nihon no sho chūgoku to kōkō suru koto* 日本の書中國と抗衡する話 (*On Japanese Calligraphy Rivalling that of China*), a passage which gives examples of references to Japanese calligraphy appearing in Chinese works, and which praises the calligraphy of earlier periods.

There are two main reasons why these particular passages have been chosen for translation. Firstly, they speak of issues that were relevant to most *karayō* calligraphers of the Edo period. Issues that are taken up in the following passages below, such as the style and size of characters, the way that children were to be taught calligraphy and the various differences and similarities between Japanese and Chinese calligraphy were often discussed, as we will see, by both Chinese and Japanese calligraphers in their own treatises. Secondly, these passages include views that were perhaps representative of the opinions of other *karayō* calligraphers as well as those which were held by only a few. Although Sawada raised and considered several issues relating to Edo-period calligraphy in *Tōkō sensei showa*, many of the passages he wrote dealt with only one particular calligrapher or work. Such passages indeed provide a useful insight into certain aspects of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy, but are certainly not representative of all Edo period calligraphers. In the four

passages below, I hope to show through comparisons with other treatises that several matters Sawada raised did, in fact, touch on points relevant to a wide-ranging group of calligraphers. Let us now examine these passages in detail and consider their relevance to calligraphy of the Edo period as discussed in Chapter Two. As with each translation appearing in the previous chapter, references for the corresponding passages in the original texts have been placed at the end of each translated section.

On Cursive Script Being Difficult to Read

Zhang Chengxiang² of the Song dynasty name: Tiying, sobriquet: Tianxue³ had a passion for writing in cursive script. On one occasion, upon conceiving a verse of poetry, he requested brush and paper and [proceeded to] quickly write the verse out. His writing truly possessed vigour in its swift, strong strokes. Now later, when he approached his niece with the poem he had produced and requested that she copy it, because the movement of the brushstrokes in the writing meandered, there were places which were difficult to read. His niece thought deeply for a while and then pointed to a character in the part she was copying and asked, "What character is this?" Chengxiang gazed intently at the character and then after an interval, without quickly asking her "What do you think it is?", he replied, "You have made me forget!" Seen in *Lengzhai yeyu*.^{4 5}

As can be seen from the title of this passage, Sawada regarded cursive script as a mode of writing that was at times difficult to read. The passage

² 張丞相 (1043-1121) A Chinese Buddhist monk of the Song dynasty who edited *Hufa lun 護法論* (*Discourse on the Protection of the Dharma*), 1110. Chengxiang was most likely the name he adopted as a monk; his given name, as mentioned here, was Tiying. See Ciyi (ed.) 1988: 4544 for further information.

³ Text written in a smaller font represents words written in a small subtext (*warichū* 割註) in the original manuscript.

⁴ 冷齋夜話. A ten-volume work compiled by Shi Huihong 稊惠洪 of the Song dynasty which consists predominantly of discussions on poetry.

⁵ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 446 (l. 14-23). See Appendix A, p. 139.

itself tells us two things about the script. Firstly, that cursive script was usually written in haste (as one would expect).⁶ Secondly, and more importantly, Sawada implies that at times, *sōsho* could be difficult to read even for the writer himself / herself. In cursive script, characters are frequently connected without interruption,⁷ which often tends to create difficulties for the reader when trying to decipher each character. Those who wrote in *sōsho* often had to spend many years practising the style to make the characters both beautiful and legible. The fact that Chengxiang, a monk who often practised calligraphy (as is implied by the sentence describing his passion for writing in *sōsho*), could not read a character that he had previously written himself suggests that attaining proficiency in the script was no easy task. As to why Sawada included the above anecdote in *Tōkō sensei showa*, the title of the passage seems to indicate that he regarded *sōsho* as a difficult script to master. Accordingly, the passage may have been written to discourage others from using the script in their calligraphy. Many of Sawada's own works, including his *Tōkō sensei shohan* 東郊先生書範, *Shosoku* 書則 and *Shojutsu* 書述 were written in block script. He also wrote a number of other works and pieces of calligraphy in semi-cursive script⁸ as well as in the seal and scribe scripts,⁹ but he left few if any writings in cursive script. The same cannot be said, however, for other prominent calligraphers of the time. Despite the fact

⁶ Cursive script (C: *caoshu* 草書), started to appear in China around the beginning of the Early Han dynasty (201 BC - AD 8). As Chang mentions, it developed from Han-dynasty scribe script as calligraphers abbreviated strokes of characters in their writing, and probably owes its origin to its time-saving features. Chang and Miller 1990: 7. See also Shimizu and Rosenfield, 1984: 13.

⁷ Shimizu and Rosenfield, 1984: 13.

⁸ *Tōkō sensei showa*, for example, was written in semi-cursive script, as was Tōkō's calligraphy entitled *Ichigyōsho* 一行書. See Nishikawa (ed.) 1978-9, vol. 3: 121-145 and Shimonaka (ed.) 1954-59, vol. 23: 26 respectively.

⁹ See Nishikawa, (ed.) 1978-9 vol. 7: 31-71 for examples of Tōkō's seal and scribe script calligraphy.

that *sōsho* was at one time considered to be an informal script and was principally used for private and informal communications and for poetry,¹⁰ throughout history numerous great Chinese calligraphers including Wang Xizhi and Wen Zhengming, and prominent Japanese calligraphers such as Kūkai and Ono no Michikaze employed this script. During the Edo period, such calligraphers as Karasumaru Mitsuhiro 烏丸光広 (1579-1638) and Konoe Iehiro 近衛家熙 (1667-1736) wrote in cursive script, as did other *karayō* calligraphers such as Nukina Kaioku 貫名海屋 (1778-1863) and Ike no Taiga 池大雅 (1723-1776). Many examples of Edo-period works written in cursive script exist today,¹¹ which is an indication of the extent of popularity the script held among calligraphers at the time. This being the case, we cannot conclude that Sawada's opinion of *sōsho* in the above passage was representative of any large group of Edo period *karayō* calligraphers. Rather, it should simply be regarded as one author's view on an aspect of calligraphy which could prove difficult.

Let us now examine the following passage selected for translation, namely *Shōni gakushohō no koto* (*On the Way Children Study Calligraphy*).

On the Way Children Study Calligraphy

The way children study calligraphy: From eight years till when they reach eleven they study large block script.¹² For example *Datang zhongxing song*,¹³ *Dongfangshuo huazan bei*¹⁴ and *Wan'anqiao bei*.¹⁵ From eleven to thirteen years, they study medium block script.¹⁶ For example *Jiuchenggong ming*.¹⁷ Yu

¹⁰ Shimizu and Rosenfield, 1984: 13.

¹¹ Such examples can be seen in Shimonaka (ed.) 1954-59, vol. 22-23 (Edo period).

¹² J: *daikaisho* 大楷書. For definitions of characters of different sizes, see section *On Large, Medium and Small Characters* below (p. 75).

¹³ 大唐中興頌 (*Eulogy to the Restoration of Tang China*). A work by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785) praising the restoration of Tang China. This work was inscribed in stone in 771.

gonggong bei,¹⁸ *Yao gonggong muzhi*¹⁹ and *Weijiaojing*.²⁰ From fourteen till when they have reached sixteen they study small block script.²¹ For example *Xuanshi tie*,²² *Ronglu biao*,²³ *Yueyi lun*,²⁴ *Liming biao*²⁵ and *Caowo bei*.²⁶ From

¹⁴ 東方朔畫贊碑. An abbreviation for the *Dongfangxiansheng hua xiang zan bei* 東方先生畫象贊碑 (*Commemorative Stone Tablet on the Portrait of the Great Dongfang Suo*). There exist at least two versions of this work which is traditionally attributed to Xia Houzhan 夏侯湛 of the Jin 晉 dynasty (265-420). The one noted here likely refers to the inscription of the version written by Yan Zhenqing rather than that of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 which is written in the small block script.

¹⁵ 萬安橋碑 (*Wan'an Bridge Stone Tablet*). The stone inscription of a block-script work compiled by Cai Xiang 蔡襄 (1012-1067).

¹⁶ J: *chūkai* 中楷.

¹⁷ 九成宮銘 (*Jiucheng Shrine Inscription*). A shortened name for *Jiuchenggong liquan ming* 九成宮醴泉銘 by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641) which was engraved in stone in 632.

¹⁸ 虞恭公碑 (*Commemorative Stone Tablet to Gonggong of Yu Province*). An alternative name for the *Wenyanbo bei* 溫彥博碑 stone inscription of 637, the text for which was written by Ouyang Xun in his eighty-first year. See Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 93.

¹⁹ 姚恭公墓誌 (*Epitaph to the Elegant Gonggong*).

²⁰ 遺教經 (*Sutra of Inherited Teachings*). A work once believed to have been written by Wang Xizhi. The fact that this work does not appear in the list of Xizhi's works entitled *Youjun shumumu* 右軍書目 (*Catalogue of Youjun's works*) suggests that it may have been written by another calligrapher. See Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 7.

²¹ J: *shōkai* 小楷.

²² 宣示帖 (*Proclamation Copybook*).

²³ 戎路表 (*Memorial to a War Chariot*). An alternative name for *Hejie biao* 賀捷表, said to have been written by Zhong You 鍾繇 (151-230).

²⁴ 樂毅論. See notes to translated excerpts from *Gakusho shōkei* above (p. 45) for further information on this work.

²⁵ 力命表 (*Memorial to a Powerful Decree*). As with the *Hejie biao* mentioned above, this work is also said to have been written by Zhong You.

²⁶ 曹娥碑 (*Commemorative Stone Tablet to Caowo*). A memorial to a girl named Caowo. At fourteen years of age Caowo's father fell into a river and drowned. Unable to retrieve his body and filled with grief, she too finally threw herself into the river and died. The original for this work, which is said to have been written by Wang Xizhi, is sometimes also referred to as *Xiaonu caowo bei* 孝女曹娥碑. See Iijima (ed.) 1975: 58.

seventeen to when they reach twenty they study semi-cursive script. For example *Lanting shu*,²⁷ *Kaihuang tie*,²⁸ *Shengjiao xu*,²⁹ *Yinfujing*,³⁰ and *Xianzhi tie*.³¹ After that, they learn a mixture of the cursive, seal and scribe scripts. This can be seen in the illustrations to *Xueshu cidì*³² by Zheng Yun³³ of the Yuan dynasty.³⁴

Sawada begins this passage by stating the age at which children in Japan begin calligraphic study and specifying the styles that are learnt by children of different age groups. The ages Sawada gives for children first entering calligraphic study differ only slightly from those given by other writers of the time. The educationalist Hori Ryūsui 堀流水軒, for example, wrote in his *Terako ōrai* 寺子往来 (1714) that in other countries, one first enters school from the age of eight but in Japan children usually begin handwriting between the ages of nine and eleven.³⁵ After this, Sawada mentions

²⁷ 蘭亭叙 (*Preface to the Literary Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion*). A work said to have been written in 353 by Wang Xizhi during his stay at the Orchid Pavilion in Zhejiang 浙江 Province. This work has been described as "probably the most famous single work in the history of Chinese calligraphy." [Chang and Miller, 1990: 33]. Many copies of this work have been made, but the original is thought to have been buried with Emperor Tai Zong 代宗 (r. 627-649) when he died in 649. For further information see Chang and Miller, 1990: 282.

²⁸ 開皇帖 (*Kaihuang Copybook*). This work is also believed to have been written by Xizhi.

²⁹ 聖教序 (*Preface to the Sacred Scriptures*).

³⁰ 陰符經. A Taoist classic written in the Tang dynasty by the calligrapher Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596-658). See note 76 below for further information on this calligrapher.

³¹ 獻之帖 (*Xianzhi Copybook*).

³² 學書次第 (*Studying Calligraphy in Graduated Steps*).

³³ 鄭杓. A talented calligrapher who excelled in the study of characters. Among the writings Zheng Yun edited was the five-section work *Yanji* 衍極 which discussed various aspects of calligraphy and calligraphic technique.

³⁴ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 447 (l. 29) - 448 (l. 2). See Appendix A, p. 139.

³⁵ Ishikawa *et al.* 1968, vol. 5: 636: 於異国人生八歲之時初而入小学門。本朝凡從九歲十一歲手跡入学世之風俗也。 See also Abo *et al.* 1990, vol. 1: 4.

that those between eight and eleven years learnt large block script. As we have already observed in the translated excerpts from *Gakusho shōkei* above, block script was generally regarded among calligraphers of the Chinese tradition as the most suitable script for beginners to learn. In addition to those who advocated that those learning calligraphy should start with block script, there were also calligraphers who advised that young children should learn large characters. Matsushita Useki 松下烏石 (1699-1779) in his *Ijō mansō* 圯上漫草 (1758) wrote that when children copied characters, they should be made to copy large ones.³⁶ A lot more similar to Sawada's comments, however, were the writings of Feng Fang 豐坊 (fl. 1522-1566) in his work *Xueshufa* 学書法. In this work, not only did Feng Fang recommend that children begin studying calligraphy at the age of eight by learning large-sized block script, but the works he recommended to be used to learn these characters were the same as those later suggested by Sawada. In the section entitled *On Large-sized Characters*, Feng Fang writes:

Students between the ages of eight and ten should begin by practising *K'ai-shu* in Large-sized characters, and then practice the small-sized. They should model [their writing] after the stelae of *Chung-hsin sung* (中興頌) and *Tungfang shuo* (東方朔), both written by Yen Chen-ch'ing (顏真卿).³⁷

As can be observed in the above passage, the advice given by Feng Fang is almost identical to that provided by Sawada, with both (*Datang*) *zhongxing song* and *Dongfangshuo* (*huazan bei*) suggested as good models for large-character block script. It is not known whether or not Sawada recommended these works because they were generally recognized in society and traditionally used when learning large characters or because they were

³⁶ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 381: 小兒字を寫す時、紙をおしむことを得ざれ、大字に寫さしむべし。

³⁷ As translated by Tseng [1993: 240].

mentioned in popular Chinese works, but the fact that *Xueshufa* has been described as "the most classical training for young calligraphers in traditional China"³⁸ suggests that the work was well-known on the Continent and it is possible that Sawada, a skilled *karayō* calligrapher, may have gained inspiration for his comments from this particular work. Later in the same section of the *Xueshufa*, Feng Fang recommends Cai Xiang's *Wan'anqiao bei* for extra-large sized characters. As can be seen in the excerpt above, Sawada was also familiar with this work, which further suggests that he may have come into contact with Feng Fang's work before writing this section of his *Tōkō sensei showa*. The comments on large-character block script do not represent the only similarities between these two works. For medium-sized characters, Feng Fang also recommends that students between the ages of eleven and thirteen model their calligraphy on Ouyang Xun's *Jiuchenggong ming* and that those between fourteen and sixteen years of age use Zhong You's *Ronglu biao* and Wang Xizhi's *Caowo bei* for practising small-sized characters. Similarly, with regard to semi-cursive script, Feng Fang suggests that for students between the ages of seventeen and twenty, the works *Lanting shu*, *Kaihuang tie* and *Shengjiao xu* be used.³⁹

One thing that becomes apparent upon examining this section of Sawada's passage is that when students practised calligraphy, they were encouraged to use a model whose characters were the same size as those they were learning at the time. That is to say, their calligraphy was to be the same size (and style) as that of the model. This method of study was also encouraged by other Japanese calligraphers as early as the Late Heian period, when Fujiwara Norinaga stated in his *Saiyōshō* that before one was to write, one should first consider the size of the characters and the various movements of the brush.⁴⁰

³⁸ Tseng 1993: 240.

³⁹ See Tseng 1993: 241.

These instructions became more explicit in Prince Son'en's *Jūbokushō* of the Nanbokuchō period. In section three of this work, *The Size of Characters*, Son'en states:

In the beginning you will be inclined to write considerably larger characters than those of the model, but you should write them the same size. When the characters are even slightly larger than those of the model, the brush strokes become narrow and this is bad. When the characters are large, wider brush strokes than those of the original will resemble the model more closely. In other words, the size of the characters and the width of the brush strokes should not differ from those of the model. There is no harm if your characters are slightly larger than those of the model, but you should never write them smaller.⁴¹

Another point made in this first section of *Shōni gakushohō no koto* is that children beginning their study first learn block script. It seems that Sawada is following Chinese tradition in promoting this script for beginners. As can be observed in Feng Fang's *Xueshufa*, children in China were exhorted to first master block script before trying their hand at other script forms. Japanese writers also mentioned that block script was the most important and the first script taught in China.⁴² In Japan, however, this was not necessarily the case. Several Japanese calligraphers acknowledged that in Japan, it had become common practice for children to learn semi-cursive characters before studying block script.⁴³ Sawada's failure to record this trend suggests that he perhaps

⁴⁰ DeCoker, *MN* 43: 3 (Autumn 1988): 273.

⁴¹ Translation by DeCoker [*MN* 43:2 (Summer 1988): 212-3.] The original passage as appearing in Akai 1973: 249-60 reads:

初心の時は、本よりも事の外に大に被_レ書候事にて候。只手本の文字程に習候也。又いかにも本よりは大にて、筆ほそく成候事にて候。これはあしく候。字の勢大に候はゞ、筆のふとさも [本よりふとくてこそ相応ずべく候へ。所詮字勢も筆のふとさも] 本に不_レ可_レ違候也。本よりも聊まさりに候、不苦候。本よりちみさくは不_レ可_レ被_レ遊候也。

⁴² See, for example, the comments of Fujiwara Norinaga in section 30 of his *Saiyōshō*. [DeCoker, 43: 3 (Autumn 1988): 272.]

regarded the Chinese methods of learning as superior to popular methods that were practised in Japan. It is probably safe to say that this was a view held by the majority of *karayō* calligraphers in Japan at the time.⁴⁴ Let us now continue with the remainder of this passage on childrens' calligraphy.

In China, when children begin studying calligraphy, each and every one in the realm learns the twenty-four characters 上大人丘乙巳化三千七十子尔小生八九子佳作仁可知礼;⁴⁵ this can be seen in Zhu Zhishan's⁴⁶ *Weitan*.⁴⁷ Under the pretence of calligraphy presented to Confucius' father, Shu Liangqi,⁴⁸ [these characters] were originally written by assembling together characters of few strokes. This is much like children in this country learning the *Iroha*⁴⁹ when they first begin studying calligraphy. 上大人 means to make an offering to one's father. 丘 is the name Confucius used to refer to himself. 巳化三千七十子 [means that the number of] disciples who have been influenced by Confucius' virtue

⁴³ See DeCoker, *MN* 43:2 (Summer 1988): 218 and DeCoker, *MN* 43: 3 (Autumn 1988): 272 .

⁴⁴ As pointed out earlier, however, there were *karayō* calligraphers who voiced their concerns related to learning block script before learning semi-cursive styles. See p. 58 above.

