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Friends, acquaintances, pupils and patrons : Japanese intellectual life in the late eighteenth century : a prosopographical approach

Beerens, A.M.J.J.

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FRIENDS, ACQUAINTANCES, PUPILS, AND PATRONS

Japanese intellectual life in the late eighteenth century: a prosopographical approach

Anna Beerens

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FRIENDS, ACQUAINTANCES, PUPILS, AND PATRONS

Japanese intellectual life in the late eighteenth century: a prosopographical approach

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Referent:	Prof. Dr. H. Bolitho (Harvard University, USA)
Overige leden:	Prof. Dr. M. F. M. Forrer Prof. Dr. W. R. van Gulik Prof. Dr. B. J. ter Haar Mw. Prof. Dr. R. Kersten Prof. Dr. B. C. A. Walraven Dr. J. J. de Jong (Universiteit Maastricht) Mw. Dr. M. Winkel

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Foreword

After a long career in classical ballet, I went to study Japanese language and culture at Leiden University. I was on the lookout for a new occupation in life, well-knowing that my knees would not always be up to the strain, but I did not at the time expect this to be a career in scholarship. Within the field of Japanology I have several interests, but it is not in fact surprizing that I have now spent several years in researching the lives of Japanese scholars and artists of the late eighteenth century of which this book is the result. From my own experience I know what it is to have a *shijuku*, a private academy, and what it means to handle culture as a commodity. And it is exactly these things that I have tried to highlight in my account of intellectual life of the late Tokugawa period.

I would like to thank the following institutes for their support: NWO, het Leids Universiteits Fonds, and the Culture Communications Fund, especially Jascha Kraaipoel. I also thank the following individuals apart from those that the Leiden *mores* forbid me to mention: Timothy Clark (British Museum), Rudolf Dekker (Erasmus Universiteit, Rotterdam), Tom Harper (Tokyo), Jon de Jong (’s-Hertogenbosch), Kumakura Isao (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka), B.J. Mansvelt Beck (Amsterdam), Steven Owyoung (St Louis Arts Museum), Marianne Thomeer (Leiden), and Ellis Tinios (University of Leeds).

Finally, I want to thank my former ballet pupils who have supported me in my choice even if it was against their own interests. My husband has been a great help: a severe critic and an indulgent hand at the computer.

February 2006

Abbreviations

DJJ *Dai jinmei jiten*
HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
JAS *Journal of Asian Studies*
KBD *Koten bungaku daijiten*
KD *Kokushi daijiten*
KJJ *Kokusho jinmei jiten*
MN *Monumenta Nipponica*

Titles of all other works cited in the text or in the footnotes, and ocurring more than once, have been shortened. The full titles can be found in the bibliography.

"Dr. Johnson was a wise Man, and he said History was a foolish Study; for it tells said he of *Consternation* filling the Towns and People, when in Truth no one was *consternated*, but Men minded their Shops and counted their Money, and Women looked to their Crockery Ware & minded their Mops, whether under one form of Government or another".

Mrs. Thrale to Miss Williams, the 25th of April 1819, as quoted by J.L. Clifford, *Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale)*, Oxford 1968[2], 449

PART I: INTRODUCTION

1: Questions

The following discussion of the social circumstances of Japanese intellectuals in the late eighteenth century, based on the investigation of biographical data concerning 173 individuals, has been carried out with certain questions in mind: questions that have mainly to do with the image of late eighteenth-century intellectual life in current scholarship, and with the self-image and intellectual ethos of the scholars, authors, poets and artists of the Tokugawa era. What these questions are, and the manner in which they are approached, is the subject of this introductory part. Special attention is given to defining important terms and concepts, and to the method that was used for this investigation.

One of the most striking features of early modern Japan is its urban character. During the seventeenth century Japan's castle towns shed their military garb and became centres of manufacture, commerce and culture. Port towns and religious centres (*monzen machi* 門前町) likewise joined in the bustle of urban activity. The three great urban communities of Kyoto, Osaka and Edo played a leading part in these developments. All this has been extensively described by various authors, so there is no need for me to do so again.[1]

Among the commodities available in these urban centres were scholarship and art, both product and practice. The simultaneous processes of pacification and urbanization had brought about a demand for all forms of scholarly and artistic expression. People sought tuition for themselves and for their children, joined learned and literary societies, admired and practised painting and calligraphy, and collected art, books and curios (*kibutsu*, 奇物). It is significant that among both producers and consumers of cultural commodities there was an increasing number of individuals from social groups that had never had access to such commodities before.

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[1] See for instance Marius B. Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, Cambridge, Mass. 2000, chapters 5-6; Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, Berkeley 1993, chapters 8-11; Katsuhisa Moriya, 'Urban networks and information networks', in: Chie Nakane & Shinzaburō Ōishi, eds, *Tokugawa Japan*, Tokyo 1990, 106-113; Nakai Nobuhiko & James L. McClain, 'Commercial change and urban growth in early modern Japan', in: *The Cambridge history of Japan*, vol. 4, Cambridge 1991, 519-590; Gary P. Leupp, *Servants, shophands and laborers in the cities of Tokugawa Japan*, Princeton 1992, esp. chapter 1: 'Labor and the Pax Tokugawa' (7-28) and the afterword (176); Gilbert Rozman, *Urban networks in Ch'ing China and Tokugawa Japan*, Princeton 1973, and L. M. Cullen, *A history of Japan, 1582-1941: internal and external worlds*, Cambridge 2003, esp. chapters 3 and 4.

Most modern scholars agree that the eighteenth century was in many respects, as Conrad Totman put it, a period of stasis.[2] In scholarship and art, however, growth continued unabated. Marius Jansen speaks of an "intellectual renaissance" that, as it "penetrated downward through society", had "transformed" Japanese society by the end of the eighteenth century.[3] The image presented in current research is one of a proliferation of (more or less rivalling) new genres of art and literature and new fields of scholarship and thought. Generally, however, there is a tendency to regard these developments as part of the perceived stagnation, or even downturn. The large number of "discordant doctrines" and "worrisome lines of thought" is seen as a symptom of the fact that "satisfaction with the existing order waned" and that "the dominant ideology was losing whatever persuasiveness it once may have held".[4] Political stagnation and governmental repression are said to have stimulated disgruntled intellectuals to assume the attitude of iconoclasm and eccentricity that is supposed to be at the root of many fresh departures in eighteenth-century art and letters.[5] This viewpoint is debatable and

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[2] Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, passim and, for instance, John W. Hall, 'The new look of Tokugawa History', in: John W. Hall & Marius B. Jansen, eds, *Studies in the institutional history of early modern Japan*, Princeton 1968, 55-64: "We can think of the middle century of the Tokugawa period, from roughly 1720 to 1830, as one during which the structure as perfected in the seventeenth century ran out of elasticity" (63). Cullen in his *A history of Japan* provides a different and altogether more optimistic point of view.

[3] Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, 187.

[4] Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 34. Also Herbert Passin, 'Modernization and the Japanese intellectual: some comparative observations', in: Marius B. Jansen, ed., *Changing Japanese attitudes toward modernization*, Princeton 1965, 447-487: "… [the] position [of the *jusha*] was increasingly challenged by new elements. These have been so well described by intellectual historians of the period that it would be presumptuous to repeat the details here. Very briefly, however, the various schools of thought were potentially – and more and more, as time went on, actually – in conflict with each other" (459), and John W. Hall, s.v. 'history of Japan', in: *The Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, Tokyo 1983: "By the late Edo period a perceptible sense of unease characterized the national mood, the result of a growing realization that the country faced deep social and economic problems as well as new challenges from abroad. Unease did not translate into a feeling of crisis until well into the 19th century, but it did stimulate social and intellectual movements, all of which responded in one way or another to these new problems". George Sansom, *A History of Japan, 1615-1867*, Stanford 1963, 181, speaks of: "… a new intellectual activity which…arose from the discontent of thoughtful men who felt that the feudal society was stagnant". Compare the concluding passage of John W. Hall, 'The Confucian teacher in Tokugawa Japan', in: David S. Nivison & Arthur F. Wright, eds, *Confucianism in action*, Stanford 1959, 268-301, about the Confucian scholar "being challenged" by new branches of scholarship and science, and "the primacy of Chinese studies … being questioned" (300-301), and also the first chapter (entitled 'Late Tokugawa society and the crisis of community') in Susan L. Burns, *Before the nation. Kokugaku and the imagining of community in early modern Japan*, Durham 2003, 16-34, in which a context for articulating "alternative conceptions of community" (34) is presented.

[5] See for instance Calvin L. French, *The poet-painters: Buson and his followers*, Ann Arbor 1974, 4: "These men ... shared a common bond – the notion of themselves as individuals within a social order that limited the expression of individuality". L. A. Marceau, *Literati consciousness in early modern Japan: Takebe Ayatari and the bunjin*, PhD Harvard University 1989, 3, uses the term "counter culture". Cf. John Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons. Works by eccentric, nonconformist Japanese artists of the early modern era (1580-1868)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1999, vol. 2, 3, on "ideals of

we should ask ourselves if we are able to bring any such debate to a satisfactory conclusion without giving consideration to the basic realities of intellectual life in eighteenth-century Japan.[6] How can we ascertain a possible lack of dynamism or increase in competition between schools and doctrines when we actually know so little about intellectual life 'on the ground'? In order to acquire the requisite knowledge, we have to ask and answer questions like: How did one become 'an intellectual', how did one go about being one, who was involved, with whom, in what manner? How about social statuses, incomes, career lines and the role of the so-called 'hereditary system'? How about teachers and 'old boys' networks'? How about travel in order to meet congenial individuals? We have to find out about the basic life-patterns of intellectuals and about their contacts.

So far, little in the way of synthesis has been written about intellectual life from such an 'on the ground' perspective.[7] Previous research into Tokugawa scholars and artists has tended to look at them mainly as producers of tangible works of scholarship and art, and these *works* have been avidly studied. However, in this way painters and calligraphers became the province of art historians, poets of literary historians, Confucian scholars of historians of ideas, and so on. 'Schools' and 'movements' were identified and within these schools and movements generational and other subdivisions were introduced. Certain activities of an individual would be stressed and others neglected. Relationships between people were explored solely for the purpose of

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individualism and freedom". Also Nam-lin Hur, *Prayer and play in late Tokugawa Japan. Asakusa Sensōji and Edo society*, Cambridge, Mass. 2000, 174: "The divergence between the guiding principles of bakufu leaders and orthodox Confucians on the one hand and the *nonconformist discourses of disillusioned critics* on the other became part of the larger context of cultural politics in late Tokugawa Japan" (my italics). Hur also uses the term "counter culture" (175). Burns, *Before the nation*, 98, briefly discusses the influence of Motoori Norinaga's concept of *mono no aware* in this context.

[6] Compare the objections raised by Harold Bolitho in his 'Concrete discourse, manifest metaphor, and the Tokugawa intellectual paradigm', in: *MN* 35, 1980, 89-98, esp. 96-98. Bolitho writes: "There is no doubt that eighteenth-century writings give ample evidence of unease at the growing gap between Neo-Confucian ideal and Tokugawa reality, but so do seventeenth-century writings … Ōkubo Hikozaemon … was convinced that things were going to hell in a handcart; so, too, in their own way were … Kumazawa Banzan and the various Saga gentlemen on whose observations *Hagakure* was based. Japanese history has always had its Jeremiahs, but it is questionable if the eighteenth century had many more than usual". Compare also, for instance, Ray A. Moore, 'Samurai discontent and social mobility in the late Tokugawa period', in: *MN* 24, 1969, 79-91. On the ground of statistical evidence he claims that: "…demands from the lower samurai ranks for the appointment of men of talent to *han* offices were not demands for meritocracy. There is no evidence that they were rejecting the Tokugawa status system and demanding that personal ability be the main criterion for determining social position. Rather their demand was for a share of privileges which the higher ranks enjoyed, for equal treatment within the system. They felt that if they were able men of the *han*, they should not only hold office but also accumulate high and permanent family incomes" (90). His down-to-earth conclusions about discontent among samurai show that there is more to "being disgruntled" than just the moral aspect.

[7] There are monographs on education in this period (see for instance Richard Rubinger, *Private academies of Tokugawa Japan*, Princeton 1982, and R. P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, Ann Arbor 1992), but 'education' and 'intellectual life' are not the same thing. I feel the social historian's outlook on intellectual life in the Tokugawa period is mostly represented by the work of Munemasa Isoo, 宗政五十 (none of which has been translated).

discovering specific scholarly or artistic influence. And in order to fit these people into our disciplines and specialisms, we have often failed to appreciate the scope of their activities and contacts. This process of fragmentation within *modern* scholarship may in fact have contributed to the 'factional' image of Tokugawa period intellectual life as described above. Besides, evidently, the texts and artifacts written and produced by scholars and artists do not always answer our questions as formulated above.[8] It is the intention of this study to fill in some of the deficiencies.

Of course, the realities of eighteenth-century intellectual life should be compared to the meaning accorded to them by the actors themselves, and to the self-image of those involved. However, I wish to look first of all at basic life-patterns and especially the actual, observable contacts between people, the 'on the ground' perspective just mentioned. Historians move at different levels of inquiry. Some work on surface events and acts, others want to probe below that surface, to lesser or greater depths. I have chosen to concentrate here on the surface levels of behaviour.

I have emphasized contacts between people because interaction was of vital importance to intellectuals in this society without universities. It was as a result of personal initiative that a large amount of intellectual work was undertaken, and that people were brought together in private academies (*shijuku* 私塾), *salons* and gatherings, and networks of friends and acquaintances, patrons and clients.[9] Also, Japanese scholars and artists were much more thrown on one another's society than their Western counterparts, because they lacked the possibility to go and study abroad. We do not really know much about the mechanisms and ramifications of such aggregates of people. In order to gain insight it is necessary to study data concerning a relatively large number of persons.

During the course of my research, I have been asked repeatedly, whether it would not be more useful to carry out an in-depth study of 'a few representative individuals'. It is, however, impossible to select such 'representative individuals' if we do not yet know what patterns or types, if any, they are supposed to represent. In order to determine such patterns we have to look at a larger whole first. However, for this to remain viable we have to remain on a surface level. The present study contains biographical data concerning 173 individuals; this precludes an in-depth treatment of their motives or the exact quality of the contacts between them.

Fortunately, the study of history provides a method to tackle what I have designated as aggregates of people on the surface levels of behaviour: prosopography, also known as 'collective biography', 'collective life histories', *quantitative Personen-*

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[8] Already in 1989 Andrew Gerstle pointed out that "literary studies have tended to be ahistorical, often ignoring the fact that most art was a commodity produced for a price", see C. Andrew Gerstle, ed., *Eighteenth century Japan, culture and society*, Sydney 1989, xii.

[9] Rubinger, *Private academies*, 4, speaks of "informal agencies of education". Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 85-86, points out that Japan has a tradition of cultural production as a "participatory activity". It should be mentioned here that in the eighteenth century many cultural activities did *not* rely on the *iemoto* 家元 system. Compare Mark Morris, 'Group portrait with artist: Yosa Buson and his patrons', in: C. Andrew Gerstle, ed., *Eighteenth century Japan*, 100. For the term *iemoto*, see Rubinger, *Private Academies*, 156 note 2: "The family-based and hereditary organization of learning is sometimes described by the term *iemoto* (家元) which refers to the headmaster of a school or to the family that is responsible for faithfully transmitting a particular branch of learning – usually in the arts".

forschung or *biographie sérielle*. More about the prosopographical method will be said below, but it might be useful to give a definition here. In his classic article on prosopography, the historian Lawrence Stone defines it as follows: "Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions … The various types of information about the individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed and combined, and are examined for significant variables".[10] Although it may seem that the emphasis is very much on 'the group', as a matter of fact prosopographers stress the importance of preserving the individuality of every person within the chosen collective. For instance D. C. Smythe, a specialist on Byzantium, states that prosopo-graphy is not about life in groups or the biography of groups, but "the study of biographical detail about individuals in an aggregate". He maintains that although the prosopographer is not averse to statistics, the individuality of every person should be preserved.[11]

Now that we have decided on our questions, on what level this study will move, and what method will be used, it is necessary to address the question of what constitutes the "chosen collective", in other words: who was to be included in my prosopography? As it was practically impossible to treat the whole of the eighteenth century, I have concentrated on intellectuals active during the final quarter of the eighteenth century, whose involvement in intellectual discourse is apparent from publications and/or artifacts *and* contacts with other intellectuals. I have not limited myself to any one of Japan's three metropolises, Kyoto, Osaka or Edo. I even doubt whether any such limitation would be possible, as intellectuals moved back and forth between centres. As far as the provinces are concerned, I have only included individuals whose biographies give evidence of regular contacts with intellectuals in the three main urban centres in this particular period. There have been no other criteria for inclusion. I 'encountered' individuals from this indeterminate group of Japanese intellectuals between 1775 and 1800 very much as they met each other, one person 'introducing' me to the next. This is in line with what I have stated above about the impossibility of selecting 'representative individuals' before knowing what they are supposed to represent.

There is sufficient published material available to enable one to use prosopographical techniques. I have used but few unpublished sources. Most of the material I used is of a biographical nature. It was mainly culled from entries in reference works like *Kokushi daijiten*, *Koten bungaku daijiten* and *Dai jinmei jiten*, monographs about individual artists and scholars, and biographical data included in modern editions of eighteenth-century scholars' and poets' works and museum catalogues. I have made regular use of the collected works of the Japanese scholar Mori Senzō 森銑三, who carried out an enormous amount of biographical research concerning this particular

[10] L. Stone, 'Prosopography', in: *Daedalus* 110, 1971, 46-79.

[11] D. C. Smythe, 'Putting technology to work: the CD-Rom version of the Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I (641-867)', in: *History and Computing* 12, 2000, 85. To the same effect the German historian Peter Becker, 'Making individuals: some remarks on the creation of a prosopographical catalogue with KLEIO', in: Jean-Philippe Genet & Günther Lottes, eds, *L'État moderne et les élites, XIIIe – XVIIIe siècles, apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique*, Paris 1995, 51-61: "Prosopography has to be understood as the description of persons with regard to their functions and their relations to other persons" (51).

period.[12] I have also used a variety of other sources, such as texts in Chinese and Japanese written by the individuals in my prosopography, and sometimes non-textual material (artifacts) produced by the same individuals. The intellectual life of the eighteenth century also yielded a huge number of lists, rolls and registers: lists of pupils of scholar A, of participants in meeting B, or contributors to publication C. Although some of this material has been published I have not made use of it for reasons that will be explained below.

To summarize: this monograph was written to supply a social-historical counterpart to all those studies that focus exclusively on the output of pre-modern artists and scholars. Questions concerning the dynamism, or lack of it, and factionalism of the eighteenth century are addressed here by way of the basic life-patterns of and relationships between intellectuals of that time.

[12] *Kokushi daijiten*, (国史大辞典), 15 vols, Tokyo 1979-1997, hereafter abbreviated as *KD*; *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, (日本古典文学大辞典), 6 vols, Tokyo 1984-1985, hereafter abbreviated as *KBD*, Shimonaka Yasaburō, 下中弥三郎, ed., *Dai jinmei jiten*, (大人名辞典), 9 vols, Tokyo 1937-1941, hereafter abbreviated as *DJJ*, and Ichiko Teiji et al. eds, 市古貞次ほか *Kokusho jinmei jiten*, (国書人名辞典), 5 vols, Tokyo 1993-1999, hereafter abbreviated as *KJJ*. For the work by Mori Senzō 森銑三, see his *Chosakushū* 著作集, 13 vols, Tokyo 1988-1989.

2: Definitions

In order to conduct a fruitful discussion it is of the utmost importance first to determine exactly what we are talking about. This is all the more more imporant here because the prosopographical method used in this study is a comparative method, which implies that identical categories should be used throughout, otherwise no processing of material or sensible comparison is possible. In choosing our concepts, we must be aware that a distinction should be made between the investigation of phenomena *of* some society in the past, and the investigation of the *names* given to phenomena *by* this society. Here we can introduce the terms 'emic' and 'etic', coined by the linguist Kenneth Pike in 1954.[13] Over the years these terms, derived from 'phonemic' and 'phonetic', have been of great use to anthropologists and historians alike.

The qualification 'emic' refers to distinctions and characterizations regarded as significant *by the actors themselves*, while 'etic' refers to distinctions and characterizations deemed significant *by scientific observers*. 'Emics' is culture-specific, is about cognitive models, mental structures, anything that tells us how people see their world; 'etics' is the result of the outside observation of people's behaviour.[14] It goes without saying that in our research and description we have to deal with emic statements. However, great care should be taken when we want to use those same emic terms as concepts in scholarly discourse. Generally, emic terms have to be redefined in order to function as etic concepts. This means that we have to formulate our own stipulative definitions to guide our research.[15] In the present study we will work with etic concepts, to be defined below.

As this study is about intellectuals and intellectual life, we first of all need a working definition of the term 'intellectual'. This term is by no means unambiguous as a look at some English, French and German lexicon definitions of the term will demonstrate. Both the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Larousse's *Dictionnaire de la*

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[13] Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*, 3 vols, Glendale, CA 1954-1960.

[14] See also the following description of the terms by A. J. Barnard, s.v. 'Emic and etic in anthropology', in: R. E. Asher, ed., *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, vol. 3, Oxford 1994, 1108-1111: "... an emic model is one which explains the ideology or behavior of members of a culture according to ... indigenous definitions. An etic model, in contrast, is one which is based on a set of criteria which are external to the particular culture under consideration."

[15] For the theoretical basis of the aforesaid, see J. A. M. Snoek, *Initiations, A methodological approach to the application of classification and definition theory in the study of rituals*, Pijnacker 1987, chapter 1, an excellent overview of definition theory.

langue Française first define 'intellectual' as an adjective.[16] We find the following: "Of, or belonging to, the intellect or understanding", "apprehensible only by the intellect or mind, non-material, spiritual; apprehended by the intellect alone (as distinguished from what is perceived by the senses", "characterized by or possessing 'intellection', understanding, or intellectual capacity, intelligent", "possessing a high degree of understanding; given to pursuits that exercise the intellect", "qui appartient à la faculté de raisonner, de comprendre, aux connaissances et à l'activité de l'esprit, à l'intelligence". 'An intellectual person' is subsequently described as "a person possessing or supposed to possess superior powers of intellect", "…une personne qui a un goût affirmé pour les activités de l'esprit (quelquefois péjoratif)". Duden's *Deutsches Universalwörterbuch* gives: "a) jemand der wissenschaftlich, oder künstlerisch, gebildet ist und geistig arbeitet; b) übermäßig vom Verstand bestimmter Mensch".[17] The *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* introduces the term 'intelligentsia' and with it the element of 'culture': "The part of a nation, originally in pre-revolutionary Russia, that aspires to intellectual activity; the class of society regarded as possessing culture and political initiative".[18] The element of 'culture' is not taken up by the French and German definition of the same term: "1 Dans la Russie tsariste, classe des intellectuels réformateurs, 2 Ensemble des intellectuels d'un pays", "Gesammtheit der Intellektuellen, Schicht der wissenschaftlich Gebildeten".[19] The *Bloomsbury Thesaurus* of 1997 provides the more savoury synonyms: "intellectual person, intellectual, scholar, academic, academician, thinker, genius, wise man, sage, savant, master, guru, elder statesman, oracle, pundit, polymath, littérateur, illuminati, bookman, bookworm, bibliophile, bluestocking, highbrow, egghead…, boffin…, know-all…, clever clogs…, smartarse…".[20] As regards modern Japanese, ideas about how to define an intellectual are not much different from those in the West. The definition of *chishikijin* 知識人 ('intellectual person') in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* focuses on 知識 (*chishiki*, which, we should well realise, stands both for 'knowledge' and for 'understanding') and 教養 (*kyōyō*) a term that revolves around 'educated' in the sense of 'cultivated, cultured, refined'. The *Nihon kokugo daijiten* also gives "belonging to the intellectual class".[21]

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[16] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford 1971, s.v., and *Dictionnaire de la langue Française*, Paris 1992, s.v.

[17] *Deutsches Universalwörterbuch*, Mannheim 1989, s.v.

[18] *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford 1976, s.v. Compare Herbert Passin, 'Modernization and the Japanese intellectual', 447ff. Passin (449) finds it "useful" to make a distinction between 'intelligentsia' and 'intellectuals'. He adds: "Historically, 'intelligentsia' has always implied a critical posture toward authority, traditional culture and the Establishment…['Intelligentsia'] is also a useful term to distinguish the great intellectual figures of late Tokugawa and early Meiji days, who esteemed general knowledge and culture and devoted themselves tot the cultivation of a world view, from mere technical specialists".

[19] *Dictionnaire de la langue Française*, s.v., and *Deutsches Universalwörterbuch*, s.v. 'Intelligenz'.

[20] Fran Alexander, ed., *Bloomsbury Thesaurus*, London 1997, s.v. 'Intellect' (nr 442). For more discussion, see Pascal Ory & Jean-François Sirinelli, *Les intellectuels en France de l'affaire Dreyfus à nos jours*, Paris 1992.

[21] *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典, 20 vols, Tokyo, 1972-1976, s.v. *chishikijin* 知識人 ('intellectual'): 高い知識や教養がある人, 知識階級に属する人. See also Yoshio Koine, ed., *Kenkyusha's new English-Japanese dictionary*, Tokyo 1980, s.v. 'intellectual'.

This exploration of a few dictionary meanings shows a complicated amalgam of mental ability and social behaviour, the first leading to the second, the second reflecting the first. However, for this prosopographical inquiry it is better to focus on what 'intellectuals' DO than on what they might BE. In order to be able to quantify we have to steer clear of vague and sometimes vacant characterizations.[22] A definition of 'intellectual person' that focuses on his or her activities instead of a disputable 'identity' is much more to the point for the present purpose.

Thus, my definition of 'intellectual' is "an individual involved in scholarly, literary and/or artistic discourse". The and/or construction is used here to obviate possible modern prejudices. Distinctions between aspects of erudition and aspects of creativity within the range of peoples' activities, as well as issues of professionalism versus amateurism, specialist versus layman or 'man of letters' versus 'scientist', were of much less consequence to the eighteenth-century Japanese intellectuals concerned (or, for that matter, to their Western counterparts) than they often are to us today. The use of and/or is to make sure that there will be no instances of the 'fragmentation' described in the first chapter.

A term that figures in many Japanese and Western studies on intellectual life in the Tokugawa period is the emic term *bunjin* 文人, generally translated into English as 'literatus/literati'. Both terms, *bunjin* as well as literatus, might do as etic terms, if properly defined, for instance as I have defined 'intellectual' above. But confusion is bound to occur, because existing usage will interfere. The following argument should serve as an illustration of the emic-etic issue, as a justification for not using the term *bunjin* in the present study, and as an appeal to re-examine and re-evaluate the use of this term in the study of Tokugawa culture.

The term *bunjin* has a long history beginning in the Heian period. Two of its meanings were still in use in the eighteenth century: "literate person serving in a civil capacity" (as opposed to *bujin*, 武人, 'military man') and "a refined, polished person who concerns himself with literature, calligraphy and painting".[23] Departing from the

[22] In view of this it is impossible, for instance, to follow Passin, 'The Japanese intellectual', 452: "a useful working definition would have to make some reference to the element of self-awareness and self-consciousness ... the notion of a 'higher' and a 'lower' intellectual class". Passin formulates his definition as follows (452): "... a self-aware body of educated persons who by vocation, interest, or disposition deal with or are concerned with general ideas and issues that go beyond purely technical and professional matters".

[23] Under the entry *bunjin* in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* we find three meanings. The first of these is *bunjin* in the sense of "a literate person serving in a civil capacity as opposed to a person who is in military service". As the *locus classicus* the entry for the year 721 in the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (a sequel to the *Nihon shoki*, 797) is given. The second meaning describes the *bunjin* as "a refined, polished person who concerns himself with literature, calligraphy and painting". The oldest appearance of this use is in *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文草, "The Sugawara papers", most probably from the year 900. The third meaning is that of "a student or graduate of the *Daigakuryō* 大学寮", the academy established under the emperor Tenji (r.661-672) that died a quiet death at the end of the Heian period. The *locus classicus* given here is the *Honchōmonzui* 本朝文粋, an anthology of poetry and prose in Chinese compiled around 1060. The entry for *bunjin* in *KBD*, defines the term as "an unrestricted person with a love for scholarship and the arts who finds pleasure in cultivated refinement" and also places the

second meaning, some modern scholars maintain that the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a more specific *bunjin* phenomenon. I have already touched upon this issue when in the first chapter I mentioned "disgruntled intellectuals" in the context of the so-called malaise of the eighteenth century. Generally, things are presented as follows: discontent among the educated and a concurrent upswing in the study of Chinese philosophy, literature and art, stimulated certain intellectuals to take the image of the Chinese scholarly recluse (the *wenren*, 文人, hence the Japanese *bunjin*) as their model.[24] They would try to withdraw from worldly society as well as they could, devoting themselves to those aspects of scholarship and the arts that reflected their *bunjin* attitudes. Other characteristics have been added to this picture. These are designated as being both the guiding principles and the aspects most keenly expressed in the *bunjin*'s life and work. They include non-conformism, eccentricity, aloofness, individualism, hedonism, versatility and a sinophile attitude.[25] Present day scholars of art and literature insist that the *bunjin* existed as a discernible, recognizable social phenomenon involving much more than artistic or stylistic notions and going well beyond the limits of, for instance, *bunjinga* 文人画, painting in the literati style.[26] Often the whole process is described as the Bunjin or Literati Movement.

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earliest usage of *bunjin* in this sense in the Heian period. I should like to point out here that in eighteenth-century Japanese texts the characters 文人 can also refer to the Chinese *wenren* and that this very specific use may not always be equally clear. Secondly, we should be aware that the term "literatus/literati" is also used as a translation for the Chinese term *shi* (士). See for instance Martin W. Huang, *Literati and self-re/presentation, autobiographical sensibility in the eighteenth-century Chinese novel*, Stanford 1995, 26ff, esp. 29, where a clear distinction is made between *shi* and *wenren*.