⁴⁵ These twenty-four characters (C: *Shang da ren, qiu yi yi, hua san qian, qi shi zi, er xiao sheng, ba jiu zi, jia zuo ren, ke zhi li*) can be found in a type of work known as *San zi jing* 三字經, consisting of series of simple character triplets written for children which describe various general matters and historical events. It is unclear who compiled this work.

⁴⁶ 祝枝山. A sobriquet of the Ming dynasty scholar calligrapher Zhu Yunming 祝允明 (1460-1526) of Jiangsu province.

⁴⁷ 猥譚 (*Numerous Discussions*).

⁴⁸ 叔梁訖. Liangqi died when Confucius was only three years old.

⁴⁹ A poem of the Heian period (794-1185) consisting of 47 kana characters, that "likenes the transience of human existence to the short-lived beauty of a flower." During the Heian period it was used extensively for elementary writing practice and has been used in the past to assign an order to dictionaries and the like. [Kodansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 3: 332.] The *Iroha* Poem has been traditionally ascribed to Kūkai 空海 (774-835) but as Seeley mentions, "the fact that it does not contain separate signs for *e* and *ye*" which were distinguished in Kūkai's time "points to its having being composed after about 950" after the syllables merged. See Seeley 1991*b*: 106.

has already reached three thousand. [The phrase beginning with] 尔小生八九子 means that of those eight and nine [years old], seventy-two were well-versed in the six accomplishments⁵⁰, and all of them exercised benevolence and understood courtesy.⁵¹

In this second half of *On the Way Children Study Calligraphy*, Sawada states that in China, children first learnt the twenty-four characters 上大人丘乙巳化三千七十子尔小生八九子佳作仁可知礼, which was much the same as children in Japan learning the *Iroha uta*. Similar comments can be found in the works of other Edo period calligraphers. In *Sodategusa* 撫育草, written in 1803 by Wakisaka Gidō 脇坂義堂, these twenty-four characters are listed and referred to as the *Morokoshi iroha* 唐土以呂波 (*Chinese Iroha*). Wakisaka states that children in China first learn these characters when practising calligraphy and later learn the thousand characters of the *Qianziwen*.⁵² There exist several other works containing these twenty-four characters. *Gakushoben* 學書辨 written in 1797 by Tōdō Ryūsan 藤堂龍山, for example, provides a list and short explanation of these characters. Other works in which they can be found include Itō Tōgai's 伊藤東涯 *Heishokutan* 秉燭譚 and Aoki Tonsho's 青木敦書 *Kon'yō manroku* 昆陽漫錄.⁵³ Sawada, after providing a short comment on the significance of the above list of characters, attempts to explain their meaning. Although these characters were arranged in a logical order so they might be read with meaning, as Sawada states, they were originally written "by gathering characters of few strokes together." The primary objective

⁵⁰ J: *rikugei* 六芸. The six arts or accomplishments which formed part of the education of a gentleman. Namely etiquette (J: *iya* 礼), music (J: *gaku* 楽), archery (J: *sha* 射), horseback riding or carriage driving (J: *gyo* 御), calligraphy (*sho* 書) and arithmetic 数 (J: *sū*).

⁵¹ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 448 (l. 2-14). See Appendix A, pp. 139-40.

⁵² Abo *et al.* 1990: 396: 漢土にては童子手習の初に是を習ひて後千字文をまなぶといへり。

⁵³ Yoneda 1991: 165-6 (n. 17).

of these characters, then, was not to provide a coherent passage for children to read, but a list of simple characters that they could use for practice when first learning calligraphy. Although informative, Sawada's explanation of the meaning of these characters does not appear to be related to calligraphy to any great extent. Judging from Sawada's references to Confucius, it seems more likely that he included the interpretation of these characters from the perspective of a Confucianist rather than from that of a calligrapher. Nevertheless, Sawada's readiness to include such an explanation and to recommend traditional Chinese works as models for children in their calligraphy clearly shows that he held an interest in Chinese-based learning methods and perhaps considered these appropriate for children in Japan.

On Large, Medium and Small Characters

In Japan when two or three characters are written large enough to fill one sheet of *maobianzhi*,⁵⁴ they are called large characters. However, in China, all characters bigger than three or four *sun*⁵⁵ are called large characters. In the *Shangu wenji*,⁵⁶ it is written that for large characters, nothing surpasses the *Yihe ming*.⁵⁷ This means that when one studies

⁵⁴ 毛邊紙 J: *mōhenshi*. A type of Chinese paper manufactured from bamboo, once produced in the Fujian 福建 or Jiangxi 江西 regions of China. The reading *tōshi* (たうし) given for these characters in the original text was probably added to show that 毛邊紙 referred to Chinese paper (*tōshi* 唐紙).

⁵⁵ That is, from about 3.6 to 4.8 inches. (One *sun* equals approximately 1.19 inches).

⁵⁶ 山谷文集 (*Shangu's Collected Writings*). This is most likely an alternative title for what is commonly known as the *Shangu ji* 山谷集, a 70 volume work comprising a variety of Chinese poems. The name of this work stems from its compiler, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) who used the pseudonym Shangu 山谷.

⁵⁷ 瘞鶴銘. (*Epitaph to a Crane*), 514. An inscription believed to be the work of the Taoist Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536). The *Yihe ming* was regarded as a good model for writing large characters and was praised as one of the most outstanding models of *Zhengshu* 正書 (an alternative name for block script). For a photograph and further explanation of this work, consult Chang and Miller 1990: 297-300.

characters as large as those in the *Yihe ming*, that person will also be able to write characters larger than those, no matter what the size. The *Yihe ming* was written by Tao Hongjing and for a long time was covered by mountain stones. In the Ming dynasty a person named Ku Yuanqing⁵⁸ set sail in the falling snow, and, on coming to the mountain stones at Jingkou,⁵⁹ he took a rubbing [of the inscription] for himself and returned. It is said that because of this, the inscription was once again made known. There exists a copy of this in the *Yuyantang fatie*.⁶⁰ Furthermore, in the *Shuhua shansuibi*⁶¹ Dong Qichang⁶² says You Xiangyang⁶³ has already seen four versions of *Tianma*⁶⁴ verse and of those, one was inscribed in the *baike*⁶⁵ variety of large characters. The ones that have been seen by Dong Xuanzai⁶⁶ have all been original writings. Of those, the ones written in *baike* large characters have been copybooks featuring a picture of a horse like those so common in society today. Characters of one *sun* and larger are called medium size characters. These are the characters appearing in texts such as Yu Shinan's⁶⁷ *Fuzi miaodang* inscription⁶⁸ and Ouyang Xun's⁶⁹ *Lengquan ming*.⁷⁰ Characters which are two or three tenths of a *sun* in size are called small *kaishu*. They are like that of Xizhi's *Yueyi*

⁵⁸ 顧元慶. A Ming dynasty calligrapher who was well-versed in a variety of calligraphic methods. Yuanqing wrote several works including *Yiheming kao* 瘞鶴銘考 (*On 'Epitaph to a Crane'*), most likely composed after he took a rubbing of the *Yihe ming* as described below.

⁵⁹ 京口. A place located in present Jiangsu province 江蘇省.

⁶⁰ 玉煙堂法帖 (*Yuyantang copybook*). A 24 volume work inscribed in 1612 by Chen Yuanrui 陳元瑞 of the Ming dynasty. Yuyantang was the name given to the dwelling of Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636).

⁶¹ 書畫禪隨筆 (*Random Zen Essays on Painting and Calligraphy*).

⁶² A talented artist and calligrapher of the Ming dynasty. Qichang first studied the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, but later developed his own style which became popular among many Ming-dynasty calligraphers. See Chang and Miller, 1990: 158.

⁶³ 予襄陽. Biography obscure.

⁶⁴ J: *tenba* 天馬. See Morohashi (ed.) 1990, v. 3: 507, s.v. 天馬 (四).

⁶⁵ 擘窠 J: *hakuka*. A method of writing large characters. See Morohashi (ed.) 1990, v. 3: 507, s.v. 擘窠 (二).

⁶⁶ 董玄宰. The posthumous name given to Dong Qichang (1555-1636).

lun,⁷¹ *Dongfang shuohua zan*,⁷² *Huangting jing*⁷³ and his *Xiaonu caowo*⁷⁴ inscription. Type that is particularly small is known as *yingtoushu*,⁷⁵ and is to be found in Chu Suiliang's⁷⁶ *Yinfu jing*,⁷⁷ Yen Lugong's⁷⁸ *Maguxian tanji*⁷⁹ and Mi Fu's⁸⁰ *Xiyuan yajiji*⁸¹ and the like. The aforementioned small

⁶⁷ 虞世南 (558-638). An accomplished calligrapher believed to have descended from Wang Xizhi. Yu Shinan composed the texts for many commemorative stone tablets during the early Tang dynasty. The best known of these is the *Fuzi miaodang bei* mentioned below. See Chang and Miller, 1990: 243.

⁶⁸ 夫子廟堂碑 (*Commemorative Tablet on the Temple of Confucius*), ca. 630.

⁶⁹ 歐陽詢. See p. 46 above for further information on this calligrapher.

⁷⁰ 冷泉銘 (*Lengquan inscription*).

⁷¹ 樂毅論. For further information on this work, see p. 45 above.

⁷² 東方朔畫贊. For information on this work see note 14 above (p. 68).

⁷³ 黃庭經. A small-sized block script copybook believed to have been written by Wang Xizhi in his fiftieth year. The original work is thought to have been lost during the rebellion of An Lushang during the mid-Tang dynasty, but several copies of the work exist. See Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 290, s.v. こうていきょう.

⁷⁴ 孝女曹娥碑. For further information on this work, see note 26 above (p. 68).

⁷⁵ 蠅頭書 J: *yōtōsho*. Literally "fly's-head script." See note on p. 23 above.

⁷⁶ 褚遂良 (596-658). An influential calligrapher of the Tang dynasty Chu originally studied the writings of Yu Shinan but later admired the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi. In his early years he wrote calligraphy with "solid, forceful brushstrokes" but he later created a "delicate" style which was somewhat different from his early writings. See Chang and Miller 1990: 246.

⁷⁷ 陰符經. See note 30 above (p. 69) for further information.

⁷⁸ 顏魯公. An alternative name for Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785). Yan was a talented calligrapher whose "majestic" style has been emulated and whose works "have been used for centuries as models." Chang and Miller 1990: 265.

⁷⁹ 麻姑仙壇記 (*An Account of the Altar at Mt Magu*), ca. 771.

⁸⁰ 米芾 (1051-1107). An accomplished calligrapher of the Song dynasty who was also an "influential art critic and a brilliant artist." He was perhaps most greatly influenced by the calligrapher Su Dong Po (1036-1101). Tseng 1993: 212. See also Chang and Miller 1990: 211.

⁸¹ 西園雅集記 (*Account of the Literary Gathering at Xiyuan*). See Morohashi (ed.) 1990, vol. 10: 282, s.v. 西園雅集 for further information.

kaishu can also be seen in the *Tingyunguan fatie*,⁸² in the *Xihongtang fatie*⁸³ and in other copybooks.⁸⁴

As we have observed in the first two excerpts from *Tōkō sensei showa* above, Sawada frequently mentioned Chinese calligraphic works and practices in his instructions to Japanese calligraphers.⁸⁵ The same can be said of this third passage, *On Large, Medium and Small Characters*. Almost all of this passage, except for the actual definitions of character sizes, is devoted to Chinese calligraphers and works, and to Chinese-based conventions. Even with the first definition, Chinese influence can be seen. Sawada states that large characters are referred to as such when two or three of these characters fill one sheet of Chinese paper. Following his definitions of each of the three sizes of characters listed in this passage, Sawada recommends works containing examples of these characters, none of which is from Japan. The majority of works Sawada mentions were those used as calligraphic models in China, or those written in a particular style and size by prominent Chinese calligraphers. Several works, such as the *Yihe ming* Sawada recommends for large characters and the medium-sized character inscription on Confucius' ancestral shrine were engravings which gained popularity through rubbings that had survived for successive generations. For these inscriptions and for other texts, however, it was quite often the case that the original works were damaged or destroyed

⁸² 停雲館法帖 (*Tingyunguan Copybook*). A ten volume work compiled in the Ming dynasty by Wen Zhengming. *Tingyunguan* here refers to the dwelling of Wen Zhengming. Consult Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 727 for further information.

⁸³ 戲鴻堂法帖. (*Xihongtang Copybook*), 1604. This sixteen volume work, compiled by the Ming dynasty calligrapher Dong Qichang, contains a collection of well-known works of calligraphy from the Jin and Tang dynasties. *Xihongtang*, appearing in the title of this work refers to Qichang's dwelling. See Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 227.

⁸⁴ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 448 (l. 15) - 449 (l. 1). See Appendix A, p. 140.

⁸⁵ Although *Tōkō sensei showa* may well have been read by those other than Japanese calligraphers, the fact that the work was written in Japanese style suggests that its intended audience was Japanese.

long before their rubbings or copies appeared in Japan. The *Yihe ming*, for example, went missing during the Ming dynasty, most likely after Ku Yuanqing took his rubbing of the work as recorded in the passage. This monument was again recovered in 1712 in five broken pieces from the waters surrounding the location of the Buddhist monastery at Mt Jiao, where it is now preserved. Although it was not totally destroyed, as Sawada mentions, it was said that the existence of this rubbing (not the work itself) led to its recognition within society once again. Wang Xizhi's version of the *Yueyi lun* mentioned in the above passage is another example of such a work. Many copies of this text, which is often said to have been the best of Xizhi's block-script works, were made in Japan by calligraphers including Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701-760). The original, however, has long since been lost, and the *Yueyi lun* Sawada mentions in this passage could only have referred to a copy.

As we have seen above in the passage *On the Way Children Study Calligraphy*, Sawada recommended several Chinese works which were also favoured by Chinese calligraphers in their own treatises. In *On Large, Medium and Small Characters* Sawada also lists several of these works. Xizhi's *Yueyi lun*, *Dongfang shuohua zan* and *Xiaonu caowo* as well as Chu Suiliang's *Yinfu jing*, mentioned here as an appropriate model for the *Yingtoushu* script are all listed in *On the Way Children Study Calligraphy*. What is interesting here is that in his comments on *Yingtoushu* in the main text of this passage, Sawada did not openly recognise the efforts of Wen Zhengming as a great calligrapher of this script.⁸⁶ As Chang tells us, Zhengming was an accomplished calligrapher of small characters who practised the *Yingtoushu* script daily

⁸⁶ In the sub-notes appearing at the end of this passage, Tōkō does in fact mention the work *Tingyunguan fangtie*, compiled by Wen Zhengming, as one in which small characters can be seen. However, the fact that this reference does not appear in the main text, that it does not specifically refer to *Yingtoushu* and that Zhengming's name is not included with the reference strongly suggests that he did not possess a great deal of respect for this style of Zhengming's calligraphy.

even at the age of ninety. Yet his name is not mentioned in this passage, and only rarely in other sections of *Tōkō sensei showa*. The reason for this is unclear, but as Haruna states, is possibly due to the fact that he held little respect for Zhengming, and stated that one should rather study the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, whom he apparently regarded as a calligrapher superior to Zhengming.⁸⁷

On the basis of the above, we can say two things about Sawada's passage *On Large, Medium and Small Characters*. Firstly, Sawada highly regarded the works of Chinese calligraphers and probably preferred their works to those written in Japan when it came to the study of characters of differing sizes. Secondly, he was knowledgeable with regard to prominent Chinese calligraphers and the various sizes and styles in which they wrote. In particular, it seems that Sawada admired the works of Wang Xizhi, whose writings he recommended to be used for small-sized block script. In this sense, we can say that this passage was consistent with other sections of *Tōkō sensei showa* and with some of Sawada's other works.⁸⁸ With regard to calligraphy in general, it can probably be said that the views contained in this passage are consistent with those of other calligraphers competent in Chinese-based styles, calligraphers who, as we have seen earlier, also frequently recommended the same or similar works to be used as models for calligraphic study and admired and emulated Chinese masters of calligraphy such as Xizhi.⁸⁹

Let us now examine the fourth and final passage of Sawada's *Tōkō sensei showa*, namely *Nihon no sho chūgoku to kōkō suru koto* (*On Japanese*

⁸⁷ Haruna *et al.* *SKS 13*, 1988: 54.

⁸⁸ See, for example, the list of works that Sawada recommended throughout his *Showa* and *Shojutsu* in Yoneda 1991: 90-91.

⁸⁹ As we have seen, calligraphers as early as Kūkai down to Edo period writers such as Hagino Kyūkoku admired the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi. These calligraphers and others frequently mentioned Xizhi's writings in their works.

Calligraphy Rivalling that of China).

On Japanese Calligraphy Rivalling that of China

Since ceremonies of China were adopted in this country long ago, in general the Jin and Tang styles⁹⁰ were studied in calligraphy, not to mention in the realm of Confucian classics, [Chinese] prose, Chinese verse and the like.⁹¹

Sawada begins this passage by stating that the adoption of Chinese ceremonies in Japan provided the impetus behind the rise in popularity of Jin and Tang styles among calligraphers, poets and Confucianists. As we have already observed in earlier sections, the gradual introduction of Chinese culture into Japan through those returning from the continent brought about an interest in Chinese poetry and subsequently in Chinese calligraphy, especially that of the Tang dynasty when many travelled to China. As a result, Chinese calligraphers such as Wang Xizhi and Ouyang Xun who were greatly admired in China at the time came to be respected and esteemed in Japan. It seems that in this first sentence Sawada is emphasizing the fact that from early times Chinese influence has been present in Japan, especially within the realm of calligraphy. Let us now examine the next section of this passage.

In the section on Japan in the *Tangshu*⁹² it is recorded as follows: "In The first year of Jianzhong⁹³ the envoy Mabito no Kōnō⁹⁴ presented

⁹⁰ 晋唐の体. Here 晋唐 refers to two Chinese dynasties, namely the Eastern Jin 東晋 dynasty (317-420) when Wang Xizhi lived and the Tang 唐 dynasty (618-906) which produced famous calligraphers such as Ouyang Xun and Yan Zhenqing. See Suzuki *et al.* 1996: 161.

⁹¹ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 466 (l. 10-13). See Appendix A, p. 140.

⁹² 唐書 (*Tang Calligraphy*). This is a likely abbreviation for the Northern Song dynasty work *Xin tangshu* 新唐書 compiled by the politician and scholar Ouyang Xun 歐陽脩 and others in 1060 under imperial edict. The work contains an authentic history of the Tang dynasty.

⁹³ 建中. That is, in the year 780.

local products and was skilled in calligraphy. The paper [he brought] was smooth as is a cocoon; people [here] did not know [of such paper]."⁹⁵

This second sentence in the above section is interesting as it suggests that paper which was particularly smooth had not yet been produced or was extremely rare in China at the time of Mabito no Kōnō's arrival. As Chang states, from Chinese art history we understand that "the finest paper ever made" in China was produced for the imperial studio known as *Chengxintang* 登心堂 (Hall of Purified Mind), and was "praised particularly for its smoothness,"⁹⁶ suggesting that smooth paper was at one time scarce. This paper, known as *Chengxintang* paper, however, was not produced until the reign of Li Yu 李煜 of the Southern Tang dynasty (937-975), almost two hundred years before Mabito no Kōnō presented the paper recorded in the passage above. In his *Jubokushō*, Son'en stated that when one wrote, one should only use spindle-tree paper, but commented that for work in block script (J: *shin* 真), glossy paper was best.⁹⁷ It is possible that it was this sort of 'glossy paper' that Mabito no Kōnō presented to those he met in China. Whatever the case, this account tells us that at the time of Kōnō's travel to China, the paper produced in Japan was perhaps different to that used in China at the time, but was certainly not inferior.

In the *Shushi huiyao*⁹⁸ it is mentioned that in the third year of Jingde⁹⁹

⁹⁴ 真人興能. Biography obscure.

⁹⁵ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 466 (l. 13-16). See Appendix A, p. 140.

⁹⁶ Chang and Miller 1990: 27.

⁹⁷ See DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 223.

⁹⁸ 書史會要. A nine volume work compiled by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 of the Ming dynasty. The first eight volumes focus on the styles and biographies of talented calligraphers from the ancient times to the Yuan dynasty. The ninth volume deals mainly with calligraphic method.

⁹⁹ 景德. That is, in the year 1006.

in the Song dynasty, when the Japanese monk Jakushō¹⁰⁰ had paid tribute to merchants from the southern seas, they returned home from Japan. At that time [they also] took back calligraphy that had been sent to Jakushō by the following three people: Yajin Jakugu,¹⁰¹ a younger brother of the monarch; Minister of the Left Fujiwara Michinaga¹⁰² and Minister of Civil Administration Minamoto Shūei.¹⁰³ This [calligraphy] was all written in the style of the two Wangs Xizhi and Xianzhi. In particular, the 'essay cursive' script¹⁰⁴ written by Jakugu was striking and possessed an elegance which even excellent calligraphers of China would have difficulty in equalling.¹⁰⁵

Through the above account, Sawada emphasizes the fact that the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi and his son Xianzhi was popular, stating that all the writings presented at the tribute given by Jakushō were written in the style of the two Wangs. However, what is more important here is the fact that a Japanese calligrapher such as Jakugu was able to write in a style that "even excellent calligraphers of China would have difficulty in equalling." From this statement it is obvious that the calligraphy of talented Japanese writers was at times highly regarded in China. It is interesting to note, however, that Jakugu, the author of this "striking" calligraphy is not frequently mentioned in works on the history of calligraphy in Japan nor in Japanese treatises on calligraphy. (It is possible that he was a talented calligrapher who was able to

¹⁰⁰ 寂照 (d. 1034). A monk of the Tendai sect of Buddhism also known as Ōe Sadamoto 大江定基. Jakushō was a talented poet and his poetry appears in the *Shin kokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (*New Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*) and other works.

¹⁰¹ 野人若愚. Biography obscure.

¹⁰² 藤原道長 (966-1027).

¹⁰³ 源從英. Biography obscure.

¹⁰⁴ J: *shōsō* 章草. A script which developed in China in the Later Han dynasty (25-220) during the transition between the scribe and cursive scripts. See Shinmura (ed.) 1991: 1273, s.v. しょうそう.

¹⁰⁵ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 466 (l. 16-22). See Appendix A, pp. 140-1.

produce outstanding calligraphy but did not take up the brush or present his works in society often enough to gain the same level of recognition that other talented calligraphers of the time received).

In the postscript on Japanese calligraphy contained in the *Xihongtang fatie*¹⁰⁶ album, it is written that Japanese calligraphy resembles that of the Chinese, and this is because [the Japanese] study the calligraphy of the two Wangs. Furthermore, it is also written that the Japanese monks the venerable Eiketsu,¹⁰⁷ sobriquet Tonan¹⁰⁸ and the venerable Chūson,¹⁰⁹ sobriquet Kenchū¹¹⁰ were skilled in the calligraphy of Yu Yongxing.¹¹¹ *Shushi huiyao*. In Mi Nangong's¹¹² *Shushi*¹¹³ it is written that the cursive calligraphy of Chenxian¹¹⁴ is surpassing and difficult to describe, and resembles Japanese calligraphy. This refers to it resembling Japanese *kana*.¹¹⁵

This passage provides further evidence that the calligraphic style of the two Wangs, Xizhi and Xianzhi was often employed in Japan. The statement in the *Xihongtang fatie* that Japanese calligraphy resembles that of the Chinese is confirmation that Chinese styles were widely practised during the early Edo period when this work was compiled. Indeed, had Chinese styles not been so

¹⁰⁶ 戲鴻堂法帖. See note 83 above (p. 78) for further information on this work.

¹⁰⁷ 英傑. Biography obscure.

¹⁰⁸ 斗南.

¹⁰⁹ 中巽. Biography obscure.

¹¹⁰ 權中.

¹¹¹ 虞永興. An alternative name for the Zhen dynasty calligrapher Yu Shinan (see note 67 above, p. 77).

¹¹² 米南宮. An alternative name for the Chinese calligrapher Mi Fu (see note 80 above, p. 77).

¹¹³ 書史 (*A History of Calligraphy*). This work, which is believed to have been compiled between 1103 and 1107, contains records of the appraisals given to various copybooks in the possession of collectors at the time.

¹¹⁴ 陳賢. Biography obscure.

¹¹⁵ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 466 (l. 22-27). See Appendix A, p. 141.

popular among Japanese calligraphers, then one would not expect such a comment to appear, much less in a work compiled by a prominent Chinese calligrapher such as Dong Qichang, who was himself well-versed in the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi and was able to recognize Chinese calligraphy and "[grasp] and [interpret] the spirit of the old masters" in his work.¹¹⁶ The excerpt from the *Shushi huiyao* stating that the monks Eiketsu and Chūson were both skilled in the calligraphic style of Yu Yongxing (Yu Shinan) again displays the ability of Japanese calligraphers (in this case monks who presumably travelled to China) to gain a favourable reputation in China for their efforts to attain the level of expertise of an eminent Chinese calligrapher. However, though these comments suggest that there were those talented Japanese calligraphers who gained such recognition for their writing in China, it also implies that these calligraphers were merely imitating the works of (superior) Chinese calligraphers and did not strive to cultivate their own style. The last sentence in this passage, however, shows that this was not the case, and that Japanese-style calligraphy, not just that of Japanese calligraphers who wrote in Chinese styles, was worthy of merit. Styles such as that of the calligrapher Chenxian mentioned here whose writing resembled Japanese *kana*, were different and "difficult to describe;" they were obviously somewhat intriguing to the Chinese but nonetheless described as "surpassing" (J: *kiitsu* 奇逸). This is perhaps one of the few instances in *Tōkō sensei showa* where Sawada, a *karayō* calligrapher, includes a passage that appraises Japanese-style calligraphy in a favourable light. Let us now continue with the last section of Sawada's passage on Chinese and Japanese calligraphy.

It would be difficult to count all the other instances where Japanese calligraphy has been praised. This indicates the outstanding nature of calligraphy in our country in olden times. However, as [successive] periods have progressed, the origins have been lost and people study only later

¹¹⁶ Chang and Miller 1990: 158.

[stages]. Because of this, now there are what are called styles¹¹⁷ and these have become one type of form.^{118 119}

In the above section, Sawada reaffirms his approval of Japanese calligraphy stating that on many occasions (in Chinese literature) the calligraphy of Japanese writers has been praised. He makes it clear however, that such praise was generally that regarding the calligraphy of "olden times," and implies that the origins of these styles have been lost over successive generations, having an adverse affect on the quality of calligraphic styles in Japan. The styles (*ryūgi*) Sawada mentions here possibly refer to the many *wayō* schools of calligraphy such as *Sonchin-ryū* and *Sonchō-ryū* which appeared during the Edo period. Sawada did not seem to think highly of these styles, but admitted that due to the large number of people studying them, they had become one type of form. As we have seen in earlier sections, these comments are true of several calligraphic styles that developed as offshoots from the *oie-ryū* tradition, which was popular among so many calligraphers of the Edo period. Many of these styles perhaps lacked the artistic vitality found in works written by calligraphers of the *karayō* tradition but appealed to people because they were comparatively easier to read and write.

As we have seen through Sawada's comments in *On Japanese Calligraphy Rivalling that of China* together with the implication in the title itself, Sawada set out to show that Japanese calligraphy could indeed compete with that of the Continent and it was not only Japanese calligraphers who thought this, but also talented Chinese calligraphers who often regarded calligraphy produced in Japan as intriguing and elegant. Sawada's assessment of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy *vis-à-vis* one another are probably summed up well in the last

¹¹⁷ J: *ryūgi* 流儀.

¹¹⁸ J: *tai* 体.

¹¹⁹ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 466 (l. 27-32). See Appendix A, p. 141.

section of *On Japanese Calligraphy Rivalling that of China* quoted above. That is, Japanese calligraphers of the past who studied the writings of prominent Chinese calligraphers were generally talented writers and were often praised in Chinese works which mentioned their works. Counteracting this view, however, was the fact that during the Edo period these calligraphers practised only popular and novel styles, thus forgetting the origins of talented calligraphy of the past and being unable to produce works which were received with the same amount of praise in China.

Let us now examine the remaining excerpts selected for translation beginning with those appearing in the early Edo-period work *Hitsudō hidenshō*.

2. *Hitsudō hidenshō*

Hitsudō hidenshō was written in 1693 by Koshio Yūshō, a disciple of Fujita Yūkan 藤田友閑 (fl. 1624), the high-ranking disciple of Shōkadō Shōjō. As mentioned earlier,¹²⁰ Shōkadō Shōjō was a talented *wayō* calligrapher trained in the Shōren'in school, whose writing displayed influence from diverse sources. Shōkadō studied the calligraphy of Fujiwara Teika and Kūkai as well as that of the Chinese masters Zhao Mengfu and Wen Zhengming. As we have already seen,¹²¹ the influence from all of these calligraphers is apparent in several of Shōkadō's works, yet he is generally regarded as a *wayō* calligrapher. He was well-known as one the "Three Brushes of Kan'ei" and many of his writings still exist today. In contrast, information regarding Koshio Yūshō is scarce, but it is known that his teacher Fujita Yūkan had mastered and was proficient in the calligraphic style of Shōkadō Shōjō, and was also a dedicated *wayō* calligrapher. It is therefore probable that Koshio, Fujita's follower, was inclined to write calligraphy of the Japanese tradition rather

¹²⁰ See p. 6 above.

¹²¹ See pp. 6-7 above.

than in *karayō* styles. Indeed, several of the passages appearing in *Hitsudō hidenshō* display Koshio's partiality to the *wayō* tradition. This work is in dialogue format, the majority of the passages consisting of answers to questions posed by one of Koshio's pupils, Ryūyūden 瀧幽傳, on topics relating to calligraphy which Koshio considered important.

The following two passages from *Hitsudō hidenshō* have been selected for translation as they deal with topics similar to those Sawada discussed in his *Tōkō sensei showa*, but are not written from the perspective of a *karayō* calligrapher. The first passage, *Tōryū mata wa sukobitaru teburi shūzoku no koto* 唐流又は素媚たる手風習俗事 (*Conventions on Manners of Chinese Styles and Elegant Characters*), answers a question relating to the reason for recent differences in Chinese styles and in elegant characters. The second short passage, *Dōji ni shuseki oshieru wa nan no dōri mo naki koto* 童子に手跡教るは何の道理もなき事 (*On There Being no Point in Teaching Children Calligraphy*) briefly outlines the importance of providing children with a suitable teacher and instructing them according to their natural abilities. The manuscripts that have been used for these translations are those appearing in the Kokusho kankōkai *Nihon shogaen* 日本書畫苑. As with *Tōkō sensei showa*, references for particular sections appear at the end of each section.

Conventions on Manners of Chinese Styles and Elegant Characters

Yūden inquired, "Nowadays Chinese styles as well as elegant characters differ [from traditional forms] and accordingly [forms] of the past have become difficult to read. What is the reason for this?"

The Master replied, "This is because people of the present time have insincere hearts, admire the new and place the greatest importance on the things which are different. Consequently, it has become difficult to excel in the righteous and true path, and it seems that people study these elegant, curving styles because they are simple. Even if [these people]

take up the brush, [their] performance is that of one whose resolve is of no use. Here there is an illustration: Even when fools of low status compose what are known as *haikai*,¹²² because it is a custom of this world to admire the unusual, the dispositions of people among those of higher status naturally change and tend toward [these *haikai*]. These are not those *haikai* which people of long ago admired. It is a frivolous thing for people to change their hearts easily through popular conventions. Similarly, considering those who have an inclination towards learning, these people readily imitate the Chinese, in some cases growing their hair long and wanting to wear the clothes of Chinese people, calling these clothes *shenyi*.¹²³ These are things people do because they have a foolish mind. It is truly desirable that people should study things Japanese when they are in Japan and that they are completely open-hearted and their posture and characters [when writing] should be correct."¹²⁴

As can be observed from the answer to Yūden's question concerning recent differences in character forms, the Master, or Koshio, seemed to regard the study of (only) recent forms and styles as a regrettable practice. The reason Koshio gives for this tendency to disregard styles of the past was that people of the Edo period had insincere hearts and placed excessive importance on novel and intriguing styles. This is very similar, as one might notice, to comments appearing a passage quoted above¹²⁵ (*On Japanese Calligraphy Rivalling that of China*), where Sawada states that origins of styles of the past

¹²² 俳諧. The name for a type of linked verse which emerged during the early 16th century. One important characteristic of *haikai*, or *haikai no renga* as they were otherwise known, was that their content was usually of a humorous nature. Although several serious schools of *haikai* were established during the Edo period by renowned poets such as Matsunaga Teikoku 松永貞徳 (1571-1653) and Nishiyama Sōin 西山宗因 (1605-1682), during the late 17th century, many poets "followed their personal whims and set up their own schools of *haikai*, sacrificing much artistic integrity in the process." [See Kodansha (ed.) 1983, vol. 3: 78-9, s.v. *haiku*]. It is likely that the author here is referring to such personal, lower class schools, which disregarded traditional rules.

¹²³ (J: *shin'i* 深衣). A type of dress popular in ancient China.

¹²⁴ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 161 (l. 12-29). See Appendix A, p. 141

¹²⁵ See p. 85 above.

have been lost over successive generations and in recent times people study only later stages of these styles. There does exist, however, a significant difference between this and Koshio's passage. While Sawada states that the result of these trends was simply the development of styles (*ryūgi*) which had become one type of form (*tai*), Koshio laments that due to such tendencies, it had become "difficult to excel in the righteous and true path." The contrast in views of these two calligraphers shows, to some extent, that the rise in popularity of such forms and styles had a different effect on *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphers. One must realize, however, that such reactions were perhaps what might be expected from these authors. Because *karayō* calligraphers such as Sawada focused predominantly on Chinese-based styles, their contact with calligraphy of the Japanese tradition was naturally limited. Furthermore, since the study they carried out during the Edo period was often centred around Chinese calligraphy of the Jin and Tang dynasties and on the writing of calligraphers of much earlier periods, they were probably less likely to be drawn to new, popular styles that appeared. It is certainly possible that they recognized new styles as no more than one type of form which did not interfere with the traditional Chinese-based styles they practised. *Wayō* calligraphers, on the other hand, were concerned primarily with calligraphy that had evolved in Japan. From early times *wayō* calligraphy had faced continuous change and development under the influence of prominent Japanese writers. Son'en provides confirmation of this change in the nineteenth section of his *Jūbokushō*, *Honchō ittai naredomo jidai ni tsuite hittai bunmei no koto* 本朝一躰なれども時代に付て筆躰分明事 (*The existence of varying writing forms in different eras despite Japan's distinct form*), where we see that although calligraphy was "fairly uniform" around the time of Kōbō Daishi, the appearance of famous calligraphers such as Fujiwara Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164), Fujiwara Noriie 藤原教家 (1193-1255) and Emperor Fushimi 伏見 (1265-1317) led to the alteration of certain styles and the creation of new ones which were

admired by "the whole country."¹²⁶ These new styles continued to appear up until and beyond the period when this passage was written. As they were studied during the Edo period by numerous calligraphers of the *wayō* tradition, they could not be ignored even if they were lacking in the artistic refinement found in older forms. Indeed, to ignore calligraphy of *wayō* schools such as *oie-ryū* and the many smaller schools it produced during the Edo period would be to ignore the majority of writings produced by *wayō* calligraphers in Japan at the time. It was therefore likely that calligraphers such as Koshio discouraged rather than ignored these recent styles and recommended that calligraphers focus on forms of the past.

There are perhaps two main conclusions that can be drawn from the illustrations Koshio uses to present his views on new and unusual (Edo-period) styles. Firstly, in his comparison of these styles to *haikai*, Koshio states that due to the custom in this world to admire the unusual, dispositions of those of "higher status" often change and tend towards the *haikai* of "fools of low status." It seems here that Koshio is suggesting the same situation applied to calligraphy. Although those who admired new and unusual calligraphic styles were not necessarily "fools," since popular and simple styles were often widely practised among the masses, it is possible that many calligraphers who employed these styles were "of low status." Koshio seems to be suggesting that these calligraphers occasionally influenced those of higher status, and this was a regrettable matter. If this was the case, we can conclude that in principle, Koshio viewed the calligraphy of the masses during the Edo period as inferior. Another, more obvious conclusion we can draw from this passage is that Koshio objected to the undertaking of Chinese-based learning and calligraphy in Japan, as is apparent in his statement that people should study things Japanese when in Japan. This, however, was not the view of all *wayō*

¹²⁶ See DeCoker, *MN* 43:2, 1988: 226-7.

calligraphers. In section thirty-seven of his *Saiyōshō*, Fujiwara Norinaga states that one should use Japanese and Chinese poems for practice, and in other sections he quotes the Chinese works *Nanshi* 南史 and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 to support his discussion on Japanese calligraphy.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, these comments were perhaps representative of the opinions of the majority of *wayō* calligraphers during the Edo period.

Let us now examine the second passage selected here from Koshio's *Hitsudō hidenshō*, *Dōji ni shuseki oshieru wa nan no dōri mo naki koto* (*On There Being no Point in Teaching Children Calligraphy*).

On There Being no Point in Teaching Children Calligraphy

Yūden inquired, "With regard to teaching children calligraphy, what about leaving the children to the brush without discrimination?"