[24] See for instance Donald Keene, *World within walls, Japanese literature of the pre-modern era, 1600-1867*, New York 1976, 342-343 and Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, the Introduction, vol. 1 16-37, esp. 20-23. See also Lawrence E. Marceau, *Takebe Ayatari, a bunjin bohemian in early modern Japan*, Ann Arbor 2004, 2-3. It is interesting to compare Marceau's 2004 monograph with his 1989 dissertation (see the introductory chapter in Marceau, *Literati consciousness*, 1-21). Marceau's 2004 introduction to the *bunjin* phenomenon is somewhat more careful than his 1989 dissertation. The "counter culture" of 1989 has become "a discrete entity" (3) and a "subculture" (12). Moreover, Marceau warns us that "we are not referring to a group of individuals who explicitly identified themselves as such [i.e. as *bunjin*]" (3). Nevertheless, Marceau still firmly places the *bunjin* phenomenon within the discourse of malaise and frustration: characterizations of the *bunjin* attitude on, for instance, pages 10 and 11 of his 2004 monograph are taken verbatim from his introductory chapter of 1989.

[25] In the classic article by Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, 'Kinsei bunjin ishiki no seiritsu' (近世文人意識の成立), 1959, reprinted in: *Nakamura Yukihiko chojutsushū* (中村幸彦著述集), vol. 11, 375-407, these characteristics serve as a kind of enumerative definition. The characteristics singled out by Nakamura are: 1 versatility (*tagei*, 多芸), 2 an anti-*zoku* (*hanzoku*, 反俗) attitude and a rich spiritual life (*yutakana seishin seikatsu*, 豊かな精神生活) resulting in a tendency towards reclusion (*in'itsu*, 隠逸), 3 eccentric behaviour (*kijinteki kōdō*, 奇人的行動) which could be either an expression of an attitude of high morality or an attitude of dissipation, but wich always reflected the *bunjin*'s splendid isolation (*kokō*, 孤高). 4 active imitation of the Chinese *wenren* (*sekkyokuteki ni chūgoku no bunjin wo mohō* [*suru*], 積極的に中国文人を模倣 [する], 376).

[26] Nakamura Yukihiko, 'Kinsei bunjin', passim; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, passim; Marceau, *Literati consciousness*, passim. See also, for instance, Stephen Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai, the calligraphy, poetry, painting and artistic circle of a Japanese literatus*, New Orleans 1984, and

We cannot deny that there was an upswing in the study of Chinese philosophy, literature and the arts since the latter half of the seventeenth century, nor contest that within eighteenth-century intellectual discourse the model of the Chinese scholarly recluse was enthusiastically explored. There is a complex imagery, both in words and in images, surrounding the ideal of the *wenren*. My contention is, however, that using this imagery, eighteenth-century intellectuals 'played' at being *wenren*. The texts and artifacts they produced in that 'role' were mostly self-referent: that is, they dealt with the world of the *wenren*. Many scholars, both Western and Japanese, have been taken in by the sincerity of their play-acting and have forgotten that self-referent poetry or painting is not necessarily autobiographical.

It is important to be fully aware of the fact that an attitude of discontent is an inextricable part of the image of the *wenren* and therefore part of playing that role. Dissatisfied or not, consciously or unconsciously, anyone handling the imagery of the *wenren* would present himself as a malcontent.[27] In the autumn of 1792 Rikunyo Jishū, a Tendai priest famous for his poetry in Chinese (*kanshi* 漢詩), made a visit to his native place in Ōmi province in the company of his friend Ban Kōkei, whose relatives came from the same region. As could be expected, Rikunyo composed a poem about the outing.[28]

In the eighth month of *jinshi* (壬子, 1792)
On the thirteenth day
We agreed to equip a boat
And explore the beauties of nature
Yesterday's shower washed away
The last of the summer heat
On the riverbank the willows'
Long swishing streaming branches
Here and there an angler
Hidden at the water's edge
The little light boats along the bay
Towards the North and again towards the South

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idem, with Jonathan Chaves and J. Thomas Rimer, *Old Taoist, The life, art and poetry of Kodōjin (1865-1944)*, New York 2000. There are numerous other studies propagating the idea of a Bunjin Movement; for further examples, see Marceau, *Takebe Ayatari, a bunjin bohemian*, 2-3.

[27] For the theme of discontent, see Alfreda Murck, *The subtle art of dissent. Poetry and painting in Song China*, Cambridge, Mass. 2000. An important aspect of 'discontent' is the role of the Confucian scholar as "living conscience for the age", as John W. Hall puts it in his stereotypic description of Nakae Tōju ("detached from public service but a constant critic of the life of the times") in 'The Confucian teacher', 272. Hall also quotes Ikeda Mitsumasa, a daimyo of Bizen with great confidence in the Confucian doctrine, who states that "the truly learned man … makes clear the causes of political instability", 280. Ever since king Hui of Liang asked Mencius for means to profit his land (利吾国, *li wu guo*, see the opening lines of Book I of any edition of the works of Mencius) being a "constant critic" is part of the scholar's ethos, but in how far does this reflect genuine and concrete discontent?

[28] The poem with commentary can be found in Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, ed. *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4 (Kan Chazan and Rikunyo, 菅茶山.六如), Tokyo 1990, 299-302. Unless otherwise stated all translations are my own.

Having passed the bay
An unexpected vastness
The mountains at the lake
An undulating line against the blue
Straight ahead of us
A peak of singular beauty
It is said that there we find
The old Buddha-chapel of the Chōmyō-ji
We leave the oars
On foot we climb to the top
Avidly we explore this hidden place
The furthest peaks seem to be
Just above the waves
The slanting sunbeams beautifully
Set off the blazing clouds
I just make out a lonely wild goose
As it disappears into nothing
I only see how the blue of heaven and water
Merge into each other

Rikunyo himself, in his introduction to the poem, mentions the fact that it was written on the occasion of this outing and explains that he made it "to give expression to sentiment and scenery of the moment".[29]

In poetry the province of Ōmi is supposed to stand for the Xiao-Xiang region in China. In her *The subtle art of dissent* Alfreda Murck describes how this region in southern China came to be "the dreaded place of exile for disgraced officials during much of the first millenium A.D"., and how it developed into a subject for poetry and painting expressing banishment, "ruined careers" and "talent being wasted", themes close to the core of *bunjin* typology.[30] Rikunyo's poem beautifully matches the examples Murck gives; no doubt he was aware of the literary themes associated with his region of birth. The poem contains allusions to poetry by the Chinese poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) who played an important role in the development of the Xiao-Xiang theme.[31] Murck mentions that "Du Fu particularly admired the wild goose" and that he "used the wild goose as a figure for a great man and for a noble spirit in anguished extremity".[32] Was Rikunyo only trying to prove that he could write a fine Xiao-Xiang poem or did he really identify with the imagery? We cannot answer this question. The imagery is there, but we cannot be sure how to read between the lines.

The same holds good for nonconformism and reclusiveness. I do not wish to maintain that there were no real malcontents or eccentrics in eighteenth-century intellectual circles, or that people were not aware of the many allusions to and

[29] In Chinese 作詩紀一時情景, which may be transcribed as 詩を作って一時の情景を紀す.
[30] Murck, *The subtle art of dissent*, 3, and passim
[31] Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, ed. *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4, 301, and Murck, *The subtle art of dissent*, 74ff.
[32] Murck, *The subtle art of dissent*, 76-77, where she characterizes the wild goose as the "unjust exile" (74).

associations with the Chinese material. However, it is far from clear if, how, and to what extent they used this imagery to refer to their own actual situation. Are we dealing here with explorations of literary and artistic *topoi* or is there an autobiographical side to it as well?

Apart from the fact that we should not confound the character of the work with that of the artist, it is hardly possible to maintain that the image of the *wenren* could ever have been the exclusive territory of a specific intellectual circuit. It can be demonstrated that this image had been part of Japanese culture for centuries. Its imagery, ideals and stereotypes had been reflected on, adapted, interpreted and recycled by countless scholars, artists and poets throughout Japanese history.[33] No doubt interest in the image of the *wenren* had received a fresh impetus from the end of the seventeenth century, but re-exploration of the theme was part of the general cultural and intellectual discourse, not something that could be appropriated by a few.

Concerning the aspect of reclusiveness the following should be added: scholars generally stress that this was mostly a spiritual matter, a matter of having the right non-committal, non-worldly attitude. Indeed, it must have been mostly spiritual, as biographies show an immense variety of social involvement and commitment among intellectuals associated with the so-called Bunjin Movement. Although scholars who wrote about *bunjin* did not try to hide these realities, the discrepancy between the image of reclusiveness and the many facets of these individuals' place within society is hardly ever made explicit and is not used to question the value of the image: the image seems to be unassailable. The following quotation may serve as an example: "Of overriding importance to Scholar-Amateurs were the routines and quality of their daily lives. Although a few accepted court appointments or sinecure posts with the government, the majority preferred to be free of formal duties and to live in the countryside or in rustic suburbs. Removing themselves from political and social tensions, they sought the ancient Confucian goal of harmony with idyllic nature. One of the emblematic pastimes of *bunjin* was fishing – solitary, restful, and silent, the mind fixed upon natural things".[34] The word 'emblematic' is crucial here.

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[33] Many scholars are, of course, aware of this and point at persons that could be seen as 'proto-*bunjin*', see esp. Nakamura Yukihiko, 'Kinsei bunjin', 376-377, and Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, vol. 2, 8. For a sober and balanced account of the reception of the *wenren* concept in Japanese art, see Joan Stanley-Baker, *The transmission of Chinese idealist painting to Japan: notes on the early phase (1661-1799)*, Ann Arbor 1992.

[34] Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, vol. 2, 6. Rosenfield states that there were "thousands of men and women who considered themselves *bunjin*" (vol. 2, 3). In the light of this statement it is disturbing that I have only rarely encountered the term in the primary sources I have seen (including many *kanshi* poems). *Bunjin* does not appear in Yanagisawa Kien's *zuihitsu Hitorine*, a work that is supposed to have stood at the cradle of the so-called Bunjin Movement, see Hitorine ひとりね, edited by Nakamura Yukihiko in *Kinsei zuihitsushū* 近世随筆集, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系, vol. 96, Tokyo 1965. It does not appear in Ueda Akinari's *Kuse Monogatari* (1791), a work that mentions intellectuals of all kinds, see *Ueda Akinari zenshū*, vol. 1, Tokyo 1969, 329ff. It appears once, in an aside, in Akinari's *Tandai Shōshinroku* (1808), another work in which he deals with the intellectual climate of his time, see *Zenshū*, vol. 1, 351ff. The sentence appears on 363 (lower section). Its meaning here is pejorative: 文人の筆に常に云所なり, "this is something scribblers are writing about all the time". It appears once in the *Kinsei kijinden* of 1790 and its sequel *Zoku kinsei kijinden* published

In previous writing about *bunjin* or the Bunjin Movement no distinction is made between the emic and a possible etic sense of the term *bunjin*. The emic nature usually seems to be implied and mostly gets lost in the image authors wish to present. I strongly feel that the texts and artifacts that people produced using the *wenren* image cannot be taken at face value, and that the idea of the *bunjin* as an observable phenomenon within eighteenth-century Japanese society must be reconsidered. We are in need of a thorough investigation of the development and meaning of the various *topoi* associated with the *wenren* in Japan. Moreover, a re-evaluation of the texts and artifacts using the *wenren* image should be integrated into a careful study of the various egodocuments left by intellectuals of the time.[35] This research should involve issues that are now part of the study of egodocuments in the West: "temporal developments, genre-conventions, differences between types of egodocuments, motives for writing, intended audiences, the differences between literary and family texts, intertextual relations between egodocuments and other texts, and between them and oral traditions".[36] We also have to concern ourselves with what the German historian Gabriele Jancke calls "autobiography as social practice", consider autobiographers' strategies, think about intellectuals' role models, about selfrepresentation and the need for shaping a scholarly *habitus.*[37] The present study also attempts to supply something of the social background necessary for this enterprise. In the course of what follows I will regularly come back to the *bunjin* phenomenon.

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in 1798. The two volumes present about 160 biographies of remarkable persons from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the majority of them intellectuals. In none of these is a person designated a *bunjin*. The only occurrence is in the preface to the *Zoku kinsei kijinden*, where it figures opposite its traditional counterpart of *bujin*, see *Kinsei kijinden. Zoku kinsei kijinden* 近世奇人伝. 続近世奇人伝, edited by Munemasa Isoo, Tokyo 1994 (Tōyō Bunko 202), 253. The passage might be translated as follows: "The warrior (武人) who makes it a point of honour not to be fooled by anyone and the man of letters (文人) who allows himself to be fooled and just lets it pass are both equally droll". The term *fūryū no hito* 風流の人 seems to have been more common for describing a person of taste and refinement, especially those engaged in *haikai*, *kanshi* and *nanga*. We also find descriptions like *ga wo konomu hito* 画を好む人, "a person who is fond of painting", or *bun wo konomu hito* 文を好む人, "a person who is fond of literature" for designating a certain inclination or talent. However, I have made no in-depth inquiry into the use of the term. See my plea for further research.

[35] The term 'egodocument' was invented by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser in the early 1950s. He defined the term as follows "those documents in which an ego intentionally or unintentionally discloses, or hides itself ..", quoted by Rudolf Dekker in: idem, ed., *Egodocuments and history, autobiographical writing in its social context since the Middle Ages*, Hilversum 2002, 7.

[36] Dekker, ed., *Egodocuments and history*, 17. For much more information (including an extensive bibliography), see the website of the Werkgroep Egodocumenten (Egodocuments workgroup): http://www.egodocument.net.

[37] Gabriele Jancke, *Autobiographie als soziale Praxis: Beziehungskonzepte in deutschsprachigen Selbstzeugnissen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne 2002; also *eadem*, 'Autobiographische Texte – Handlungen in einem Beziehungsnetz. Überlegungen zu Gattungsfragen und Machtaspekten im deutschen Sprachraum von 1400 bis 1620', in: Winfried Schulze, ed., *Ego-Dokumente. Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte = Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit* 2, Berlin 1996, 73-106. For role models and the shaping of a scholarly *habitus*, see Gadi Algazi, 'Food for thought, Hieronymus Wolf grapples with the scholarly habitus', in: Dekker, ed., *Egodocuments and history*, 21-43.

Finally, the use of the terms *bunjin* or literatus/literati in this problematic partly emic, partly etic sense poses a methodological problem. I have argued that both terms have become part of a complex of preconceptions about what eighteenth-century Japanese intellectuals, or at least a significant number of them, were and did. Now this is exactly what I want to find out, so to accept beforehand the existing definitions of these terms as valid qualifications and use them as selection criteria would turn my research into an interesting case of what the historian T.F. Carney has called the problem of circularity within prosopographical research.[38] Using a set of subjective criteria, the present author would judge who is or is not a 'real *bunjin*' and who will therefore be included in the prosopography. The judgement of the author would then completely prescribe the outcome of the research since, naturally, it would determine any patterns that emerge. All in all, the more neutral term of 'intellectual' defined as above provides a higher level of objectivity than a term so much riddled with ambiguity as is the term *bunjin*.

I now move on to a discussion of some other etic concepts I need for my prosopographical inquiry. First we come to words like 'group', 'movement' and 'network', all used in common parlance to designate a more or less distinguishable collective of individuals who are somehow interconnected. In the course of my research I have found that these words often evoke a sense of organization, structure and conscious belonging that may not have been intended by the individuals associated with the 'group' and may not even have existed.[39] One may be a member of some 'school' or 'circle' – etically defined – without being aware of the fact. Art history provides us with some clear examples. The Italian Futurists of the early twentieth century called *themselves* Futurists.[40] But their contemporaries the Fauves did not call themselves

[38] T. F. Carney, 'Prosopography: payoffs and pitfalls', in: *Phoenix* 27, 1973, 156-179, 176.

[39] Sociologists seem to prefer the terms 'small group' and 'small group research' which studies "the characteristics of face-to-face interaction among men". However as "the investigator can observe the behavior of each of [the group's] members ... the problem of defining a group or demarcating its boundaries is seldom of theoretical importance ... its boundaries, in practice, are apt to be quite clear", see George Caspar Homans, s.v. 'groups I: the study of groups', in: David L. Sills, ed., *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*, New York 1968, vol. 6, 259-265. Under 'groups II: group behavior', vol. 6, 265-276, answering the question "what is a group?", Morton Deutsch points to combinations of the following criteria: its members 1) should "have one or more characteristics in common", 2) "perceive themselves as forming a distinguishable identity", 3) "are aware of the interdependence of some of their goals or interests" and 4) "interact with one another in pursuit of their interdependent goals". Sets of shared norms and roles that developed overtime may be added to these criteria. Robert W. Shotola, s.v. 'small groups', in: Edgar F. Borgatta & Marie L. Borgatta, eds, *Encyclopedia of sociology*, vol. 4, New York 1992, 1796-1806, gives much the same criteria, focussing on structure of interaction, regularity or frequency of interaction, interdependence and common identity. Problems to be studied include questions of conformity, cohesion, polarization, power, status, social control and social stability, interpersonal relationships, cooperation, competition, motivation, and conflict.

[40] For general information, see Ian Chilvers, *A dictionary of twentieth-century art*, Oxford 1998 s.v. 'Futurism'. The Futurists were excluded from the famous Armory Show of 1913, the exhibition that introduced modern European developments in art to an American public. The reason for this was probably that they "insisted on exhibiting as a group", see Milton W. Brown, 'The Armory Show and

Fauves, just like early romantic painters did not call themselves early romantic (certainly they did not know they were early).[41] In his monograph on modern art Richard Brettell makes it clear that the term 'movement' should be handled with care. He points out that groups like Realism or Impressionism "tended to be defined and named by critics and art historians rather than by the artists themselves", and that "most of the definitions of these movements are conceived in terms of a few canonical artists, making it difficult to use them as broadly applicable, historically valid descriptive categories".[42] Naturally, all this not only holds good for the study of the history of art.[43] In the present study I have tried to avoid the term 'movement' altogether. When I use the term 'group' it is only in the sense of 'an aggregate of two or more people' without any ideas of organization or collective aspirations, unless explicitly stated.

The term 'network' should be discussed at some length, because it is one of the central concepts of my inquiry. It should be clear from the outset that prosopography and what is known as 'social network analysis' may have elements in common but are not the same thing. Prosopography is not the historian's equivalent of social network analysis. Social network analysis is a tool of the social scientist whose investigation of relational networks is concerned with the choices people make when forming relationships.[44] The ultimate aim of the social scientist studying such networks is to

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its aftermath', in: Adele Heller & Lois Rudnick, eds, *1915: the cultural moment*, New Brunswick 1991, 168.

[41] In the words of Henri Matisse, generally seen as the leading figure of the Fauves: "The epithet 'Fauve' was never accepted by the Fauve painters; it was always considered just a tag issued by the critics", see Jack Flam, *Matisse on art*, Berkely 1995, 202.

[42] Richard R. Brettell, *Modern Art 1851-1929. Capitalism and representation*, Oxford 1999, 11. It should be clear that we are not speaking here about what could be described as a 'social movement', see Robert D. Benford, s.v. 'social movements', in: Edgar F. Borgatta & Marie L. Borgatta, eds, *Encyclopedia of sociology*, vol. 4, New York 1992, 1880-1887: "[these] are described most simply as collective attempts to promote or resist change in a society or a group". Compare Rudolf Heberle, s.v. 'social movements I: types and functions of social movements', in: Sills, *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*, vol. 14, 438-444: "The term 'social movement' or its equivalent in other Western languages is being used to denote a wide variety of collective attempts to bring about a change in certain social institutions or to create an entirely new order".

[43] Compare for instance Peter Nosco, *Remembering paradise. Nativism and nostalgia in eighteenth-century Japan*, Cambridge, Mass. 1990, and Mark Teeuwen, 'Poetry, sake and acrimony, Arakida Hisaoyu and the Kokugaku Movement', in: *MN* 52, 1997, 295-325. Teeuwen uses the word 'movement' in his title whereas Nosco states that *kokugaku* was "not so much a movement as a lineage of schools" (9). Most significant for the argument here is that their respective attitudes towards the definition of *kokugaku* differ radically.

[44] Compare Peter V. Marsden, s.v. 'social network theory', in: Edgar F. Borgatta & Marie L. Borgatta, eds, *Encyclopedia of sociology*, vol. 4, New York 1992, 1887-1894: "A social network orientation conceptualizes social phenomena as patterned arrays of relationships that join social actors ... The approach suggests that the structures of social institutions such as families and formal organizations should be depicted as distinct configurations of links joining persons or social positions ... a social network perspective claims that individual action is embedded in, and therefore continually affected by, social ties joining specific actors". Problems to be studied include manipulation of information sources, power ("the capacity to control others"), social support, dependence, exchange of resources, integration and fragmentation.

discover patterns of human behaviour and to be able to make predictions about the structure and dynamics of group processes.[45] Taking a well-defined observable group, for instance company employees or inhabitants of a neighbourhood, the social scientist measures contact densities in order to find out where 'relational clusters' emerge. Information on attraction mechanisms may be gathered by way of interviews. Generally, the social scientist is not much interested in his informants' biographies. To the historian using the prosopographical method, however, biographical data are vital. Also, the historian has to make do with what history has left. Whatever social phenomenon of the past he may wish to explain, the historian has to cope with the discrepancy between his aspirations and his evidence. No amount of methodological finetuning can make up for what simply is no longer there. This makes for approaches and outcomes that differ from that of the social scientist.

However, provided that we do not lose sight of crucial differences, the historian can make use of the social scientists' definitions and methods. For my ideas about contacts, communication and interaction within social networks, I have been much inspired by the anthropologist Jeremy Boissevain's classic study *Friends of friends*. Boissevain states: "The social relations in which every individual is embedded may be viewed as a network". He then goes on to define the term 'network' as follows: "…the chains of persons with whom a given person is in actual contact, and their interconnection" and adds: "This egocentric, personal network is of course unique for every individual".[46] There are definitions and descriptions of social networks that are

[45] See for instance David Knoke & James H. Kuklinski, *Network analysis*, Beverly Hills 1982, 9-10: "... network analysis incorporates two significant assumptions about *social behavior*. Its first essential insight is that any actor typically participates in a social system involving many other actors, who are significant reference points in one another's *decisions*. The nature of the relationships a given actor has with other system members thus may affect the focal actor's perceptions, beliefs, and actions. But network analysis does not stop with an account of the *social behavior* of individuals ... Network analysis, by emphasizing relations that connect the social positions within a system, offers a powerful brush for painting a systematic picture of global *social structures* and their components". (my italics). We find the same emphases in Kees C. P. M. Knipscheer & Toni C. Antonucci, 'Maturing of the social network research in the Netherlands', in: *iidem*, eds, *Social network research: substantive issues and methodological questions*, Amsterdam 1990, 1-16, esp. 6. See also Chapter 0 (*sic*) of Gerhard G. van de Bunt, *Friends by choice, an actor-oriented statistical network model for friendship networks through time*, Groningen 1999, and the first chapter of Evelien Zeggelink, *Strangers into friends, the evolution of friendship networks using an individual oriented modeling approach*, Groningen 1993.

[46] Jeremy Boissevain, *Friends of friends. Networks, manipulators and coalitions*, Oxford 1974, 24. For misconceptions, see 35: "Most persons who have used the network concept have in fact examined what have been called 'action sets'" (i.e. 186: "... persons who have co-ordinated their actions to achieve a particular goal"). Another aggregate of people that may erroneously be called a "network" is mentioned on 43: "Clusters are segments or compartments of networks which have a relatively high density. The persons forming clusters are relatively speaking more closely linked to each other than they are with the rest of the network ... categories of relatives, association members, neighbours, fellow teachers and so on. Clusters are thus recruited out of different activity fields".

more sophisticated than Boissevain's, but I find his definition suffices for my purposes.[47]

Since my inquiry is not about social relations *per se* but about relationships between intellectuals, I am concerned with only a *part* of the network of the individuals in my prosopography, namely, to rephrase Boissevain, "the chains of intellectuals with whom a given intellectual is in actual contact, and their inter-connection". It goes without saying that eighteenth-century Japanese intellectuals associated with considerably more individuals than just their fellow-intellectuals. But with the exception of very well-documented persons, such contacts are mostly unknown, and for my purposes they are generally not relevant.

As far as relationships between intellectuals are concerned, I do not pretend to be able to present the complete range of intellectual contacts of the individuals in my prosopography. Whereas the reconstruction of a person's full circle of direct intellectual contacts would be a daunting task even, or especially, in the case of well-documented individuals, in most cases, through lack of sources, it is downright impossible.

So far, in speaking about 'contacts' I have implied that people who are in contact also communicate. However, we all have experience of people *knowing* each other without actually *communicating*. Instances of contact without communication are part of Boissevain's concerns when he writes "… a network … indicates that certain persons are in touch with each other, but in its simplest form, it says nothing about *how* they are in touch …"[48] In the compilation of my prosopography I have tried to preclude such instances. This is the reason I have made no use of the large amount of lists, rolls and registers mentioned in the first chapter. For instance: the fact that A and B may both be found in the pupils' register of teacher C does not mean they were in communication with each other. While my choice of source material should guarantee the likelihood of actual communication amongst the individuals in my prosopography, this need not have been communication of an intellectual nature. I do presuppose, however, that whatever communication occurred, may have opened the way to exchanges of an intellectual kind.[49]

However, Boissevain had more concerns; the fact that A and B are included in each other's networks, in the sense that A and B *communicated*, tells us nothing about the nature or degree of intimacy of their relationship. Are A and B 'friends', perhaps even 'intimate friends', or 'merely acquaintances'? Whereas the social scientist has means to obtain such highly subjective information through his informants, the historian is dependent on his sources. Apart from the fact that sources may be inadequate in

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[47] For more on the definition of social networks, see Knoke & Kuklinski, *Network analysis*, 12-14, and L. C. Freedman, 'Social networks and the structure experiment', in: L. C. Freedman, D. R. White & A. Kimball Romney, eds, *Research methods in social network analysis*, Fairfax 1989, 11-40.

[48] Boissevain, *Friends of friends*, 25.

[49] The biographical material I have made use of usually gives sufficient information to make judgements about the presence or absence of actual communication. Phrases like "A was present at a poetry gathering organized by B; C was also there" should be approached with reserve. However, when A and B are spoken of in terms of, for instance, 親しい (*shitashii*: "intimate", "familiar"), 親友 (*shin'yū*: "close friend"), 友交 (*yūkō*: "friendship", "companionship"), 交る (*majiru*: "associate with", "mingle with") or 交友 (*kōyū*: "friend", "companion") one is generally on the safe side where actual communication is concerned although care is still required.

themselves, they may also be used in the wrong way: jumping to conclusions about the nature of people's thoughts and motives is one of the pitfalls of prosopographical research. Also, descriptions indicating greater or lesser degrees of intimacy and affection are difficult to quantify. In this context, it may be preferable to refer to what Boissevain calls the 'zones' within a social network. Apart from a 'personal cell' containing a person's closest relatives, he distinguishes a 'first order' or 'primary network zone' consisting of direct contacts, a 'second order zone' in which we find the so-called 'friends of friends', and theoretically also a third, fourth, up to an nth order zone.[50] This concept of 'zones' and the notion "that the number of persons an individual can send messages to is far greater than the number of persons he actually knows" are of great importance to my prosopographical analysis.[51] Within this study words like 'friend' or 'acquaintance' are avoided unless their use is explicitly justified by the sources. Preference is given to the term 'contact'.

A topic that also requires some discussion is that of the various activities intellectuals were involved in. These were manifold. However, in modern works on intellectual life in the eighteenth century people are all too often characterized by what later scholars saw as their most important activity: 'Confucianist from Kyoto of the middle of the Tokugawa period' or '*waka* poet of the Kansei era'. Although such characterizations are generally not incorrect, they are incomplete at the very least, and may have contributed to the 'factional' image of Tokugawa-period intellectual life I have mentioned earlier. The following quotation from Tetsuo Najita's *Visions of virtue* may serve as an example: "Writing from the viewpoint of national studies that detested Chinese moral philosophy, the famous novelist Ueda Akinari … had little praise for the Kaitokudō".[52] 'National studies' was indeed one of the activities of Ueda Akinari; he was a pupil of Katō Umaki from about 1766 until Umaki's death in 1777 and his dispute with Motoori Norinaga is well known. Apart from his 'national studies', Akinari practised *waka* and *haikai*. However, it is too simple to say that he "wrote from the viewpoint of national studies". Akinari was influenced by Tsuga Teishō, an Osaka physician, *sencha* 煎茶 enthusiast and authority on vernacular Chinese.[53] Later in his life he himself became passionately involved in *sencha*, the preparing of steeped tea in the Chinese style. Just the *range* of Akinari's activities should set us thinking about what exactly his 'viewpoint' may have been.

We should furthermore ask ourselves whether we are justified in using activities as 'identifiers'. Would Akinari have identified himself as 'a novelist'? Would his contemporaries have done so? Until his shop was destroyed by fire in 1771 he had worked as an oil and paper merchant in Osaka. He lived an unsettled life teaching and writing until about 1773 when he started to study medicine. He established a medical practice in Osaka in 1776, which he gave up again in 1787 to devote himself to writing

[50] Boissevain, *Friends of friends*, 26 and 47.
[51] Boissevain, *Friends of friends*, 25.
[52] Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of virtue in Tokugawa Japan. The Kaitokudō merchant academy of Osaka*, Chicago 1987, 289.
[53] Emanuel Pastreich, *The reception of Chinese vernacular narrative in Korea and Japan*, PhD Cambridge, Mass. 1997, 260-262. For biographical details concerning the individuals mentioned here, see their biographical profiles.

and scholarship, often in precarious circumstances. Was he a novelist, a *kokugakusha*, or a physician?

Some other examples of this phenomenon are: Katsu Shikin, who is generally characterized as 'a *kanshi* poet', which, indeed, he was, being a central figure in Katayama Hokkai's poetic society known by the name of Kontonsha 混沌社 or Confusion Club, which flourished in Osaka between 1765 and 1785. But he was also a physician running a medical practice in Osaka. He was, moreover, a scholar in the field of Chinese studies, a musician (he played both the *shō* 笙 and the *hichiriki* 篳篥) and finally a seal carver. Would his contemporaries have identified him as 'the poet' or 'the doctor'? How about Rikunyo Jishū, the Buddhist priest and *kanshi* poet who wrote the poem I quoted above? He was also a Buddhist scholar and held several high functions within the Tendai sect. Would people have seen him as 'the abbot' or as 'the poet'? Finally, Irie Masayoshi was born into a merchant family in Osaka. As his elder brother would take over the family business, Masayoshi was at liberty to devote himself to the study of Japanese classical literature from an early age. Unfortunately both his brother and his brother's heir died and Masayoshi had to step in. He led the business for more than twenty years, then left it to an adopted son and retired. After ten years Masayoshi's adopted son also died and he was called from his retirement. It was only after seven more years in the counting house that another adopted son was ready to take over. Masayoshi had never given up his scholarly interests. At the request of Prince Shinnin of the Myōhō-in he had written a study on the *Manyōshū* 万葉集, which was completed in 1795. Was Irie Masayoshi a scholar or a merchant?