The teacher replied, "When children have a teachable mind, and they write naturally according to their born abilities, there is generally no poorness [in their writing]. It is acceptable to leave them like that and teach them in a straightforward manner. In some cases there are those who have personalities which are twisted and not straightforward. Why are children such as these not left the way they are born? It is true [that they are not left the way they are born], but unenlightened teachers teach the twisted well, and do not know the way to lead the straightforward by leaving them as they are. If a teacher is not enlightened, then children should not follow him. If one learns from an unenlightened teacher to begin with, he will not [be able to] correct the habits [he has acquired]. Even if he later meets an enlightened teacher, he will not be able to do anything."¹²⁸

In the above passage, Koshio introduces two factors that enabled young calligraphers to achieving success in their writing. Firstly, from his comments

¹²⁷ DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 261-278.

¹²⁸ Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 157 (l. 25-34). See Appendix A, p. 141-2.

at the beginning of this passage, it seems that "having a teachable mind" had a significant role to play in the making of an able calligrapher. Koshio stated that if children with teachable hearts were taught in a straightforward manner and then left to their own devices, there would generally be no poorness in their writing. Children whose personalities were "twisted and not straightforward,"¹²⁹ however, could not be left the way they were born and required correction from a teacher. Although Koshio does not state that the calligraphy of those with such personalities would be bad, he does not mention that their writing would generally be free from poorness as was the case for those with teachable hearts. The second, but seemingly less important factor Koshio mentions is having an enlightened teacher. Unenlightened teachers could not recognize those with "straightforward" personalities and would produce bad habits in their students. In a later section of his *Hitsudō hidenshō*, Yūshō states that having instruction from a master was important. He also states, however, that a good teacher did not necessarily produce an excellent student.¹³⁰ It was simply one factor that helped them gain proficiency in the art of calligraphy. Indeed, the title of this passage suggests that having a good teacher was not the only element necessary to raise a child to become an competent calligrapher.

One main difference that can be seen between this passage and Sawada's *On the Way Children Study Calligraphy* above is that while Sawada recommends numerous works for children to study when learning calligraphy, suggesting that it was necessary for children to practise calligraphy from an early age to

¹²⁹ "Twisted and not straightforward" (J: *higamite choku o narazaru* ひがみて直をならざる) is possibly a reference to children who had an inclination to shun training or were naturally poor at calligraphy.

¹³⁰ These comments, as appearing in Kokusho kankōkai (ed.) 1970: 158, read:
師の曰、其道堪能にして雖不得師傅、累歳辛苦の功積りて、書道を得る者ありといえども、其はめづらしき也、又能師をとりたるとて、習ひに高慢あるに悪筆多し。

にかたよるは能書といふもくせげこれと伏
 馬泥滓のくちを好にたふといふ。又明の周顯
 宗も柔書筆をえくげといふ通論にありぬ
 うといひ。衛夫人の崇山の免毛と烈めて筆
 毛。王右軍ハ鼠鬚筆を用ひ歐陽通陽詢ハ狸
 毛と筆と一管ハみる象犀を用ひたるのまじ
 素能書の人。筆をえくひ用ひたる。沈氏と
 小児學書法の話
 小児學書法の話ハ歳より十歳おひらもそ。大楷
 書話一 上之卷 九

書とよる。大唐中興節東方朔高贊碑。十一歳より十三
 歳まで中楷とよる。九成宮銘唐恭公碑。北岳公
 碑。墓誌遺教經の書。十四歳よ
 り十六歳にいつて小楷とよる。巨手船。表。曹娥碑の書。

十七歳より二十歳おひらもそ。外書とよる。南宮
 聖教序。陸羽任。その法草書篆隸まじりたる。

元の鄭柏が學子書次第の圖にありたり。又中華の
 て俗間の小兒書をよる。上大人丘乙己。化
 三千七十七子。小生八九子。佳作仁可知。礼。小女
 四字と天下一同小兒とたり。祝枝山櫻譚小

みたり。孔子の父叔梁紇とてすつる。此の書
 に記して筆畫のすくなき文字をあつて作
 れり。本朝の小兒書學のほ。いろはをありふが
 おも。上大人と父とてまらる。丘や孔子
 といふのたまふ。己化三千七十七子。孔子の徳
 に化する。此の弟子。すて小三千人におひたり。小
 小生八九子。そのうち八九七十二人ハ身ハ藝小
 ついで一人とて。これハ皆。仁を好むひれ
 と。この軍らうといふ。

書話一 上之卷 十

大字中字小字の語
 世の毛邊紙一張ハ二三字目と書たるを大字と
 いふ。中筆めてハ字形三四寸よりこよと。皆大字
 と。山谷文集に。大字ハ塵鶴の銘にすく。も。な
 くとあり。い。ろ。ろ。塵鶴の銘。は。字。を。よ。ま
 と。こ。の。こ。の。大。字。ハ。い。ろ。と。な。る。に。て。も。作。

る。といふ。塵鶴の碑ハ。梁の陶弘景が書めて。久。く
 山石の間。小。つ。れ。あり。と。明のとき。顧元慶
 といふ人。雪中。小。舟。と。り。て。京。の。山。石。の。下。て。

Figure 10
 Section from Sawada's Tōkō sensei showa.
 (Nishikawa ed. 1978, vol. 3: 127).

avoid poor writing, Koshio takes the approach that it was children with teachable minds who would succeed and does not refer to any particular work. One must of course realize that Koshio's comments in this passage were simply the reply to a question posed by Yūden and certainly cannot be regarded as his only views on calligraphy pertaining to children. Nevertheless, as Koshio had received many of the teachings of the great *wayō* calligrapher Shōkadō Shōjō through his teacher Fujita Yūkan, it is probably safe to say that the views outlined in this excerpt were similar to those belonging to Shōkadō, if not to the large community of *wayō* calligraphers that existed in Japan during the Edo period. Let us now examine the last passage selected for translation in this chapter, namely *Terako ōrai*.

3. *Terako ōrai*

In ancient and medieval times in Japan, calligraphy was generally restricted to upper classes, but by the mid-Edo period, it had spread to all levels of society. Calligraphy of the *wayō* tradition was employed in the creation of Japanese poems, *haikai* and in a number of other pastimes that were popular during the Edo period.¹³¹ It came to be practised by many peasants and farmers who had not previously had the chance to write, and many schools were set up to meet the demands of those seeking an education in calligraphy and other matters. Among these schools were the many *terakoya* (temple schools) that provided an education for children centred on writing practice. The establishment of these temple schools greatly added to the number of children that took up the brush during the Edo period. It is likely that passages on children's calligraphy such as those written by Sawada and Koshio above were a response to this increase of young calligraphers. As might be

¹³¹ See Haruna 1974: 226.

noticed, however, the passages written by Sawada and Koshio did not have children as their readership or audience. Rather, they focused on how children could and should be taught. Instructions given directly to children for writing were sometimes quite different. Although they occasionally mentioned such matters as the ages children were to start learning calligraphy, their focus was generally on having a proper attitude and good behaviour when writing. The following work, *Terako ōrai* 寺子往来 (*Elementary Textbook for Temple Children*), was one such passage. *Terako ōrai* was written in 1715 by the educationalist Hori Ryūsui 堀流水軒. Little is known of the author of this text, but judging from its content, it seems possible that he was a temple school teacher who, like most other teachers, had experience in dealing with children who misbehaved. *Terako ōrai* is one of the many textbooks collectively known as *ōraimono* that were used to teach children reading and writing at an elementary level during the Edo period. Originally the term *ōrai* was used to mean correspondence and *ōraimono* were collections of such correspondence. These collections were often used as writing models as they contained practical information on everyday matters while providing students with a satisfactory calligraphic model. The oldest of these texts is believed to be *Meigō ōrai*¹³² 明衡往来 (*Akihira's Letter Writer*), ca. 1058, written by Fujiwara Akihira 藤原明衡 (989-1066). Other works include *Teikin ōrai* 庭訓往来 (*Household-precept Letter Writer*), and *Jūnigetsu ōrai* 十二月往来 (*Letter Writer for Twelve Months*). In addition to *ōraimono* consisting of collections of letters, there were also those containing lists of words and phrases that could be employed in daily life by children from various backgrounds. Included in this category were *Zappitsu ōrai* 雑筆往来 (*Miscellaneous Correspondence*) and *Shōbai ōrai* 商売往来 (*Merchant's manual*), which gave a thesaurus-style listing of words that would be beneficial for the son or daughter of a merchant

¹³² Meigō, appearing in the title of this text, is the Sino-Japanese reading for 明衡 (Akihira), the author's name.

to know. During the Edo period, the term *ōraimono* came to have a much wider meaning and almost all textbooks used in *terakoya* took on this title.¹³³ *Terako ōrai* was one such textbook. It was not a collection of letters but rather a practical guide for temple-school children. It reminded students of the importance of learning to write and encouraged them to carry out their studies in an orderly manner. Let us now examine this text and consider its position in Edo-period society.

*Terako ōrai*¹³⁴

Now, the way of writing with a brush is the basis for all manner of things that humans achieve. Those who are illiterate [however] acquire [only] the title of blind people and are no different from trees and stones or beasts of the field. Oh! How can the hardships of a lifetime and the regrets of old age be compared to this? Accordingly, the practice of brush-writing should be carried out from childhood as a priority, irrespective of one's station. In other countries¹³⁵ one first enters school from the age of eight. In Japan, generally speaking it is the custom for children to begin handwriting between the ages of nine and eleven. After children have finally entered temple schools they should each sensibly refrain from all such things as fighting with their friends, arm-wrestling, wrestling with pillows and other mischievous fooling around.¹³⁶

As can be seen from the opening comments of this passage, Hori considered calligraphic study as one of the most important things a student could pursue at school. Hori stated that in Japan children usually began

¹³³ Kodansha (ed.) 1983, v. 6: 115, *s.v.*, *ōraimono*.

¹³⁴ The text used for the following translation can be found in Ishikawa Ken, *et al.*, (ed.) *Nihon kyōkasho taikai*, vol. 5: *ōraihen*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968: 636-7. Line numbers are also given at the end of each of the five separated sections of this passage. See also Appendix A, p. 142.

¹³⁵ Hori is most likely using the term *ikoku* 異国 (translated here as *other countries*) to mean China, where children began studying at the age of eight.

¹³⁶ Ishikawa *et al.*, (ed.) 1968: 636 (l. 1-4). See Appendix A, p. 142.

calligraphic study between the ages of nine and eleven. It is not known what age the students who studied from this instruction manual were, but the final sentence in the above excerpt is obviously directed at those likely to misbehave. This suggests that the passage was probably written for children of a relatively young age who had only recently embarked upon their studies. Let us now continue with the second section of this passage which urges students to calm their feelings when writing and to give thought to the shape of characters.

After children get up early in the morning and wash their hands and faces and tie up their hair, when they leave for school¹³⁷ they should let their parents know and they should do the same thing when they come home. [When at school] they should first face their desk and then, grinding their ink, they should calm their feelings and compose themselves. They should not mix with other pupils but change their incivility to politeness and not hold disregard for the meaning of temple formalities. Where there are rules for a discipline they should be strictly observed. If a person copies ten characters, they should learn one hundred.¹³⁸ Careful consideration should be given to the shape of characters in copybooks and to correcting characters when making a good copy. Neither using the brush too slowly nor in haste, one should learn the characters with discipline and planning.¹³⁹

In this second excerpt, students are directed to "calm their feelings and compose themselves." This type of comment, as we have seen earlier,¹⁴⁰ was not confined to children. Very similar remarks can be found in Fujiwara Norinaga's *Saiyōshō*. In section twenty-four of his work we find the following comments:

When you write something, first calm your spirit in a quiet place and

¹³⁷ *Tenaraiشو* 手習所 (a common term for temple schools in the Edo period).

¹³⁸ 人寫十字者學百字. The meaning of this phrase is uncertain but it is possible that the author was encouraging students to study a character well before they wrote it.

¹³⁹ Ishikawa *et al.*, (ed.) 1968: 636 (l. 4-7). See Appendix A, p. 142.

¹⁴⁰ See p. 41 above.

only then begin to write. Do not write anything hurriedly. Some people will say that something written hastily is due to the lack of skill of the writer, but they do not understand old lore.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, in section thirty-one we read, "When you want to want to write, first grind the ink, focus your spirit and quiet your thoughts."¹⁴² This advice is followed directly by comments in section thirty-two which read:

To study the copybook, first understand the brushwork of the model. If you let the brush flow without understanding the intention of the model, you will be able to write only when looking at the model and not on your own.¹⁴³

As one can see, the above advice is rather similar to that given by Hori. It is not known if Hori had access to Norinaga's *Saiyōshō* at the time this work was written, but as *Saiyōshō* was a well-known text, it is quite possible. Another possibility is that comments such as these had simply been passed down through tradition and had eventually come to be taught in temple schools. Whatever the case, it is clear that such topics were also touched upon by other calligraphers in their treatises. Let us now continue and examine the third section of *Terako ōrai*.

The habits of the lazy are those such as sleeping in one's seat, chewing the ends of brushes, talking in a loud voice, laughing loudly, tearing the *shōji* screens, making the pillars of the schoolroom dirty, making holes in the walls, time and again desiring liquid refreshments, [constantly] standing up and sitting down or speaking without asking, taletelling, making impertinent comments, enquiring about everything, backbiting and finding fault with the words of others and in addition, scheming and concealing one's wrongdoing with lies. On the contrary, [these] children who correct others mistakes, ridicule the teacher's rules, disregard their senior

¹⁴¹ Translation by DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 269.

¹⁴² Translation by DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 273.

¹⁴³ Translation by DeCoker, *MN* 43:3, 1988: 273.

classmates' orders, waste time doing as they please, who are not trained and who have a mind to carry out evil acts should reflect upon themselves with great apprehension.¹⁴⁴

As can be seen in the above section, this text was not limited to discussions on brush-writing. Here we have an interesting catalogue of the mischievous acts sometimes carried out by temple-school children. Students are reminded to act in an orderly fashion and respect seniors and those in higher positions. Instructions such as these probably encouraged students to be attentive and concentrate on the teacher's directions when writing. Doing this would no doubt assist in the improvement of their styles. Let us now proceed with the following section, which urges students to be conservative and careful in the use of writing materials.

As a rule, it is reasonable for one not to depend on anything when buying and selling and to have discretion when giving and receiving. The brush, ink and paper are not to be [used] as one pleases. It is not right for white paper and wastepaper to be torn in two and used wastefully. Pupils should be praiseworthy, not spilling their ink, keeping the inside of their inkstone boxes and stationery cases tidy and not scattered about and not running on or veering off the road to learning. It is essential that one thinks of the shame of the period from when they grow during their younger years to the later time when their [true] character will come to light and that one always has conviction of and discernment between the virtuous and vile things mentioned above.¹⁴⁵

Students are reminded not to be wasteful by tearing white paper and wastepaper in two. This comment was perhaps related more to the financial situation temple schools faced rather than to the concerns for pupils' attitudes towards calligraphic study. As Dore mentions, the fees of most temple schools were modest and teachers were often poorly paid.¹⁴⁶ It is likely that these

¹⁴⁴ Ishikawa *et al.*, (ed.) 1968: 636 (l. 7-10). See Appendix A, p. 142.

¹⁴⁵ Ishikawa *et al.*, (ed.) 1968: 636-7 (l. 10-13). See Appendix A, p. 142.

schools, which often could not adequately provide heating and maintenance expenses, had to introduce regulations to prevent wastefulness. As with the previous excerpt, students are also encouraged to avoid actions or habits which would hinder their learning. Let us now examine the last section of *Terako ōrai* which emphasizes the importance of good behaviour.

In the schools of brush-writing, imprudent fellows earnestly regret spending time in vain, being negligent with calligraphic specimens and in conducting duties, and in addition, having unprincipled behaviour, suffering the spite of others, besmirching their teacher's name and forgetting the kindness of their parents. Every moment of the day one ought to faithfully persevere, have modest behaviour, and seek the praise of others and virtue for oneself. This instruction manual is as above.¹⁴⁷

In this last excerpt, Hori reminds students to faithfully respect their parents and behave properly in school, again stressing that filial piety and orderly behaviour were important qualities for temple-school children to possess. Although these comments seem to overshadow those on the study of calligraphy, the references to the importance of brush-writing that appear throughout this text show that an ability to write was also highly valued. It is perhaps the statement appearing near the beginning of this passage declaring that the practice of brush-writing should be carried out from childhood as a priority, irrespective of one's station that is most representative of this view. Indeed, the Edo period was a time when both those of high and low social standing were given the opportunity to receive an education and to learn how to write. Although the calligraphy practised by commoners in *terakoya* was often limited to popular or simple *wayō* styles such as *oie-ryū*,¹⁴⁸ it served as a

¹⁴⁶ Dore 1965: 260.

¹⁴⁷ Ishikawa *et al.*, (ed.) 1968: 637 (l. 13-15). See Appendix A, p. 142.

¹⁴⁸ For a photograph of one such work (*Oie-ryū no senjimon* 御家流の千字文, *Oie-ryū Thousand Character Classic*), see page 18 above.

medium through which many young calligraphers could achieve fluency in the use of the brush.

As we have seen in this translation of *Terako ōrai*, during the Edo period, writing was considered an important skill for children to possess—textbooks such as this frequently encouraged pupils to begin brush-writing from an early age. It is interesting to note, however, that these textbooks made little by way of overt reference to the style or script in which children should write.¹⁴⁹ This being so, one might expect a degree of diversity to exist in the styles produced by children who studied at *terakoya*, but this was not the case. Seeley mentions that the great majority of elementary educational texts produced during the Edo period employed the use of characters written not in block Script, but in a variety of cursivised styles.¹⁵⁰ Since these textbooks were used as copybooks, it follows that the great majority of calligraphy pupils produced was in a cursivised form. The actual content of these works was therefore of secondary importance when it came to teaching children calligraphy. As mentioned earlier, most textbooks used in *terakoya* were written in *wayō* styles such as *oie-ryū*. Since as many as forty percent of boys and ten percent of girls are believed to have attended temple schools for at least a part of their childhood,¹⁵¹ it is not surprising that such styles (which were learnt by these children) gradually came to flourish during the Edo period.

¹⁴⁹ Generally speaking, elementary textbooks had little to say about the use of cursivised script in contrast to block script. Seeley 1991a: 115-116.

¹⁵⁰ Seeley 1991a: 115.

¹⁵¹ Dore 1965: 254.



Figure 11
Calligraphy instruction at a temple school.
(Abo *et al.*, 1984: i).

CHAPTER VI

Edo Period Calligraphy: A Summary

Perhaps one of the most distinctive features of Edo period calligraphy was the concurrent existence of the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions. Throughout the Momoyama period and at the beginning of the Edo period, traditional Japanese-style calligraphy of the Heian period (*jōdaiyō*) was admired by many, and there were several calligraphers such as Araki Sohaku and Konoe Iehiro who practised early styles. However, since the practice of such calligraphy required possession of appropriate Heian-period models (which were not readily accessible to the masses,) widespread adoption of this form of calligraphy did not take place. Even if models of *jōdaiyō* calligraphy did exist, it is likely that people turned to other *wayō* styles such as *oie-ryū* which were less difficult for an inexperienced calligrapher to master and comparatively easier to read.¹ As mentioned earlier,² *oie-ryū* was probably the most widely employed calligraphic style of the Edo period. The calligraphers who perhaps had the greatest influence in the spread of *oie-ryū* and other forms of Japanese-style calligraphy at the time—albeit indirectly—were the Three Brushes of Kan'ei, that is, Konoe Nobutada, Shōkadō Shōjō and Hon'ami Kōetsu. These three calligraphers were all active during the late Momoyama and early Edo periods. As stated above, their calligraphy showed influence from diverse sources, but all were trained in the Shōren'in school, which later came to be known as *oie-ryū*. These calligraphers all wrote Japanese-style poetry and their writing, which possessed several unique characteristics, yet was decidedly Japanese, was

¹ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 4*, 1990: 52.

² See p. 14 above.

admired and emulated by many. Among those who were influenced by their styles was the poet and scholar Katō Chikage 加藤千蔭 (1735-1808). Katō, who along with Konoe Iehiro has been described as a representative of Edo period *wayō* calligraphy,³ studied the writings of Shōkadō Shōjō. He later formed a school of *wayō* calligraphy known as *Chikage-ryū* which is said to have been practised by calligraphers at all levels of society.⁴ Perhaps one of the greatest impetuses behind the adoption by the masses of *oie-ryū* calligraphy during the Edo period came from the Tokugawa shogunate's decision to employ the style in official documents, elementary school textbooks and the like. This, coupled with the fact that it was comparatively easier to read and write than other *karayō* styles in existence at the time ensured that *wayō* calligraphy flourished during the Edo period.

Although the *karayō* tradition was popular among many calligraphers during the Edo period, unlike certain *wayō* styles, it was not practised widely. It was usually the case that *karayō* calligraphy was restricted to those who looked up to China and to the writings of prominent Chinese calligraphers. Accordingly, there were a large number of Japanese Confucianists who adopted Chinese styles. Sawada Tōkō, Ishikawa Jōzan and Ogyū Sorai, for example, were all talented calligraphers whose studies were based in Confucianist teachings and who gained recognition for their *karayō* works. Other calligraphers to gain recognition for their proficiency in Chinese-based styles included Kitajima Setsuzan, Hosoi Kōtaku, Ike no Taiga and Matsushita Useki. Of these calligraphers it is probably Kitajima and his pupil Hosoi who are most frequently mentioned in discussions on Edo-period *karayō* calligraphers. Kitajima and Hosoi both admired the writings of the Ming dynasty calligrapher Wen Zhengming, and Hosoi,

³ Geijutsu shinbunsha (ed.) 1992: 160.

⁴ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 13*, 1988: 56.

who at times has been described as "an expert in *karayō*,"⁵ frequently mentioned Zhengming in the many treatises on calligraphy he produced during the Edo period. As stated earlier, for those who practised *karayō* calligraphy, having access to original Chinese calligraphic copybooks and to those who were able to teach these styles was a matter of considerable importance. However, Japan's policy of National Seclusion (*sakoku*), which remained in effect from 1639 to 1854, greatly inhibited such access. In spite of the restrictions this policy imposed, however, *karayō* calligraphy maintained steady development throughout the Edo period. It is likely that this development came about partly as a direct result of the establishment of the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism in Japan. The Ōbaku sect was established in Japan in 1654 by the Chinese monk Yinyuan. As the Manpukuji temple which formed the headquarters of this sect was exempt from Japan's interdiction on foreign contact, it was able to offer the Japanese the chance to become familiar with Chinese culture and calligraphy which Ōbaku monks had brought with them. Since Yinyuan and two of his disciples (Muan and Jifei) were excellent calligraphers, they came to be known as the "Three Brushes of Ōbaku." The calligraphy of these and other prominent Ōbaku monks such as Dai Li spread to many areas of Japan,⁶ and is believed to have had great influence in the spread of *karayō* calligraphy during the Edo period.⁷

With widespread employment of *wayō* styles and the rise in popularity of *karayō* calligraphy among certain Confucianists and those who came into contact with monks of the Ōbaku sect, several Edo-period calligraphers

⁵ 唐様の名手. Komatsu, 1970: 21.

⁶ After about the first eighty years of the establishment of Manpukuji, as many as one thousand branch temples of the Ōbaku sect are believed to have been set up in various areas throughout Japan. Nakata 1973: 183.

⁷ Nakata 1973: 184.

and scholars began to produce treatises which dealt with issues relating to both the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions. In accordance with Hagino's comment that the teachings of the Chinese and Japanese traditions were completely separate,⁸ however, the views of *wayō* calligraphers generally differed somewhat from those of Chinese-style calligraphers. Calligraphers of the Chinese tradition placed "the greatest importance on one's temperament and writing style," as is evident upon examining the treatises they wrote, which typically recommended the styles of eminent Chinese calligraphers such as Wang Xizhi or Wen Zhengming for particular scripts.⁹ Conversely, calligraphers of the Japanese tradition were said to be more concerned with the form of characters.¹⁰ As can be seen in the *wayō* calligrapher Koshio's *Conventions on Manners of Chinese styles and Elegant Characters*, rather than adhering to the writing of any particular calligrapher, emphasis was placed on differences in forms of characters and on the importance of practising calligraphy of the Japanese tradition when in Japan.¹¹ There was, however, perhaps one point of similarity between the views of several writers of the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions, namely, they regretted the trend among many calligraphers to forget forms of the past and study only recent styles. In his passage *karayō no setsu*, Hagino stated that he "would like for those who study calligraphy to focus their attention on old copybooks."¹² Similarly, the *karayō* calligrapher Sawada Tōkō explained in his *Tōkō sensei showa* that in olden times Japan's calligraphy was outstanding, but over

⁸ See p. 54 above.

⁹ See, for example, Hosoi Kōtaku's comments relating to the writing of the Chinese calligraphic masters Wen Zhengming and Zhao Ziang (pp. 25-6 above).

¹⁰ See translated excerpt from *Wayō no setsu* (pp. 54 above).

¹¹ See translation *Conventions on Manners of Chinese styles and Elegant Characters*, (pp. 88-9 above).

¹² See p. 48 above.

time the origins of talented calligraphers of the past had gradually been forgotten.¹³ In the same way the *wayō* calligrapher Koshio Yūshō wrote that because people of the present time placed (excessive) importance on new styles, it had "become difficult to excel in the righteous and true path."¹⁴

This desire to excel in "the righteous and true path" was shared by many calligraphers of the Edo-period, and as a result, forms of the past came to be admired by those of both the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions. As mentioned above, many Chinese-style calligraphers admired the writings of Wang Xizhi, while calligraphers of the Japanese tradition often reverted to *jōdaiyō* styles. One problem that existed for those who practised *wayō* calligraphy, however, was that there was a lack of suitable copybooks. As Iijima mentions, the occasional copybooks that did appear, such as the *Akihagijō* 秋萩帖 said to have been written by Ono no Michikaze, and the *Kōyagire* 高野切, originally attributed to Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (861-946), were no match for their Chinese counterparts.¹⁵ Furthermore, a large percentage of the population during the Edo period began their education at temple schools and learnt *oie-ryū* before any other style, and since *oie-ryū* generally suited their daily needs,¹⁶ there was no need to study older *jōdaiyō* styles. *Karayō* calligraphers, on the other hand, were fortunate enough to have access—albeit limited—to a variety of copybooks written by well-known Chinese calligraphers. This is evident when examining the above excerpts from Sawada's *Tōkō sensei showa* and Hagino Kyūoku's *Gakusho shōkei*. Sawada lists several works including Wang Xizhi's *Yueyi lun*, *Caowo*

¹³ See pp. 85-6 above.

¹⁴ See p. 88 above.

¹⁵ Iijima 1975, introduction: 62.

¹⁶ Haruna 1974: 229.

bei and *Shengjing xu* to be used as models, while Hagino mentions fifteen "true and good copybooks" in his possession including Ouyang Xun's *Huangfujun bei* and *Jiuchenggong fu*. Further examination of Sawada's and Hagino's works shows that *karayō* copybooks in Japan were not limited to the early dynasties. Their works also mention calligraphy by Zhu Yunming (1460-1526), Dong Qichang (1555-1636) and Wen Zhengming (1470-1559). Shimonaka also lists close to twenty prominent Chinese calligraphers from the Jin (265-420) to Ming (1368-1644) dynasties who produced copybooks, several of which—judging by references to these copybooks in treatises such as those written by Sawada and Hagino—most likely found their way to Japan.¹⁷

Towards the end of the Edo period, then, there existed a strong tendency among many calligraphers to turn to Chinese-based styles and practise the calligraphy found in Chinese copybooks which had been brought to Japan in earlier periods (before the advent of Japan's period of National Seclusion). Accompanying this tendency was the desire held by many *wayō* calligraphers to produce Japanese calligraphy of a standard similar to that written by Heian period masters such as Ono no Michikaze or Fujiwara Yukinari. This, however, had become an increasingly difficult task amidst the stream of simpler *wayō* styles such as *oie-ryū* which were taught in elementary schools and practised by a relatively large percentage of the population. With the above points in mind, let us now briefly examine the trends that developed in calligraphy occurring after the Edo period, and discuss the reasons behind the appearance of such trends.

¹⁷ Shimonaka (ed.) 1958, vol. 23: 5.

CHAPTER VII

*Calligraphy of the Meiji and Modern Periods**(1868 to Recent Times)**1. Meiji-period calligraphy*

The Meiji period began in 1868 following a series of political, economic and social changes that took place towards the end of the Edo period.¹ After the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853 and the subsequent opening of Japan to the West, internal political feuding began to grow and a number of agrarian revolts took place. The result was an unstable political situation in which Satsuma, Chōshū and other strong feudal provinces from southwest Japan were able to join forces and overthrow the old shogunate-led system.² The long period of rule which the Tokugawa Shogunate had maintained thus ceased and political power was formally restored to the emperor.

Although this political change caused society to alter its views on Western learning and led many people to view modern Japanese culture in a positive light, early Meiji-period calligraphy, especially that of *karayō* tradition, exhibited several characteristics similar to that of the late Edo period. For one thing, the *karayō* calligraphy of prominent Edo-period figures such as Maki no Ryōko and Ichikawa Beian remained popular and their styles were emulated by many. As for the *wayō* tradition, Katō Chikage's *Chikage-ryū* remained popular and was generally employed in *kana* calligraphy. However, despite these similarities, there were a number of significant changes and developments which took place in the calligraphy of this period. The first of these was the new Meiji Government's decision to change the form of calligraphy that had

¹ For further information regarding the changes that took place at the time, see Beasley, W., *The Meiji Restoration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.

² Shin nihon seitetsu kabushiki gaisha, Hōkoku kikaku shitsu (ed.) 1987: 71.

previously been used in schools and in official edicts, written appointments and imperial proclamations of the Tokugawa Shogunate. *Oie-ryū*—the style which had thitherto been employed—had become standardised and it was often criticized as being dull, overly-restrictive and lacking in brush strength. A decision was made to replace this *wayō* style with a style based partly on the Chinese-character calligraphy of Maki no Ryōko as well as on the *kana* calligraphy developed by Katō Chikage during the late Edo period.³ This naturally inhibited, to a large extent, the development of *wayō* calligraphy in Japan and encouraged the growth of that of the Chinese tradition.

There were perhaps two reasons behind the decision to change the official writing style. The first probably resulted from the fact that *oie-ryū* was seen as "another political symbol of the ousted Tokugawa Shogunate" and it was naturally a target for reformation.⁴ As mentioned earlier, Tokugawa Ieyasu particularly favoured *oie-ryū* and required all official documents, notice boards and the like to be written in the style. As a result, fiefs under the shogunate's control began to employ *oie-ryū* in everyday use, and peasants and merchants who were subject to the authority of these fiefs were impelled to learn to write this form of calligraphy. This began a tradition of widespread use of the style which lasted for over two hundred years. However, when the Meiji government came into power, there was no need to adhere to this tradition (which was closely associated with the Tokugawa Shogunate) and as Chinese-based styles had already come to enjoy a degree of popularity in Japan at the time, it is not surprising that *oie-ryū* was discarded and *karayō* calligraphy based on Maki no Ryōko's style chosen as a replacement. Another reason behind the decision to replace *oie-ryū* with a style such as that written by Maki no Ryōko possibly came about as a result of the need for a clear

³ Kondō Takashi 近藤高史 in Geijutsu Shinbunsha (ed.) 1992: 184.

⁴ Uyehara 1987: 177.

official script. Since *oie-ryū* was somewhat cursivised, it was natural that confusion occasionally arose when reading and writing characters consisting of similar orthographic elements. As Seeley mentions, evidence for such confusion can be found in Edo-period works such as the *Jirin chōka* 字林長歌 (publ. 1710), which mentions characters whose cursive forms were sometimes confused.⁵ There is also evidence in some dual format type dictionaries in which both the cursive and block script characters are listed side by side, suggesting that the cursive script alone was not always sufficient for use in every situation.⁶

In the late nineteenth century, calligraphy of the Meiji period was further influenced by the arrival in Japan of the Chinese geographer and scholar Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839-1915). Yang arrived in Japan in 1880 and during his four-year stay, he introduced various aspects of Chinese calligraphy to the Japanese. With him he brought a large number of copybooks and rubbings of inscriptions from the Han, Wei, Six Dynasties, Sui and Tang periods. Among these texts were many rubbings of Northern Monument (J: *hokuhi* 北碑) inscriptions. It was these rubbings that were of particular interest to the Japanese. As Nakata mentions, the Northern Monuments are inscribed stone pillars originating from the northern Wei (魏) area in China which date from about the fifth or sixth centuries (the Six Dynasties period).⁷ The type of calligraphy inscribed in these monuments was rare in Japan at the time and drew the attention of many calligraphers including Kusakabe Meikaku 日下部鳴鶴 (1838-1922), Iwaya Ichiroku 巖谷一六 (1834-1905) and Matsuda Sekka 松田雪柯 (1819-1888) who followed Yang and studied the calligraphic theories he presented. It is perhaps partly through the efforts of these

⁵ Seeley, 1991a: 118.

⁶ Seeley, 1991a: 120.

⁷ Nakata: 1973: 163.

calligraphers—especially Kusakabe who had many followers—that the Six Dynasties styles of calligraphy rose in popularity during the Meiji period.

Although most Japanese writers who studied the Northern Monument styles did so in Japan, there were also those such as Nakabayashi Gochiku 中林梧竹 (1827-1913) and Kitakata Shinsen 北方心泉 (1850-1905) who travelled to China to learn this form of calligraphy. Nakabayashi Gochiku was educated from an early age and began reading and writing at the age of four or five. At nineteen, he moved from his home town in Hizen province (present-day Saga prefecture) to Edo and studied calligraphic method under Ichikawa Beian. Possibly influenced by the large amount of calligraphy Yang brought to Japan in 1880, Nakabayashi travelled to Beijing in 1882 at the age of fifty-six and became a pupil of the calligrapher Pan Cun 潘存 (d. 1892) who is believed to have taught Yang.⁸ On his return to Japan Nakabayashi is thought to have brought back with him several Northern Monument rubbings.⁹ As Iijima mentions, the influence he gave to the Meiji period world of calligraphy was great.¹⁰ Kitakata Shinsen was also a skilled calligrapher. He travelled to China firstly in 1878 and then again in 1899. Kitakata studied with a number of Northern Monument scholars and literary men including Hu Tiemei 胡鉄梅, Xiong Peiyu 熊佩玉 and Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩. His style was very similar to that of his Chinese colleagues¹¹ and he became proficient in both the seal and scribe scripts of the Six Dynasties monument inscriptions.

Although this Six Dynasties style of writing appearing in the inscriptions these calligraphers studied was relatively old, it had not managed to capture

⁸ Nakanishi (ed.) 1988: 822, *s.v.* ほんそん.

⁹ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 13*, 1988: 64.

¹⁰ Iijima (ed.) 1975: 575, *s.v.* 中林梧竹.

¹¹ Nakata: 1970: 312.

significant attention in earlier periods and was thus considered new to Japan. Accordingly, those who studied it consisted mainly of a reformist group of *karayō* writers who desired to break away from those who practised traditional styles that were popular during the Edo period. There was, however, much opposition from traditional-style *karayō* calligraphers, many of whom rejected the new Northern Monument styles outright and adhered only to the calligraphy of well-known Chinese writers such as Wang Xizhi and Ouyang Xun. Chō Sanshū 長三州 (1833-1895) was one such calligrapher. In his later years he devoted his studies entirely to the writings of Yan Zhenqing of the Tang dynasty and faithfully followed his style. The standard of calligraphy Chō produced was high and he was regarded as a first-rate Meiji calligrapher.¹² Yoshida Banka 吉田晩稼 (1830-1907) was another exponent of traditional *karayō* styles. Yoshida, like Chō, studied and admired the writings of Yan Zhenqing. He was a teacher of calligraphic method and was perhaps best known for his calligraphy in block script. A third writer who resisted the new Six Dynasties styles of calligraphy was Naruse Daiiki 成瀬大域 (1827-1902). Naruse admired the writings of Wang Xizhi, and in 1879 was awarded an inkstone for his excellent reproduction of Wang's *Shengjiaoxu* 聖教序. In his later years he opposed the Six Dynasties forms written by Kusakabe Meikaku, Iwaya Ichiroku and Matsuda Sekka, and practised a traditional *karayō* style that came to be studied by other prominent Meiji-period calligraphers such as Ono Gadō 小野鶯堂 (1862-1922).¹³

In addition to those who admired only the new Northern Monument styles or those who exclusively adhered to traditional Chinese-style calligraphy, there were also a number of calligraphers who practised both forms. Kusakabe

¹² Iijima (ed.) 1975: 507, *s.v.* 長三州.

¹³ Iijima (ed.) 1975: 579, *s.v.* 成瀬大域. Although Ono studied *karayō* calligraphy, he was not limited to it; he was also well-known in Japan for his *kana* styles. See below.