What did these people themselves consider 'work' and what 'pastimes', what did they themselves see as their own most important achievements, and important to whom, to themselves there and then, to the intellectual community, to posterity? Are we any nearer to historical reality in stating that the famous novelist 'was actually' an oil and paper merchant? Apart from this problematic amalgam of activities and identities there are the additional problems concerning the subtleties of a certain term and the associations and prejudices of its users. The quotation from Najita above demonstrates that terms like *jusha* 儒者 ('specialist of Confucian studies') and *kokugakusha* 国学者 ('specialist of national studies') have enormous implications: "the specialist of national studies" is supposed to "detest" Chinese moral philosophy. Even the most innocent amateur versifier in the field of any of Japan's native forms of poetry runs the risk of being qualified a 'Shinto revivalist', just as even the most open-minded explorer of Chinese thought runs the risk of being lumped together with examples of the most unbending Confucian orthodoxy.[54]

Evidently, the subject of our intellectuals' activities is problematic. Our ideas about what a certain person 'was' are the result of long periods of research on these people and the fields or niches they are supposed to represent. Still, nothing should prevent us from brushing these time-honoured characterizations aside if there are

[54] Teeuwen, 'Poetry, sake and acrimony', esp. 295-296. In his article Teeuwen makes the point that "at grassroots level, Kokugaku consisted of small, local gatherings of poetry lovers who wanted to improve their own writing by studying Japan's literary tradition" (296). Apparently, not every so-called nativist's "enquiry into texts from the Japanese tradition" was carried out "in order to glean from those texts a native ancient Way", see Nosco, *Remembering paradise*, 9.

reasons to do so. What does all this imply for the terminology to be used in this study? The majority of activities and occupations mentioned do not pose any problems. I have, moreover, clearly indicated intellectual activities as such, and intellectual activities that comprised or contributed to a certain person's income. However, I strongly wish to stress that 'source of income' should *not* be read as 'most important activity'.

I have chosen to refrain from using terms that could be indicative of a perceived identity, such as 'Confucianist', 'Nativist', *kokugakusha*, or *rangakusha*. For fields of scholarship based on Chinese classical texts I use 'Chinese studies'; for individuals professionally engaged in (that is: deriving income from activities in) such fields I use 'specialist of Chinese studies'. Likewise, for fields of scholarship based on Japanese classical texts '(specialist of) Japanese studies' is used.[55] As far as 'Chinese studies' are concerned, I do not make any distinction between *jugaku* 儒学 ('Confucianism') and *kangaku* 漢学 ('Sinology'). Even though some scholars might wish to see a difference here, in biographical practice very often no distinction is made.[56] Forms of poetry composition such as *kanshi* 漢詩, *kyōshi* 狂詩, *haikai* 俳諧, *waka* 和歌 and *kyōka* 狂歌 may by some be seen as extensions of the fields of Chinese and Japanese studies. In the present study they are mentioned separately, because poetry composition is not only a matter of studying existing texts but also of creating new texts, which, like painting or calligraphy, requires technique, creativity and taste. 'Vernacular Chinese', being a relatively unusual specialization for a scholar active in the field of Chinese studies, is also a separate category.

In the same line, I use '(specialist of) Western studies' for all fields of scholarship based on Western ('Dutch', *ran* 蘭) material (texts, artifacts, maps, scientific instruments). As far as physicians are concerned, I have been hesitant to make a sharp distinction between 'traditional' and 'Western' medicine, because I am not sure if such a distinction does justice to the actual practice of diagnosis and treatment of every individual concerned. I therefore just speak of 'medicine' and 'physicians'. Naturally, the biographical sketch will pay attention to a person's specific interests.

Finally, the enumeration of a person's activities is *only that*: a list of the activities a certain person engaged in in the course of his life. It is not supposed to indicate any order of preference or importance. First of all, such specifications are difficult to quantify, a factor that should always be kept in mind in the case of prosopographical research. Secondly, we should be aware that only a thorough investigation of the relevant egodocuments can give us an idea of the attitude of a certain person and his environment towards this person's work, pastimes, interests and achievements.

[55] In the present study the concept 'Chinese studies' does *not* include the learning by rote of Chinese classical texts that belonged to people's early education.

[56] Just to give a few examples, compare the entry on Miyake Shōzan in the *DJJ* (where the term *ju* 儒 is used) with the entry in the *KJJ* (where we find *kan* 漢). The same holds good for the entry on Minagawa Kien in the *KD* (*jusha* 儒者) compared to the one in *KJJ* (*kangakusha* 漢学者).

3: Method

The main method to be used in this study is prosopography. This method has been chosen because in order to be able to say something about a collective, one has to research the collective and not merely its individual 'members'.[57] As Neithard Bulst points out in his contribution to *Medieval lives and the historian*, neither the term nor the method are new.[58] The term can already be found in sixteenth-century reference works presenting the history and genealogy of 'illustrious persons'. Modern prosopography originated in the field of *Altertumswissenschaft* as an instrument for chronology, population study and for research concerning social relations and traditions.[59] The ancient world still inspires most of the research bearing the word 'prosopography' in its title. However, many of these titles belong rather in the field of biographical dictionaries, *fasti* and so on, while the analytical element is dealt with in separate publications.

As a method for wider historical research, prosopography came into its own in the 1920s and 1930s. Charles Beard's work on America's Founding Fathers and A. P.

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[57] Neithard Bulst, 'Zum Gegenstand und zur Methode von Prosopographie', in: Neithard Bulst & Jean-Philippe Genet, eds, *Medieval lives and the historian, studies in medieval prosopography*, Kalamazoo 1986, 1-16, here 6-7, concerning "das Verhältnis von Biographie und Prosopographie". He concludes: "Nun ist eine Biographie von gleichzeitig 500 Personen nicht darstellbar. Jedoch muss jede prosopographische Bearbeitung einer Gesamtheit ... mit Versuchen zu Einzelbiographien beginnen, die später, sei es als repräsentativ oder als Ausnahme für die Gesamtheit, ihre Bedeutung ... behalten. Allerdings bedarf es zu dieser Erkenntnis erst des Vergleichs. Hier öffnen sich der Prosopographie Erkenntnismöglichkeiten, die die Biographie nicht hat und auch nicht haben kann ...". Moreover, Bulst brings forward the point that prosopography can make good use of very incomplete biographies: "Schliesslich sei eine weitere Möglichkeit der Prosopographie erwähnt, die eine Ausnutzung der oft spärlichen Überlieferung ermöglicht und die über den biographischen Zugriff im herkömmlichen Sinne nicht gegeben ist".

[58] Bulst, "Zum Gegenstand', 1. The following brief sketch of the origins of the prosopographical method is largely based upon Stone, 'Prosopography', and D. J. Roorda, 'Prosopografie, een onmogelijke mogelijkheid?', in: *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 94, 1979, reprinted in: S. Groenveld et al., eds, *Rond prins en patriciaat. Verspreide opstellen door D. J. Roorda*, Weesp 1984, 42-52.

[59] J. M. Fossey, *The study of ancient Greek prosopography*, Chicago 1991, 4. According to Fossey the first major prosopography of ancient Greece was Johannes Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1901-1903. For ancient Rome we have Elimar Klebs, Hermann Dessau & Paul von Rohden, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saeculorum I, II, III*, 3 vols, Berlin, 1897-1898.

Newton's book on the Puritans should be mentioned as important pioneering studies.[60] These were followed by such classics as L.B. Namier's *Structure of politics at the accession of George III* (1929), R. K. Merton's *Science, technology, and puritanism in seventeenth-century England* (1938) and R. Syme's *Roman revolution* (1939). Lawrence Stone only partly attributes this sudden flourishing to the enormous amount of biographical material that was by then available "already collected and in print".[61] In his opinion "a crisis in the historical profession", which "stemmed from the near-exhaustion of the great tradition of Western historical scholarship established in the nineteenth century" was of greater importance for the development of the prosopographical method.[62] As a result of this, in the 1910s a new generation of historians turned away from the traditional scrutiny of political theories and government and began to direct their attention at the people behind these theories and documents in archives. They began asking "questions about who rather than what".[63] Stone mentions several intellectual trends that occurred simultaneously: a growing awareness of cultural differences through anthropological studies, the rise of Social Darwinism and of the new discipline of psychology.[64] These trends, with their emphasis on nurture, personal circumstances and personal experience no doubt stimulated an interest in the human factor. Finally, Stone mentions the general cynicism following the First World War. The insight that "all politicians are crooks" stimulated curiosity about their personal motives.[65]

In spite of the breakthrough of prosopography in the 1930s a real proliferation of prosopographical studies only occurred from the 1950s onwards. Why this gap of some fifteen years? The Second World War and its aftermath are not the only answer to this question. Roorda points out that the earlier fascination with (mostly political) elites may have played its part. There was a tendency to detach these elites from their social and cultural context, to describe them as immune to public opinion and to play down the importance of ideas and ideologies. It is not surprising that this approach did not fall on fertile ground in the forties and early fifties.[66] The works of Aylmer, Underdown, Stone,

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[60] Charles A. Beard, *An economic interpretation of the constitution of the United States*, New York 1914, and A. P. Newton, *The colonising activities of the English Puritans*, New Haven 1914. For a further discussion of these early studies, see Stone, 'Prosopography', 49-52.

[61] Stone, 'Prosopography', 49, also note 5

[62] Stone, 'Prosopography', 52.

[63] Stone, 'Prosopography', 53.

[64] Apart from contributing to an awareness of cultural and environmental differences anthropology was important in another respect. Stone points at the "almost obsessive concern of the anthropologists for family and kinship" which may have helped to draw "the attention of historians to the potentialities of family arrangements and kinship links as political bonds", 'Prosopography', 56-57.

[65] Stone, 'Prosopography', 54.

[66] Roorda, 'Prosopografie', 48. It may be mentioned here that Roorda does not completely agree with Stone's idea of two separate schools or prosopography, the so-called "elitist school" and "the more statistically-minded mass school" (see Stone, 'Prosopography', 47-48). According to Roorda the contrast between these two 'schools' was always rather smaller than Stone suggests. Moreover, he feels that the argument that the 'elitists' were not influenced and supported by the social scientists is "untenable" (see Roorda, 'Prosopografie', 45). More recent developments in prosopographical

Dent and Burke should be mentioned as important studies of the 1960s and 1970s that refined the method and redressed imbalances.[67] Significant developments include the 'reappearance' of ideas and ideologies within prosopographical research, the use of the prosopography alongside other methods within the same study and the use of the computer.[68]

Now that I have given a brief outline of the history of the prosopographical method, we should turn our attention to the method itself. The term 'method' is used here in a fairly loose sense: one might say that there is no single prosopographical method, but that prosopography is a varying combination of methods borrowed from several disciplines. The structure of prosopographical studies can vary endlessly although in general it can be said that there are three main 'formats': 1) to present biographical data concerning an aggregate of related persons with very little or no further analysis; 2) to integrate biographical data into one's argument without giving separate biographical profiles of the members of the aggregate under scrutiny; 3) to present the biographical data and the analysis of these data separately.[69] In view of all this, T.F. Carney has a something of a point when he criticizes Stone's definition in the following manner: "Now this isn't a definition of a *technique* as such. It's just a set of

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research show that the contrast (if it was ever there) is wearing thin: prosopographers are now researching groups at a large variety of social levels.

[67] G. E. Aylmer, *The king's servants: the civil servic of Charles I, 1625-1642*, London 1961, *idem*, *The state's servants: the civil service of the English Republic, 1649-1660*, London 1973, J. Dent, *Crisis in finance: crown, financiers and society in seventeenth-century France*, Newton Abbot 1973, P. Burke, *Culture and society in Renaissance Italy, 1420-1540*, London 1972, D. Underdown, *Pride's purge: politics in the Puritan revolution*, Oxford 1971, L. Stone, *The crisis of the aristocracy, 1558-1641*, Oxford 1965, and *idem*, *The causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642*, London 1972 .

[68] Roorda, 'Prosopografie', 50-52. Julian Dent used a computer as early as 1973, see J. Dent, *Crisis in finance*, 15-16. Even if, thanks to the computer, circumstances have much improved since the sixties when J. R. Martindale was working on *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire* ("yet more slips in yet more shoeboxes") there is still much truth in Averil Cameron's remark: "All prosopography is immensely labour-intensive", see Averil Cameron, ed., *Fifty years of prosopo-graphy, The later Roman Empire, Byzantium and beyond*, Oxford/New York 2003, xiv and 7 (Martindale's memoir of the era of A. H. M. Jones, professor of ancient history at Cambridge).

[69] To mention a few recent examples: studies like Michael Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit. Eine Prosopographie*, Sigmaringen 1986, Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, Sigmaringen 1997, or Wolfgang Reinhard, *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Prosopographie wirtschaftlicher und politischer Führungsgruppen 1500-1620*, Berlin 1996 (1545 entries on 1012 large pages!) belong to the first category. Jo Burr Margadant, *Madame le Professeur, women educators in the Third Republic*, Princeton 1990, a study of the alumnae of the École Normale Supérieur for girls at Sèvres, is in the second category. Frank A. Kafker, *The Encyclopedists as a group. A collective biography of the authors of the Encyclopédie*, Oxford 1996, is the analysis of the data gathered in his earlier volume *The encyclopedists as individuals. A biographical dictionary of the authors of the Encyclopédie*, Oxford 1988, where we can find the biographical profiles of the 140 contributors to the *Encyclopédie*, and thus is an example of the third category. Martin Harris, *Joseph Maria Christoph Freiherr von Lassberg 1770-1855: Briefinventar und Prosopographie*, Heidelberg 1991, may be mentioned as a borderline case as he presents separate biographical profiles of Lassberg's *Briefpartner* in order to demonstrate Lassberg's role as a *Vermittler* without further analysis of the data themselves.

guidelines: 'You are to ask such and such questions of such and such data and check to see what goes with what in your findings'. Nothing is said about how to pose the questions, or how to do the cross-checking".[70] Still I find that most prosopographers more or less do what they are supposed to do according to Stone's definition. As Neithard Bulst suggests, Stone's definition can be read as a plea for a quite unrestrictive view of prosopography, which is certainly the best way forward and in accordance with recent developments.[71]

Like any other method prosopography has its limitations. However, most of the criticism, as for instance brought forward in Carney's polemical article, mainly directed at historians of the ancient world, in fact concerns the neglect, manipulation or misapplication of basic principles of historical source criticism. Source criticism in historical research is concerned with all aspects of sources that can, indeed should, influence our interpretation of their contents: authenticity, authorship, dating, specific nature and raison d'être, in order to establish the reliability of the source for the purpose for which one intends to use it. These tools of the historian's trade are there, ready to be used.[72] Imaginative reasoning when data are inadequate, the skillful application of rhetorical techniques and a lack of analytical ability are shortcomings that may be encountered in any kind of historical study and are not inherent in the use of the prosopographical method.[73] I feel that Carney's elaborate discussion of what he calls the "cuckoo in the prosopographers' nest" cannot in fact be applied to the prosopographical method as such. This particular criticism concerns the possibilities of prosopography involving "the analysis of the motives of a given historical actor, or actors, in a specific set of circumstances".[74] Carney's diffuse explanation of this point boils down to the simple fact that prosopography does not tell us what people think, hence his warning that "studies of the intent and motivation behind decision making presuppose extensive autobiographical material".[75] Again, it is all a matter of knowing what one can and cannot do with one's material. Bulst and Genet stress that "prosopography means description, the description of external characteristics: that is to say, the soul, the inner spirit of the individual, is normally missing in a prosopographical approach. In truth, prosopography consists in collecting the largest possible bundle of material elements

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[70] Carney, 'Prosopography', 156. Compare Stone's definition quoted above, p. 19.

[71] Bulst, 'Zum Gegenstand', 4-5: "Die Definitionen von Prosopographie sind vielfältig ... Ein Kernelement aber, das fast allen Definitionen gemeinsam ist, ist die Erforschung des Einzelnen im Hinblick auf eine Gesamtheit, der er zuzurechnen ist. Diesen Aspekt des Einzelnen in seiner Funktion zur Gesamtheit enthält auch die Definition von Stone ... Falls man unter 'actor' ... jede soziale Gruppe verstehen will und als Kriterium der Gemeinsamkeit neben Amt und Funktion auch jegliche Art von Tätigkeit und Status mit einbeziehen will, wenn man also neben den Akteuren der Geschichte, auch diejenigen, die die Geschichte nur passiv erleben, ertragen oder erleiden, nicht per definitionem ausschliessen will, ist dem zuzustimmen".

[72] Most are time-honoured, but of course deconstructionism and other postmodernisms have not passed by historical source criticism unnoticed. On the whole, however, these have not nearly had the impact they have had on literary criticism, and I am glad to move with the historical mainstream. For developments, see Richard J. Evans, *In defence of history*, London 1997.

[73] Carney, 'Prosopography', 173-176 and note 50.

[74] Carney, 'Prosopography', 164.

[75] Carney, 'Prosopography', 170.

allowing us to describe an individual, and those spiritual elements which would enable us to go from person to personality are excluded".[76] Things should go well if this is constantly kept in mind.

As has already been suggested, the prosopographer can make good use of defective biographical material, provided he is aware of its shortcomings and phrases his questions accordingly. One does not need a complete biography of every member in order to answer certain questions about a collective. When dealing with the social background of brewers in seventeenth-century London we must establish whether the person under scrutiny was a brewer in London at that time and whether something is known about his social background. We do not even need to know the dates of his birth or death, let alone whether he was happily married.

Recent prosopographical research demonstrates that Carney was also unduly pessimistic in his concern about an overall lack of data, a common problem in the study of the ancient world. His argument that "until the proliferation of source materials brought about by new forms of communication in the sixteenth century, writing social history via prosopography is mostly pretentiousness", has been refuted by the medievalists, and even for ancient history, often hard put for adequate sources, it does not hold good.[77]

Nevertheless, there are problems that are specific to the prosopographical method. The most fundamental problem is that of the group to be studied. As Bulst and Genet point out in their introduction to *Medieval lives and the historian* "some are real groups…which existed as such in the social reality of their time…but other groups are made up by historians with people whose lives were not coterminous or who never felt they were members of a distinct body".[78] Determining the collective to be studied can be a very easy matter. If one wants to study the backgrounds of all students who graduated from the university of Leiden between 1600 and 1625 one just turns to the archives and one comes out with a list of names. In many other cases everything depends on the definition of the group. As has already been pointed out in the second chapter, Carney graphically describes the danger of circularity in prosopographical case building. Again, his so-called 'weeping brick' line of argument belongs more to the general problems caused by not playing according to the historian's rules.[79] However, it should be clear that conscious or unconscious selectivity in determining the collective under scrutiny is fatal.

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[76] Bulst & Genet, eds, *Medieval lives*, 'Introduction'.

[77] Carney, 'Prosopography', 160. The problem of a lack of data is also brought up by Stone, 'Prosopography', 58-60, but Carneys concern is a lack of data *per se* instead of 'just' disturbing gaps within relatively abundant material. It is clear, however that Stone also has most confidence in prosopographical studies of the early modern period and after, see Stone, passim.

[78] Bulst and Genet, eds, *Medieval lives*, 'Introduction'.

[79] Carney, 'Prosopography', 176: "Each as it were 'brick' of data is lavishly bedaubed with 'mortar' [in the form of any kind of interpretation attractive to the researcher]. The resultant wall of data-bricks presents a very arresting pattern (of squished out mortar). Trends in the overall pattern are now analysed to demonstrate the validity of each individual piece of construction. Complete circularity is thus ensured. It was the interpretation in each case that produced the 'mortar' overlay that made the overall effect. So naturally the overall effect and the individual parts are alike".

Problems concerning the circumscription and definition of the collective come first in Roorda's brief evaluation of the reactions to the works of Aylmer, Underdown, Stone, Dent and Burke. Criticism of these works included too high percentages of uncertain factors, groups that are too small to be significant and too much confidence in quantification and calculation in view of the complexity of the questions. Roorda mentions strained relationships between what can actually be inferred and measured and what is deemed essential and significant. He praises the author who did not try to prove more than was actually feasible. He finally touches upon the readability of the prosopographical study: a secondary but nevertheless thorny matter…[80]

Roorda is convinced that prosopography should play an important part in building a bridge between social and cultural history.[81] Much debate concerning the prosopographical method has centred on the way in which the socio-cultural qualitative aspects (ideology, life style) are to be integrated in an analysis that focuses on quantifiable data.[82] In view of the necessity to look at the actors in the context of their society, prosopographical research must embrace these qualitative aspects, even if these do not result from the prosopographical analysis, but have to be provided by other than strictly prosopographical means. If indeed we do not attempt "to prove more than is feasible" and are fully aware of, on the one hand, the limitations of our method and, on the other hand, the nature of the questions to be answered much can be done within a prosopographical framework.

The next thing to consider is the position of my inquiry and its method within the study of intellectual life in the Tokugawa period. As I pointed out above, not much has been written about intellectual life in the Tokugawa period from an 'on the ground' perspective. I have argued that previous research into Tokugawa scholars and artists has concentrated on the study of their *works.* There are a number of studies presenting 'networks' or 'circles' of scholars and artists, but practically none of these can be called prosopographical.[83] Many of them are museum catalogues presenting an artist and his circle or a number of interrelated artists.[84] Often such catalogues contain a wealth of biographical information, but as long as biographical data are not, as Stone's definition of prosopography prescribes, "juxtaposed and combined, and… examined for

[80] Roorda, 'Prosopografie', 50-52.
[81] Roorda, 'Prosopografie', 51.
[82] J.J. de Jong, 'Prosopografie, een mogelijkheid. Eliteonderzoek tussen politieke en sociaal- culturele geschiedenis', in: *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 111, 1996, 201-215; C. Boomsma, 'Prosopografie. Mogelijkheden en kanttekeningen', in: *Groniek* 30 (136), 1996-1997, 358-363.
[83] This may be partly the result of a general hesitancy to make intellectual life the subject of 'statistics'. As W. Th. M. Frijhoff wrote about his fellow-scholars: "Raisonnant à partir de sources littéraires toutes prêtes, ils n'ont pas osé aborder la noble et et délicate matière de l'éducation et des sciences par un biais autre que littéraire ou documentaire, et surtout pas par une approche numérique" (*La société néerlandaise et ses gradués, 1575-1814*, Amsterdam 1981, 4).
[84] For instance Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, French, *The poet painters*, Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, *Kinsei no Ōsaka gadan* 近世の大阪画壇, Osaka 1981, Setagayaku Ritsukyōdo Shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち,Tokyo 1998.

significant variables", there is no question of prosopography. Takahashi Hiromi's *Kyōto geien no nettowāku* is a fascinating description of the dynamics of intellectual relationships against the backdrop of Kyoto city culture.[85] Nakamura Shinichirō's impressive *Kimura Kenkadō no saron* tries to put Kimura Kenkadō's diary into context.[86] Both works abound in biographical information but again: as no systematic attempt is made to analyse and compare the life histories of all those mentioned, it is not prosopography. It is actually only in the works of Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十 that I have found elements of prosopography, although he does not use the term. For instance in the chapter 'Kyōto no bunkashakai' in his *Kinsei no gabungaku to bunjin* he samples and compares biographical data on persons found in the pupils' registers of several private academies.[87] For his research on the circle of Prince Shinnin of the Myōhō-in Munemasa also made good use of the prosopographical method, again without calling it that, although the group under scrutiny (twelve persons not including the prince himself) is very small.[88] It would seem that the present study is the first large-scale approach to Tokugawa period intellectual life using the prosopographical method.[89]

Next we come to a brief description of the setup of my prosopographical inquiry and what it has to offer. In the following pages the reader will find the biographical profiles (a term for which I am indebted to Frank Kafker's studies of the Encyclopedists) of 173 individuals. As I have already stated, this network is centred on Japan's three metropolises and all individuals included in the prosopography were active as intellectuals in the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Research began with the biographies of intellectuals from a small Kyoto circle and grew as I added the biographies of intellectuals they were in communication with, to which I subsequently added the biographies of *these* people's contacts and so on.[90] My own definition of the term 'intellectual' and the relationships that came to light in the study of these individuals' biographies have been the only selection criteria. However, the time

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[85] Takahashi Hiromi 高橋博巳, *Kyōto geien no nettowāku* 京都藝苑のネットワーク, Tokyo 1988.
[86] Nakamura Shinichirō 中村真一郎, *Kimura Kenkadō no saron* 木村蒹葭堂のサロン, Tokyo 2000.
[87] Munamasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Kyōto no bunkashakai' 京都の文化社会 in: *idem*, *Kinsei no gabungaku to bunjin* 近世の雅文学と文人, Tokyo 1995, 101-133.
[88] Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる藝文家たち in: *idem*, *Nihon kinsei bun'en no kenkyū* 日本近世文苑の研究, Tokyo 1977, 203-253.
[89] It is hard to tell whether the prosopographical method has gained a foothold in Japan. In the *NACSIS* catalogue I only found three Japanese language publications and thirty-one English language ones featuring the word 'prosopography'. Evidently the term is known, but it is not much in use. Of course, the fact that the term is not used in the title does not mean the method is not present in the book, but it makes it more difficult to sample titles and get a general idea of what is going on. It may be added that the explanation of the English word 'prosopography' in *Kenkyusha's New English-Japanese Dictionary* cannot be deemed correct in view of all that has been said above, see the fifth edition, Tokyo 1980, s.v. 'prosopography'. The entry may be translated as follows: "A description of a person's, or several persons', personal appearance, character, personal connections, relatives and career, a biographical sketch; the study of such descriptions or sketches". I am under the impression that in Japan prosopography is still in its infancy.
[90] My M.A. thesis was an annotated translation of *Seifusagen*, Ueda Akinari's pamphlet on *sencha* (1794). An interest in who might have been Akinari's readers sparked off an inquiry into his circle of friends. This circle was the point of departure for the present prosopography.

boundaries 1775-1800 have also been applied in the selection process: I have not included any contacts that ended before 1775 or began after 1800.

The biographical profiles contain a small life history and a set of data concerning dates of birth and death, birthplace, social status, source(s) of income and activities, teachers, pupils, members of their 'personal cell' and other first order zone contacts. Naturally, the biographical profiles are followed by an analysis of the data, but it may be useful here to illustrate with a few examples how such a body of data can be 'interrogated'. It seems clear that the dates of birth and death can assist us in gaining insight in generational structures and questions of age distribution. Data concerning location and status can provide insight into geographical and social mobility. Data concerning these individuals' intellectual relationships (including teachers and pupils) should yield information on intellectuals' networks and dominant figures within these networks. Then, of course, data should be 'juxtaposed and combined' in order to find correlations, for instance between age and relationships or location and activities. To be more concrete: do we, for instance, find that relationships are mostly with people of the same age group, the same social status, the same or comparable intellectual interests, the same place of birth or perhaps even some striking combination of a number of these factors? Do we find that certain activities are limited to a specific age group, to certain types of employment or certain status groups? Do we find that people travel to a specific location or even a specific teacher for certain activities? Furthermore, life histories may be compared in order to find career patterns.

It goes without saying that the data should be placed against the background of the period under scrutiny. The final quarter of the eighteenth century saw the fall of the powerful *rōjū* (老中) Tanuma Okitsugu (田沼意次, 1719-1788) and the reforms carried out by his successor Matsudaira Sadanobu.[91] Does this prosopography show anything of the drastic consequences these reforms are said to have had for the intellectual climate of the period? Another development that is often said to have taken place within this period is a shift in cultural dominance from Kyoto/Osaka to Edo: does the prosopography show anything of this?[92] Do we find anything of the malaise and stagnation that are said to have characterized this period?

As I have already stated, prosopography does not tell us what people think. These data do not tell us how people motivated their choices or whether they were happy with the way they lived their lives. Certain readers may see this as a shortcoming and will maintain that all this is only part of the whole story. While this is very true I must point out again that it is the part that has always been neglected. Furthermore, I am convinced that any reader will find that these stark data have their own kind of eloquence.

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[91] See for instance Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 341-347, 469-473.

[92] Gerstle, *Eighteenth century Japan*, speaks about "a regional rivalry between the Kansai (Kyoto/Osaka) area, with its traditional cultural and linguistic domination, and the newly risen political capital of Edo" (xiv); see also Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏, *Jūhasseki no Edo bungei* 十八世紀の江戸文芸, Tokyo 1999, passim.

PART II: PROSOPOGRAPHY

The prosopography

The second part of this investigation contains the biographical data on which research is based. The analysis in part III discusses these data in context. A 'portrait' of every one of the 173 individuals under scrutiny is not only desirable for quick reference, it is also the best place for the more detailed annotation concerning a particular person.

In putting together the biographical profiles in this prosopography I have *in all cases*, whatever other sources I made use of, consulted the entries concerning these individuals in *Kokushi daijiten* (*KD*), *Dai jinmei jiten* (*DJJ*), *Koten bungaku daijiten* (*KBD*) and/or *Kokusho jinmei jiten* (*KJJ*). These entries are *not* separately mentioned with every biographical profile unless to illustrate some debatable point. Details concerning all other sources used are given wherever appropriate.

For this investigation the focus was on communication between intellectuals. Teachers have therefore *not* been included when the contact was apparently limited to the pupil's formative phase, but *have* been when the pupil was well out of it at the time of the contact. For example: Hino Sukeki was included because one of his pupils, Hanawa Hokiichi, was in his thirty-eighth year when the contact was first established.

Adachi Seiga: 安達清河, Osamu, Bunchū, Shiindō, Shiinshisha
Years of birth and death: 1726-1792
Place of birth : Karasuyama in Shimotsuke province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: priesthood (*shugenja*), Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Activities: Chinese studies, Shinto studies, *kanshi*, travel writing
Teachers: Matsu Shōho (unidentified), Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759)
Contacts: Murata Harumi
Biographical sketch: Seiga's family had been mountain ascetics (*shugenja*) for generations. He was the second son. When he was in his fourteenth year he succeeded to the priesthood at a sanctuary in Senbon, also in Shimotsuke province, and studied *ryōbu shintō* ('dual aspect Shinto', the amalgamation of Shinto and Buddhism) to equip himself for this function. At the same time he did Chinese studies with Matsu Shōho, official specialist to the domain of Utsunomiya in the same province. Seiga had little liking for the priesthood: in 1746 he went to Edo and through Udono Shin'ei (1710-

1774) and Hattori Nankaku's adopted son Hakufun (1713-1767) he became a pupil at Nankaku's academy. He studied with Nankaku for eight years. He then temporarily returned to his native place but in 1763 took a house in Edo and opened his own academy. Seiga was a leading figure of the Nankaku school, also known for his *kanshi* and his knowledge of Chinese literature. One of his *kanshi* pupils was Shūzan, daughter of the painter Sakurai Sekkan (1715-1790). Seiga was fond of travel and also wrote several travel books. Murata Harumi, who had studied with Hattori Hakufun and Udono Shin'ei, was a friend of Seiga. Seiga had five sons and one daughter but, because they either died young or married into other families, he had no heir.
Literature: for Shūzan, see *DJJ*, s.v. Sakurai Sekkan. Sekkan was a painter of the Unkoku-school, who painted in the style of Sesshū (1420-1506). Shūzan wrote a book on her father's painting method called *Gasoku* ('The Rules of Painting'), see F. Chance, 'In the studio of painting study, transmission practices of Tani Bunchō', in: Brenda G. Jordan & Victoria Weston, eds, *Copying the master and stealing his secrets. Talent and training in Japanese painting*, Honolulu 2003, 65.

Akamatsu Sōshū: 赤松滄洲, Ryōhei, Kō, Seishiō, Kokuran, original family name: Funehiki
Years of birth and death: 1721-1801
Place of birth: Mikazuki in Harima province
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (domanial)
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Kagawa Shūan (1683-1755), Uno Meika (1698-1745), Okada Ryūshū (1692-1767)
Contacts: Shibano Ritsuzan, Minagawa Kien, Uragami Gyokudō, Nishiyori Seisai, Nishiyama Sessai
Biographical sketch: When Sōshū was in his seventeenth year he was adopted by Ōkawa Kōsai, physician to the domain of Akō. Both his real and his adoptive father descended from a family named Akamatsu, and Sōshū used that name. In his youth he went to Kyoto. He studied medicine with Kagawa Shūan and did Chinese studies with Uno Meika and Okada Ryūshū. He settled upon Chinese studies and in 1747 became specialist of Chinese studies to his domain. He was also involved in administrative duties, eventually becoming *karō* (house elder). He resigned for reasons of ill health in 1760 and went back to Kyoto where he made a living as a teacher of Chinese studies. With Shibano Ritsuzan, Minagawa Kien and Nishiyori Seisai, he was active in a small *kanshi* club. In spite of his friendship with Ritsuzan he wrote a memorandum severely criticizing the Ban on Heterodoxy (1790). Sōshū's son Ranshitsu (1743-1797) succeeded to his father's position at the domain of Akō. His second son, known as Kōno Rosai (1759-1786), was adopted into the Kōno family of the same domain and became a specialist of military science, the family's field. Sōshū survived both his sons.
Literature: for Gyokudō, see Nakamura Shin'ichirō 中村真一郎, *Kimura Kenkadō no saron* 木村蒹葭堂のサロン, 567, and *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県

立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, Fukushima 1994, s.v. 1786; Robert L. Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan', in: *HJAS* 39, 1979, 275-338.

Akera Kankō: 朱楽菅江, Kagemoto, Kagetsura, Dōho, Satosuke, Kanritsu, Kainandō, Fundari Ka'an, original family name: Yamazaki
Years of birth and death: 1738-1798
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), *kyōka*, popular fiction
Activities: *kyōka*, *waka*, *senryū*, popular fiction
Teachers: Uchiyama Chinken
Contacts: Fushimatsu Kaka (wife), Ōta Nanpo, Karagoromo Kisshū, Hezutsu Tōsaku, Santō Kyōden
Biographical sketch: Kankō served as a *yoriki* in the Sakite-gumi, a corps of gate guards and body guards to the shogun. He studied *waka* with Uchiyama Chinken. In 1769 a *kyōka* group was organized by Karagoromo Kisshū in which amongst others Ōta Nanpo and Hezutsu Tōsaku took part. Kankō joined a few years later. Soon Kankō and his wife began to take pupils and became prominent figures in the Edo *kyōka* circles. Kankō was also engaged in other forms of poetry and wrote *sharebon*. His books were very successful. With the political changes around 1787 many samurai withdrew from *kyōka* circles. Kankō remained active as a *kyōka* poet but his idiom became more refined and serious.
Literature: Donald Keene, *World within walls. Japanese literature of the pre-modern era 1600-1867*, New York 1976, 518, gives Kankō's dates as 1740-1800, these dates (more precisely 2400-2460) can also be found in *DJJ*; for Kyōden, see Jane Devitt, 'Santō Kyōden and the *Yomihon*', in: *HJAS* 39, 1979, 256.

Akutagawa Tankyū: 芥川丹丘, Kan, Genshō, Yōken, Seitarō
Years of birth and death: 1710-1785
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, vernacular Chinese, *kanshi*
Teachers: Ōmachi Tonbyō (1659-1729), Itō Tōgai (1670-1738), Uno Meika (1698-1745), Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759)
Contacts: Miyake Shōzan, Seida Tansō, Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: As a child Tankyū studied with Ōmachi Tonbyō, a pupil of Itō Jinsai, active in Kyoto as a physician and specialist of Chinese studies. He then moved on to Itō Tōgai, Jinsai's eldest son. Later he studied with Uno Meika and came under the influence of Ogyū Sorai's work. He subsequently went to Edo to study with Hattori Nankaku. Finally he settled in Kyoto where he taught Chinese studies. He was well known for his *kanshi* and his knowledge of vernacular Chinese. He was a friend of

Miyake Shōzan and stimulated him to study the Chinese vernacular novel. Kimura Kenkadō visited Tankyū during a trip to Kyoto in 1779. Tankyū's son Shidō (1744-1807) became specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Sabae in Echizen province.
Literature: for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, Kyoto 2003, s.v. 1779; according to Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩也 & Nagasawa Kōjō 長沢孝三, *Kanbungakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, Tokyo 1979, nr 128, Tankyū himself was already in the service of the domain of Sabae.

Aōdō Denzen: 亜欧堂田善, Zenkichi, Chūta, original family name: Nagata
Years of birth and death: 1748-1822
Place of birth: Sukagawa in Iwashiro province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: manufacturing, painting, book illustration, print making
Activities: painting, book illustration, print making
Teachers: Tani Bunchō, Shiba Kōkan, possibly Morishima Chūryō
Contacts: Gessen, Masuyama Sessai, Haruki Nanko, Matsudaira Sadanobu
Biographical sketch: Denzen was born into a family of well-to-do dyers. His elder brother took over the business when their father died in 1755, and Denzen later became his assistant. Both brothers studied painting. It was probably in 1785 that Denzen became friendly with the monk/painter Gessen at Yamada in Ise. Gessen introduced Denzen to the local daimyo Masuyama Sessai and to Haruki Nanko, who was in Sessai's service. Denzen met Matsudaira Sadanobu when Sadanobu visited Sukagawa in 1794. Sadanobu took Denzen into his service and ordered him to study with Tani Bunchō. Denzen moved to the domain of Shirakawa in Iwaki province and was appointed official painter in 1796. In 1798 Denzen went to Edo, where he learned the Western technique of copperplate etching, studying with Shiba Kōkan and possibly also with Morishima Chūryō. In 1799 Denzen travelled to Nagasaki where he remained for four years. His copperplate illustrations were used for scientific work. He also did *meisho-e*. In 1812, when Sadanobu resigned as Shirakawa daimyo, Denzen was released from service and returned to Sukagawa where he started a printing shop. His prints sold well but he did not become wealthy: the prints were illegally copied and it was difficult to find the necessary chemicals. In his old age he turned more and more to *nanga* painting. Denzen married twice and had a son with his second wife.
Literature: Stephan Graf von der Schulenburg, *Aōdō Denzen. Ein Künstler zwischen konfuzianischer Staatsethik, "fließender Welt" und Yōfūga*, unpublished master's thesis, Heidelberg 1987.

Aoki Mokubei: 青木木米, Seirai, Yosohachi, Gensa, Hyakoroku sanjin, Rōbei
Years of birth and death: 1767-1833
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: pottery, painting

Activities: pottery, painting, *sencha*
Teachers: Kō Fuyō, Okuda Eisen
Contacts: Kan Tenju (cousin), Aoki Shukuya (cousin), Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Mokubei was the eldest son of a restaurant owner. His cousins Kan Tenju and Aoki Shukuya both studied with Ike Taiga. Mokubei became a pupil of Taiga's friend Kō Fuyō, with whom he did Chinese studies and possibly also painting and seal carving. He may have become interested in pottery through Fuyō's collection of Chinese ceramics. In 1796 he visited Kimura Kenkadō and studied Kenkadō's copy of *Tao shuo* ('Description of ceramics', 1774) by Zhu Yan. Later Mokubei took the initiative for a Japanese edition; it appeared in 1804. In 1796 Mokubei became a pupil of Okuda Eisen. By 1800 he had really come into his own as a potter. In 1801 he was invited into the service of the domain of Kii but declined because of the poor quality of the local clay. Between 1806 and 1808 he twice visited the domain of Kaga but eventually remained in Kyoto. Friends of this period include Noro Kaiseki, Okamoto Toyohiko, Rai San'yō (1781-1832) and Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835). He was also acquainted with the Osaka *sencha* teacher Tanaka (or Kagetsuan) Kakuō (1762-1848). Much of Mokubei's work was directed at the *sencha* market. In 1824 he visited Uji, the most important region for the production of *sencha*. In 1796 Mokubei submitted paintings to one of Minagawa Kien's exhibitions but he was not an active painter until about 1820. His work as a potter damaged both his eyesight and his hearing. His death may have been hastened by his exertions in connection with a large scale *sencha* gathering at the Kitano Tenmangu Shrine in Kyoto in 1832. Mokubei was married and had two daughters and a son. The son probably died young but we do not find that Mokubei adopted a successor.
Literature: John Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, Cambridge, Mass. 1999, vol. 3, 14; Steven Owyoung, 'Sleeping clouds, creeping stones. A teapot by Mokubei in the Saint Louis Art Museum', in: *Bulletin of the Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong*, 9, 1988-1992, 25-27 (for the Kitano gathering); for Kakuō, see Patricia J. Graham, *Tea of the sages. The art of sencha*, Honolulu 1998 (Graham wrongly gives Kakuō's year of birth as 1782); *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1 (Taiga, Buson, Mokubei), Tokyo 1992.

Aoki Shukuya: 青木夙夜, Yo Shukuya, Shunmei, Shunzō, Sōemon, Shuntō, Hachigaku Sanjin
Years of birth and death: died 1802
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: Ike Taiga
Contacts: Kan Tenju (brother), Aoki Mokubei (cousin), Geppō
Biographical sketch: Most likely Shukuya was born in Kyoto like his elder brother Kan Tenju. Aoki Mokubei was his cousin. Shukuya and Tenju claimed to be

descendants of the Korean chieftain Yo Chang (2nd century) and therefore Shukuya also used the family name of Yo. He started studying with Ike Taiga (Taigadō I) around 1752. He was installed as Taigadō II at the memorial hall dedicated to Taiga in the precincts of the Sōrinji in 1787. Some sources say that Shukuya was reclusive and all in all a rather disappointing successor of the master. Shukuya was succeeded by his fellow pupil Geppō.
Literature: Melinda Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views. The language of landscape painting in eighteenth-century Japan*, Stanford 1992, 78, 182 note 130; nenpu in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1; for alternative views of the Aoki family relationships, see Laurance P. Roberts, *A dictionary of Japanese artists*, Tokyo/New York 1976, s.v., and *KD* s.v.

Azuma Tōyō: 東東洋, Shuntarō, Taiyō, Gizō, Gyokuga, Hakurokuen
Years of birth and death: 1755-1839
Place of birth: Ishikoshimura in the region of Tome in Rikuzen province
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: Kanō Baishō (1729-1808), Maruyama Ōkyo, Matsumura Goshun
Contacts: Ike Taiga, Minagawa Kien, Matsumura Keibun, Maruyama Ōzui, Ban Kōkei, Okamoto Yasutaka
Biographical sketch: In the early 1770s Tōyō came to Kyoto where he first studied painting with Kanō Baishō, also known as Kanō Moronobu. Later he studied with Maruyama Ōkyo and Matsumura Goshun. He was acquainted with Ike Taiga who may also have been one of his teachers. As his reputation grew he received commissions from the imperial court and was awarded the title of *hōgen* for his services. He lived in Kyoto for more than thirty years, but eventually became official painter to the domain of Sendai in his native Rikuzen province.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 66, 179 note 84; for contacts, see Orandajin sales catalogue of 1993, nr 83 (a collaborative set of drawings and poetry made at the occasion of an outing around 1800, formerly in the collection of Charles Mitchell).

Ban Kōkei: 伴蒿蹊, Sukeyoshi, Shōemon, Kandenshi, Kandenro
Years of birth and death: 1733-1806
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, Japanese studies, *waka*
Activities: *waka*, Japanese studies, calligraphy
Teachers: a member of the Mushanokōji family (Saneoka)
Contacts: Rikunyo, Miguma Katen, Nagata Kanga, Ozawa Roan, Imei, Iwagaki Ryōkei, Tachibana Nankei, Minagawa Kien, Murase Kōtei, Maruyama Ōzui, Matsumura Goshun, Okamoto Yasutaka, Shinnin Shinnō, Ueda Akinari, Miyake Shōzan, Chōgetsu, Chōmu, Umetsuji Shunshō, Azuma Tōyō, Kakizaki Hakyō

Biographical sketch: Kōkei was born into a family of Ōmi merchants. He was the only son. He was adopted as successor to the main branch of the house in Hachiman in Ōmi at the age of eight and succeeded at the age of eighteen. He was a good businessman but also found time to study. He did *waka* with Mushanokōji Saneoka. The business gave him the opportunity to travel: he visited the branch stores in Edo and Osaka. He retired in 1768, took the tonsure, settled in Kyoto and started to teach Japanese studies and *waka*. One of his pupils was the polymath Nakajima Sōin (1779-1855). Kōkei was an intimate friend of prince Shinnin and a popular figure in Kyoto's intellectual circles. When, for instance, Rikunyo and Kakizaki Hakyō organized a moon viewing party for Kan Chazan on his visit to Kyoto in 1794, Kōkei was among those invited. Kōkei was close to Nagata Kanga and Rikunyo who also had relatives in Ōmi. Kōkei is known for his best-selling collection of *Kinsei kijinden* ('Lives of Remarkable People', 1790), and the equally successful *Zoku kinsei kijinden* ('Lives of Remarkable People, a Sequel', 1798), both illustrated by Miguma Katen. Kōkei never married and adopted a young couple to succeed him.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 203ff; for Chōgetsu, see Kubota Utsubo 窪田空穂, ed., *Wakabungaku daijiten* 和歌文学大辞典, Tokyo 1962, s.v. Chōgetsu; for Akinari, see Young, *Ueda Akinari*, Vancouver 1982, passim; for *Kinsei Kijinden*, see Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 1, 25-27; for a modern edition of *Kinsei kijinden*, see Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, ed., *Kinsei kijinden*, *Zoku kinsei kijinden* 近世奇人伝. 続近世奇人伝, Tokyo 1994; for contacts, see Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 45-46.

Bitō Nishū: 尾藤ニ洲, Kōchō, Shiin, Yakuzan, Ryōsuke, Seikiken, Ryūsuisai
Years of birth and death: 1745-1813, 1747 is also given as his year of birth
Place of birth: Kawanoe in Iyo province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Udagawa Yōken (unidentified), Katayama Hokkai
Contacts: Rai Shunsui (brother in law), other members of the Rai family, Iioka Gisai (father in law), Shibano Ritsuzan, Koga Seiri, Nakai Chikuzan, Nakai Riken, Hayashi Jussai, Hayashi Nobutaka, Minagawa Kien, Okada Kansen, Shinozaki Santō and other members of the Kontonsha
Biographical sketch: Nishū was the eldest son of a skipper, but as a child he injured his legs (some sources speak of a childhood illness) and became disabled. He could not succeed his father and it was decided that he should study. In 1760 he began his studies with a local teacher (Udagawa Yōken). In 1770 he went to Osaka to study with Katayama Hokkai. He joined the Kontonsha poetry club and became intimate with Rai Shunsui, Nakai Chikuzan and Nakai Riken. In due course he opened his own academy in Osaka. In 1791 he was invited by the Bakufu to become a teacher at the Shōheikō. He was offered a salary of 200 *koku* and a residence in the academy compound because of

his disability. His colleagues were Shibano Ritsuzan and Okada Kansen. Hayashi Nobutaka was principal until his death in 1793. He was succeeded by Hayashi Jussai. Koga Seiri joined the team in 1796. Nishū had three daughters with his first wife. His second wife was a daughter of Iioka Gisai: they had four sons and a daughter. His first and second son died young: his third son succeeded him. Nishū's friend Rai Shunsui was also married to a daughter of Gisai. Shunsui's son San'yō (1780-1832) was one of Nishū's pupils.
Literature: for Kien, see Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Kyōto no bunka shakai' 京都の文化社会, in: *idem*, *Kinsei no gabungaku to bunjin* 近世の雅文学と文人, Tokyo 1995, 110; Robert L. Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu as revealed in the Kansei educational reform', in: *HJAS* 34, 1974, 97-162, *idem*, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy and its effects on education', in: *HJAS* 39, 1979, 55-106, and *idem*, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'.

Chō Tōsai: 趙陶斎, Mamoru, Chūi, Ryōshinsai, Ryōshin koji, Kukien, Kukoen (the family names of Kōra and Fukami are also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1713-1786
Place of birth: Nagasaki in Hizen province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist), calligraphy, seal carving, painting, possibly commerce
Activities: Buddhist studies, calligraphy, seal carving, painting
Teachers: possibly Tanabe Kigen (a.k.a. Sonsai, 1721-1783)
Contacts: as pupils: Kimura Kenkadō, Masuyama Sessai, Rai Shunsui, Totoki Baigai, possibly Hosoai Hansai
Biographical sketch: Tōsai probably was the son of a Chinese immigrant named Zhao and a geisha from the Maruyama pleasure quarters in Nagasaki. At a young age he entered the priesthood at the Kōfukuji, a temple of the Ōbaku Zen sect, but for unknown reasons returned to lay life when he was in his twenty-eighth year. He then started travelling, wandering all over the country and living an unsettled life. He lived in Edo for more than ten years, was in Kyoto for a while, and around 1770 may have been in Sakai where, according to some sources, he made a living selling medicine. At some unknown point he moved to Osaka where he got married and settled down. He became famous as a calligrapher, seal carver and painter and had a large number of pupils. It is not clear either with whom he studied: the name of Tanabe Kigen is mentioned. In 1783 a party was organized for his seventieth birthday which was attended by, amongst others, Kimura Kenkadō.
Literature: *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1769, 1783, 1786; Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, Osaka 2001, s.v.; *Shodō zenshū* 書道全集, vol. 23, Tokyo 1958, 188.

Chōgetsu: 澄月, Yūa, Suiunken, Suimuan, family name: Nishiyama.
Years of birth and death: 1714-1798
Place of birth: Tamashima in Bitchū province.
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist), *waka*
Activities: Buddhist studies, *waka*
Teachers: a member of the Mushanokōji family (Sanetake)
Contacts: Ban Kōkei, Chōmu, Iwagaki Ryōkei, Shibayama Mochitoyo, Ozawa Roan. As pupils: Nishiyama Sessai (possibly a relative), Momozawa Mutaku
Biographical sketch: As a very small boy Chōgetsu served in a cotton goods shop, which suggests that he was of commoner descent. He was still little more than a child when he entered the Tendai priesthood. In 1726 he went to Kyoto to study at the Enryaku-ji. In due course he became disappointed with Tendai and converted to Pure Land Buddhism. For seven years he travelled as a preacher through various provinces. In 1773 he retired to Okazaki in Kyoto and built himself a hermitage called Suiunken. He had studied *waka* with Mushanokōji Sanetake and acquired a great mastery of the Nijō style. Among his pupils we find the very young Kinoshita Takafumi (1789-1821, later a pupil of Kagawa Kageki), Nishiyama Sessai and Momozawa Mutaku who succeeded him. Chōgetsu was an intimate friend of the scholar Iwagaki Ryōkei. The *kuge* and *waka* poet Shibayama Mochitoyo was his patron.

Chōmu: 蝶夢, Gen'a, Suikadō Chōmu
Years of birth and death: 1732-1795
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist)
Activities: Buddhist studies, *haikai*
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Miyake Shōzan, Daiten, Ban Kōkei, Chōgetsu
Biographical sketch: In 1740 Chōmu entered the priesthood at the Hōkoku-ji, a temple of the Ji sect, an offshoot of the Pure Land sect founded in the thirteenth century. When he was in his thirteenth year he moved to Kihaku-in, a branch temple of the Amida-ji of the Pure Land sect. It was here that he became acquainted with *haikai*. In 1756 he was appointed abbot of Kihaku-in. By that time he was already much in favour of the restoration of the *haikai* style of the Genroku period, a trend also referred to as the 'Bashō Revival Movement'. He became one of the most respected experts on Bashō's work. In 1766 or 1767 he resigned and retired to a hermitage in Okazaki.
Literature: Takagi Sōgo 高木蒼梧, *Haikai jinmei jiten* 俳諧人名辞典, Tokyo 1960, section Tenmei haidan 天明俳壇, 408.

Daiten Kenjō 大典顕常, Baisō, Shōchū, Ōmi, Shōunsei, Hokuzen, Chikujō, Baisō Kenjō, family name: Imabori
Years of birth and death: 1719-1801

Place of birth: Ibamura in the region of Kanzaki in the province of Ōmi
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist)
Activities: Buddhist studies, *kanshi*, calligraphy, *sencha*
Teachers: Uno Meika (1698-1745), Daichō Genkō (1676-1768)
Contacts: Itō Jakuchū, Rikunyo, Ike Taiga, Kimura Kenkadō, Katayama Hokkai and members of the Kontonsha, Kakutei Jōkō, Imei, Kan Tenju, Kō Fuyō, Minagawa Kien
Biographical sketch: Daiten was the son of a physician and specialist of Chinese studies. When he was in his eleventh year he entered the priesthood at the Jiun'an, a subtemple of the Sōkokuji (Rinzai Zen sect) in Kyoto. He also did Chinese studies with Uno Meika and Daichō Genkō. After Meika's death, Daiten and fellow pupil Katayama Hokkai took care of the publication of his posthumous manuscripts. In 1746 Daiten became abbot of the Jiun'an. He was discharged from his duties in 1759 and subsequently lived at various hermitages in the Kyoto suburbs. A contact of this period was the early *sencha* master Baisaō Kō Yūgai (1675-1763). On Baisaō's death, Daiten, Itō Jakuchū (Daiten's most intimate friend) and Ike Taiga collaborated on a commemorative edition of his works (*Baisaō gego*, 'The Baisaō Canticles', 1763). Daiten's interest in *sencha* is also apparent from his poetry and his *Chakei chōsetsu* ('A Detailed Explanation of the Classic of Tea', 1774). After Taiga's death in 1776 Daiten collaborated with Kan Tenju and Kō Fuyō on Taiga's memorial stone. In 1764 Daiten was present at a meeting with Korean diplomats in Osaka. In 1772 he returned to the Jiun'an and in 1779 became abbot of its head temple, the Sōkokuji. In 1785 an 1787 he travelled to Edo at the request of the Bakufu. The second time he was invited to take part in the drafting of an official request for the postponement of a Korean mission to Japan. After the great fire of 1788 Daiten hurried back to Kyoto to organize the rebuilding of his temple, but he remained official adviser to the Bakufu for matters concerning Korean diplomacy. He also worked on a financial reform plan for the Zen sects.
Literature: Daiten's father is in Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩也 & Nagasawa Kōjō 長沢孝三, *Kanbungakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, nr 593, but there is no further information; Fukushima Riko 福島理子 et al., *Edo kanshisen* 江戸漢詩選, Tokyo 1995-1996, vol. 5 sōmon 僧門, 325ff; M. L. Hickman & Yasuhiro Satō, eds, *The paintings of Jakuchū*, New York 1989; Hiroshi Onishi, ed., *On a riverboat journey. A handscroll by Ito Jakuchu with poems by Daiten*, New York 1989; Sōkokuji 相国寺, ed., *Daiten zenshi to Jakuchū* 大典禅師と若冲, Kyoto 2001; Kyoto National Museum 京都国立博物館, ed., *Jakuchū*! 若冲, Kyoto 2000; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, vol. 3, 36, 41; for *sencha*, see Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 79 and passim.

Eda Nagayasu: 江田世恭, Tomitaya Hachiroemon, Teifū, Randai
Years of birth and death: 1720-1795
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce

Activities: Japanese studies, Chinese studies, *waka*, music, *kōdō*, connoisseurship, collecting
Teachers: Jiun (1673-1753)
Contacts: Rai Shunsui, Irie Masayoshi
Biographical sketch: Nagayasu came from a wealthy merchant family. He was well-versed in both the Japanese and the Chinese classics and also studied *waka* with the priest Jiun. Nagayasu had been collecting books, paintings, calligraphy and *kibutsu* since childhood and his collection was famous. His connoisseurship of painting and calligraphy and his uncanny eye for forgeries were generally recognized. He played the *biwa* and in his later years he began to study the incense ceremony (*kōdō*) with a master of the Shino school. He published on various subjects. He remained single and despite his wealth led a frugal and retired life.
Literature: Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.

Ema Ransai: 江馬蘭斎, Genkyō, Shuntaku, original family name: Washimi
Years of birth and death: 1747-1838
Place of birth: the domain of Ōgaki in Mino province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine
Teachers: Maeno Ryōtaku
Contacts: circle of Maeno Ryōtaku
Biographical sketch: Ransai's father was a stone engraver. As a child Ransai was adopted into the Ema family, physicians to the domain, and in due course succeeded to the position. Attracted by what he had heard about the work of Sugita Genpaku and his circle, Ransai went to Edo in 1792 and, at the age of forty-five, became a pupil of Maeno Ryōtaku. Upon his return he began to practise in the Western style, but his patients distrusted the new ways of healing. Circumstances improved when in 1798 he cured the abbot of the Nishi Honganji in Kyoto. Ransai published several books on medicine. The painter and scholar Ema Saikō (1787-1861) was his eldest daughter. In 1814 Rai San'yō asked Ransai for Saikō's hand, but Ransai refused. Saikō never married but remained in close contact with the Rai family. As Ransai's own son had died young, he adopted the husband of his youngest daughter as his heir.
Literature: C. C. Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization in Japan during the 18th century*, Leiden 1940, 101, 114-115; for Ema Saikō, see Patricia Fister, *Japanese women artists 1600-1900*, Lawrence 1988, 100ff.

Emura Hokkai: 江村北海, Ju, Kunseki, Manzō, Denzaemon, original family name: Itō
Years of birth and death: 1713-1788
Place of birth: the domain of Akashi in Harima province
Status at birth: retained scholar
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (domanial)
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*

Teachers: Itō Ryūshū (father, 1683-1755), members of the Itō family
Contacts: Seida Tansō (brother), Minagawa Kien, Kimura Kenkadō, Katsu Shikin. As pupils: Kayama Tekien, Yunoki Taijun, Nagata Kanga
Biographical sketch: Hokkai was the second son of Itō Ryūshū, specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Fukui in Echizen province. Ryūshū's original family name was Seida but he had been adopted by Itō Tan'an (1623-1708), who had studied with a member of the Emura family. The Emura, a samurai family, were related to the Itō by marriage. The scholars Itō Kinri (1710-1772) and Seida Tansō were Hokkai's elder and younger brother. His mother came from a family of retainers to the domain of Akashi in Harima province. Hokkai was born in the house of his mother's elder brother in Akashi. He spent part of his early years with his mother's family. When he was about seventeen he joined the Itō in Kyoto. In 1734 he was adopted by the Emura, specialists of Chinese studies to the domain of Miyazu. In 1742 he became caretaker of the Kyoto residence of the domain. His duties frequently took him to Osaka. He resigned from this function in the late 1750s when his lord was transferred to the domain of Gujō in Mino province, but every year he went to Gujō for a month to give lectures. When he developed health problems, he submitted a request for dismissal which was granted in 1764 after much pleading. Hokkai organized poetry meetings in Kyoto on the thirteenth day of every month. He published widely on the subject of *kanshi*.
Literature: for additional biographical information, see Hokkai's preface to his *Jugyōhen* (授業編, 'On teaching') in *Nihon kyoiku bunko* 日本教育文庫, Tokyo 1891, vol. 3, 189-194.

Fujitani Mitsue: 富士谷御杖, Sen'uemon, Narinobu, Nariharu, Kitanobe
Years of birth and death: 1768-1823
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), Japanese studies, *waka*
Activities: Japanese studies, *waka*, music
Teachers: Fujitani Nariakira (father), Minagawa Kien (uncle), a member of the Hirohashi family (Kanetane), Hino Sukeki
Contacts: Minagawa Kōsai (cousin)
Biographical sketch: As a child Mitsue was educated by his father Fujitani Nariakira. When he was in his twelfth year his father died and four years later his mother. His uncle Minagawa Kien was mainly responsible for his further upbringing. Mitsue went to study *waka* with Hirohashi Kanetane in 1780 but Kanetane died the next year. In 1785 Mitsue became a pupil of Hino Sukeki, with whom he studied until he was about twenty-five. It is said that he was also a fine musician but details are lacking. In due course Mitsue was given his father's function of caretaker of the Kyoto residence of the Tachibana family of the Yanagawa domain in Chikugo province. He also taught *waka* to the three daughters of his lord. He was an important scholar in the field of historical linguistics and the study of ancient literature. He published widely on these subjects and had a large number of pupils. Around 1817 he left his official residence and moved to

another part of Kyoto. In 1820 he separated from his wife and the next year the Tachibana family broke with him "for reasons of misconduct". He fell ill in 1822. In these final years he was supported by his pupil Igarashi Atsuyoshi (1790-1860).
Literature: for Mitsue's dismissal in 1821, see Susan Burns, *Before the nation. Kokugaku and the imagining of community in early modern Japan*, Durham/ London 2003, 155-156.