Meikaku was perhaps the most famous of such writers. Not only did he admire and strive to preserve the traditional forms of *karayō* calligraphy that were popular during the Edo period, but also he was proficient in the calligraphic style found in the rubbings of Northern Monument inscriptions. As Nakata mentions, although Kusakabe did study the Northern Monument calligraphy Yang brought to Japan, when examining Kusakabe's works one can see that he did not devote all his attention to the Northern Monument styles but maintained an element of traditional *karayō* calligraphy in his writings.¹⁴ This is perhaps a result of Kusakabe's respect for Nukina Kaioku 貫名海屋 (1778-1863) who maintained a very traditionalist approach in his works.¹⁵

We have focused so far predominantly on Chinese-based styles—particularly on styles based on the calligraphy of the Six Dynasties Northern Monument inscriptions—and this is perhaps appropriate given that it was this type of calligraphy that was probably most common in Meiji-period times. There were, however, still several Meiji-period writers who strove to keep *wayō* calligraphy alive and focused their attention on *kana* and *jōdaiyō* calligraphy. Perhaps one of the earliest Meiji period calligraphers to actively practise *jōdaiyō* calligraphy was Tada Chikayoshi 多田親愛 (1840-1905). After the Meiji government abolished the official use of *oie-ryū* in 1868, the number of those who practised *wayō* calligraphy dwindled. Tada, however, continued to practise this form of *wayō* calligraphy. He admired the writings of Prince Son'en and eventually came to study the calligraphy of the *Sesonji hōjō* 世尊寺法帖 (*Sesonji copybook*) and other older copybooks and writings of early *wayō* calligraphers. His devotion to *jōdaiyō* calligraphy led him to be known by names such as Kin Tsurayuki 今貫之 (Present-day Tsurayuki), but he had few disciples¹⁶ and it is not likely that he possessed a great degree of

¹⁴ Nakata, 1970: 314.

¹⁵ Nakata, 1970: 314.

influence on other calligraphers of the Meiji period. Another calligrapher to take an interest in and practise *wayō* calligraphy—although not exclusively—was Ono Gadō of Shizuoka prefecture. As mentioned above, Ono originally studied under the guidance of Naruse Daiiki. In his studies he relied on sutras and other copybooks for Chinese characters, but for *kana*, he studied the *Kōyagire*, originally attributed to Ki no Tsurayuki. He therefore became proficient in both *kana* and in traditional Chinese-style calligraphy. As Haruna mentions, one interesting trait of Ono's calligraphy was the mixture of Chinese characters and *kana* in his writings. At the time it was the norm for those who wrote *kana* to write only in *kana*, and it was unusual for those who wrote in Chinese characters to include *kana* in their writings.¹⁷ Towards the end of the Meiji period, Gadō's style, known as *Gadō-ryū* 鶯堂流, came to be widely practised. The reason behind its acceptance possibly lay in the fact that it was often the case that new or unusual calligraphy drew attention and gained popularity among those looking for a change in styles. Another quality of Ono's calligraphy that may have led to its popularity was that he maintained a consistency in his writing regardless of what he wrote or what the size this writing was.¹⁸ It is likely that Ono's style was therefore relatively easy to emulate. The fact that Ono produced many calligraphic models throughout his career also tends to suggest that this was indeed the case.

As calligraphers such as Tada and Ono began to practise *wayō* styles, interest in calligraphy of the Japanese tradition—especially that written by early *jōdaiyō* calligraphers—gradually increased in society. One source of evidence of this greater interest in *jōdaiyō* styles was the establishment in

¹⁶ The only known disciples of Tada were the two calligraphers Tanaka Shinbi 田中親美 (1875-1975) and Oka Fumoto 岡麓. See Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 13*, 1988: 70.

¹⁷ Haruna 1974: 268.

¹⁸ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 13*, 1988: 74.

無論行遠
 近歸向舊
 煙林寥落
 人家少青
 冥鳥道深
 愁中屬暮
 春可憐江
 浦望不見洛
 陽人北極懷
 明主南溟
 作逐臣故

Figures 12a, 12b

Block and semi-cursive calligraphy by Ono Gadō 小野鶯堂 (1862-1922).
 (Shimonaka ed. 1957, vol. 25: 121).

1890 of the Naniwazu kai 難波津会 (Naniwazu Society). This society was formed through the efforts of Sanjō Sanetomi 三条実美 (1837-1891), Higashikuze Michitomi 東久世通禧 (1833-1912), Tanaka Mitsuaki 田中光顯 (1843-1939) and others. Its members included calligraphers such as Tada Chikayoshi, Ono Gadō, Ōguchi Taiji 大口鯛二(1864-1920) and Okada Kisaku 岡田起作 (1852-1944). The purpose of this society was to provide a chance for holders of rare or esteemed works of calligraphy—especially those written in *kana*—to display and appraise these and their own works and to discuss the beauty of *kana* (*jōdaiyō*) calligraphy. Although this society disintegrated not long after its formation, as Iijima mentions, it played a significant role in the development of *kana* calligraphy during the Meiji period,¹⁹ possibly by creating an awareness of the high level of talent that existed in works written in Japanese styles. It also seems that it created a precedent for the formation of other societies, for as Kondō mentions, from about 1900 onwards a new trend appeared within the world of calligraphy—namely the formation of calligraphic societies and the publishing of periodicals by them.²⁰ At first, these societies, which often held exhibitions of skilfully written works, were formed by only one calligrapher, as was the case with the Shōko shodō kai 尚古書道会 (Calligraphic Society for the Respect of Ancient Civilisation) established by Nishikawa Shundō 西川春洞 (1847-1915), the Shodō shōrei kai 書道奨励会 (Society for the Promotion of Calligraphy) developed by Saitō Hōshū 齋藤芳州 (1852-1928) and the Meiji shodō kai 明治書道会 (Meiji Calligraphic Society) formed by Moroi Shunkei 諸井春哇 (1866-1919). Towards the end of the Meiji period, however, larger societies were established. The Rikusho kyōkai 六書協会 (Rikusho Association) was one such society. It was formed predominantly by the calligraphers Nishikawa Shundō, Watanabe Saō 渡辺沙

¹⁹ Iijima (ed.) 1975: 578, s.v. なにはづ会.

²⁰ Kondō Takashi 近藤高史 in Geijutsu Shinbunsha (ed.) 1992: 185.

鷗 (1863-1916), Kanai Kondō 金井金洞 (1833-1907), Nakane Hanrei 中根半嶺 (1831-1914) and Kushimoto Baisō 久誌本梅莊 (1855-1927). The significance of the formation of this and other calligraphic societies was that during the Meiji period they often held calligraphy exhibitions.²¹ This was an indication that the role of calligraphy in society had begun to change. Greater emphasis was being placed on calligraphy as an art and continuous developments such as the introduction of the pencil, the pen, manufactured paper and the like "contributed to the diminishment of calligraphy as a required practical skill."²² This is a trend that continued beyond the Meiji period and into modern times. Let us now enter into a brief discussion on post-Meiji period calligraphy and consider the changes which have occurred in calligraphy in recent times.

2. Calligraphy of Modern Times

Calligraphy in post-Meiji times has exhibited a number of differences in comparison to earlier periods. The greatest of these has undoubtedly been the growing tendency for the artistic role of calligraphy to be given more importance than the practical aspects it encompassed. As Uyehara mentions, in pre-1945 Japan, there was "a growing separation between calligraphy as a practical discipline and calligraphy as an art" and "by the mid-1920s the trend begun in the Meiji period toward the independence of the calligrapher had been completed."²³ Historically, those who wrote with brush and ink often did so with a practical result in mind. Calligraphy was employed to produce

²¹ The Rikusho Calligraphy exhibition held in Tokyo towards the end of the Meiji period was one such example. In this exhibition, many old writings that were owned by courtiers or *daimyō* or had been in the possession of temples and shrines were displayed and later published. Uyehara 1987: 178.

²² Uyehara 1987: 178.

²³ Uyehara 1987: 178.

records, notices, signs, personal letters and all manner of important documents. Furthermore, as Haruna states, poets who wrote calligraphy usually did so with the intention of producing Japanese or Chinese-style poems rather than calligraphic works. What these poets produced were indeed calligraphic works but this was not their primary intention; to them, calligraphy was simply a practical discipline and a mode through which they could express their creativeness. In post-Meiji times, however, it would not be incorrect to say that people often wrote Japanese or Chinese style poetry with the intention of producing a calligraphic work which could be displayed; to them, the result was a work of art.²⁴ Evidence for this is to be found in the fact that in post-Meiji period times, the number of *kana* works written in large characters began to increase. Although in earlier periods, there were calligraphers who wrote *kana* in large characters,²⁵ it was generally the norm for *kana* to be written on small-sized Japanese paper and for Chinese characters to be written on the larger *gasenshi* 雅仙紙.²⁶ In modern times, however, it became common for *kana* to be written on *gasenshi*.²⁷ The most likely reason for this is that the focus of calligraphers had moved to producing a work which could be displayed, and in order for works to stand out and gain recognition in calligraphy exhibitions—which, as Haruna mentions, were often held in large halls—calligraphers tended to write *kana* larger.²⁸

²⁴ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 4*, 1990: 61.

²⁵ The Momoyama period poet and calligrapher Konoe Nobutada 近衛信尹 (1564-1615) and Okayama Takakage 岡山高蔭 (1866-1945) were two calligraphers to write *kana* in large characters.

²⁶ A type of paper used for painting and calligraphy which ranges from 1.5 to 3 metres in height and 70 cm to 1 metre in width. It was originally produced only in China but now is also made in Japan. See *Nihon daijiten kankōkai* (ed.) 1973, vol. 4: 602, *s.v.* がせんし.

²⁷ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 4*, 1990: 62.

²⁸ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS 4*, 1990: 61.

Another difference which appeared within the world of calligraphy in modern times was the development of an expressionist "avant-garde" (J: *Zen'ei* 前衛) movement. From about the 1930s, many calligraphy exhibitions had come to be held by societies and associations and calligraphy was steadily becoming an exhibition art. Not only were a number of calligraphers gradually adjusting their works to show that calligraphy could indeed compete with other art forms, but calligraphy had started to gain formal recognition as an art, as is indicated by the appointment of two calligraphers, Onoe Saishū 尾上柴舟 (1876-1957) and Hidai Tenrai 比田井天来 (1872-1939) to the Imperial Arts Academy (Teikoku Geijutsuin 帝国芸術院) in 1937. At the end of the Second World War, materials for writing were relatively scarce and calligraphy suffered a short period of recession, but as Japan began to recover from the effects of the war, it rose again to a prominent position within society. In 1948 a breakthrough came for those who desired calligraphy to be recognised as an art. After much petitioning from post-war calligraphy groups, the government-sponsored Japan Arts Exhibition (Nihon bijutsu tenrankai 日本美術展覧会) decided to provide a section for calligraphy in its exhibition. Although the Japan Arts Exhibition was traditionally conservative, it included a number of works written by contemporary-style calligraphers. The inclusion of such works, however, brought resistance from traditional calligraphers that intensified and eventually led to the withdrawal in 1949 of experimental calligraphers from the exhibition.²⁹ This move was perhaps a triumph for calligraphers who practised traditional styles. Those who practised modern forms of calligraphy, however, were not left without a place to display their abilities. In 1948, the same year as the Japan Arts Exhibition had decided to introduce calligraphy to its exhibitions, the Mainichi newspaper—which had recently begun to sponsor a calligraphy exhibition that was held in the Tokyo

²⁹ Uyehara, 1987: 180.

Metropolitan Art Museum—established a category in its exhibition for new calligraphic trends. This, in addition to the exhibitions that were held by progressive calligraphers themselves, ensured that contemporary styles—which later came to be known as avant-garde calligraphy—flourished in Japan in the postwar period.

Although in early postwar years the avant-garde group practised their styles alongside mainstream calligraphers, it was not long before they "broke off, to form their own organisation."³⁰ In 1959, the Mainichi newspaper sponsored a special exhibition for them, recognising their radical styles.³¹ Although this could be viewed as an achievement for those who practised avant-garde styles, it also raises a question. If the work avant-garde groups produced was unusual enough to separate them from mainstream traditional calligraphers, could this work actually be classed as calligraphy?³² Although there probably does not exist one definite answer to this question, there are several points to consider. Firstly, as Haruna mentions, avant-garde works are not limited to characters, but also include abstract brush strokes written in ink.³³ As the term calligraphy usually pertains to writing or penmanship, we can perhaps conclude that not all avant-garde works are calligraphy. What, then, of works which are based on *kana* or Chinese characters? There would no doubt be those who insisted that avant-garde works strayed too far from traditional standards and therefore could not be regarded as calligraphy. On the other hand one could argue that those who created avant-garde works were simply adding an element of personality to traditional styles and creating

³⁰ Uyehara, 1987: 181.

³¹ Iijima lists the date of this exhibition as 1958. See Iijima (ed.) 1975: 428, s.v. 前衛書道.

³² Uyehara raises a similar question towards the end of his article *The Rite of Japanese calligraphy and the Modern Age*. See Uyehara, 1987: 182.

³³ Haruna *et al.*, *SKS* 5, 1990: 26.



Figures 13a, 13b

Avant-garde calligraphy by Shinoda Tōkō 篠田桃紅 (*top*) and Okabe Sōfū 岡部蒼風 (*bottom*).

(Haruna *et al.*, ed. *SKS 5*: 53, 55).

a new form of calligraphy in the process. This is, after all, how most other styles developed, albeit through many calligraphers over a long period of time. Avant-garde calligraphers did not necessarily disregard traditional styles either—in fact, many called for a return to "the true spirit of the classics and the ancients."³⁴ In this respect they were similar to mainstream calligraphers who, as we have seen, often asserted that works of olden times were outstanding.³⁵ Whatever the case, we can certainly say that avant-garde calligraphers played an important role in the gradual recognition of calligraphy as an art in Japan, and the calligraphy they wrote was an indication that during the Meiji and modern periods, the role of calligraphy in society had begun to change. Calligraphy was now being written not to be read, but to be looked at as a visual art. This is a change which is typical of much calligraphy today.

When evaluating calligraphy of the Meiji period and modern times, we can make a number of observations. Calligraphy of the early Meiji period was, as might be expected, much the same as that of the late Edo period, and styles that were popular in the Edo period were still recognised in Meiji times. Both *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy was practised after the Edo period. During the Meiji period, however, *wayō* calligraphy suffered a setback when the previously employed *oie-ryū* form of calligraphy was replaced with a *karayō* style. This move led to an increase in interest in Chinese-based calligraphy, which gained further popularity following the arrival of Yang Shoujing in 1880. Yang brought with him many rubbings of monument inscriptions that were well-received by the Japanese. During the Taishō 大正 (1912-1926) and Shōwa 昭和 (1926-1989) periods *karayō* calligraphy remained popular and it is still widely practised today, with many calligraphy training handbooks

³⁴ Uyehara, 1987: 181.

³⁵ See, for example the final section of Sawada's *Tōkō sensei showa* (p. 85).

recommending students to begin their studies by obtaining a copybook of a prominent Chinese calligrapher.³⁶ *Wayō* calligraphy probably did not reach the level of popularity achieved by *karayō* calligraphy during the Meiji and modern periods, but there were, nevertheless, a number of calligraphers such as Tada Chikayoshi and Ono Gadō who practised Japanese styles. *Wayō* calligraphy also had the support of several societies, such as the Naniwazu Society which promoted the exhibition of *kana* styles. The exhibitions which these societies initiated later paved the way for calligraphers to experiment and produce a new form of calligraphy, and gradually changed the role of modern calligraphy from a practical discipline to an art. These new forms of calligraphy developed into what is known today as *zen'ei shodō* (avant-garde calligraphy). This type of calligraphy was widely practised among many contemporary calligraphers in Japan. However, as Uyehara mentions, "it did not succeed in becoming a dominant force in calligraphy."³⁷ Rather, it exists alongside *wayō* and *karayō* styles as one of the many outlets for artistic expertise offered to Japanese calligraphers today.

³⁶ See for example Geijutsu Shinbunsha (ed.) 1993: 16. This work recommends that students learning calligraphy buy a reprinted copybook of Chu Suiliang's 褚遂良 *Yanta shengjiaoxu* 雁塔聖教序.

³⁷ Uyehara, 1987: 181.

Conclusion

During the many centuries in which calligraphy has influenced Japanese society, an enormous number of styles has been produced. As we have seen, these styles can be broadly separated into two main traditions, namely *wayō* (Japanese style) and *karayō* (Chinese style). From early times in Japan's calligraphic history these traditions have undergone periods of both ascendancy and decline. However, despite such fluctuations, both have maintained continuous development. As a result, each tradition still plays a significant role in modern-day calligraphy.

This development of *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy can perhaps be attributed to two characteristics that have been discernable among calligraphers in Japan from early times. The first of these is a pronounced tendency among many writers to hold in esteem works of the past and regard them as superior to more contemporary compositions.¹ This tendency was displayed as early as the Heian period in treatises which encouraged students to study old models.² During the Edo period there were also a number of writers who valued the use of older works. Hagino Kyūoku 萩野鳩谷, the author of *Gakusho shōkei*, for example, stated in that work that he "would like those who study calligraphy to focus their attention on old copybooks."³ The Edo-period calligrapher Sawada Tōkō 沢田東江 was

¹ This tendency, which often led calligraphers to study calligraphy written by early Chinese writers, was largely responsible for the development of *karayō* calligraphy in Japan. It was not, however, the only reason that Chinese-based styles gained popularity. From early times in Japan, there had existed a very strong influence and prestige of Chinese culture in general which no doubt caused many calligraphers to emulate the writings of their Chinese counterparts.

² Kūkai was one Heian-period calligrapher to encourage the use of old models in his writings (see p. 34 above).

also an advocate of the use of old copybooks and other texts, which he frequently mentioned in his writings on calligraphic study.⁴ As further evidence of the respect for old styles in Japan, consider the fact that during the Edo period there existed many calligraphers who admired the works of early Chinese writers such as Wang Xizhi 王羲之, Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 and Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿. As can be seen in Sawada's *Tōkō sensei showa*, this admiration of the Japanese for Chinese calligraphy was also noted in China. In the last passage of *Tōkō sensei showa* Sawada quotes a statement from the late Ming dynasty *Xihongtang fatie* album, which observed that Japanese calligraphy resembled that of the Chinese, the reason being that the Japanese studied the writings of Wang Xizhi and his son Xianzhi 獻之.⁵

A second characteristic that was prevalent among many Japanese calligraphers from early times was the predilection of Japanese writers to cultivate and preserve a uniquely Japanese style. It is evident, from the establishment in pre-Edo times of schools of calligraphy which emphasized the importance of studying traditional Japanese forms, that from an early stage the preservation of Japanese calligraphy was regarded as important. These schools of calligraphy often eulogized the writings of *wayō* calligraphers such as Ono no Michikaze 小野道風 and Fujiwara Yukinari 藤原行成, and sometimes even went as far as to denounce Chinese-based styles. Such institutions were able to maintain traditional Japanese styles

³ See p. 48 above. Although calligraphers such as Hagino did not always make a connection between old models and Chinese works, since the majority of old copybooks recommended were written by Chinese calligraphers or based on Chinese models, statements which urged Japanese calligraphers to base their calligraphy on old copybooks were, in effect, telling them to practise Chinese-based styles.

⁴ See, for example, the list of works recommended for study in Sawada's passages *Shōni gakushohō no koto* and *Daiji chūji shōji no koto* (pp. 67-9 and 76-8 respectively).