Fujitani Nariakira: 富士谷成章, Shigeaya, Sen'uemon, Chūtatsu, Kenshō, Sōjō, Fushō, Kitanobe, original family name: Minagawa
Years of birth and death: 1738-1779
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), Japanese studies
Activities: *kanshi*, Japanese studies, *waka*, astronomy/calendrical sciences, music
Teachers: a member of the Arisugawa family (Arisugawa no miya Yorihito Shinnō, 1713-1774)
Contacts: Minagawa Kien (brother), Fujitani Mitsue (son), Ueda Akinari, Seida Tansō
Biographical sketch: Nariakira was the second son in a family of nine children. Some sources say his father was a physician in the service of the imperial court. Others say that he was an antiques dealer. Minagawa Kien was his elder brother. As he grew up he studied the Chinese classics but felt more drawn to Japanese studies, especially linguistics. He did *waka* with Arisugawa Yorihito. One of his earliest friends was Seida Tansō. Nariakira, Kien and Tansō avidly read Chinese and Japanese novels and composed Chinese and Japanese poetry. Together they produced a collection of *kanshi*. When Nariakira was in his nineteenth year he was adopted by the Fujitani, retainers of the Tachibana of the Yanagawa domain in Chikugo province with a stipend of 200 *koku*. Nariakira served the Tachibana as caretaker of their Kyoto residence and as specialist of Japanese studies until his early death. Nariakira's activities included astronomy and music, but we have no details.
Literature: for Akinari, see Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 12, 41; for the collection of *kanshi* called *Sansensei ichiya hyakuei* 三先生一夜百詠, see Takeoka Masao 竹岡正夫, ed., *Fujitani Nariakira zenshū* 富士谷成章全集, Tokyo 1961-1962.

Fushimatsu Kaka: 節松嫁嫁, Matsu, Kogetsu, original family name: Komiyama
Years of birth and death: 1745-1810
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: *kyōka*
Activities: *waka*, *kyōka*
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: see Akera Kankō (husband)
Biographical sketch: Kaka was of a family of retainers to the Bakufu and was therefore most likely born and raised in Edo. She was married to Akera Kankō. She probably got

involved in *kyōka* around 1783, but was also well-versed in *waka*. She assisted her husband as a teacher in the school they had founded together in Edo. She was of great importance for the direction of the school even before her husband's death in 1798, and managed to keep things together after Kankō had passed away. Although her work appears in collections like her husband's *Kokon bakashū* of 1785, she was not often present at meetings. In her later years she became blind and led a secluded life as the nun Kogetsu, but continued to teach even after she had taken the tonsure.

Gamō Kunpei: 蒲生君平, Hidesane, Isaburō, Kunzō, original family name: Fukuda
Years of birth and death: 1768-1813
Place of birth: Utsunomiya in Shimotsuke province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Japanese studies
Activities: Japanese studies, Chinese studies
Teachers: Suzuki Sekkyō (1754-1815), Suzuki Bujo (unidentified), Hayashi Jussai, possibly Yamamoto Hokuzan
Contacts: Ozawa Roan, Hayashi Shihei, Motoori Norinaga
Biographical sketch: Kunpei used the family name of Gamō, the name of an ancestor. He was the fourth son of an oil merchant. When he was in his fourteenth year he began Japanese studies with Suzuki Sekkyō, a scholar from Kanuma in his native province. He later studied with Suzuki Bujo from the domain of Kurobane in the same province. In 1785 he went to Mito and came under the influence of the Mito school. He made an inspection tour of Mutsu in the context of the perceived Russian threat and the necessity of coastal defence. At this occasion he visited Hayashi Shihei in Sendai. In 1796 and 1799 he made a survey of the imperial tombs, visiting Kyoto and the provinces of Settsu and Kawachi. In Kyoto he stayed with Ozawa Roan, with whom he was on excellent terms, and during one of the trips he visited Motoori Norinaga, an old friend of Roan. The results of the survey were published as *Sanryō shi* ('Record of the Imperial Tombs', 1808). In 1802 he was sent to Edo by the domain of Utsunomiya to study under Hayashi Jussai at the Shōheikō. He subsequently settled in Edo and became a friend of Takizawa Bakin. Apart from his achievements as a scholar, Kunpei is known as an advocate of the Sonnōjōi-doctrine.
Literature: Leon M. Zolbrod, *Takizawa Bakin*, New York 1967, 76-77; Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩也 & Nagasawa Kōjō 長沢孝三, *Kanbungakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, nr 1399 (here 1814 is given as the year of his death and Yamamoto Hokuzan is mentioned as one of his teachers).

Geppō: 月峰, Kikkan, Shinryō, Taigadō III, family name: Yamaoka.
Years of birth and death: 1760-1839
Place of birth: unknown
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist), painting
Activities: Buddhist studies, painting, *sencha*

Teachers: Ike Taiga
Contacts: Aoki Shukuya
Biographical sketch: Not much is known about Geppō. He may have been of samurai descent. He became a priest of the Tendai sect and lived at the Chōki'an, a hermitage belonging to the Sōrinji in Kyoto. From a young age he had studied with Ike Taiga and was an expert on the master's work. He succeeded his fellow pupil Aoki Shukuya as Taigadō III. It should be mentioned that the memorial hall dedicated to Ike Taiga (the Taigadō) stood in the precincts of the Sōrinji. Geppō's eldest son in due course became Taigadō IV. His second son (some sources say his grandson) became Taigadō V.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 74, 78; for *sencha*, see Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 76-77.

Gessen: 月僊, Genzui, Gyokusei, Jakushō shujin, Jōrensha, Shōyo, Raitaku, Hakuun, family name: Tannoya
Years of birth and death: 1741-1809
Place of birth: Nagoya in Owari province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist), painting
Activities: Buddhist studies, painting
Teachers: Sakurai Sekkan (1715-1790), Maruyama Ōkyo
Contacts: Shinnin Shinnō, Aōdō Denzen, Masuyama Sessai, Haruki Nanko
Biographical sketch: Gessen was the son of a miso merchant. At the age of seven he entered the priesthood (Pure Land sect) at the Enrinji in Kyoto. In 1758 he went to Edo where he lived at the Zōjōji and studied painting with Sakurai Sekkan. In 1764 he returned to Kyoto to study at the head temple of his sect, the Chion'in. During that period he also was a pupil of Maruyama Ōkyo. He became abbot of the Jakushōji in Yamada in Ise province in 1774. Aōdō Denzen visited this temple (probably in 1785) and became a dear friend. Gessen introduced him to the local daimyo Masuyama Sessai and to Haruki Nanko. Gessen sold his paintings at a good price. In his final years he donated large sums to the local authorities for the needs of the poor and improvement of the local infrastructure. He also gave a considerable amount of money to his temple.
Literature: for Shinnin, see Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 216-217; Stephan Graf von der Schulenburg, *Aōdō Denzen*, 16ff.

Hanawa Hokiichi: 塙保己一, Tamonbō, Sen'ya, Toranosuke, Tatsunosuke, Onkodō, Hayatomo no Mekari, original family name: Ogino
Years of birth and death: 1746-1821
Place of birth: Hokinomura in the region of Kodama in Musashi province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Japanese studies
Activities: Japanese studies, Shinto studies, *waka*, *kyōka*

Teachers: Ametomi Sugaichi (dates unknown), Hagiwara Sōko (1703-1784), Kawashima Takashige (unidentified), Yamaoka Matsuakira (d.1780), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769), Hino Sukeki, Kan'in no Miya Sukehito Shinnō (1733-1794), Toyama Mitsuzane (1756-1821)
Contacts: Ōta Nanpo, Motoori Norinaga. As pupil: Yashiro Hirokata
Biographical sketch: Hokiichi was the eldest son of a farmer. He became blind when he was in his seventh year. When he was fourteen he went to Edo to learn music and acupuncture at the school of Ametomi Sugaichi. Sugaichi, also blind, held the rank of *kengyō*, the highest rank but one in the ranking of the *mōkan*, a semi-official corporation for blind professionals. Hokiichi was given the chance to study and did *waka* with Hagiwara Sōko, Shinto (and probably Chinese studies) with Kawashima Takashige, and Japanese studies with Yamaoka Matsuakira. When he was in his twentieth year he became a pupil of Kamo no Mabuchi. In 1775 he was given the rank of *kōtō*, third in the *mōkan* hierarchy. In 1779 Hokiichi began his *magnum opus Gunsho ruijū* ('A Classification of a Multitude of Texts'), a collection of historical and literary material. He was assisted by his former pupil Yashiro Hirokata. The project was completed in 1819 and its sequel *Zoku gunsho ruijū* in 1822. In 1782 Hokiichi got married and fathered a daughter. He divorced his wife in 1785. His second wife and his daughter were of great help to him, also in his scholarly work. In 1783 Hokiichi was given the rank of *kengyō* and embarked on advanced *waka* studies with Hino Sukeki, Kan'in no Miya Sukehito Shinnō and Toyama Mitsuzane. From 1789 he was involved in the revision of the *Dainihonshi* ('The history of Great Japan'), the interminable historiographical project of the domain of Mito. The domain awarded him rations for ten. In 1791 he became general manager (*mōjin zachū torishimari*) of the *mōkan*. In 1793 he took the initiative for the establishment of the Wagaku Kōdansho (Bureau for Japanese Studies). Here he continued his work of editing and publishing material for the study of Japanese literature and history. In 1821 he was appointed in the highest rank in the *mōkan*, that of *sōkengyō*, but a few months later he had to resign because of illness. He died shortly afterwards.
Literature: for Nanpo and Norinaga, information on the *mōkan*, and further biographical information, see Sekiko Matsuzaki-Petitmengin, 'Pourquoi Hanawa Hokiichi (1746-1821) a-t-il composé la collection Gunsho Ruijū', in: Jacqueline Pigeot & Hartmut Rotermund, eds, *La vase de béryl. Études sur le Japon et la Chine en hommage à Bernard Frank*, Arles 1997, 395-404.

Haruki Nanko: 春木南湖, Kon, Shigyo, Mon'ya,Yūsekitei, Enka Chōsō, Donbokuō
Years of birth and death: 1759-1839
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting, *kanshi*, *haikai*, *kyōka*
Teachers: unknown

Contacts: Kimura Kenkadō, Masuyama Sessai, Gessen, Aōdō Denzen, Uragami Gyokudō, Totoki Baigai, Shiba Kōkan
Biographical sketch: Nanko was born in Edo but not much else is known about his early life. He may have studied painting with a Chinese master. Nanko became a painter of landscapes and birds and flowers. He was also known for his *kanshi*, *haikai* and *kyōka*. Nanko was in the service of Masuyama Sessai, the daimyo of the domain of Nagashima in Ise province. Totoki Baigai was his colleague at the domain. Sessai was a benefactor of Kimura Kenkadō, with whom Nanko was also acquainted. Sessai provided Nanko with funds to travel to Nagasaki in 1788. On his way Nanko visited Kenkadō and Uragami Gyokudō. By chance Nanko in Kannabe met Shiba Kōkan, also going to Nagasaki, and they travelled on together.
Literature: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち, Tokyo 1998; for Gyokudō, see *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴．秋琴，浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1788; *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂．なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1788, 1790; for journey to Nagasaki and Shiba Kōkan, see *nenpu* in: Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄, *Shiba Kōkan, shōgai to gagyō* 司馬江漢, 生涯と画業, Tokyo 1995, s.v. 1788.

Hattori Rissai: 服部栗斎, Yūho, Yoshikura, Kihō
Years of birth and death: 1736-1800
Place of birth: Hamamura in Settsu province
Status at birth: retained scholar
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies
Teachers: Goi Ranshū (1697-1762)
Contacts: Okada Kansen. As pupil: Rai Kyōhei
Biographical sketch: Rissai was the fourth son of a specialist of Chinese studies in the service of the domain of Iino in Kazusa province. Since the time of his grandfather Rissai's family had the responsibility for parts of the domain that were in Settsu province. Rissai began his studies with his father. When he was about thirteen he went to Osaka, where he studied with Goi Ranshū and became acquainted with the Nakai brothers, Chikuzan and Riken. In due course he became his father's teaching assistant, serving at the domain's Edo residence. In Edo he met the scholar Suguri Gyokusui (1729-1776). Gyokusui became his friend and protector and when he died Rissai became his successor, inheriting Gyokusui's private academy and his collection of books. In 1783, when Rai Shunsui was on duty in Edo, his younger brother Kyōhei (then in his twenty-eighth year) joined him there to study with Rissai. At the beginning of the Kansei period Rissai received a piece of land in Edo from Matsudaira Sadanobu where he established a successful academy.
Literature: for fragmentation of domains, see H. Bolitho, *Treasures among men, the Fudai daimyo in Tokugawa Japan*, New Haven/London 1974, 52ff; for Okada Kansen,

see Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan', 319 (Kansen was a pupil of Suguri Gyokusui).

Hayashi Jussai: 林述斎, Norihira, Taira, Tokusen, Buin, Buken, original family name: Matsudaira
Years of birth and death: 1768-1841
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (Bakufu)
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, music, gardening
Teachers: Ōshio Gōsho (1717-1785), Hattori Chūzan (dates unknown), Shibui Taishitsu (1720-1788)
Contacts: Matsura Seizan, Koga Seiri, Shibano Ritsuzan, Bitō Nishū, Okada Kansen. As pupils: Takemoto Hokurin, Ichikawa Beian, Gamō Kunpei
Biographical sketch: Jussai was the third son of the daimyo of the domain of Iwamura in Mino province. He studied with Ōshio Gōsho (a pupil of Dazai Shundai), Hattori Chūzan and Shibui Taishitsu (a former pupil of the Shōheikō). When the head of the Shōheikō, Hayashi Nobutaka, died without heir in 1793, Jussai was adopted into the Hayashi family on the orders of the Bakufu and succeeded him. At that time the reorganization of the school as the shogunate's official academy was in full swing. The site, until then in the custody of the Hayashi, was taken over by the Bakufu. The temple of Confucius was rebuilt, a dormitory added, additional teachers engaged and an administrative staff set up. The Hayashi family were given the rank of junior *koshōban-gashira* and their income was settled at 4000 *koku*. The Hayashi family residence was moved to a vast plot in Yaesu. Jussai was also lecturer to the shogun and took care of official publications. The best known of these is the *Tokugawa Jikki* ('True Chronicle of the Tokugawa') which was carried out by a team of historians under his direction. It was begun in 1809 and only completed in 1849. Jussai was head of the Shōheikō for forty-five years. He had an interest in landscape gardening and was fond of music. He liked to form ensembles and play with his friends and children.
Literature: Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu'; *idem*, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy'; *idem*, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'.

Hayashi Nobutaka: 林信敬, Shigyō, Daikichi, Kinpō, Junsai, original family name: Tomita
Years of birth and death: 1767-1793
Place of birth: unknown
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (Bakufu)
Activities: Chinese studies
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Okada Kansen, Shibano Ritsuzan, Bitō Nishū, Matsudaira Sadanobu

Biographical sketch: Nobutaka was the second son in a wealthy samurai family. He was formally adopted by Hayashi Nobuaki or Hōtan, the sixth generation head of the Shōheikō academy, who died in 1787 in his twelfth year. Nobutaka succeeded him as official specialist of Chinese studies to the Bakufu and seventh generation head of the school. He received junior fifth rank lower. Nobutaka was more or less forced to comply with the reorganization of the Shōheikō in the context of the Kansei Reforms. Not unjustly, he saw the reform process as an interference and his attitude showed his reluctance and incomprehension. Relationships with the reform's initiator Matsudaira Sadanobu and with teachers Shibano Ritsuzan and Okada Kansen were not smooth.
Literature: Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu'; *idem*, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy'; *idem*, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'.

Hayashi Shihei: 林子平, Tomonao, Rokumusai, original family name: Okamura
Years of birth and death: 1738-1793
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: Western studies
Activities: Western studies, military studies, political/economic studies, ethnography
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Kudō Heisuke, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Udagawa Genzui, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Morishima Chūryō, Takayama Hikokurō
Biographical sketch: Shihei was the second son of a samurai. When he was in his third year his father was found guilty of murder, and Shihei and his elder brother and sister were adopted by an uncle with the family name of Hayashi. In 1756 Shihei's sister became concubine of Date Munemura, daimyo of the domain of Sendai in Rikuzen province, and his brother was taken into the service of the Date family. Munemura died soon afterwards, but Shihei's brother remained with the Date and in 1757 Shihei joined him in Sendai. Shihei was not taken into service and was free to travel and study. He went to Edo in 1767 and through Kudō Heisuke, physician to the domain of Sendai on duty in Edo, he came into contact with Ōtsuki Gentaku, Udagawa Genzui and Katsuragawa Hoshū. Shihei visited Edo regularly and made three trips to Nagasaki (1775, 1777 and 1782) where he studied maps and books on geography and tried to find information about conditions oversees. He went to Ezo in 1772. Shihei was interested in statecraft, economics and military studies. His best known work, *Kaikoku heidan* ('Discussion of Military Matters concerning a Maritime Nation') deals with the necessity of coastal defence. It was completed in 1786 and published in 1791 (with a preface by Kudō Heisuke). By the end of that year Shihei was summoned by the Bakufu. The next year he was put under house arrest and the printing blocks and copies of his book were destroyed. He died of an illness while still under house arrest.
Literature: see Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 41, 77, 88, 95-96; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, Hiroshima 1999, 72; for ethnographical activities and the Katsuragawa family, see Margarita Winkel,

Discovering different dimensions. Explorations of culture and history in early modern Japan, Leiden 2004, 235-250, 275-276, 284-285.

Hezutsu Tōsaku: 平秩東作, Tatematsu Tōmō, Yasuyuki, Shigyoku, Inageya Kin'uemon, Hirabaraya Tōsaku, Tōkyū, Kasui, Ikubuku Tokushin, original family name: Tatematsu
Years of birth and death: 1726-1789
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, popular fiction
Activities: *kyōka*, popular fiction, ethnography
Teachers: Uchiyama Chinken
Contacts: Hiraga Gennai, Ōta Nanpo, Karagoromo Kisshū, Akera Kankō, Satake Yoshiatsu
Biographical sketch: Tōsaku's father was born in the village of Hirashima in Owari province. He had come to Edo where he took over a horse-hiring business. Tōsaku lost his father when he was in his tenth year. By the time he was fourteen he was conducting a tobacco shop and had begun Japanese and Chinese studies. As a pupil of Uchiyama Chinken he was active in Edo's *kyōka* circles. Tōsaku met the youthful Ōta Nanpo (a fellow pupil at Chinken's academy) around 1764 and they remained friends until Tōsaku's death. Around the same time Tōsaku met Hiraga Gennai and under his influence began to write fiction. He published several books in the *sharebon* and *kokkeibon* genres. In 1769 Nanpo and Tōsaku attended the first *kyōka* gathering organized by Karagoromo Kisshū. A few years later Akera Kankō joined the group. Tōsaku was on good terms with the *rōjū* Tanuma Okitsugu and in 1783/84 made a tour of Ezo, probably on the request of the Tanuma administration, although it was not an official mission. The aim of the journey is unknown, but it resulted in a detailed report of his travels, which survives as a manuscript. The year 1786 saw Okitsugu's downfall and Tōsaku was implicated in the flight of one of Okitsugu's subordinates. He came off with a severe reprimand. He then severed his ties with the world of fiction and *kyōka*. Tōsaku was also involved in various somewhat dubious business enterprises. He embarked on some charcoal venture in the Amagi mountains in 1773 but suffered enormous financial losses as a result. Undaunted, he began a lumber wholesale business in the town of Aioi in 1775, but in due course this also failed.
Literature: for report of the journey to Ezo (Tōyūki, 東遊記, 'Record of a journey to the East'), see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 250-267.

Hino Sukeki: 日野資枝, original family name: Karasumaru
Years of birth and death: 1737-1801
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: *kuge*
Source(s) of income: administration (court), *waka*
Activities: *waka*, Japanese studies

Teachers: members of the Karasumaru family, Reizei Tamemura (1712-1774), a member of the Arisugawa family (Arisugawa no miya Yorihito Shinnō, 1713-1774), members of the imperial family
Contacts: as pupils: Fujitani Mitsue, Hanawa Hokiichi
Biographical sketch: Sukeki was the youngest son of the *kuge* and poet Karasumaru Mitsuhide (1689-1748). When he was in his sixth year he was adopted as successor to the *gondainagon* (deputy major councillor) Hino Suketoki (1690-1742). He went through successive promotions, in the end becoming *gondainagon* with junior first rank. His real father was a descendant of the *waka* poet Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579-1630) and the family were guardians of Mitsuhiro's style. Sukeki was involved in *waka* throughout his life. He studied *waka* with Reizei Tamemura, with Arisugawa Yorihito and with members of his own family, the Karasumaru. Yorihito was also the teacher of Fujitani Nariakira, and Sukeki himself became the teacher of Nariakira's son Mitsue. Another of Sukeki's pupils was the blind scholar Hanawa Hokiichi. Sukeki was also initiated into the court traditions of the study of early Japanese literature. In 1798 for instance, the retired emperor Gosakuramachi (1740-1813, r. 1762-1771) was his instructor for *Ise Monogatari*. After the death of Reizei Tamemura he became a central figure in court poetry circles.

Hiraga Gennai: 平賀源内, Furai Sanjin, original family name: Shiraishi
Years of birth and death: 1727-1780
Place of birth: Shino in Sanuki province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: Western studies, popular fiction, painting
Activities: Western studies, botany, painting, popular fiction
Teachers: Toda Kyokuzan (1696-1769), Tamura Ransui (1718-1776), Miura Heizan (d.1795), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769)
Contacts: Nakagawa Jun'an, Sugita Genpaku, Ōta Nanpo, Tegara no Okamochi, Hezutsu Tōsaku, Shiba Kōkan, Sō Shiseki. As pupils: Morishima Chūryō, Odano Naotake, Satake Yoshiatsu
Biographical sketch: Gennai was the son of a *kuraban* of the domain of Takamatsu in his native province. He took the name of an ancestor, Hiraga, when he inherited the family headship in 1749. He first studied with local teachers, and in 1752 accompanied one of them to Nagasaki, where he was introduced to Western science. In 1754 Gennai was granted a request to be dismissed from his duties as *kuraban*. In 1756 he went to Osaka to study botany with Toda Kyokuzan and later to Edo to become a pupil of Tamura Ransui. Together they organized seminars on *materia medica* and botany; there were five such conferences between 1757 and 1762. In 1763 Gennai published *Butsurui hinshitsu* ('A Classification of Various Samples'), with illustrations by Sō Shiseki. He also did Chinese studies, probably with Miura Heizan, and Japanese studies with Kamo no Mabuchi. Nakagawa Jun'an, a fellow pupil at Ransui's academy, introduced Gennai to Sugita Genpaku, who became a good friend. Jun'an cooperated with Gennai in his research on asbestos and they produced a non-inflammable cloth in 1764. In 1754

Gennai handed over the family headship to his brother-in-law. He became a ronin in 1761. He had the support of the *rōjū* Tanuma Okitsugu, who in 1770 gave him the opportunity to visit Nagasaki again. Gennai experimented with Western technology and production methods and with Western painting. He published several novels and *jōruri* plays and also produced two guidebooks to establishments for male prostitution in Edo. He was himself a regular patron of male brothels. Gennai was acquainted with Ōta Nanpo and members of Nanpo's circle. One of these, Tegara no Okamochi, was caretaker of the Edo mansion of the Satake family of the domain of Akita. This contact may have resulted in Gennai being invited by the Akita daimyo Satake Yoshiatsu to investigate the mining industry of the domain in 1773. Here he met the painter Odano Naotake and introduced both Naotake and Yoshiatsu to Western-style painting. Much of what Gennai undertook was regarded with scepticism and he never received the recognition he hoped for. In 1779 he killed a man; some sources say it was an accident, others say it was done in a fit of rage. Not long afterwards Gennai died in prison.
Literature: Keene, *World within wall*, 396-397 and passim; Grant K. Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*, London 1986, 191ff; Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 45, 47, 62, 72; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘冶, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 271-272; for Shiba Kōkan, see *nenpu* in: Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄, *Shiba Kōkan, shōgai to gagyō* 司馬江漢, 生涯と画業, s.vv. 1773, 1776, 1779; for Gennai's homosexuality, see Gary P. Leupp, *Male colours, the construction of homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan*, Berkeley/London 1995, 71, 75, 86 and passim.

Hirasawa Kyokuzan: 平沢旭山, Gosuke, Motoyasu, Teikō, Uji sanjin, Uji sanshō
Years of birth and death: 1733-1793
Place of birth: Uji in Yamashiro province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine, Chinese studies
Activities: medicine, Chinese studies, *kanshi*, Buddhist studies
Teachers: Kada no Arimaro (1706-1751), Ryū Sōrō (1714-1792), teachers of the Shōheikō, Katayama Hokkai
Contacts: Seki Shōsō, Sawada Tōkō, Katsu Shikin, Sasaki Roan and other members of the Kontonsha
Biographical sketch: Kyokuzan was born into a family of tea manufacturers. In his early years he did Japanese studies with Kada no Arimaro, most likely in Edo. He then went to Kyoto where he did Chinese studies with Ryū Sōrō, a pupil of Uno Meika, and also studied medicine. He may have met Sasaki Roan (also a pupil of Sōrō) during this period. He subsequently started a medical practice in Osaka. He probably became a member of Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha around this time, though some sources say he joined the club only around 1780. Kyokuzan also had an extensive knowledge in the field of Buddhist studies. He travelled to Edo in 1768 to study at the Shōheikō. Before long he was offered a teaching position. He was appointed *inchō* ('rector', 'director') in 1779. However, he seems to have been an extremely short-tempered man, which may account for the fact that he left the school for a number of years. He also had his own

private academy. In 1774 he travelled to Nagasaki on the recommendation of the Shōheikō principal. His contacts with native Chinese improved his *kanshi* skills and he was introduced to Western learning. In 1778 he visited Matsumae where he was cordially received by the local daimyo. He was dismissed from his Shōheikō function in 1790.
Literature: Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 158; contacts with Seki Shōsō and Sawada Tōkō are to be found in Kyokuzan's diary *Hirasawa Kyokuzan Nichiroku* (*non vidi*), which covers the year An'ei 10/Tenmei 1 (1781) from New Year's Day until almost the end of the tenth month. It also contains information on his reading, literary meetings and life at the Shōheikō; Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 122 note 36.

Hosoai Hansai: 細合半斎, Masaaki, Akira, Hachirōemon, Tonan, Taiitsu shinjin
Years of birth and death: 1727-1803
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, calligraphy
Activities: Chinese studies, calligraphy, seal carving, *kanshi*
Teachers: Kan Kankoku (1691-1764), possibly Chō Tōsai
Contacts: Ueda Akinari, Rai Shunsui, Kimura Kenkadō, Katō Umaki, Katayama Hokkai, Katsu Shikin, other members of the Kontonsha, Kō Fuyō, Ike Taiga, Uragami Gyokudō. As pupil: Kuwayama Gyokushū
Biographical sketch: Hansai may have been born in Kyoto, but sources also mention Ejima in Ise province. He went to Osaka when he was in his fifteenth year and took up Chinese studies with Kan Kankoku when he was about twenty. He later also became a member of Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha. He acquired great skill as a calligrapher in the Chinese style and in the style of the monk Shōkadō Shōjō (1584-1659). He was acquainted with Chō Tōsai and may have studied with him. Hansai opened a private academy where he taught Chinese studies and calligraphy. He published widely on both subjects. Hansai's son Chōan also showed great promise as a scholar and *kanshi* poet, but died in 1780 at the age of seventeen. In 1786 Hansai became official teacher of Chinese studies of the Senjuji (the head temple of the Takada branch of the Pure Land sect, a *monzekidera* since 1574). He then took the tonsure and moved to Kyoto. He had an extensive circle of friends both in Kyoto and in Osaka.
Literature: Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 3, 43 note 23; Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 116, 136; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂．なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1756, 1779, 1793; Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.; for Gyokudō, see Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin, Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴．秋琴，浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1793.

Ichikawa Beian: 市河米庵, Mitsui, Rakusai, Kōyō, Kozaemon, Ekiten, Kindō sanjin, Shōzan rindō
Years of birth and death: 1779-1858

Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: ronin
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, calligraphy
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, calligraphy, collecting
Teachers: Ichikawa Kansai (father), Hayashi Jussai, Shibano Ritsuzan
Contacts: see teachers
Biographical sketch: Beian was first educated by his father Ichikawa Kansai. Later he did Chinese studies with Hayashi Jussai and Shibano Ritsuzan. From an early age he showed promise as a calligrapher. He opened his own calligraphy academy in 1799 when he was in his twentieth year. In 1804 he travelled to Nagasaki where he met the Chinese physician and calligrapher Hu Chaoxin (unidentified). This meeting was of great benefit to Beian's development as a calligrapher. On his way home Beian visited Minagawa Kien and Rai Shunsui. Shunsui's son San'yō (1781-1832) became one of his best friends. In 1811 Beian inherited his father's position of principal of the academy of the Maeda family of the domain of Toyama in Etchū province. In 1821 he was engaged by the domain of Kanazawa in the province of Kaga (the main branch of the Maeda family) where he received a stipend of 350 *koku*. He resigned in 1850. Beian is known as one of the three great Chinese style calligraphers of the Bakumatsu period, the others being Maki Ryōko and Nukina Kaioku (1778-1863). He had a large collection of paintings, calligraphy, rubbings and calligraphy utensils. Beian's younger brother (1782-1852) was adopted by Kaburagi Baikei (1750-1803), a painter in the Shen Nanpin-style from Nagasaki, and studied with Tani Bunchō. He became known under the name of Kaburagi Untan.
Literature: for Kien, see Yoshiaki Shimizu & John M. Rosenfield, *Masters of Japanese calligraphy, 8th-19th century*, New York 1984, 299; Shimonaka Kunihiko 下中邦彦, ed., *Shodō zenshū* 書道全集, vol. 23, Tokyo 1958, 12-19, 196; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 52.

Ichikawa Kansai: 市河寛斎, Hankō, Yamase Shinpei, Kozaemon, Kōkoshiō
Years of birth and death: 1749-1820
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, calligraphy
Teachers: Kawachi Chikushū (unidentified), Seki Shōsō, Ōuchi Yūji (1697-1776), teachers of the Shōheikō
Contacts: Ichikawa Beian (son), Kikuchi Gozan, Tani Bunchō. As pupils: Kashiwagi Jotei, Kojima Baigai, Ōkubo Shibutsu
Biographical sketch: Kansai was probably born in Edo, although some sources mention Nitta in the region of Kanra in Kōzuke province. His father was a retainer of the Akimoto family of the domain of Kawagoe. Kansai began his service with the Akimoto in 1767. He did Chinese studies with a certain Kawachi Chikushū, with Seki Shōsō (who was in the service of the domain of Kawagoe from 1767 until 1769) and

with Ōuchi Yūji. In 1775, when his lord was transferred to another domain, Kansai became a ronin. He went to live in Shimonida and got married there, but the next year separated from his wife and went to Edo. He became a student at the Shōheikō, where his former teacher Seki Shōsō was working at the time. In 1778 Kansai remarried and the next year his son Beian was born. In 1783 Kansai became a teacher at the Shōheikō. At the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu he resigned from his position. Around this time he founded a *kanshi* society, the Kōkoshisha or 'Rivers and Lakes Poetry Club'. Many important poets of a later generation were his pupils. In 1788 Kansai went to work at the regional academy at Ageo in Musashi province and in 1791 he became principal of the academy of the Maeda family, daimyo of the domain of Toyama in Etchū province. From then on the Kōkoshisha slowly fell into decline even though Kansai regularly returned to Edo and never responded to orders from the domain to settle in Toyama. Kansai resigned in 1811. In 1813 he went to Nagasaki where he remained for almost a year.
Literature: *nenpu* in: Ibi Takashi 揖斐高, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 5 (Ichikawa Kansai and Ōkubo Shibutsu), Tokyo 1990; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘冶, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 40-41.

Iioka Gisai: 飯岡義斎, Takayoshi, Tokuan, Tannei.
Years of birth and death: 1717-1789
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies
Teachers: Suzuki Teisai (d. 1740)
Contacts: Bitō Nishū (son-in-law), Rai Shunsui (son-in-law), Rai Baishi (daughter), Nakai Chikuzan
Biographical sketch: Gisai was born into a family of physicians. He lost both parents when he was in his early teens, but somehow managed to continue his education. He decided to specialize in Chinese studies, while a younger brother took over the medical practice. He was past twenty when he became a pupil of the Osaka scholar Suzuki Teisai. Teisai introduced him to the teachings of Ishida Baigan (1685-1744) and after Teisai's death Gisai embarked on a profound study of the Shingaku doctrine. He also opened his own academy. Later he turned away from Shingaku and became a specialist of Song Confucianism. Gisai had two daughters. One of them married Rai Shunsui, through the matchmaking activities of their mutual friend Nakai Chikuzan. The other married Bitō Nisshū.
Literature: Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v. (gives 1716 as Gisai's year of birth).

Ike Gyokuran: 池玉蘭, Tokuyama Gyokuran, Machi
Years of birth and death: 1727 or 1728-1784
Place of birth: Kyoto

Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: see Ike Taiga (husband), calligraphy, painting
Activities: painting, calligraphy, *waka*, music
Teachers: probably Yanagisawa Kien (1706-1758), Yuri (mother, 1694-1764), Reizei Tamemura (1712-1774)
Contacts: Ike Taiga (husband), Kō Raikin
Biographical sketch: Gyokuran was the illegitimate daughter of the *waka* poet and teahouse owner Yuri and a samurai named Tokuyama. Gyokuran's grandmother Kaji had also been a well-known *waka* poet. Gyokuran studied *waka* with her mother and as a little girl probably studied painting with Yanagisawa Kien. She married Ike Taiga in the early 1750s. They were a perfect match but the marriage remained childless. Gyokuran helped Taiga with his *waka* and together they took *waka* lessons with Reizei Tamemura, who had also taught Gyokuran's mother Yuri. Several of Gyokuran's poems were published. Taiga in his turn helped his wife to improve her painting skills. Gyokuran was acquainted with Kō Raikin, the wife of Taiga's friend Kō Fuyō, and she knew many of her husband's friends and pupils. In 1771 she travelled to Wakayama to visit Taiga's pupil Noro Kaiseki. Taiga left his wife a number of paintings she could sell in order to have something to live on after his death. She also taught calligraphy to girls at a *terakoya*.
Literature: Fister, *Japanese women artists 1600-1900*, 74ff, 86ff; Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, passim; Taiga and Gyokuran can be found in Ban Kōkei's *Kinsei kijinden*, see Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, ed., *Kinsei kijinden*, *Zoku kinsei kijinden* 近世奇人伝. 続近世奇人伝, 153ff (the illustration on page 157 shows Gyokuran playing the *koto* and Taiga the *biwa*).

Ike Taiga: 池大雅, Matajirō, Tsutomu, Makoto, Kōbin, Taisei, Akihira, Arina, Mumei, Sangaku Dōja, Kyūka sanshō, Kashō, Taigadō
Years of birth and death: 1723-1776
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: painting, seal carving, calligraphy
Activities: painting, *waka*, *kanshi*, calligraphy, seal carving, botany, music
Teachers: Reizei Tamemura (1712-1774)
Contacts: Ike Gyokuran (wife), Kō Fuyō, Kō Raikin, Kan Tenju, Yosa Buson, Daiten, Itō Jakuchū, Ogino Gengai, Kayama Tekien, Minagawa Kien, Totoki Baigai, Kakutei Jōkō, Nagata Kanga, Rikunyo, Azuma Tōyō, Hosoai Hansai and other members of the Kontonsha. As pupils: Aoki Shukuya, Geppō, Kimura Kenkadō, Noro Kaiseki, Kuwayama Gyokushū, possibly Suzuki Fuyō
Biographical sketch: Taiga's father was a low-ranking employee of the Kyoto silver mint. He died when Taiga was three. In 1737 the boy began a fan shop and soon also accepted seal carving commissions. In 1738 he met Yanagisawa Kien (1706-1757) who became his mentor and benefactor. In the early 1740s Taiga met Kan Tenju and Kō Fuyō, who became lifelong friends. In 1760 the three went on a hiking trip to climb

Hakusan, Tateyama and Mount Fuji. They called themselves the Wayfarers of the Three Peaks: Sangaku Dōsha. Their diary, the *Sangaku kikō*, still exists. In 1748 Taiga became the painting teacher of the young Kimura Kenkadō who became an important patron. In this same year he made a trip to Nikkō and Matsushima returning by way of Edo. In 1750 he visited Gion Nankai (1677-1751) in Kii province. In the early 1750s Taiga married Tokuyama Gyokuran. The marriage was childless but very happy. The couple took *waka* lessons with Reizei Tamemura. In 1763 Taiga contributed to *Baisaō gego* ('The Baisaō Canticles') a commemorative edition of the works of the early *sencha* master, Baisaō Kō Yūgai (1675-1763) with whom Taiga had been acquainted. The book was produced in cooperation with Daiten and Itō Jakuchū. The last years of his life Taiga was prosperous and famous. He had many pupils and visitors and was extremely prolific. In 1771 he collaborated with Yosa Buson to produce the album *Jūben jūgi* ('Ten Conveniences and Ten Pleasures'). In 1772 his friends and pupils gave a party to celebrate his fiftieth birthday. Taiga's last dated works are from 1773.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 187 note 8, 81, 116, 136, 176 note 44; for Kien, see Takahashi Hiromi 高橋博巳, *Kyōto geien no nettowâku* 京都芸苑のネットワーク, 61-62; Taiga and Gyokuran can be found in Ban Kōkei's *Kinsei kijinden*, see Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, ed., *Kinsei kijinden*, *Zoku kinsei kijinden* 近世奇人伝. 続近世奇人伝, 153ff (the illustration on page 157 shows Gyokuran playing the *koto* and Taiga the *biwa*); *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1; for Rikunyo, see Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, vol. 3, 81.

Imei: 維明, Shūkei, Uzan, Taikei
Years of birth and death: 1730-1808
Place of birth: unknown
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist)
Activities: Buddhist studies, painting
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Rikunyo, Ban Kōkei, Daiten
Biographical sketch: Imei lived at the Sōkokuji in Kyoto, the temple where Daiten became abbot in 1779. He was active as a painter and was especially good at painting plum blossom and farmyard birds. He was a personal friend of Rikunyo.
Literature: for Rikunyo, see Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4, 243-244; for Ban Kōkei, see Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 46.

Inamura Sanpaku: 稲村三伯, Unagami Zuiō, Sen, Ryūnosuke, Shirohane, Genkondō, Shiraga shosei, original family name: Matsui
Years of birth and death: 1758-1811
Place of birth: Tottori in Inaba province

Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine, Western studies
Activities: medicine, Western studies
Teachers: Kamei Nanmei (1743-1814), Ōtsuki Gentaku
Contacts: Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai, Katsuragawa Hoshū
Biographical sketch: Sanpaku was the third son of a town physician. He began his medical studies with the official physician to the domain of Tottori, Inamura Sankyō, who adopted him as his heir. In 1776 he went to Fukuoka to study with Kamei Nanmei. He then went to Nagasaki where he came into contact with Western science. In 1781 Sanpaku took over the family headship. In 1783 he was in Kyoto for study. He became convinced of the value of Western studies after reading Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku Kaitei* ('An introduction to Western Studies', 1788). He went to Edo to study with Gentaku in 1792. Sanpaku was compiler of the *Haruma Wage* (1796), a dictionary based on the *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen* by François Halma (1708). The dictionary contains over 80,000 entries. Only 30 copies were made but it was nonetheless of great influence. It is generally known as the *Edo Haruma* to distinguish it from the later *Nagasaki Haruma* (1833) edited by Hendrik Doeff (1777-1835). To compile his dictionary Sanpaku received help from, amongst others, Udagawa Genzui and Katsuragawa Hoshū. Sanpaku resigned in 1802. He left his domain, went to live in the region of Unagami in Shimōsa province and changed his name to Unagami Zuiō. In 1805 he moved to Kyoto and opened an academy for Western studies there.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization,* 96, 108; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 179.

Inoue Kinga: 井上金峨, Junkei, Bunpei, Kōhan'ō, Ryūtō kanjin, Kinga dōjin (the family names of Mori and Suchi are also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1732-1784
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (temple)
Activities: Chinese studies, painting, *kanshi*, calligraphy
Teachers: Kawaguchi Yūhō (dates unknown), Inoue Randai (1705-1761)
Contacts: Nakayama Kōyō, Rikunyo, Uragami Gyokudō, Yamamoto Hokuzan. As pupils: Kameda Bōsai, Taki Renpu, Katakura Kakuryō, Okada Kansen, Yoshida Kōton
Biographical sketch: Kinga's father and grandfather had been physicians to the daimyo of Kasama in Hitachi province. The family was rather well to do. Kinga first became a pupil of Kawaguchi Yūhō, specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Saijō, and subsequently studied with Inoue Randai. He then opened his own academy. In 1759, at the death of his father, he severed his ties with the Kasama domain but remained in Edo. In 1765 he was engaged by the Seijūkan, the medical academy of Taki Mototaka (1695-1766). In that year Kameda Bōsai entered the school. Kinga also taught Mototaka's grandson Renpu and Katakura Kakuryō. In 1767 he resigned because he was somehow

associated with the Meiwa Incident, but he remained in contact with the academy; he received treatment at the Seijūkan for his final illness in 1784. After his resignation Kinga opened a second academy, but in 1772 he lost his possessions in a fire. In 1774 Uragami Gyokudō was on duty in Edo and met Kinga and Kinga's friend Nakayama Kōyō. It was through Kinga that Gyokudō met his music teacher Taki Rankei. In 1780 Kinga became an attendant of the *monzeki* at the Kan'eiji. Around this time he met Rikunyo. Kinga may have had other jobs too: sources mention an administrative function at the Enryakuji and a tutorship at the Rinnōji.
Literature: Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 34; Stephen Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, New Orleans 1984, 16-19; Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち; for the Meiwa Incident, see Conrad Totman, *Early modern Japan*, Berkeley 1993, 337-341; for Gyokudō, see *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1774.

Irie Masayoshi: 入江昌善, Enamiya Hanjirō, Chōo, Naniwa rofu
Years of birth and death: 1722-1800
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce
Activities: Japanese studies
Teachers: none
Contacts: Ozawa Roan, Shinnin Shinnō, Eda Nagayasu, Takayasu Rooku, Rai Shunsui
Biographical sketch: Masayoshi was the second son in a wealthy family of money changers. He lost his father when he was in his third year. His elder brother, still very young, succeeded to the business, which was *de facto* conducted by their mother. Masayoshi had set his mind on becoming a specialist of Japanese studies but on the death of both his elder brother and his elder brother's heir, he had to take over the family business when he was in his twenty-fourth year. He led the house for more than twenty years, then left it to an adopted son and went into retirement. When Masayoshi was in his sixty-third year the adopted son died and Masayoshi again had to take up the management of the house until, after seven more years, another adopted son could take over. In spite of all this he became a respected specialist of Japanese studies. His work is modelled on the work of Keichū (1640-1701). Masayoshi had no teachers and no pupils. In 1795 he completed *Manyōruiyōshō hoketsu* ('Various commentaries and supplements to the Manyōshū'), written at the request of prince Shinnin of the Myōhō-in. Ozawa Roan had recommended him for the job. He was also acquainted with Takayasu Rooku, who made fair copies of his work for him.
Literature: Mori Senzō 森銑三, 'Ozawa Roan sawa' 小沢芦庵瑣話, in: *Chosakushū* 著作集 vol. 2, 1971, 66-67; Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.; Masayoshi also wrote a supplement to the *Taketori monogatari shō*, a work by his cousin Koyama Tadashi (1750-1774), who died at a young age. Tadashi had been a

promising scholar of both Japanese and Chinese studies. He had studied with Katayama Hokkai and had been a member of the Kontonsha and a friend of Rai Shunsui.

Itō Jakuchū: 伊藤若冲, Keiwa, Shunkyō, Tobeian
Years of birth and death: 1716-1800
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, painting
Activities: painting, Buddhist studies
Teachers: possibly Ōoka Shunboku (1680-1763)
Contacts: Daiten, Ike Taiga, Kimura Kenkadō, Kakutei Jōkō, Shinnin Shinnō
Biographical sketch: Jakuchū was the eldest son in a family of wholesale greengrocers. He took up the family headship upon his father's death in 1738. He began to study painting when he was in his twenties. His teacher may have been the Kanō artist Ōoka Shunboku but this is uncertain. Jakuchū's artistic development was much influenced by the priest Daiten, his best friend whom he met around 1752. Both friends were acquainted with the *sencha* master Baisaō Kō Yūgai (1675-1763). After Baisaō's death, Daiten, Jakuchū and Ike Taiga collaborated in producing a commemorative edition of his works, *Baisaō gego* ('The Baisaō Canticles', 1763). Jakuchū handed over the family business to his younger brother in 1755. He became a Buddhist lay monk (*koji*) and never married. Many of his works are of a religious character. From about 1770 he became increasingly involved in Obaku Zen and studied at the Manpukuji. In 1787 he carried out a commission at the Myōhō-in, prince Shinnin's temple, but these paintings are lost. Jakuchū was not a great traveller. Apart from a trip with Daiten on the Jōdō river in 1767, he went to Shikoku in 1764 and visited Kimura Kenkadō in Osaka in 1788. It is speculated that he lived with Kenkadō for a while after the fire of 1788 destroyed his Kyoto home and workshop. In 1789 he was again in Osaka to execute a commission for the Saifukuji there. In 1796 Jakuchū contributed to one of Minagawa Kien's exhibitions. In his final years he lived at the Sekihōji with his widowed sister to take care of him.
Literature: Hickman & Yasuhiro Satō, eds, *The paintings of Jakuchū*; Hiroshi Onishi, ed., *On a riverboat journey. A handscroll by Ito Jakuchu with poems by Daiten*; Sōkokuji 相国寺, ed., *Daiten zenshi to Jakuchū* 大典禅師と若冲; *nenpu* in: Kyoto National Museum 京都国立博物館, ed., *Jakuchū* ! 若冲, Kyoto 2000; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 35ff; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1788.

Itō Tōsho: 伊藤東所, Chūzō, Zenshō, Shūsei sensei
Years of birth and death: 1730 -1804
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies

Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Itō Tōgai (father, 1670-1738), members of the Itō family
Contacts: Shinnin Shinnō, Minagawa Kien, Kō Fuyō, Kō Raikin; as pupil: Totoki Baigai
Biographical sketch: Tōsho was the youngest son of Itō Tōgai, Jinsai's eldest son, and conducted the Kogidō academy founded by Jinsai. Among his pupils were a large number of sons from *kuge* families. He was not a particularly original scholar; his achievement lies in the editing and compiling of the work of his ancestors. Kō Fuyō met his future wife Raikin at the home of his friend Tōsho. She was in the service of the Itō family.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 222-223, 229; for Raikin, see Fister, *Japanese women artists 1600-1900*, 86 (Fister gives Tōsho's dates as 1728-1804).

Iwagaki Ryōkei: 岩垣竜渓, Mōkō, Ryūkei
Years of birth and death: 1741-1808
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (court)
Activities: Chinese studies
Teachers: Miyazaki Kinpo (1717-1774), members of the Kiyohara family (Nobueda, 1720-1791, and others), Minagawa Kien
Contacts: Murase Kōtei, Ban Kōkei, Chōgetsu
Biographical sketch: Ryōkei first studied with Miyazaki Kinpo and subsequently with Minagawa Kien and with members of the Kiyohara family, amongst others, Kiyohara Nobueda, tutor to the emperor Momozono. Ryōkei himself held junior fifth rank lower and had the function of *ōtoneri* (palace attendant). He also conducted his own private academy in Kyoto. He was considered an important scholar in his time, ranking with his teacher Kien and Murase Kōtei. A special friend of his was the *waka* poet Chōgetsu.
Literature: for Murase Kōtei, see Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 224.

Kagawa Gen'etsu: 加川玄悦, Shigen
Years of birth and death: 1700-1777
Place of birth: the domain of Hikone in Ōmi province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, therapy, medicine
Activities: medicine
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Minagawa Kōsai (son-in-law), Minagawa Kien
Biographical sketch: Gen'etsu was the illegitimate son of a samurai. As a child he was adopted into his mother's family, the Kagawa, who encouraged him to go into farming. However, he went to Kyoto where he became a dealer in iron and copper tools. Before

long he began to train to become an acupuncturist, moxibustion therapist and masseur and opened a practice. He also studied medicine and became a leading specialist in the field of obstetrics. Gen'etsu is said to have performed Japan's first forceps delivery, using an iron hook taken from a paper lantern. He never officially studied with a teacher of obstetrics; his methods derived from his own experience. His *magnum opus Sanron* ('On Childbearing') was written when he was in his 67th year. The manuscript work was corrected, revised and embellished by Minagawa Kien. A son of Gen'etsu studied with Kien and his daughter married Kien's successor Kōsai. In 1768 Gen'etsu was engaged by the domain of Tokushima in Awa province for a salary of 100 *koku*. Because his sons both set up separate family establishments Gen'etsu adopted a pupil as his heir.
Literature: for Gen'etsu's son and daughter, see Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Kyoto no bunkashakai' 京都の文化社会, 113.

Kagawa Kageki: 香川景樹, Ginnosuke, Shinjurō, Shikibu, Keien, Tōotei, Rin'ensha, Kanbokutei, Ichigetsurō, Mansuirō, original family name: Arai
Years of birth and death: 1768-1843
Place of birth: Tottori in Inaba province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: therapy, administration (*kuge*), *waka*
Activities: *waka*
Teachers: Kagawa Kagemoto
Contacts: Ozawa Roan, Momozawa Mutaku, Shinnin Shinnō
Biographical sketch: Kageki was the second son of a retainer of the Ikeda family. He began his *waka* studies with a local master. By the time he was fourteen he had written a commentary on *Hyakunin Isshu* and was considered a prodigy. When he was about twenty-five he became entangled in a love affair. He absconded and went to Kyoto where he married the girl in question. For a while he worked as a masseur, but in 1796 he was adopted by Kagawa Kagemoto, fourth generation head of the Baigetsudō school of *waka*. He went into the service of the Tokudaiji *kuge* family (the employers of his adoptive father) and received the patronage of prince Shinnin of the Myōhō-in. Around this time he also met Ozawa Roan, whose influence made him realize that his ideas on poetry were incompatible with those of his adoptive father. Kageki and Kagemoto agreed that Kageki should establish a separate house. The adoption was annulled in 1804, but Kageki continued to use the name of Kagawa. He was apparently a person who incited bitter reactions. The Edo poets Murata Harumi and Katō Chikage wrote a pamphlet against him, *Fude no Saga* ('Evils of the brush', 1802), and in 1811 a group of court poets unsuccessfully attempted to have him banned as a poetry teacher. Kageki was unable to establish his reputation in Edo. He went there in 1818 but the trip was a failure. In Kyoto, however, he remained popular. Contacts of the period after 1800 include Ōkubo Shibutsu and the Osaka *sencha* master Tanaka (or Kagetsuan) Kakuō (1762-1848). In 1841 Kageki was given junior fifth rank lower and the title Higo no kami.

Literature: Keene, *World within walls*, 486ff and passim; for Kakuō and Shibutsu, see Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 151 (Graham wrongly gives Kakuō's year of birth as 1782).

Kagawa Kagemoto: 香川景柄, Kōchū, Baigetsudō, original family name: Matsuda.
Years of birth and death: 1745-1821
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: Shinto priest
Source(s) of income: administration (*kuge*), *waka*
Activities: *waka*
Teachers: Kagawa Kagehira (adoptive father, 1722-1789)
Contacts: Kagawa Kageki (adopted son)
Biographical sketch: Kagemoto's father was a Shinto priest, but Kagemoto was adopted by Kagawa Kagehira, third generation head of the Baigetsudō school of *waka* poetry. He married a daughter of Kagehira and succeeded as the fourth Baigetsudō. He was a popular teacher and an important figure in Kyoto's *waka* circles. Apart from his *waka* activities he was in the service of the Tokudaiji *kuge* family. He was awarded junior sixth rank upper and the honorary title of Mutsu no suke in 1796. He took the tonsure in 1811. Kagomoto was the adoptive father of Kagawa Kageki, but after the adoption was annulled Kagemoto adopted another heir who became known as Kagawa Kagetsugu (1792-1875).

Kakizaki Hakyō: 蠣崎波響, Hirotoshi, Seiko, Kanesuke, Yajirō, Shōkan, Kyōu, Baishunsha, Baisōsha, Ryūminsha, Fushunkan, Sōkōken, original family name: Matsumae
Years of birth and death: 1764-1826
Place of birth: the domain of Matsumae in Ezo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial)
Activities: painting
Teachers: Takebe Ayatari (1719-1774), Sō Shiseki, Maruyama Ōkyo
Contacts: Minagawa Kien, Rikunyo, Murase Kōtei, Kan Chazan, Ban Kōkei
Biographical sketch: Hakyō was born as the fifth son of the daimyo of the domain of Matsumae in Ezo, but was adopted by a prominent retainer of the domain with the family name of Kakizaki. He studied painting in Edo with Takebe Ayatari and Sō Shiseki. In 1791 he went to Kyoto and became a pupil of Maruyama Ōkyo. He was friendly with Minagawa Kien and Murase Kōtei, and especially with Rikunyo. Rikunyo and Hakyō entertained Kan Chazan on his visit to Kyoto in 1794. Ban Kōkei was one of those invited to a moon viewing party they organized for Chazan. Hakyō was Rikunyo's constant companion in the period just before his death in 1801. Hakyō had become *karō* (house elder) of his domain by 1807 when the Matsumae family was transferred to the domain of Yanagawa in Mutsu province. He was much against this measure and took great pains to have it revoked.

Literature: *nenpu* in: Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4. Kakizaki was the original family name of the Matsumae daimyo, see E. Papinot, *Historical and geographical dictionary of Japan*, Rutland/Tokyo 1972, s.vv. Matsumae Yoshihiro and Kakizaki.

Kakutei Jōkō: 鶴亭浄光, Eitatsu, Kaigen, Baisō, Bokuō Dōjin, Gojian, Hakuyō sanjin, Joryō, Jubeiō, Nansōō
Years of birth and death: 1722-1785
Place of birth: Nagasaki in Hizen province
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist), painting
Activities: Buddhist studies, painting
Teachers: Kumashiro Yūhi (1693-1772)
Contacts: Daiten, Ike Taiga, Itō Jakuchū. As pupils: Kimura Kenkadō, Noro Kaiseki
Biographical sketch: Jōkō entered the Seifukuji of the Ōbaku Zen sect in his native town at an early age. He also became a pupil of Kumashiro Yūhi, the leading pupil of the Chinese painter Shen Nanpin (dates unknown; he was in Nagasaki between 1731 and 1733). In 1744 Jōkō returned to lay life and became a professional painter. In 1747 he moved to Osaka where he became the teacher of the very young Kimura Kenkadō. He subsequently moved to Kyoto and came into contact with Daiten and his circle. He probably met Yanagisawa Kien (1706-1758) and was friendly with Ike Taiga and Taihō Shōkon (1691-1774), a Chinese, abbot of the Manpukuji and known for his bamboo painting. Around 1766 Jōkō returned to the monastic life. He first lived at the Shōzuiji in Edo, but returned to the Kyoto region to become administrator at Manpukuji in 1767. In 1772 Taiga organized a party in his honour. In 1773 Jōkō probably was in Osaka again. In 1777 he became abbot of a Manpukuji subtemple near Kyoto. He went back to Edo in 1783. Apart from painting Jōkō may have been engaged in *haikai*.
Literature: Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 37, 41; for Taihō Shōkon, see *ibid.* 92ff; for Taiga, see Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 181 note 108; *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1, s.v. 1772; *nenpu* in: Hickman & Yasuhiro Satō, eds, *The paintings of Jakuchū.*

Kameda Bōsai: 亀田鵬斎, Hōsai, Chōkō, Yakichi, Tsubasa, Nagaoki, Tonan, Chiryū, Bunzaemon, Zenshindō
Years of birth and death: 1752-1826
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, calligraphy, painting
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, painting, calligraphy, music
Teachers: Iizuka Hizan (unidentified), possibly Mitsui Shinna (1700-1782), Inoue Kinga

Contacts: Taki Renpu, Katakura Kakuryō, Yoshida Kōton, Yamamoto Hokuzan, Ōta Kinjō, Minagawa Kien. As pupils: Takizawa Bakin, Maki Ryōko, Tachi Ryūwan
Biographical sketch: Bōsai's father was a merchant who dealt in tortoise shell articles. When Bōsai was five he began his education with a certain Iizuka Hizan and probably also took up calligraphy with Mitsui Shinna. In 1765 he became a pupil of Inoue Kinga at the Seijūkan, the academy of the Taki family. His fellow pupils were Taki Renpu and Katakura Kakuryō. In 1774 Bōsai opened his own academy and around 1775 he got married. His son Ryōrai was born in 1778. He also had two daughters but they both died early. Among the friends of these years are Yoshida Kōton and Yamamoto Hokuzan. Bōsai was known as an eclectic scholar and was one of the so-called 'five demons of the Kansei period', the others being Ichikawa Kakumei (1740-1795), Toshima Hōshū (1737-1814), Tsukada Taihō (1745-1832) and his friend Yamamoto Hokuzan. After 1790 (the year of the Ban on Heterodoxy) Bōsai gradually lost pupils and in 1797 he closed his school. He then earned his living by doing some teaching and by composing and calligraphing prefaces or epitaphs. He produced several scholarly works and it was around this time that he also turned to painting. A friend of this period was Ōta Kinjō. Bōsai went on a journey to the Kansai area in 1799. In Kyoto he visited Minagawa Kien. In the early 1800s Bōsai met Sakai Hōitsu and Tani Bunchō who became lifelong friends. Around this time he probably also met Ōta Nanpo. Bōsai's wife died in 1808 and in 1809 he left Edo for a long period of travel. Kojima Baigai was for a while his travelling companion. Bōsai returned to Edo in 1812. By that time he had become famous and was able to make a fairly good living as a writer, painter and calligrapher.
Literature: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち (*nenpu* and biography); Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 42; Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 44, 53, for musical activities; *ibid.* 19, for Hokuzan; 22, 24, for Kinjō; 22, for Bakin; 23, for Kōton; Ōtsuki Mikio 大槻幹郎, *Bunjingaka no fu* 文人画家の譜, Tokyo 2001, 257-258; Fukushima Riko 福島理子 et al., *Edo kanshisen* 江戸漢詩選, vol. 1 *bunjin* 文人, 314ff.

Kan Chazan: 菅茶山, Tokinori, Reikei, original family name: Suganami
Years of birth and death: 1748-1827
Place of birth: Kawakitamura near Kannabe in Bingo province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: manufacturing, Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Nawa Rodō, Wada Tōkaku (1744-1803)
Contacts: Nishiyama Sessai, Rai Shunsui, Rai Kyōhei, other members of the Rai family, Katsu Shikin, Rikunyo, Kakizaki Hakyō, Nakai Chikuzan, Nakai Riken, Uragami Gyokudō, Ban Kōkei, Shibano Ritsuzan
Biographical sketch: Chazan was the eldest son of a well-to-do farmer and sake brewer. His father had a liking for *haikai* and published a collection of his poems. In 1766 Chazan went to Kyoto to study medicine with Wada Tōkaku. He also did Chinese

studies with Nawa Rodō. It was probably through Rodō that Chazan met Nishiyama Sessai who became a close friend. At the end of 1770 Chazan returned to Kannabe. In 1773 he met Rai Shunsui who introduced him to Katsu Shikin and the Nakai brothers, Chikuzan and Riken. Around 1780 Chazan turned over the family headship to a younger brother and in 1781 he opened a private academy in Kannabe. He got married in 1784. The couple remained childless, but they adopted a grandchild of Chazan's younger brother. In 1786 Chazan was offered a teaching position at the official academy of his domain (Fukuyama), but he declined. In this year he was in Edo where he and Nishiyama Sessai were received by Uragami Gyokudō. In 1794 Chazan was in Kyoto again and met Rikunyo and Kakizaki Hakyō. In 1796 his school (the Renjuku or Kannabe gakumonsho) became the official regional academy of his domain. In 1801 Chazan was again offered a position at the domanial school and this time he accepted. His position brought him to Edo (in 1804 and 1814) where he met many eminent intellectuals. From 1809 until 1811 Rai San'yō (1781-1832), Shunsui's son, was lecturer at the Renjuku. Apart from his activities as a specialist of Chinese studies, Kan Chazan was one of the foremost *kanshi* poets of his time.
Literature: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち (see biography for contacts after 1800); for Gyokudō, see *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.vv. 1786, 1806; *nenpu* in: Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4; Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'; *ibid.*, 302, for Shibano Ritsuzan.