⁵ See p. 84 above.

which were practised by a substantial percentage of the population through their rigid teachings which were passed on from generation to generation.⁶ This desire to preserve a traditional Japanese style was not restricted to schools of calligraphy. As we have seen, there were also scholars such as Koshio Yūshō 小塩幽照 who urged Japanese calligraphers to limit their study to Japanese styles when in Japan.⁷

With both of the above two characteristics common in society, one might have expected *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy to have risen to similar levels of popularity or to be practised in various periods by an approximately equal number of people but this was not always the case. During the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods *karayō* calligraphy was practised more widely than was the Japanese tradition, while the Momoyama and early Edo periods saw an increase in the popularity of Japanese-based styles. During the Edo period, both *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy were employed but the number of those who practised each tradition differed significantly, and the Meiji period saw the widespread use of *karayō* styles. As we have seen, the reason for such differences did not arise solely out of the preference among calligraphers for either tradition, but came about as a result of a number of influencing factors that existed in society during each period.

During the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods, perhaps one of the greatest influencing factors that had a positive effect on the development of calligraphy of the Chinese tradition was the period of political turmoil that Japan faced during these periods. This turmoil caused a situation in which participation in cultural activities (including the art of calligraphy) was

⁶ That is not to say, however, that the styles these schools taught displayed a great degree of artistic merit. *Oie-ryū*, for example, was often criticized as being dull in comparison to other Edo-period styles (see p. 18 above).

⁷ Koshio states in his *Hitsudō hidenshō* that "people should study things Japanese when in Japan" (see p. 89 above).

reduced to a minimum. Those who desired to maintain development of calligraphy in Japan were therefore forced to rely mainly on monks who travelled to China to return with new materials and techniques. The result was an increased interest among many calligraphers in Chinese-based calligraphy, which came to be practised more extensively than the *wayō* tradition. This situation was reversed during the Momoyama period. Unification of provinces was achieved under the rule of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, and the period of peace which ensued inspired renewed interest in Japan's cultural traditions, including calligraphy. It was at this time that the three talented *wayō* calligraphers, Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦, Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭乗 and Konoe Nobutada 近衛信尹 appeared. Their influence, together with that of another eminent calligrapher, Karasumaru Mitsuhiro 烏丸光広, played a major role in the revival of *wayō* calligraphy during the Momoyama and early-Edo periods and many people came to emulate their styles.⁸

As mentioned earlier, perhaps the most notable feature of Edo-period calligraphy was the parallel existence of the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions.⁹ As with the Nanbokuchō, Muromachi and Momoyama periods, there were a number of influencing factors behind the popularity of each tradition. During the Edo period *wayō* styles were undoubtedly more widely employed than those of the *karayō* tradition. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, there was the fact that the *oie-ryū*¹⁰ mode of writing was favoured

⁸ The formation of schools of calligraphy which followed the styles of these calligraphers was not uncommon. The calligraphy Nobutada wrote, for example, led to the formation of a school of calligraphy known as *Konoe-ryū* or *Sanmyakuin-ryū* (see note on p. 7 above).

⁹ See p. 104 above.

¹⁰ A Japanese-based style which developed from the *Shōren'in* school. See section on *oie-ryū* above (pp. 14-19 above).

by the Tokugawa Shogunate and was accordingly employed in all official documents as well as in elementary school textbooks and the like. Since *oie-ryū* was relatively easy to write in comparison to other styles, it spread quickly throughout all levels of social class and greatly assisted in the development of the *wayō* tradition.

Another factor which had a positive influence on the development of *wayō* calligraphy during the Edo period was the appearance during the Momoyama period of the "Three Brushes of Kan'ei," Hon'ami Kōetsu, Shōkadō Shōjō and Konoe Nobutada. These calligraphers, who were also active during the early years of the Edo period, were all trained in the *Shōren'in* school (*oie-ryū*), and many emulated their writings. Among those influenced by their works was the Edo-period poet and writer Katō Chikage 加藤千蔭. Katō rose to become an eminent calligrapher whose *wayō* style, *Chikage-ryū*, was said to have been practised at all levels of society.¹¹ *Chikage-ryū* continued to be employed until the early stages of the Meiji period so clearly Katō's influence was great.

A third influencing factor in the development of *wayō* calligraphy during the Edo period was the Shogunate's implementation of a period of National Seclusion (*sakoku*). This seclusion, which began in 1639 and lasted for more than two hundred years, severely limited Japan's contact with other countries. During this time communication with China was greatly restricted, and many calligraphers who had at one time looked to China for new materials and inspiration were forced to turn their attention toward writings produced in Japan.¹² This no doubt added to the large number of

¹¹ See p. 105 above.

¹² As mentioned earlier, however, this period of seclusion was not total. Entry was permitted for number of Dutch, Chinese and Koreans, and several temples were granted an exemption to restrictions on foreign contact (see p. 26 above).

those who practised *wayō* styles in Edo times.

Although *wayō* calligraphy was practised by a substantial percentage of the population during the Edo period, there was, as we have seen, a group of calligraphers who continued to practise *karayō* styles. As mentioned above, respect among Japanese calligraphers for older styles was a major factor in the development of *karayō* calligraphy in Japan, but as with *wayō* calligraphy, there were a number of other influencing factors behind its development. Perhaps the greatest of these was the Shogunate's decision to promote Confucian studies in Edo society. Although this did not directly affect the *karayō* tradition, the implementation of Confucianism, with its roots in China, naturally encouraged Confucianists in Japan to look to the Continent for instruction. Furthermore, since Confucianism and writing based on Chinese models were closely related, many Japanese Confucianists also became talented poets. This led to an upsurge in popularity of Chinese poetry, and since poetry and calligraphy were closely related, Chinese-style calligraphy gained respect and was practised widely among Edo-period Confucianists.¹³

For those who practised *karayō* calligraphy, having access to authentic Chinese copybooks and original works was a matter of substantial importance. However, the period of National Seclusion during the Edo period severely limited the amount of material that was able to be imported from China. As Hagino mentioned, "true and good copybooks" were "extremely rare."¹⁴ This shortage of Chinese copybooks and original Chinese works is perhaps one explanation for the relatively limited number of *karayō* calligraphers in

¹³ As we have seen, writers of the *karayō* tradition occasionally displayed Confucian influence in their writings. References to Confucius can be found in Sawada Tōkō's passage *On the Way Children Study Calligraphy* (see p. 73 above).

¹⁴ See p. 44 above.

comparison to those who practised *oie-ryū* and other *wayō* styles. It did not mean, however, that *karayō* calligraphers were totally deprived of Chinese materials. As we have seen, it was during the National Seclusion period that the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism (which was exempt from Japan's interdiction on foreign contact) was introduced to Japan by the Chinese monk Yinyuan 隱元. Many monks who arrived in Japan with Yinyuan were well-schooled calligraphers and were able to produce writings which many Japanese calligraphers admired and practised. Ōbaku calligraphy thus promoted interest in the *karayō* tradition and together with the efforts of Japanese Confucianist-calligraphers, ensured that development of Edo-period *karayō* calligraphy was maintained.

Although both the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions continued to develop during the Edo period, as we have seen, the reasons behind the development of each tradition differed to some extent. Widespread employment of *wayō* calligraphy can be largely attributed to a number of policies the Shogunate introduced, including its period of National Seclusion which left many calligraphers in society without a chance to encounter Chinese-based styles. *Karayō* calligraphy, on the other hand, developed mainly because much of it was considered superior to popular styles of the *wayō* tradition.¹⁵ As we have seen, *karayō* calligraphers often expressed their dissatisfaction with *wayō* calligraphy and generally recommended only Chinese copybooks and models for calligraphic study. Hagino, for example, states in his passage on *wayō* calligraphy that those who practised calligraphy of the Japanese tradition were at times ignorant and this had become a source of errors in character

¹⁵ Although Confucianism, which played a role in the development of *karayō* calligraphy in Japan, was, in the same way, promoted by the Tokugawa Shogunate, it did not directly cause a rise in popularity of Chinese-based styles, and students who studied Confucianism in Japan were not under compulsion to study *karayō* calligraphy. The spread of Confucian studies did cause many scholars to turn their attention toward China, but it was the calligraphers themselves who preferred, and thus studied, Chinese-style calligraphy.

forms.¹⁶ Hagino and Sawada both recommended a number of Chinese works and copybooks to be used as models, but paid little attention to works produced in Japan, which suggests that they did not hold much respect for Japanese-based styles. It would not be inaccurate to say, then, that although there were a large number of *wayō* calligraphers in Japan during the Edo period, many of these calligraphers wrote in Japanese-based styles simply because they were left with little other option. For many calligraphers, writing in *oie-ryū* and other *wayō* styles was not a matter of preference, but one of convenience. *Karayō* calligraphers, on the other hand, usually consisted of Confucianists or those who were fortunate enough to possess Chinese copybooks. These calligraphers not only preferred to write in Chinese-based styles, but overcame the surge of *wayō* calligraphy resulting from the Shogunate's implementation of policies which favoured Japanese-based styles and produced a large number of skilfully-written *karayō* works. It is not surprising, then, that when the Meiji government began its term and decided to replace the *wayō* style used thitherto by the Tokugawa Shogunate with a Chinese-based style, *karayō* calligraphy in Japan flourished.

Calligraphy of the Meiji and modern periods was, in many ways, similar to that of the Edo period. Although *karayō* styles were generally practised at a wider level than those of the *wayō* tradition, both *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy continued to be employed. There was, however, one feature of Meiji and Modern-period calligraphy which separated it from that of the Edo period—namely a growing trend for both ancient and modern styles to be admired within both the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions. As with earlier periods, there were, in the case of *karayō*, a number of traditional *karayō* calligraphers who insisted on studying the writings of Wang Xizhi, Ouyang Xun and others. However, following the arrival of Yang Shoujing

¹⁶ See p. 57 above.

楊守敬 in 1880, the Northern Monument styles of calligraphy which Yang introduced to Japan promptly began to increase in popularity. Although these styles were relatively old, they had not achieved great recognition in earlier periods and were thus considered new to Japan.¹⁷ Several traditional *karayō* calligraphers including Chō Sanshū 長三州 and Naruse Daiiki 成瀬大域 opposed this Northern Monument calligraphy, which created a division among calligraphers of the Chinese tradition.

Calligraphers of the *wayō* tradition also faced divisiveness with regard to the roles of ancient and modern calligraphic styles. As with earlier periods, there existed several calligraphers who desired to revive the talent displayed in *jōdaiyō* calligraphy, and practised older styles. The position of these calligraphers, however, was challenged when a new form of calligraphy referred to as "avant-garde" appeared and began to develop in Japan. Avant-garde calligraphy disregarded many of the rules of traditional styles and was usually regarded as an expression of the personalities of those who wrote it. Its development and formal recognition through calligraphy exhibitions was lauded by contemporary calligraphers, many of whom desired for calligraphy to be recognised as an art. As was the case for the *karayō* tradition, however, there was some opposition to this new style and many questioned, and still do question, its place within the calligraphic world.

In the evaluation in this thesis of the development of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy in Japan from pre-Edo to modern times, it is evident that underlying the characteristic of Japanese calligraphers to admire and esteem works of the past and cultivate and preserve calligraphy unique to Japan, there has been a substantial influence exerted on calligraphy by a number of outside sources. Much of this influence—political instability during the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods, the Tokugawa Shogunate's

¹⁷ See pp. 113-4 above.

policies to both promote Confucianism and encourage the use of *oie-ryū* during the Edo period, Japan's period of National Seclusion, and the Meiji Government's partiality to *karayō* calligraphy—evolved from the decisions of those in power. These decisions gradually filtered through to the calligraphic world and their outcome was reflected in the writings of calligraphers at the time. Influence from those in power, however, was not the only reason for the continuous development of *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy during these periods. From early times, calligraphers of each tradition sought after and lauded the writings of talented writers, and strove to emulate their styles. Gifted *wayō* calligraphers such as Ono no Michikaze and Fujiwara Yukinari, and *karayō* calligraphers such as Kūkai, Hosoi Kōtaku and Kitajima Setsuzan were regarded highly and possessed a degree of influence in the development of each tradition in Japan. As we have seen, such calligraphers were commonly referred to in treatises on calligraphy written during these periods and together they played a significant role in the shaping of the history of *wayō* and *karayō* calligraphy. Influence from these and other prominent calligraphers, and from the various outside factors and trends among Japanese writers mentioned above, have ensured that from pre-Edo to modern times, both the *wayō* and *karayō* traditions have maintained continuous development. At times this development has slowed down, yet each tradition has been kept alive by the many calligraphers in Japan who have ultimately shaped calligraphy into its present-day form.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

*Texts Corresponding to Translated Excerpts**1. Theories on Chinese Style**(Kokusho Kankōkai ed., 1970: 426-7).*

書を學ぶ者は、手に把筆の法を正ふし、目に古法帖を見るときは、心手融化して衆病なく、自ら其妙に至る、多言を待たず、知者は言はず言者はしらずとやらんにて、古今名士に多言なく、事々しくいふ者に名人なし、

彼土は何事も高尚なる俗なれば、書家も夫に習つて高尚に議論し、八病等種々の名目を立つ、其説可ならざるにはあらねども、其本に暗き故に用をなさず、しばらく其一をいはず、八病は書家の惡む所なれども、能八病に通ぜざれば、其説を會得する事能わず、其説を解する者は自ら八病なし、是無用の辨なり、八病に通ぜしめんとならば、把筆融化を知らしむるに若はなし、諸家は等の事を次にして、翩翩として議論する事は、皆しらずして妄説するなり、用ゆべからず、

唯法帖眞善のもの甚稀なり、余久しく擇び求て數帖を得たり、篆書には、秦の李斯嶧山碑、唐末の刻、八分書には、唐の玄宗の書今文孝經御注ともに石臺の刻、楷書は、晉の王右軍樂毅論及び三藏聖經敍、唐の歐陽詢の書皇甫君碑、九成宮賦、弟玄の書千字文、以上皆宋板にて神妙至極なる物なり、殊に聖經敍には、板刻の外藏書の人押たりと見へて、朱印數多あり、其中に弇州鑒賞と云文あれば、王元美も賞し貯へしと見ゆ、直に傳へし眞蹟には、元の趙子昂の行書天馬賦及び大字金鱸帖、明の文徵明集王右軍草書千字文、徵明の行書三十六賢贊、祝允明の狂草大字秋興八首、中字上林賦跋、董其昌の行書大字唐詩絕句、此邦の人には中嶼三隆の書、何れも神妙類なし、此十五種の中には世に傳ふる名目もあれども、くらべ見る時は其類にあらず、此内一二は既に刻みしもあり、其餘も追々にのこらず刻して、傳を廣めんとす、同志の人必ず予が言の誣ならざるを知らん、書を學ぶ人、古法帖に心を留ん事を欲して、言及ばず、

又唐様の説は、臨池正眼、揮毫捷徑、筆硯使用書家微言等數種の書を著す故、此に略せり、右の中に大字といひしは、四五寸より尺餘に及ぶも有、

又三隆は東都の儒者にて後に長崎に移れり、隱操ありて常に日月の字

を書かず、吾名を定めずして色々に書し中に、雪參の字多かりしより世に雪山人と誤りしと也、予が大父東溪君は、東都にて幼より親み深く、後も慕て長崎に遊び、莫逆の交をなせり、其頃門人廣澤氏跡を尋て問來りしを、三隆に見へしめて弟子となす、廣澤氏後に書名ありしより、世に三隆を書家となすは非なり、元來姓は中嶼、名は三、字は隆なるを、合して呼べり、中嶼の音ちうしよ也、其片假名を草書にて集め書にし、名の字を加へ、一時の戯れに雪三と書れし手蹟を廣澤に與へしが、廣澤は交り淺ふして其譯を知らず、後に草書を雪山の字と讀誤り、撰著に迄記されしかば、其譯を告しか共、最早印行せし事なれば是非なし迎止め、惜しき事なりと家大人に語られし由なり、予が家に傳ふる三隆の書は、冊となさば、大字中字百枚、豆大の小字五六百枚もありつべし、何れも得意の書なれば、尋常の類にあらず、此事斯にあづからざれ共、三隆の名をしらせん迎記せり、

2. *Theories on Japanese Style*
(*Kokusho Kankōkai ed.*, 1970: 426-7).

近來文學盛んにして、和流の書家も唐様に倣つて書札を潤色す、其文字忽肥く忽細く、變幻一ならずして工を示し、或は羲獻を祖として其法を説き、或は楷書を教ゆる者あり、

和流迎も文字を書事なれば、其本は同じ事なれ共、已に別れて書札家となりたれば、字形の美しきと筆の滯らぬとを第一にして、筆意を論ぜず、唐様は氣象筆意を第一にして、字形を事とせず、是唐様の貴ぶ所は和流の惡む所、和流の惡む所は唐様の貴ぶ所にして、其教遙に各別の事となる

然るに和流を習ながら、唐様を眞似んとすれば、筆勢齟齬して互に害となる、世に和流を習ひて唐様を學べば、字形頽れて惡筆となるといふは詐りにあらず、其實は羲獻は本法にして貴ぶべく、和流は唐様を書損じて又書損じ、羲獻を書頽して又書頽し、

誤り誤りて又誤りたる至極の惡しき手癖より出たるものなれば、筆道の本法より見る時は、甚惡むべき事なれども、俗間書札の常法となりて、風俗の移らざる中は、基非を知ても、改め易ゆる事ならざる程になりたり、誤りながらも和流を習ふ上は、基流に得益ある事を教ゆべし、本法なれば迎、遙に各別なる羲獻を説くは、益なふして却て損あり、

初入は同じく楷書宜けれ共、元來唐様は筆力勁健を貴ぶ故、始終楷書を教ゆる事唐土の法なり、和流は柔らか成を貴ぶ故、始終楷書を習へば、文字稜角出來、手固まりて宜からず、畢竟唐和各別にて、唐様の教方は妄に用られずと知べし、唯和流は文盲にて字體に誤多し、又教方疎し、故に此數帖の中、に書札は教方を明、字體を正すには、和漢通じ考へて其誤を改たむ、其餘は和流に従て唐様に效わず、平假名を録して楷書を載せず、書式を記して羲獻を説ず、

平假名は手を柔らげ、書式は書札の常例なり、本文四時五節、年中の往來、其外一切入用の文言大略備る、是に因て推廣めば、日用の文通におみて事缺ることあるべからず、唯書札の書様知らずして叶ざればなり、されども故實は、和流文盲にして傳會多し、且日用の急務にあらず、故に詳にせず、

3. *On Cursive Script Being Difficult to Read*
(*Kokusho Kankōkai ed.*, 1970: 446).

宋の張丞相名商英、字天學、草書をこのみて書ける、ある時詩の句をえて、紙筆をもとめてとく書つらねけるに、まことに龍蛇の飛動するいきほひあり、さてかの作りたる詩を、その姪にめいじてうつさしめけるとき、運動縦横に書たる事なれば、よめがたき所あり、姪しばらくあんじて、うつす所の字をさして、是は何といふ字に候やと問ければ、丞相つらつら見る事久しうしていひけるは、汝何とてかとく問ずして、予にわすれさせけるぞと答しとなり、冷齋夜話に見えたり、

4. *On the Way Children Study Calligraphy*
(*Kokusho Kankōkai ed.*, 1970: 447-8).