Kan Tenju: 韓天壽, Nakagawa Tenju, Chōshirō, Dainen, Kantenju, Suishinsai, Ton'usai, original family name: Aoki
Years of birth and death: 1727-1795
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: commerce
Activities: calligraphy, seal carving, collecting, painting
Teachers: Takegawa Baryō (dates unknown), Matsushita Useki (1699-1779), perhaps Sawada Tōkō
Contacts: Aoki Shukuya (brother), Aoki Mokubei (cousin), Ike Taiga, Kō Fuyō, Daiten
Biographical sketch: Tenju was born into the Aoki family. Aoki Shukuya was his younger brother and Aoki Mokubei his cousin. Tenju claimed to be a descendant of the Korean chieftain Yo Chang (2nd century) and therefore used the name of Kan. He was adopted by the prosperous Nakagawa family who had a money-changing business in Matsuzaka in Ise province. Tenju was educated in Edo where he did Chinese studies with Takegawa Baryō and calligraphy with Matsushita Useki and possibly Sawada Tōkō. He succeeded as head of the house in 1759 and resigned in 1765. He frequently visited Kyoto and Osaka, but kept his house in Matsuzaka and had a lifelong interest in

the family business. In 1760 he went on a three-month hiking trip to climb mount Hakusan, Tateyama and Fuji with his friends Ike Taiga and Kō Fuyō. They called themselves the Wayfarers of the Three Peaks, Sangaku Dōsha, and their diary, the *Sangaku kikō*, still exists. After Taiga's death Tenju collaborated with Daiten and Kō Fuyō on Taiga's memorial stone. He probably also helped with the founding of the Taigadō within the precinct of Sōren-ji, where his brother Shukuya was installed as Taigadō II. Tenju's large collection of Chinese calligraphies, rubbings, seals and ink-cakes was famous. In his later years Tenju, who suffered from epilepsy, had problems with his health, and also seems to have had financial setbacks.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 37ff; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 45ff.

Karagoromo Kisshū: 唐衣橘洲, Gen'nosuke, Suichikuen, original family name: Kojima
Years of birth and death: 1743-1802
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), *kyōka*
Activities: *kyōka*, *waka*, *kanshi*
Teachers: Uchiyama Chinken, Hagiwara Sōko (1703-1784)
Contacts: Ōta Nanpo, Hezutsu Tōsaku, Akera Kankō
Biographical sketch: Kisshū was born into a family of retainers of the Bakufu and later served the Tayasu, a branch family of the Tokugawa house. He studied *waka* and *kanshi* with Uchiyama Chinken and *waka* with Hagiwara Sōkō. In 1769 Ōta Nanpo and Hezutsu Tōsaku attended the first *kyōka* gathering organized by Kisshū. A few years later Akera Kankō joined the group. From the early 1770s *kyōka* became ever more popular in Edo, but there were differences in style. Kisshū's approach was refined and respectful of classical *waka* traditions; Nanpo's was sharp and irreverent. Following the political changes of 1787 Nanpo temporarily gave up *kyōka* so that Kisshū gained in influence. Despite the fact that many samurai withdrew from *kyōka* altogether, Kisshū continued publishing collections of *kyōka* throughout the Kansei period.
Literature: Keene, *World within walls*, 518 (Keene gives Kisshū's dates as 1749-1789).

Kashiwagi Jotei: 柏木如亭, Akira, Eijitsu, Isshi, Hyakusanjin, Sōchiku, Banseidō, Bansei Ginsha
Years of birth and death: 1763-1819
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), painting, *kanshi*
Activities: *kanshi*, painting
Teachers: Ichikawa Kansai
Contacts: Ōkubo Shibutsu, Kikuchi Gozan, Kojima Baigai
Biographical sketch: The Kashiwagi family had for generations served the Bakufu as master carpenters. Jotei in due course inherited the family headship. He studied *kanshi*

with Ichikawa Kansai and was active in Kansai's *kanshi* club, the Kōkoshisha, from the time it was founded around 1787. Within the club Jotei was especially intimate with Ōkubo Shibutsu. Shibutsu and Jotei founded their own society, the Nisōshisha ('The Poetry Club of the Two Thin Men'); this was around 1792, when the Kōkoshisha was already in decline. Kikuchi Gozan was another fellow member of the Kōkoshisha. In 1794 Jotei turned over the family headship to a younger brother and withdrew to the countryside. He began a wandering life, earning a living with painting and poetry. Much of what he earned was spent in the pleasure quarters. He travelled mostly in the areas around Niigata, Shinano, Okayama and Kyoto. He spent his last years in Kyoto in an abandoned temple in the eastern hills. During that time he associated with Rai San'yō (1781-1832) and Yanagawa Seigan (1789-1858).
Literature: Burton Watson, *Kanshi. The poetry of Ishikawa Jōzan and other Edo-period poets*, San Francisco 1990, 65-85, 137; biography in Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち.

Katakura Kakuryō:片倉鶴陵, Genshu, Shinho, Seikendō
Years of birth and death: 1751-1822
Place of birth: Sagami province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine
Teachers: Taki Mototaka (1695-1766), Taki Rankei, Inoue Kinga, a member of the Kagawa family
Contacts: Kameda Bōsai, Taki Renpu
Biographical sketch: Kakuryō was born into a family of physicians, probably in the region of Tsukui in Sagami province. We also find that he was from Kamakura (Sagami province). When he was in his twelfth year he came to Edo to study medicine with Taki Mototaka and Mototaka's son Rankei. Together with Rankei's son Renpu and Kameda Bōsai he also did Chinese studies with Inoue Kinga. Kakuryō opened a successful practice when he was in his twenty-fifth year, but lost much of his property in a fire in 1786. Undaunted he went to Kyoto to study obstetrics with a member of the Kagawa family. Upon returning to Edo he opened a new practice and began to take pupils. By this time obstetrics had become his main speciality. His work *Sanka hatsumō* ('Instructions in Obstetrics', 1795) is an enlargement of Kagawa Gen'etsu's standard work *Sanron*. Kakuryō had no children with his wife, but had three sons and a daughter with a concubine. He adopted a boy as his heir and gave him his daughter for a wife. The boy became official physician to the Hitotsubashi family.
Literature: Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 19, 23-24.

Katayama Hokkai: 片山北海, Yoshimichi, Kōchitsu, Chūzō, Kounkan
Years of birth and death: 1723-1790
Place of birth: Niigata in Echigo province

Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Uno Meika (1698-1745)
Contacts: Daiten, members of the Kontonsha. As pupils: Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Sasaki Roan, Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Hokkai was born into a family of farmers. In 1740 he went to Kyoto where he did Chinese studies with Uno Meika. After Meika's death Hokkai and his fellow pupil Daiten published their master's posthumous manuscripts. In 1753 Hokkai went to Osaka and opened his own academy. In 1765 a *kanshi* club was formed and Hokkai was proclaimed chairman. The society was given the name of Kontonsha: 'The Confusion Club'. It existed for some twenty odd years and every eminent *kanshi* poet that passed through Osaka was more than willing to participate. The society was of great significance for the cultural life of the town. There are no descriptions of actual meetings left but it is assumed that Hokkai's style and method dominated the club. He also formed a minor Kontonsha for his pupils. No published work of Hokkai exists. After his death his adopted son-in-law Kyōjun began preparing an edition for which Daiten wrote a preface, but when Kyōjun himself died, the project was abandoned and forgotten.

Katō Chikage: 加藤千蔭, Sukeyoshi, Tokuyomaro, Matazaemon, Ukerazono, Hagizono, Hakku (the family name of Tachibana is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1735-1808
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), *waka*, Japanese studies, calligraphy
Activities: *waka*, *kyōka*, Japanese studies, painting, calligraphy
Teachers: Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769), Takebe Ayatari (1719-1774), Takimoto Shōkadō (dates unknown)
Contacts: Murata Harumi, Motoori Norinaga. As pupil, possibly Takizawa Bakin
Biographical sketch: Chikage's father was a *yoriki* in the service of the Edo *machi bugyō* (Edo City Magistrature), who had a taste for *waka* and was intimate with Kamo no Mabuchi. Chikage studied *waka* with his father until he was about ten and then continued with Mabuchi. His fellow pupil Murata Harumi became a lifelong friend. Chikage succeeded to his father's position when he was in his twenty-ninth year. In 1788 (in the wake of the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu) Chikage submitted a request for resignation "for reasons of ill health". Accounts of the circumstances of his resignation differ, but sources agree that he was more or less forced to resign. Chikage handed over his position to an adopted son and devoted himself to poetry and scholarship. Around this time Chikage began work on his *Manyōshū ryakuge* ('A Concise Explanation of the Manyōshū', 1800) which he completed more than ten years later. Chikage and Murata Harumi became leading figures in Edo's *waka* circles. They were the authors of *Fude no Saga* ('Evils of the brush', 1802), a pamphlet attacking the style of Kagawa Kageki.

In 1804 the Bakufu awarded Chikage ten silver pieces for his merits. Chikage sent part of the money to Norinaga's adopted son to be offered for Norinaga's spirit. When prince Shinnin visited Edo in 1805, he had Chikage and Harumi summoned to his lodgings. Chikage had studied painting with Takebe Ayatari and calligraphy with Takimoto Shōkadō. His calligraphy was considered very stylish and was used for decorating pottery and textiles. He also wrote *kyōka*. Contacts with *kyōka* poets like Tegara no Okamochi and Ōta Nanpo probably date from his later years.
Literature: concerning Chikage's resignation *DJJ* states that he was accused of not having properly fulfilled his function, had a 50 *koku* salary reduction, and was given a hundred days of house arrest, during which period he began work on his *Manyōshū ryakuge*; for Norinaga, see Shigeru Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga, 1730-1801*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 134; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 231 (for Shinnin), 230 (for attempts by Shinnin to persuade Chikage to come to Kyoto); for Bakin, see Zolbrod, *Takizawa Bakin*, 27.

Katō Kyōtai: 加藤暁台, Heibee, Goichi, Tarō, Baiya, Boukō, Boutei, Bousō, Ryūmon, original family name: Kishinoue (the family name of Hisamura is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1732-1792
Place of birth: Nagoya in Owari province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), *haikai*
Activities: *haikai*
Teachers: Mutō Hajaku (1686-1752), Mutō Hakuni (1709-1792)
Contacts: Yosa Buson, Takai Kitō, Miura Chora
Biographical sketch: Kyōtai was the eldest son of a retainer of the domain of Owari. He was adopted into the Katō family, retainers of the same domain. He entered service when he was in his seventeenth year. In 1751 he began to study *haikai* with Mutō Hajaku and, after Hajaku's death, continued his studies with Hajaku's successor Hakuni. Kyōtai was stationed in Edo in 1757, but resigned from his position two years later. He moved back to his native Nagoya and began to take *haikai* pupils. Kyōtai was fond of travelling and was frequently on the road. In 1770 he retraced Bashō's steps in the northern provinces. He was of great importance to Bashō scholarship and an influential figure in what is often called the 'Bashō Revival Movement', a trend towards the restoration of the *haikai* style of the Genroku period. He met Yosa Buson in 1774. From that time on he regularly visited Buson and there were strong ties between his school and Buson's. Takai Kitō was also among his Kyoto friends. Kyōtai died in Kyoto.

Katō Umaki: 加藤宇万伎, Iemon, Gorozaemon, Seisha (the family name of Kawazu is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1721-1777
Place of birth: unknown

Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), administration (Bakufu), Japanese studies
Activities: Japanese studies
Teachers: Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769)
Contacts: Kimura Kenkadō, Hosoai Hansai. As pupil: Ueda Akinari
Biographical sketch: Umaki was first married to a girl from the Kawazu family, physicians to the Ōgaki branch of the Toda daimyo family. He then served at the Toda's Edo residence and used his wife's family name, but soon lost his wife. At some unknown date he remarried. After his first wife's death he was adopted by a certain Katō, a mounted guardsman in the service of the Bakufu. In 1746 he took up Japanese studies with Kamo no Mabuchi. From 1764 Umaki regularly served as a guardsman at Osaka castle or Nijō castle in Kyoto. Around this time he began giving lectures in Edo on classical Japanese texts. He probably met Ueda Akinari in 1768, but it is not clear if this was in Kyoto or in Osaka. He was Akinari's guide and teacher for almost ten years. In 1777 Umaki suddenly fell ill while on duty at Nijō castle and died in his lodgings. An adopted son inherited his position.
Literature: Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 33-34, for Akinari, 43, for outing with Kimura Kenkadō, Hosoai Hansai and Akinari, probably around 1775; *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1772, 1775.

Katsu Shikin: 葛子琴, Tan, Toan, Shōen, Shōensō, Gofūrō, Gyokusekisai, original family name: Hashimoto
Years of birth and death: 1739-1784
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, *kanshi*, music, seal carving
Teachers: Hashimoto Rakkō (brother, dates unknown), Kan Kankoku (1691-1764), Kō Fuyō
Contacts: Katayama Hokkai, Rai Shunsui, Rai Shunpū, Rai Kyōhei, Kan Chazan, Emura Hokkai, Kimura Kenkadō, Hosoai Hansai, Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Shinozaki Santō, Sasaki Roan, Tanaka Meimon, other members of the Kontonsha
Biographical sketch: Shikin was the son of a physician. His parents died when he was still a child and he was brought up by one of his father's pupils. He studied *kanshi* with his elder brother Hashimoto Rakkō (a.k.a. Katsu Rakkō) and, like his brother, he used the first element of an earlier family name: Katsuragi. He later moved on to Rakkō's own teacher Kan Kankoku. Around 1758 he went to Kyoto to study medicine. It was probably during this period that he took up seal carving with Kō Fuyō. He established a successful medical practice in Osaka. Shikin was a central figure in Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha. He was acquainted with the three Rai brothers, with Shinozaki Santō, Kan Chazan and Emura Hokkai. In 1779 he went on a trip to Ikeda with Rai Shunsui and in

1780 he visited Kan Chazan who was in Kyoto at that time. With, amongst others, Hosoai Hansai, he received Kō Fuyō, who was in Osaka on business in 1783. From around this time he also regularly visited Kimura Kenkadō. Over the years he published several books on the art of seal carving with prefaces written by Kontonsha friends. Shikin also played the *shō* and the *hichiriki* (a kind of oboe).
Literature: *nenpu* in: Mizuta Norihisa 水田紀久, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 6 (Nakajima Sōin and Katsu Shikin), Tokyo 1993.

Katsuragawa Hoshū: 桂川甫周, Kōkan, Kuniakira, Mugean, Getchi, Seimin, Hoken, Raifu, Shin'an, Zenseishitsu
Years of birth and death: 1754-1809
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine, Western studies
Activities: medicine, Western studies, collecting, music, ethnography
Teachers: Maeno Ryōtaku, Sugita Genpaku, Taki Rankei
Contacts: Morishima Chūryō (brother), Nakagawa Jun'an, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Hayashi Shihei, Kudō Heisuke, Inamura Sanpaku. As pupils: Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai, Taki Renpu
Biographical sketch: Hoshū was the eldest son in a family of physicians. His father had been appointed physician to the Bakufu in 1760. Morishima Chūryō was Hoshū's younger brother. Hoshū did Western medicine and general Western studies with Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku. Already in 1768 he was given the right of shogunal audience and despite his youth he was a fully-fledged member of Genpaku's *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* translation group. When the work appeared under the title of *Kaitai shinsho* ('New Writings on Dissection') in 1774, Hoshū offered it in person to the shogun. By 1772 Hoshū was in the service of the Bakufu. In 1777 he became physician to the shogunal household. In 1783 he received the honorary title of *hōgen*, but he was dismissed in 1786, possibly due to the influence of the *rōjū* Tanuma Okitsugu. In 1792 he became involved in the interrogation of a group of Japanese castaways that had just been repatriated from Russia. At the request of the Bakufu he wrote a report on the interrogations, *Hokusa bunryaku* ('Brief Tidings from the Northern Raft', 1794). Around that time he was also reinstated as physician to the shogunal household. In 1793 he was engaged as a teacher at the Seijūkan. Hoshū studied the *qin* with Taki Rankei, the principal of the Seijūkan and also a well-known musician. In the early 1800s Hoshū served as official adviser on Russian matters. Hoshū had no children and adopted the son of a colleague as his heir. Hoshū had a collection of *kibutsu* and Western books.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 60-61, 66, 82, 95, 100, 103; for musical activities, Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, 136; for Hayashi Shihei, see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 275-276, 284-285.

Kayama Tekien: 香山適園, Akira, Kippō, Bunnai, Daigaku, Sanrakutei
Years of birth and death: 1749-1795
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Takeda Bairyū (1716-1766), Emura Hokkai, Murase Kōtei
Contacts: Shinnin Shinnō, Ike Taiga, Kō Fuyō, Shibano Ritsuzan, Nagata Kanga
Biographical sketch: Tekien did Chinese studies with Emura Hokkai, Takeda Bairyū and Murase Kōtei. Bairyū and Kōtei had both been tutors at the Myōhō-in, the temple of the prince Shinnin, and Tekien would later also serve in that function. Moreover, Shinnin provided the funds for the publication of Tekien's *Tōryūanshū* ('Collection from the Hermitage of the East Bank') in 1792.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 211-212, 226.

Ki Baitei: 紀梅亭, Tokitoshi, Shikei, Kyūrō, Kyūrō sanjin, Ōtsu Buson
Years of birth and death: 1734-1810
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting, *haikai*
Teachers: Yosa Buson
Contacts: Matsumura Goshun, Takai Kitō
Biographical sketch: Baitei was probably born in Toba in Yamashiro province but this is uncertain. At first he sold fans he had painted himself, but later he worked for a brocade manufacturer in Kyoto who was an acquaintance of Yosa Buson. It was probably through him that Baitei came to study painting and *haikai* with Buson. He was a live-in student together with Matsumura Goshun and it is highly likely that he also knew Buson's *haikai* pupil and assistant Takai Kitō. Early in 1783 Baitei moved to Ōtsu in Ōmi province with his wife and daughter, but later that year went back to Kyoto to help nurse Buson in his final illness. After Buson's death Goshun and Baitei took care of their master's affairs. When everything was settled Baitei went back to Ōtsu, where he lived for the rest of his life. He made a good living teaching and selling his work. Both Baitei and his wife were active as *haikai* poets.
Literature: Calvin L. French et al., *The poet painters: Buson and his followers*, Ann Arbor 1974; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 48; Takagi Sōgo 高木蒼梧 *Haikai jinmei jiten* 俳諧人名辞典, section Tenmei haidan 天明俳壇, 403.

Kikuchi Gozan: 菊池五山, Masahiko, Mugen, Gozandō, Goan, Shōchōsetsu
Years of birth and death: 1769-1849 (1772 is also to be found as the year of his birth, and 1855 or 1859 as the year of his death)
Place of birth: the domain of Takamatsu in Sanuki province

Status at birth: retained scholar
Source(s) of income: *kanshi*
Activities: *kanshi*, calligraphy
Teachers: Kikuchi Shissan (father, dates unknown), Gotō Shizan (1723-1782), Shibano Ritsuzan
Contacts: Ichikawa Kansai, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Kashiwagi Jotei, Kojima Baigai, Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Gozan was born into a family of specialists of Chinese studies in the service of the domain of Takamatsu. He was taught by his father Shissan and by his father's colleague Gotō Shizan (known for his system of punctuation to facilitate the reading of *kanbun*). Later Gozan went to Kyoto to study with Shizan's pupil, Shibano Ritsuzan. Ritsuzan accepted a position as teacher at the Shōheikō in 1788 and Gozan followed him to Edo in 1789. He became a member of Ichikawa Kansai's *kanshi* club the Kōkoshisha, where he met Ōkubo Shibutsu, Kashiwagi Jotei and Kojima Baigai. From around 1798 Gozan travelled in the Kansai and in Ise province. During his travels he met Kimura Kenkadō and Kan Chazan. In 1805 he returned to Edo. After the publication of *Gozandōshiwa* ('Poetry Talk from Five Mountains Hall') in 1807 he was considered Edo's foremost *kanshi* critic. He was at that time still in contact with Ōkubo Shibutsu. They cooperated on a publication in 1812 and in 1815 the two were engaged in a quarrel with Ōta Kinjō on account of a *banzuke* or graded list of scholars and literary figures of Edo. Eventually Gozan went back to his native region where he established a successful private academy. In 1825 he entered the service of the domain of Takamatsu. Gozan is also known for his calligraphy.
Literature: Watson, *Kanshi*, 109ff; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1799, 1800.

Kimura Kenkadō: 木村蒹葭堂, Sonsai, Tsuboiya Takichi, Tsuboiya Kichizaemon, Kōkyō, Seishuku, Kō, Kotarō
Years of birth and death: 1736-1802
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: manufacturing, publishing
Activities: *kanshi*, calligraphy, painting, seal carving, botany, *sencha*, collecting
Teachers: Katayama Hokkai, Ōoka Shunboku (1680-1763), Kakutei Jōkō, Ike Taiga, Kō Fuyō, Chō Tōsai, Tsushima Keian (1701-1754), Ono Ranzan
Contacts: Daiten, Emura Hokkai, Seida Tansō, Masuyama Sessai, Ueda Akinari, Rai Shunsui, Rai Kyōhei, Uragami Gyokudō, Tani Bunchō, Itō Jakuchū, Nakai Chikuzan, Nakai Riken, Koishi Genshun, Ogino Gengai, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Okada Beisanjin, Totoki Baigai, Gessen, Matsura Seizan, Shiba Kōkan, Kikuchi Gozan, Takemoto Tōtōan, Aoki Mokubei, Morikawa Chikusō, Itō Tōsho, Minagawa Kien, Yosa Buson, Maruyama Ōkyo, Maruyama Ōzui, Noro Kaiseki, Kuwayama Gyokushū, Hosoai Hansai, Shinozaki Santō, Katsu Shikin and other members of the Kontonsha, Motoori Norinaga

Biographical sketch: Kenkadō was the eldest son of a sake brewer. Around his fifth year he began to study painting with Ōoka Shunboku of the Kano school. In 1747 he began the Shen Nanpin-style with Kakutei Jōkō and year later he started lessons with Ike Taiga. His father died in 1750 and Kenkadō succeeded to the business. Around this time he went to study botany with Tsushima Keian. Much later Kenkadō would become a pupil of the botanist Ono Ranzan. Kenkadō did Chinese studies with Katayama Hokkai and became a member of the Kontonsha. In 1756 Kenkadō got married; Hosoai Hansai was go-between. A daughter was born in 1768 but she died when only six years old. The year 1761 saw Kenkadō's first publishing venture: a work by the priest Daiten. In 1769 he became *toshiyori* of his neighbourhood. Kenkadō went to Nagasaki in 1778. During the 1770s and 1780s he was active as a publisher. Many scholars and artists came to see his collection of books and *kibutsu*. One of Kenkadō's friends was Masuyama Sessai, daimyo of the domain of Nagashima in Ise province. Kenkadō accompanied him to Edo in 1784 and visited him in Ise in 1787. At this occasion Kenkadō also paid a visit to Motoori Norinaga. The contact with Sessai proved of value when, in the autumn of 1789, Kenkadō was accused of having exceeded his brewing quotas. The next year the brewery was confiscated, Kenkadō had to step down as a *toshiyori* and was banished from Osaka. He travelled to Ise where Sessai had arranged housing for him. In 1792 he was allowed to return to Osaka. In 1795 he took up his publishing activities again. In his later years Morikawa Chikusō was his regular companion for visiting gatherings and exhibitions. In 1801 Ōta Nanpo obtained a position at the Osaka copper mint and became a frequent visitor. Kenkadō was succeeded by his nephew, who was formally adopted a few months after Kenkadō's death.
Literature: Nakamura Shin'ichirō, 中村真一郎, *Kimura Kenkadō no saron*, 木村蒹葭堂のサロン; Young, *Ueda Akinari*; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, passim; Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization,* 65, 73; Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.; *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人; *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘冶, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 161; for *sencha*, see Graham, *Tea of the sages*, passim.

Kitao Masayoshi: 北尾政美, Keisai Masayoshi, Keisai, Tsuguzane, Shikei, Sōjirō, Sankō, Mugi no Orochimaro, Kishō Tengō, original family name: Akabane (the family name of Kuwagata is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1764-1824
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: painting, book illustration, print making
Activities: painting, book illustration, print making, *kyōka*
Teachers: Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820)
Contacts: Morishima Chūryō

Biographical sketch: Masayoshi was the son of a tatami maker. He became a pupil of Kitao Shigemasa and produced his first illustrations in 1780. He soon made a reputation for himself as a book illustrator using the name of Kitao Masayoshi. He was immensely productive. In the late 1780s he also made *nishiki-e* and further developed his painting technique in various styles. In this period he was especially intimate with Morishima Chūryō. In 1794 he became official painter to the domain of Tsuyama in Mimasaka province and, at the request of his lord, he studied for a while with a member of the Kano school. By late 1790s he was mainly devoting himself to painting. Around this time he began using the name of Kuwagata, his grandmother's family name. He was a popular figure in Edo's intellectual circles. Among his friends of the later period we find Kameda Bōsai, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Sakai Hōitsu and Ōta Nanpo.
Literature: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち (the biography there gives 1761 as the year of his birth).

Kō Fuyō: 高芙蓉, Ōshima, Mōhyō, Juhi, Ikki, Kondō saigū, Chūgaku gashi, Fumin sanbō, Hyōgaku sanjin, Kantankyō, original family name: Ōshima
Years of birth and death: 1722-1784
Place of birth: Takanashi in Kai province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: seal carving, administration (domanial)
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, Japanese studies, painting, calligraphy, seal carving, epigraphy/*kanji* etymology, collecting
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Kō Raikin (wife), Ike Taiga, Ike Gyokuran, Kan Tenju, Kuwayama Gyokushū, Hosoai Hansai, Daiten, Kimura Kenkadō, Itō Tōsho, Kayama Tekien, Minagawa Kien, Shibano Ritsuzan. As pupils: Ogino Gengai, Aoki Mokubei, Katsu Shikin
Biographical sketch: Fuyō was the son of a physician. As a youth he went to Edo to study medicine, but eventually moved to Kyoto to specialize in Chinese studies. Here he became involved in seal carving, both the art and its history. In due course he set up his own academy. He also studied ancient court traditions, character etymology and phonology. He was a pioneer of epigraphical studies in Japan and was known as the Sage of Seals (*insei*). He was a skillful painter and calligrapher and wrote extensively on the art of seal carving. In 1749 he went on a hiking trip with his friend Ike Taiga and climbed Tateyama and Shirayama. In 1760 he took part in another expedition with Taiga and Kan Tenju. The three friends climbed Shirayama, Tateyama and Fuji. They called themselves the Wayfarers of the Three Peaks, *Sangaku dōsha*, and their diary, the *Sangaku kikō*, still exists. After Taiga's death Fuyō, Tenju and Daiten collaborated on Taiga's memorial stone. One of Fuyō's seal carving pupils was Ogino Gengai who was also a patron of Taiga. Fuyō seems to have worked for the domain of Kaga for a while and in 1762 he entered the service of the domain of Hasuike in Hizen province. His duties regularly took him to the domain's storehouse in Osaka. In the early 1770s Fuyō

married a girl he had met at the home of Itō Tōsho in whose service she was. She used the *gō* of Raikin and was a fine painter, calligrapher and *kanshi* poet. They had two children, a daughter and a son. In 1784 Fuyō was engaged by the daimyo of Shishido in Hitachi province. He fell ill while he was on his way there en died before reaching his destination.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 16, 37, 78, 136, 178, note 82, 186 note 88; *Shodō zenshū* 書道全集, vol. 23, Tokyo 1958, 199; *KJJ* s.v., states that he studied medicine in Edo with Takeda Chōshun'in. A physician of that name can be found in Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩也 & Nagasawa Kōjō 長沢孝三, *Kanbungakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, nr 2713, but he died in 1705; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1779.

Kō Raikin: 高來禽, original family name: Okuda
Years of birth and death: unknown
Place of birth: unknown
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: domestic service, see also Kō Fuyō (husband)
Activities: painting, *kanshi*, calligraphy
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Kō Fuyō (husband), Itō Tōsho, Ike Taiga, Ike Gyokuran
Biographical sketch: Not much is known about Raikin's early life. She grew up in Kyoto and had studied bird and flower painting before she knew Fuyō. She only turned to landscape painting after they had met. She married Kō Fuyō in the early 1770s. They met at the home of Itō Tōsho in whose service she was. They had two children, a daughter and a son. Raikin was active as a painter, calligrapher and *kanshi* poet. She and her husband collaborated on several paintings.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 37 (Gyokuran); Fister, *Japanese women artists 1600-1900*, 86, 96 note 7, 91-93.

Koga Seiri: 古賀精里, Junpū, Yasuke, Sunao, Fukugenrō
Years of birth and death: 1750-1817
Place of birth: Kogamura in the domain of Saga in the province of Hizen
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (domanial)
Activities: Chinese studies, calligraphy, *kanshi*
Teachers: Fukui Shōsha (d. 1800), Nishiyori Seisai
Contacts: Shibano Ritsuzan, Bitō Nishū, Hayashi Jussai, Hayashi Nobutaka, Okada Kansen, Rai Shunsui, Katayama Hokkai and members of the Kontonsha
Biographical sketch: Seiri's father was a samurai in the service of the local daimyo family, the Nabeshima. The Nabeshima recognized Seiri's talent and in 1774 sent him to Kyoto, where he did Chinese studies with Fukui Shōsha and Nishiyori Seisai. He also visited Osaka and met Bitō Nishū and Rai Shunsui. After his return to Saga in 1779 he

was involved in the administration of the domain and the setting up of a domain school. He became one of its teachers in 1781. In 1791 he went to Edo accompanying his lord as official specialist of Chinese studies and the next year he was given the opportunity to lecture at the Shōheikō. In 1795 he received an invitation from the Bakufu to become a teacher there for a salary of 200 *koku*. Seiri was appointed to make up for the regular absence of Okada Kansen, who had accepted the function of intendant in Hitachi province late in 1794, combining this with his teaching duties. Seiri moved to Edo in 1796. His colleagues at the Shōheikō were Shibano Ritsuzan and Bitō Nishū. Hayashi Jussai was principal of the academy. Seiri also had private pupils. He was married and had three sons and six daughters. Apart from Chinese studies he wrote *kanshi* and practised calligraphy.
Literature: Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu'; *idem*, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy'; *idem*, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'.