小兒學書の法、八歳より十歳にいたるまで、大楷書をまなび、大唐中興頌、東方朔畫贊碑、萬安橋の碑の類なり、十一歳より十三歳まで中楷を學び、九成宮銘、虞恭公碑、姚恭公墓誌、遺教經の類、十四歳より十六歳にいたりて小楷を學び、宣示帖、戒路表、樂毅論、力命表、曹娥碑の類、十七歳より二十歳にいたるまで行書を學ぶ、蘭亭敘、開皇帖、聖教序、陰符經、獻之帖の類、その後草書篆隸まじへならふ事、元の鄭杓が學書次第の圖に見えたり、

又中華にて、俗間の小兒書を學ぶはじめ、上大人丘乙巳、化三千七十子、爾小生八九子、佳作仁可知禮、といふ廿四字を天下一同に是をならふ事、祝枝山猥譚にみえたり、もと孔子の父叔梁紇へたてまつる所

の書に託して、筆畫のすくなき文字をあつめて作れり、本朝の小兒書學のはじめ、いろはを習ふがごとし、上大人とは、父へたてまつるをいふ、丘は孔子みづからのたまふことば、已化三千七十子は、孔子の徳に化する所の弟子、すでに三千人におよべり、爾小生八九子とは、そのうち八九七十二人は、身六藝につうぜし人々にて、これらは皆、仁を行なひ禮をしろの輩なりといふこゝろなり、

5. *On Large, Medium and Small Characters*
(*Kokusho Kankōkai ed., 1970: 448-9*).

世に毛邊紙^{たうし}一張へ二三字ほど書たるを大字といへど、中華にては字形三四寸より已上を皆大字といふ、山谷文集に、大字は瘞鶴の銘にすぐる事なしとあり、いふこゝろは、瘞鶴の銘ほどなる字を學ぶときは、その已上の大字はいかほどなるにても作らるゝをいふ、瘞鶴の碑は、梁の陶弘景が書にて、久しく山石の間にうづもれありしを、明のとき顧元慶といふ人、雪中に舟をうかべて、京口山石の下にて、手づから搦して歸り、是より又世に傳ふといふ、今玉烟堂法帖に摸刻あり、又董其昌が書畫禪隨筆にいはく、予襄陽が天馬の賦を見る事すでに四本、そのうち一本は、擘窠大字なりとあり、董玄宰の見られしは、皆眞蹟なり、そのうち擘窠大字といふは、今世上に多くある、はじめに畫馬の圖を書たる墨本なり、字形一寸ほどより中字といふ、虞世南の孔子廟堂の碑、歐陽詢が冷泉の銘の類をいふ、二三分なるを小楷といふ、羲之の樂毅論、東方朔畫像の贊、黄庭經、孝女曹娥の碑文のごときを云ふ、ことに小さきを蠅頭書といふ、褚遂良の陰符經、顏魯公が麻姑仙壇の記、米芾が西園雅集の記の類なり、以上小楷は、停雲館法帖、戲鴻堂法帖、其他の法帖中にも見えたり、

6. *On Japanese Calligraphy Rivalling that of China*
(*Kokusho Kankōkai ed., 1970: 466*).

本朝のいにしへ、唐の禮典をとり用ゐられしかば、經學文章詩賦の類はいふもさらなり、書法にいたりても、専ら晉唐の體を學びたり、

唐書日本傳に、建中元年、使者眞人興能方物を獻ず、興能書をよくす、その紙繭に似てなめらかなり、人これをしる事なしとのせ、

書史會要には、宋の景德三年、日本の僧寂照入貢せしとき、南海の商人日本よりかへる、ときに國王の弟野人若愚、及び左大臣藤原道

長、治部卿源從英三人より、寂照のもとへおくりたる書を持かへれり、みな二王義之、獻之、の筆蹟なり、なかんづく若愚の章草、妙にいたりて、中土の能書といへども及びがたきよしをいへり、

戲鴻堂法帖にのせたる日本書の跋に、日本の書唐人のごとし、二王の筆を學が故なりとあり、又日本の僧釋永傑、字斗南、釋中巽、字權中、虞永興の書をよくすといふ、書史會要、又米南宮が書史に、陳賢が草書、奇逸にして辨じがたく、日本書のごとしとあり、和朝の假名に似たるをいふ、

その外日本書を稱美せし事、あげてかぞへがたし、吾朝古代書法のすぐれたる事かくのごとし、されども時代うつり行にしたがひ、そのもとをうしなひ、末を學ぶ事になりたれば、今は人々の流義といふものありて、別に一種の體となれるならん、

7. *Conventions on Manners of Chinese Styles and Elegant Characters*
(*Kokusho Kankōkai ed., 1970: 161*).

四十四、幽傳問、今唐流又は素媚たる文字異やうなるゆへ、さきざきにてよみ得る事なりがたきよし、いかん、

師の曰、當世の人心輕薄にして、新しきを好み、世にかはるを第一とす、さもあれば眞實正道を以て勝る事は、をよびがたきゆへなり、やすきにより、かの媚まがりたる流を學ぶと見えたり、筆をとれども心術の要なき者の業也、爰にたとへあり、いやしき愚癡の者も、誹諧といへる事をするに、異風を好む世の風俗なれば、身の高き衆中も、をのづから心ざしうつる事あり、是もむかしの人の好める誹諧といふ物にあらず、たゞ習俗事に人のこゝろうつりやすきは、淺ましき事也、又學問のこゝろざしある者を見るに、はや唐人のまねをして、或は髪をながくし、深衣とて唐人の衣服を着したがる、みなあさはかなる心からなす事か、日本に居ば日本の風を學びて、心も全、かたちも文字も直ならむこそ、あらまほしき事なれ、

8. *On There Being no Point in Teaching Children Calligraphy*
(*Kokusho Kankōkai ed., 1970: 157*).

三十、幽傳問、童兒に手蹟教るは何の差別なく、筆にまかせてをしゆるはいかん、

師の曰、童兒は其心直にして、しぜむと天性に任せて書ゆへ、あしきは大かたなき者也、夫を其儘に直に教るは可也、又其性ひがみて直をならざる人稟もあり、かやうの小兒、何ぞ生れ付の儘にしてをかんや、しかれども暗師は、ひがめるを能をしへ、直なるを其儘にして道引すべを不_レ知也、唯明師にあらずば隨ふべからず、初暗師に習ば、其癖やまざる者也、後明師にあふといふともいかんともする事あたはじ、

9. Terako ōrai

(Ishikawa, et al., ed., 1968: 636-7).

抑書筆之道者、人間萬用達之根元也。無筆之輩者、得盲者之名、不異於木石畜類。一生之苦、老後之悔、以何可喻之哉。此故、第一從幼少不限貴賤手習事宜哉。於異國人生八歲之時初而入小學門。本朝凡從九歲十一歲手跡入學世之風俗也。漸童子寺入之後者、長敷友達鬪諍相撲腕押枕引一切惡敷遊戲、隨分可相愼也。

早天朝起手水結髮、赴手習所時者對父母爲告知、又歸宅之節茂可爲同事。先向机摺墨、靜心調氣、相弟子交不働無禮、慇懃而寺式法之趣不相背、稽古有其定内者堅可相守。人寫十字者學百字、手本之字形、清書之直、能々相考、筆仕不速不遲、廻鍛鍊工夫可習之也。

無精者之爲癖、或居眠嚏筆之管高咄大笑、破障子穢柱崩壁、度々好湯茶立居或不問語告口差出口根問陰言詞咎、其外以謀計虛言掩我身之惡、却而改人之非、欺師之掟、不用兄弟子之差圖、氣隨我儘而已移時刻、不稽古惡行之所爲有心之兒童省身可恐々々。

惣而不依何賣買遣貫遠慮尤也。筆墨紙無放埒、白紙反古等迄剪割成費儀不可然。墨不翻硯箱文庫之内無散亂奇麗取置、往來之道筋不走不狂可爲神妙。從若年之依所行、成長已後之人柄相顯之間、思此恥右所述之善惡常々可有分別得心事肝要也。

於筆學林徒送光陰、手跡執行令油斷、其上身持不埒而受諸人之憎汚師之名忘親之恩不覺悟之輩者、偏々口惜次第也。唯一日片時無怠盡氣根嗜行儀可求世之譽。身之徳也。仍教訓書如件。

APPENDIX B

Japanese and Chinese Names and Dates

Akechi Mitsuhide	明智光秀	(1528?-1582)
Araki Sohaku	荒木素白	(1600-1685)
Ashikaga Takauji	足利尊氏	(1305-1358)
Cai Xiang	蔡襄	(1012-1067)
Cai Yong	蔡邕	(132-192)
Chen Yuanrui	陳元瑞	—
Chūsho Sanryū	中嶼三隆	<i>See Kitajima Setsuzan</i>
Chūson	中巽	—
Chō Sanshū	長三州	(1833-1895)
Chu Suiliang	褚遂良	(596-658)
Dai Li	戴笠	(1596-1672)
Dang Yin	唐寅	(1470-1523)
Dazai Shundai	太宰春台	(1680-1747)
Di Xuan	弟玄	—
Dokuryū	独立	<i>See Dai Li</i>
Dong Qichang	董其昌	(1555-1636)
Dong Xuanzai	董玄宰	—
Du Fu	杜甫	(712-770)
Eiketsu	英傑	—
Emperor Fushimi	伏見天皇	(1265-1317)
Emperor Godaigo	後醍醐天皇	(1288-1339)
Emperor Gokōgon	後光嚴天皇	(1338-1374)
Emperor Goyōzei	後陽成天皇	(1571-1617)
Emperor Kōgon	光嚴天皇	(1313-1364)
Emperor Saga	嵯峨天皇	(786-842)
Emperor Uda	宇多天皇	(888-897)
Emperor Wu	武帝	(r. 502-549)
Empress Kōmyō	光明皇后	(701-760)
Feng Fang	豐坊	(fl. 1522-1566)
Fujiki Atsunao	藤木敦直	(1582-1649)
Fujita Yūkan	藤田友閑	(fl. 1624)
Fujiwara Akihira	藤原明衡	(989-1066)
Fujiwara Korefusa	藤原伊房	(1030-1096)
Fujiwara Koretsune	藤原伊經	(d. 1227)
Fujiwara Koreyuki	藤原伊行	(1123?-1175)
Fujiwara Michinaga	藤原道長	(966-1027)
Fujiwara Noriie	藤原教家	(1193-1255)

Fujiwara Norinaga	藤原教長	(1109-1180)
Fujiwara Sukemasa	藤原佐理	(944-998)
Fujiwara Tadamichi	藤原忠通	(1097-1164)
Fujiwara Tsunetomo	藤原経朝	(1215-1276)
Fujiwara Yukifusa	藤原行房	—
Fujiwara Yukinari	藤原行成	(972-1027)
Fujiwara Yukiyoshi	藤原行能	(1182-1253?)
Hagino Kyūoku	菽野鳩谷	(1717-1817)
Hattori Nankaku	服部南郭	(1683-1759)
Hayashi Dōei	林道栄	(1640-1708)
Hayashi Hōkō	林鳳岡	(1644-1732)
Hayashi Razan	林羅山	(1583-1657)
Hirano Kinka	平野金華	(1688-1732)
Hon'ami Kōetsu	本阿弥光悦	(1558-1637)
Hori Ryūsui	堀流水軒	(fl. ca. 1715)
Hosoi Kōtaku	細井広沢	(1658-1735)
Hosokawa Yūsai	細川幽斎	(1534-1610)
Hu Tiemei	胡鉄梅	—
Huai Su	懷素	(725-785)
Huang Shan'gu	黄山谷 <i>See Huang Tingjian</i>	
Huang Tingjian	黄庭堅	(1045-1105)
Ichikawa Beian	市河米庵	(1779-1858)
Ike no Taiga	池大雅	(1723-1776)
Ikkyū Sōjun	一休宗純	(1394-1481)
Inoue Randai	井上蘭台	(1705-1761)
Ishida Mitsunari	石田三成	(1560-1600)
Ishii Tankō	石井潭香	(1806-1870)
Ishikawa Kōsai	石川鴻斎	(fl. 1885)
Isshi Monju	一絲文守	(1608-1646)
Itō Jinsai	伊藤仁斎	(1627-1705)
Iwaya Ichiroku	巖谷一六	(1834-1905)
Jakushō	寂照	(d. 1034)
Jiang Ligang	姜立綱	—
Jifei (J: Sokuhi)	即非	(1616-1671)
Jimyōin Motoharu	寺明院基春	(1453-1535)
Karasumarū Mitsuhiro	烏丸光広	(1579-1636)
Katayama Hokkai	片山北海	(1723-1790)
Katō Chikage	加藤千蔭	(1735-1808)
Kenreimon'in Ukyō no Daibu	建礼門院右京大夫	(b. ca. 1157)
Ki no Tsurayuki	紀貫之	(861-946)
Kitajima Setsuzan	北島雪山	(1336-1697)
Kitakata Shinsen	北方心泉	(1850-1905)

Kō Gentai	高玄岱	(1639-1722)
Kō Isai	高頤齋	(1690-1769)
Kō Ten'i	高天漪 <i>See Kō Gentai</i>	
Kōbō Daishi	弘法大師 <i>See Kūkai</i>	
Konoe Iehiro	近衛家熙	(1667-1736)
Konoe Nobutada	近衛信尹	(1564-1614)
Konoe Sakihisa	近衛前久	(1536-1612)
Koshio Yūshō	小塩幽照	(fl. 1692)
Ku Yuanqing	顧元慶	—
Kūkai	空海	(774-835)
Kusakabe Meikaku	日下部鳴鶴	(1838-1922)
Li Yong	李邕	(678-747)
Litan Zongle	李潭宗泐	(1318-1391)
Long Ji	隆基	(685-762)
Mabito no Kōnō	真人興能	—
Matsuda Sekka	松田雪柯	(1819-1888)
Matsunaga Teikoku	松永貞徳	(1571-1653)
Matsushita Useki	松下烏石	(1699-1779)
Mi Fu	米芾	(1051-1107)
Minagawa Kien	皆川淇園	(1734-1807)
Minamoto Shūei	源從英	—
Muan (J: Mokuan)	木庵	(1611-1684)
Musō Soseki	夢窓疎石	(1276-1351)
Nakabayashi Gochiku	中林梧竹	(1827-1913)
Naruse Daiiki	成瀬大域	(1827-1902)
Ni Zan	倪瓚	(1301-1374)
Nishiyama Sōin	西山宗因	(1605-1682)
Nomura Soken	野村素軒	(1842-1927)
Nukina Kaioku	貫名海屋	(1778-1863)
Oda Nobunaga	織田信長	(1534-1582)
Ogyū Sorai	荻生徂徠	(1666-1728)
Ono Gadō	小野鶯堂	(1862-1922)
Ono no Michikaze	小野道風	(894-966)
Ouyang-Xun	歐陽詢	(557-641)
Pan Cun	潘存	(d. 1892)
Prince Kaneakira	兼明親王	(914-987)
Prince Son'en	尊円親王	(1298-1356)
Prince Sonchin	尊鎮親王	(1504-1550)
Prince Sonchō	尊朝親王	(1552-1597)
Prince Takanaga	尊良親王	(1311-1337)
Sano Tōshū	佐野東州	(d. 1814)
Sawada Tōkō	沢田東江	(1732-1796)

Sekishitsu Zenkyū	石室善玖	(1294-1389)
Sen no Rikyū	千利休	(1522-1591)
Sesson Yūbai	雪村友梅	(1290-1367)
Shen Yue	沈約	(441-513)
Shi Huihong	釈惠洪	—
Shōkadō Shōjō	松花堂昭乘	(1584-1639)
Shu Liangqi	叔梁紇	(d. ca. 500 BC)
Sima Xiangru	司馬相如	—
Su Dongpo	蘇東坡	(1036-1101)
Su Shi	蘇軾	(1036-1101)
Sugawara Michizane	菅原道真	(845-903)
Sun Guoting	孫過庭	(648?-703?)
Tachibana no Hayanari	橘逸勢	(778-842)
Tai Zong	代宗	(r. 627-649)
Takinomotobō Shōjō	滝本坊昭乘 <i>See Shōkadō Shōjō</i>	
Takuan	沢庵	(1573-1645)
Tao Hungting	陶弘景	(456-536)
Tao Zongyi	陶宗儀	—
Tokugawa Ieyasu	徳川家康	(1542-1616)
Toyotomi Hideyoshi	豊臣秀吉	(1536?-1598)
Wakisaka Gidō	脇坂義堂	(fl. ca. 1800)
Wang Chong	王寵	(1494-1533)
Wang Cizhong	王次仲	—
Wang Duo	王鐔	(1592-1652)
Wang Shizheng	王世貞	(1526-1590)
Wang Xianzhi	王獻之	(344-388)
Wang Xizhi	王羲之	(303?-361?)
Wang Yangming	王陽明	(1472-1529)
Wang Youjun	王右軍 <i>See Wang Xizhi</i>	
Wen Zhengming	文徵明	(1470-1559)
Wu Changshuo	吳昌碩	—
Xia Houxuan	夏侯玄	—
Xia Houzhan	夏侯湛	—
Xiong Peiyu	熊佩玉	—
Xuan Zong	玄宗	(685-762)
Xun Zi	荀子	(?298-?238 BC)
Yajin Jakugu	野人若愚	—
Yan Lugong	顏魯公 <i>See Yan Zhenqing</i>	
Yan Zhenqing	顏真卿	(709-785)
Yang Shoujing	楊守敬	(1839-1915)
Yinyuan (J: Ingen)	隱元	(1594-1673)
Yoshida Banka	吉田晚稼	(1830-1907)

You Xiangyang	予襄陽	—
Yu Lide	俞立德	—
Yu Shinan	虞世南	(558-638)
Yukisue	行季	(1476-1532)
Zekkai Chūshin	絕海中津	(1336-1405)
Zhang Chengxiang	張丞相	(1043-1121)
Zhang Huaiguan	張懷瓘	(fl. 8th C.)
Zhang Jizhi	張即之	(1186-1263)
Zhang Ruitu	張瑞圖	(1570-1639)
Zhang Xu	張旭	(fl. mid-8th C.)
Zhang Yanyuan	張彥遠	(810?-880)
Zhao Mengfu	趙孟頫	(1254-1322)
Zhao Ziang	趙子昂 <i>See Zhao Mengfu</i>	
Zheng Yun	鄭杓	—
Zhi Yong	智永	—
Zhong You	鍾繇	(151-230)
Zhu Yunming	祝允明	(1460-1526)

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