Koikawa Harumachi: 恋川春町, Jusanjin, Sakanoue no Furachi, original family name: Kuwajima (the family name of Kurahashi is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1744-1789
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), popular fiction, book illustration
Activities: popular fiction, painting, book illustration, *kyōka*
Teachers: Toriyama Sekien (1712-1788)
Contacts: Tegara no Okamochi, Ōta Nanpō
Biographical sketch: Harumachi was the son of a retainer of the domain of Tanabe in Kii province. When he was in his twentieth year, he was adopted by an uncle, a certain Kurahashi, who was in the service of the domain of Kojima in Suruga province. Harumachi is sometimes said to have been born here but this is uncertain. He succeeded his uncle in 1776, became assistant to the caretaker of the domanial residence in Edo in 1781, was promoted to the functions of *sobayōnin* (chamberlain) and *yōnin* (steward) and became *toshiyori* of his domain with an income of 120 *koku* in 1787. He also studied painting with Toriyama Sekien (or Toriyama Toyofusa, a painter of the Kano school, printmaker and illustrator) and began publishing picture books (*kusazōshi*) he illustrated himself. He became increasingly involved in fiction and, with his friend Tegara no Okamochi (whose books he also illustrated), is seen as a pioneer of the *kibyōshi* genre. He also wrote *kyōka*. In 1788 Okamochi wrote a satire with the title *Bunbu nidō mangoku tōshi* ('The Ten Thousand Stones on the Double Path of Learning and the Martial Arts'). Harumachi followed in 1789 with *Ōmugaeshi bunbu no futamichi* ('Parroting the Slogan "The Double Path of Learning and the Martial Arts"'). Both works were seen as a mockery of the *rōjū* Matsudaira Sadanobu. Okamochi's book was banned and his domain ordered him to stop writing fiction. Harumachi was censured and dismissed from his duties. He died soon afterwards. Although his early death may have had to do with an illness, it is often said that he committed suicide.

Literature: Howard Hibbett, *The chrysanthemum and the fish. Japanese humor since the age of the shoguns*, Tokyo/London/New York 2002, 126-127 (Kisanji is Tegara no Okamochi). The translation of the title of Harumachi's 1789 satire is taken from Hibbett, and I have adapted my translation of Okamochi's work accordingly.

Koishi Genshun: 小石元俊, Osamu, Yūso, Taigu, Hekika, original family name: Hayano
Years of birth and death: 1743-1808
Place of birth: Katsuramura in the region of Kuzuno in Yamashiro province
Status at birth: ronin
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, Chinese studies
Teachers: Tannowa Gensen (dates unknown), Nagatomi Dokushōan (1732-1766), Minagawa Kien
Contacts: Tachibana Nankei, Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Rai Shunsui, Kimura Kenkadō, Shibano Ritsuzan
Biographical sketch: Genshun's father had been a retainer of the domain of Obama in Wakasa province. For unknown reasons he had resigned, taken the name of Koishi and moved to Yamashiro province, where he started a medical practice. When Genshun was in his eighth year the family settled in Osaka. Here Genshun began his medical studies with Tannowa Gensen and Nagatomi Dokushōan, both pupils of Yamawaki Tōyō (1704-1762). After his father's death in 1764, Genshun went on a journey to the Western provinces visiting famous medical men in Fukuoka, Hakata, Hirado and Nagasaki. He returned to Osaka in 1769 and opened a practice. In 1777 he moved to Kyoto. In this year he began Chinese studies with Minagawa Kien. Genshun's son Genzui (1784-1849) would also study with Kien. Both father and son practised Zen meditation. In 1783 Genshun was present at a dissection performed by his friend Tachibana Nankei in Fushimi. He was by that time no longer satisfied with traditional medicine. In 1785 Sugita Genpaku was in Kyoto and Genshun visited him. When his wife died in 1786, Genshun left his son in the care of others and went to Edo. He was in Edo for half a year and became intimate with Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku and other members of their circle. He stayed with Ōtsuki Gentaku. Genshun lost his house and possessions (including the manuscript of a book he had been working on for years) in the fire of 1788. He left for Osaka, but moved back to Kyoto in 1796. He supervised several other dissections and devoted himself to his research, his patients and his pupils. He was succeeded by his son.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo, 'Kyoto no bunkashakai' 京都の文化社会, 110-111 (the pupils' register of Minagawa Kien); Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 84; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 152.

Kojima Baigai: 小島 (also 児島) 梅外, Kichiemon, Taibai, Taibaikyo, Kozan, Yuiami
Years of birth and death: 1772-1841
Place of birth: Edo

Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, exact nature unclear
Activities: *kanshi*, *haikai*
Teachers: Ichikawa Kansai, Yamamoto Hokuzan, Suzuki Michihiko (1757-1819)
Contacts: Kikuchi Gozan, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Kashiwagi Jotei
Biographical sketch: Baigai's father probably worked as a rice agent (*fudasashi*) although we also find that he had a confectionary shop. Baigai in due course inherited the business. He studied with Ichikawa Kansai and Yamamoto Hokuzan and was a member of the Kansai's *kanshi* club the Kōkoshisha. Around 1804 things went badly for the family business and Baigai handed over the shop to a younger brother. Baigai went to study *haikai* with Suzuki Michihiko and by the time he was fifty he had completely abandoned *kanshi* in favour of *haikai*. In 1809 Baigai was for a while the travelling companion of Kameda Bōsai who was on a long journey visiting former pupils and other intellectuals active in the provinces.
Literature: for Bōsai, see Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 43, 50; Takagi Sōgo 高木蒼梧, *Haikai jinmei jiten* 俳諧人名辞典, section *Bakumatsu kara meiji shoki* 幕末から明治初期, 548.

Komai Genki: 駒井源琦, Komai Ki, Shiun, Kōnosuke
Years of birth and death: 1747-1797
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: Maruyama Ōkyo
Contacts: Nagasawa Rosetsu
Biographical sketch: Very little is known about Genki. He and Nagasawa Rosetsu were considered Maruyama Ōkyo's star pupils and there seems to have been a kind of rivalry between them. Genki's favourite subjects were beautiful women (*bijin*) and birds and flowers. He had no children and adopted no heir.

Kudō Heisuke: 工藤平助, Genrin, Kyūkei, Mankō, original family name: Nagai
Years of birth and death: 1734-1800
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine, administration (domanial), Western studies
Activities: medicine, Western studies, political/economic studies, mechanics, seal carving, gardening
Teachers: Kudō Saian (adoptive father, 1704-1755), Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759)
Contacts: Ōtsuki Gentaku, Nakagawa Jun'an, Maeno Ryōtaku, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Hayashi Shihei
Biographical sketch: Heisuke was the third son of the official physician to the domain of Wakayama in Kii province. When he was in his thirteenth year he was adopted into

the Kudō family, physicians to the domain of Sendai. He studied medicine with his adoptive father and did Chinese studies with Hattori Nankaku. He succeeded to the family headship in 1755. He lived mainly in Edo (and was probably also born there) serving his domain as a scholar, a physician and an administrator. The family stipend was 300 *koku*. Heisuke did not shave his head as physicians usually did and also dressed as a layman. He was therefore known as 'the lay doctor'. Among his friends we find Aoki Kon'yō (1698-1769) and Hayashi Shihei. Heisuke wrote the preface to Shihei's *Kaikoku Heidan* ('Discussion of Military Matters concerning a Maritime Nation', 1791). Apart from his medical activities and his interest in foreign developments and economics, Heisuke studied mechanics, practised seal carving and was interested in cooking and gardening. He also had a taste for 'business', conducting somewhat shady but rather profitable transactions in imported goods via one of the official Dutch interpreters. His most famous work is *Akaezo fūsetsu kō* ('Investigation into Rumours from Red Ezo'), presented to the *rōjū* Tanuma Okitsugu in 1783, in which he proved himself an advocate of official trade with Russia in order to avert encroachment of Russia in Japan's northern region. His recommendations were taken seriously and led to an increased interest in the region, but projects were suspended with the fall of Okitsugu. Heisuke's eldest daughter Ayako (a.k.a. Tadano Makuzu, 1763-1825) became known as an author of *zuihitsu*.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 76; for Makuzu, and the family stipend, see Bettina Gramlich-Oka, 'Tadano Makuzu and her *Hitori kangae*', in: *MN* 56, 2001, 1-20.

Kuwayama Gyokushū: 桑山玉洲, Shisan, Masachika, Chōudō, Kakusekien, Kasetsudō, Myōkō koji
Years of birth and death: 1746-1799
Place of birth: Wakanoura in Kii province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce
Activities: painting, theory of art
Teachers: possibly Sakurai Sekkan (1715-1790), Hosoai Hansai
Contacts: Kimura Kenkadō, Ike Taiga, Kō Fuyō, Noro Kaiseki
Biographical sketch: Gyokushū was the eldest son of the owner of a shipping business and money-changing house. The family was very well-to-do and Gyokushū later also gained considerable wealth in a government land reclamation project in the region of Nakusa in Kii province (1768). He lost his father when he was in his seventh year, but succeeded to the business with assistance from relatives. When he was in his nineteenth year he was given permission to wear a sword and was admitted to the lowest ranks of the samurai class. Gyokushū did Chinese studies in Osaka with Hosoai Hansai and may first have studied painting in Edo with Sakurai Sekkan. He was a patron and friend of Ike Taiga, whom he met around 1772. It is not clear in how far Taiga was also his teacher. Apart from his painting activities Gyokushū was a theorist of art. After Gyokushū's death Kimura Kenkadō took care of the publication of *Kaiji higen*

('Humble Words on Painting', 1799), Gyokushū's third work on art theory. Gyokushū met Noro Kaiseki in Wakayama somewhere in the middle of the 1760s. They remained friends until Gyokushū's death. Gyokushū also associated with Kō Fuyō.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true view*, 135ff; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 32, 50; *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, for instance s.v. 1794; Ōtsuki Mikio 大槻幹郎, *Bunjingaka no fu* 文人画家の譜, 248-250.

Maeno Ryōtaku: 前野良沢, Shietsu, Rakuzan, Ranka, original family name: Taniguchi
Years of birth and death: 1723-1803
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, Western studies, astronomy, music, dance
Teachers: Yoshimasu Tōdō (1702-1773), Aoki Kon'yo (1698-1769)
Contacts: Sugita Genpaku, Nakagawa Jun'an, Mogami Tokunai, Kudō Heisuke, Koishi Genshun, Morishima Chūryō, Takayama Hikokurō. As pupils: Ōtsuki Gentaku, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Ema Ransai, Shiba Kōkan, Udagawa Genzui
Biographical sketch: Ryōtaku was the son of a retainer of the domain of Fukuoka in Chikuzen province. When he was in his seventh year his father died and his mother remarried. He was brought up by an uncle, physician to the domain of Yodo in Yamashiro province. Ryōtaku studied medicine with him and with Yoshimasu Tōdō. He was adopted by a relative of his uncle, Maeno Tōgen, physician to the Okudaira family of the domain of Nakatsu in Buzen province, and succeeded to the family headship in 1748. He lived in Edo. In the late 1760s he went to study with Aoki Kon'yo who introduced him to the Dutch language. In 1770, Ryōtaku received permission to travel to Nagasaki. He was back in Edo in 1771, but had a second chance to go to Nagasaki in 1773. After his return from his first visit, he took part in the dissection of the body of a criminal after which the *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* translation group was formed. They came together at Ryōtaku's house and, as he had the best knowledge of the Dutch language, he had the general supervision. The translation was published in 1774 under the title of *Kaitai shinsho* ('New Writings on Dissection'). Ryōtaku thought the publication premature and in the end did not wish his name to be mentioned in the publication. He became somewhat estranged from the group. Among his contacts we find the imperial loyalist Takayama Hikokurō and Mogami Tokunai. Morishima Chūryō, the brother of his pupil Katsuragawa Hoshū, was an intimate friend of Ryōan, Ryōtaku's son, who died in 1791. Apart from his scholarly activities Ryōtaku played the *hitoyogiri* (a kind of *shakuhachi*) and also practiced *saruwaka kyōgen*, a type of dance in the style of the *kyōgen* of the Nō theatre that found its way into Kabuki.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 57, 61, 64, 71, 93, 99; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 74; for Chūryō

and Hikokurō, see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 102; for astronomy, see Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*, 80.

Maki Ryōko: 巻菱湖, Tsukasa, Chien, Kigan, Kōsai, original family name: Tachi (the family names of Ikeda and Koyama are also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1777-1843
Place of birth: Fukuimura in the region of Kanbara in Echigo province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: calligraphy
Activities: calligraphy, *kanshi*
Teachers: Kameda Bōsai
Contacts: Tachi Ryūwan (cousin)
Biographical sketch: Ryōko's father was the ninth generation head of a family of tea sellers. Ryōko was adopted into a family named Ikeda, but lost his adoptive father when he was still very young. With his mother he then went to live with a family of the name of Koyama. Tachi Ryūwan was his cousin and Ryōko had at first also used the family name of Tachi but later changed it to Maki. He probably received his first lessons at a local temple, but in 1795 he went to Edo to do Chinese studies, *kanshi* and calligraphy with Kameda Bōsai. Bōsai closed his school in 1797. Sources do not mention any other teachers, so it seems plausible that Ryōko somehow found employment as a calligrapher from that time on. Ryōko was drawn to various Chinese calligraphy styles and to Tang poetry. He had made his reputation by the beginning of the Bunka period (1804) and set up his own academy in 1808. Whereas Ichikawa Beian had an upper-class clientele, Ryōko's style and method mostly appealed to the townspeople of Edo. He is known as one of the three great Chinese style calligraphers of the Bakumatsu period, the other two being Ichikawa Beian and Nukina Kaioku (1778-1863). Ryōko was acquainted with Santō Kyōden, but the contact probably dates from after 1800.
Literature: biography and *nenpu* in: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち, s.v. 1795; Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 103ff; *DJJ* gives Ryōko's dates as 1767-1833, his place of birth as Makimura and his original family name as Ikeda; *Shodō zenshū* 書道全集, vol. 23, Tokyo 1958, 195, claims that he was connected to the post town of Maki in Echigo province; for Kyōden, see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 318.

Maruyama Ōkyo: 円山応挙, Masataka, Iwajirō, Chūkin, Chūsen, Isshō, Kaiun, Kaun, Senrei, Rakuyō sanjin, Sensai, Osui Gyofu, Mondo, Settei, Untei, Seishūkan
Years of birth and death: 1733-1795
Place of birth: Anōmura in the region of Kuwada in Tanba province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: Ishida Yūtei (1721-1786)

Contacts: Ueda Akinari, Shinnin Shinnō, Matsumura Goshun, Murata Harumi, Rikunyo, Kimura Kenkadō. As pupils: Maruyama Ōzui (son), Azuma Tōyō, Gessen, Nagasawa Rosetsu, Komai Genki, Mori Tessan, Kakizaki Hakyō, Minagawa Kien
Biographical sketch: Ōkyo was born into a farming family as the second son. For a while he was a novice in a local temple, but he had no calling for the religious life. He went to Kyoto when he was about twelve, probably to be apprenticed. It is known that he worked for a draper when he was about fifteen years old. Later he worked at the toyshop of one Nakamura or Nakajima Kanbee. Around 1749 he went to study painting with Ishida Yūtei of the Kano school but was not happy with this style and left. His breakthrough came with the perspective pictures he designed for his former employer Kanbee in 1759. Around 1765 he met with Yūjō (1723-1773), a *kuge* and abbot of the Enman'in. He did several commissions for this temple. By the late 1760s his work had come to the attention of the emperor Gomomozono and he entered the service of the palace. In 1781, at the accession of the emperor Kōkaku, he painted the screens used in the enthronement ceremony. He was also involved in the rebuilding of the imperial palace after the fire of 1788. He received commissions from the Myōhō-in, from numerous other temples and from leading mercantile families such as the Mitsui, the Kashiwara and the Daimaru. In 1768 he moved to a new residence, with a large studio, in Shijō Kamiyachō. After this studio was destroyed in the fire of 1788 he lived in his native district for a time, but later returned to Kyoto. In 1787 Matsumura Goshun visited Ōkyo for the first time; in 1788, at the time of the great fire, the two shared lodgings. Under the influence of Ōkyo, Goshun (a former pupil of Yosa Buson) completely changed his style. Ōkyo was very famous, but he was not a social figure. Among his friends we find Ueda Akinari, Minagawa Kien (also a pupil) and Rikunyo. In 1793 his health began to fail and he suffered from an eye complaint. Legend has it that he died from overwork. His second son Ōzui took over the studio.
Literature: Timon Screech, *The Shogun's painted culture. Fear and creativity in the Japanese states 1760-1829*, London 2000; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 53, 55ff; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 216; *nenpu* in: Hyōgo kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan 兵庫県立歴史博物館, *Maruyama Ōkyo ten* 円山応挙展, Himeji 2000; for pupils, *ibid.*, 184-185; *nenpu* in: Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, *Maruyama Ōkyo, shaseiga – sōzō e no chōsen* 丸山応挙, 写生画 – 創造への兆戦, Tokyo 2003; for Harumi, see both *nenpu* s.v. 1788; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1779, 1793.

Maruyama Ōzui: 円山応瑞, Gihō, Ishindō, Usaburō, Ukon, Mondo
Years of birth and death: 1766-1829
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting

Teachers: Maruyama Ōkyo (father)
Contacts: Mori Tessan (brother in law), Matsumura Keibun, Azuma Tōyō, Ban Kōkei, Okamoto Yasutaka, Minagawa Kien, Kimura Kenkadō, Shinnin Shinnō, see also Maruyama Ōkyo
Biographical sketch: Ōzui was taught by his father Ōkyo and inherited the studio after his father's death. He worked with his father on several occasions, for instance at the imperial palace building site in the Kansei period. He had two sons of his own, but left the studio to his nephew Ōshin (1790-1838), the son of his younger brother Ōju. Mori Tessan, one of his father's pupils and the adopted son of Mori Sosen, was married to a sister of his wife.
Literature: the list of contacts is partly based on a collaborative set of drawings and poetry formerly in the collection of Charles Mitchell, see Orandajin sales catalogue 1993, nr 83; *nenpu* in: Hyōgo kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan 兵庫県立歴史博物館, *Maruyama Ōkyo ten* 円山応挙展, 178-181, and genealogy, 182-183; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1796.

Masuyama Sessai: 増山雪斎, Masakata, Kunsen, Gyokuen, Gyokuran, Guzan, Sekiten dōjin, Chōshū, his family name is also pronounced Mashiyama
Years of birth and death: 1754-1819
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai (daimyo)
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial)
Activities: *kanshi*, botany, painting, calligraphy, *sencha*
Teachers: Chō Tōsai
Contacts: Kimura Kenkadō, Totoki Baigai, Gessen, Aōdō Denzen, Haruki Nanko, Minagawa Kien
Biographical sketch: Sessai was the eldest son of Masuyama Masayoshi, daimyo of the Nagashima domain in Ise province and succeeded his father in 1776. He held junior fifth rank lower and the title of Kawachi no kami. Sessai served as *Ōsaka jōban* (Osaka castle guard), but it is not exactly clear during what period. A patron of art and scholarship, Sessai was himself a scholar and artist and a devotee of *sencha*. He practised painting in the Shen Nanpin-style and studied calligraphy with Chō Tōsai. He probably met Totoki Baigai through Tōsai, and in 1784 invited Baigai to come to Nagashima to become the domain's specialist of Chinese studies and found a school. In 1785 he took Baigai with him when he travelled to Nagasaki. Sessai also employed Haruki Nanko and was a friend and benefactor of Kimura Kenkadō: when, in the autumn of 1789, Kenkadō was accused of having exceeded his brewing quota and was banished from Osaka, Sessai arranged to have him exiled to Ise province. He also composed Kenkadō's epitaph. Around 1785 Aōdō Denzen met the monk/painter Gessen at Yamada in Ise province. Gessen introduced Denzen to Sessai and Haruki Nanko. Sessai resigned from his official duties in 1801, moved to Edo and lived there until his death.

Literature: Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 95ff (Graham gives Sessai's dates as 1755-1820); Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 50, 103; Munemasa Isoo, 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 233 (for Kien); *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人.

Matsudaira Sadanobu: 松平定信, Masamaru, Teikei, Rakuō, Kyokuhō, Fūgetsuō, Kagetsuō, original family name: Tokugawa
Years of birth and death: 1758-1829
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), administration (Bakufu)
Activities: *waka*, calligraphy, *zuihitsu*, music, *chanoyu*
Teachers: Ōtsuka Takasue (1719-1792)
Contacts: Shibano Ritsuzan, Tani Bunchō, Aōdō Denzen, Okada Kansen, Hayashi Nobutaka, Morishima Chūryō, Nakai Chikuzan, Rai Shunsui
Biographical sketch: Sadanobu's father was Tokugawa or Tayasu Munetake (1715-1771), the son of the eighth shogun Yoshimune. Munetake was active as a *waka* poet and scholar of Japanese studies. Sadanobu did Chinese studies with a retainer of the Tayasu family, Ōtsuka Takasue. In 1774, on the order of the Bakufu, he was adopted by Matsudaira Sadakuni, daimyo of Shirakawa. He succeeded his adoptive father in 1783, receiving junior fourth rank lower and the title of Etchū no kami. The domain was going through a period of great economical difficulties, but Sadanobu managed to struggle through with a number of strict measures. When things had settled down he continued to improve his domain's circumstances. In 1787 he was appointed president of the council of *rōjū* and set out to revise Tanuma Okitsugu's policies. He became shogunal regent (*hosa*) in 1788. His measures to rehabilitate shogunal authority and to extricate his country from economical problems are known as the Kansei reforms (*kansei no kaikaku*) after the Kansei period (1789-1801). When Sadanobu visited Osaka in 1788, he attended a lecture by Nakai Chikuzan on political economy. Chikuzan's best known work on this subject, *Sōbō kigen* ('Bold Words of Grasses and Reeds', 1789) is dedicated to Sadanobu. In 1793 Sadanobu was discharged from his position as a *rōjū* and again devoted himself to his domain. He retired in 1812. Sadanobu is known as a patron of the arts, a *waka* poet, a calligrapher and an author of *zuihitsu*. He even wrote a novel: *Daimyō katagi* (usually translated as 'Portrait of a Daimyo', written probably late 1784) but later burned the manuscript. He was also involved in musicological research, reconstructing and preserving old compositions.
Literature: for *Daimyō katagi*, see Howard Hibbett, *The chrysanthemum and the fish,* 127 (describes the novel as "a strictly private diversion"), and Haruko Iwasaki, 'Portrait of a daimyo. Comical fiction by Matsudaira Sadanobu', in: *MN* 38, 1983, 1-48 (the novel survived because copies were made by retainers); for *chanoyu*, see Paul Varley & Kumakura Isao, eds, *Tea in Japan. Essays on the history of Chanoyu*, Honolulu, 1989, 171-172; Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu'; *idem*,

'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy'; *idem*, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'; for Rai Shunsui, see *ibid.*, 291.

Matsumura Goshun: 松村呉春, Gekkei, Toyoaki, Hakubō, Inpaku, Yūho, Bunzō, Kaemon, Hyakushōdō, Katen, Shōutei, Sonjūhaku, Sonpaku, Sonseki
Years of birth and death: 1752-1811
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), painting
Activities: painting, *haikai*, music, seal carving
Teachers: Ōnishi Suigetsu (fl. ca. 1780), Yosa Buson, Murase Kōtei
Contacts: Matsumura Keibun (brother), Ueda Akinari, Ki Baitei, Ban Kōkei, Minagawa Kien, Shinnin Shinnō, Takai Kitō, Maruyama Ōkyo, Murata Harumi. As pupil: Okamoto Toyohiko
Biographical sketch: Goshun's family had been employees of the Kyoto gold mint for five generations; his father and grandfather both served as *toshiyori*, having the supervision of the superintendants of the labourers and of the financial personnel. Goshun became a superintendant in 1769. He practised painting as a hobby, studying with one Ōnishi Suigetsu. He was also interested in music (he played the flute), Nō chanting and seal carving. He did Chinese studies with Murase Kōtei. It is not clear when and under what circumstances he retired from his job, but around 1773 he became a pupil of Yosa Buson with whom he studied both painting and *haikai*. He was a live-in student together with Ki Baitei and was friendly with Buson's *haikai* pupil and assistant Takai Kitō. In 1778 he married a high-ranking geisha and *haikai* poet. In 1781 she died in an accident and a few months later Goshun also lost his father. He left Kyoto and moved to the town of Ikeda in Settsu province. In 1782 he took the tonsure. In this year he probably also remarried. His second wife was again from the pleasure quarters, and, like his first wife, a *haikai* poet. She died in 1810. In the last month of 1783 Buson fell ill and Goshun travelled to him in Kyoto. After Buson's death Goshun and Baitei took care of their master's affairs. Goshun then returned to Ikeda. In 1787 he visited Maruyama Ōkyo and he was again in Kyoto in 1788 at the time of the great fire, when Goshun and Ōkyo shared lodgings for a while. Goshun moved back to Kyoto in 1789 and settled in Shijō. Under the influence of Maruyama Ōkyo he changed his style and eventually gave up *haikai* and *haiga*. The new style (often designated as the Maruyama-Shijō school) made him famous. Goshun had no children and left his studio to his brother Keibun.
Literature: French et al., *The poet painters: Buson and his followers*; Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 92; for Kōtei, see Murakami Mamoru, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai*, 50; Mark Morris, 'Group portrait with artist: Yosa Buson and his patrons', in: C. Andrew Gerstle, ed., *Eighteenth century Japan, culture and society*, Sydney 1989, 87-105; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 57-58; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 217, 226; Miyeko Murase, *Jewel rivers. Japanese art from the Burke collection*, Richmond 1995, 115-116; *nenpu* in:

Itsuō bijutsukan 逸翁美術館, *Goshun* 呉春, Osaka 1982; for Goshun's lineage and family history, see *ibid.* 114-115; *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1 (gives 1774 as the year in which Goshun became Buson's pupil); Takagi Sōgo 高木蒼梧, *Haikai jinmei jiten* 俳諧人名辞典, section Tenmei haidan 天明俳壇, 397 s.v. Gekkei; for Harumi, see *nenpu* in: Hyōgo kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan 兵庫県立歴史博物館, *Maruyama Ōkyo ten* 円山応挙展,and *nenpu* in: Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, *Maruyama Ōkyo, shaseiga – sōzō e no chōsen* 丸山応挙, 写生画 – 創造への兆戦, s.v. 1788.

Matsumura Keibun: 松村景文, Naoharu, Shisō, Kanando, Kakei
Years of birth and death: 1779-1843
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: painting, administration (temple)
Activities: painting, theory of art
Teachers: Matsumura Goshun (brother)
Contacts: Shinnin Shinnō, Maruyama Ōzui, Okamoto Toyohiko, see also Matsumura Goshun
Biographical sketch: Keibun was the son of a *toshiyori* of the Kyoto gold mint. His father died when he was two years old and he was raised by his much older brother Goshun with whom he also studied painting. He had a special talent for birds and flowers and was also well-versed in Chinese art theory. Keibun for a while was an attendant of prince Shinnin. He lived at the Myōhō-in and accompanied the prince on his travels to the Kantō in 1805. Because Goshun had no children of his own, Keibun inherited the studio at Goshun's death in 1811. The school prospered under his direction.

Matsura Seizan: 松浦静山, Kiyoshi, Eisaburō, Sesshū, Kan'onsai, Ryūsui, Jōseishi
Years of birth and death: 1760-1841
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai (daimyo)
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial)
Activities: Chinese studies, *waka*, *renga*, Japanese studies, Western studies, music, military studies, collecting
Teachers: Minagawa Kien, Asakawa Zen'an (1781-1849), Satō Issai (1772-1859)
Contacts: Hayashi Jussai, Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Seizan was the eldest son of Matsura Masanobu, heir to the daimyo of Hirado in Hizen province and was born at the domain's residence in Edo. His father Masanobu died in 1771, ahead of his own father, and later that year Seizan officially became his grandfather's heir. In 1774 Seizan received junior fifth rank lower and the title of Iki no kami. He succeeded in 1775 and immediately set out to improve the economy of his domain and to stimulate education. He founded domain schools in Edo and in Hirado, and initiated a project for the compilation and editing of historical material concerning the domain. He was much interested in coastal defence and

Western artillery. In 1798 he donated a large sum to the Bakufu for the benefit of the Shōheikō. He resigned in 1806. Seizan began Chinese studies with Minagawa Kien in 1791 and later continued with Asakawa Zen'an (a pupil of Yamamoto Hokuzan) and Satō Issai (a pupil of Kien and Nakai Chikuzan). He did *waka* and *renga* and practised polite pastimes such as Nō and *kemari*. He played the *koto* and the *shamisen*, was interested in Japanese classical prose and Western science, and had a fine collection of books. Seizan was a friend of Hayashi Jussai and Kimura Kenkadō. Jussai was the driving force behind Seizan's *Kasshiyawa* ('Evening Talk of the Cycle of Sixty') which Seizan began in the eleventh month of the fourth year of Bunsei (1821), a date which marked the beginning of a sixty year cycle or *kasshi*. The work contains anecdotes about daimyo and *hatamoto* from the beginning of the Tokugawa period and consists of over a hundred volumes, every one corrected and revised by Jussai.
Literature: for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1784, 1786, 1793, 1799.

Miguma Katen: 三熊化顛, Shikō, Kaidō, Kazue, Masachika, Katen koji
Years of birth and death: 1730-1794
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting, book illustration
Activities: painting, book illustration, *waka*
Teachers: Gekko (dates unknown)
Contacts: Ban Kōkei
Biographical sketch: Sources do not agree about Katen's place of birth. Some say he came from Kaga province, others say he was born in Kyoto. Katen lived and worked in Kyoto. He studied painting with Gekko, a pupil of Kumashiro Yūhi (1712-1772). He became known as a genre painter, depicting human figures in their everyday life. He was also famous for his cherry blossoms and worked for cherry connoisseurs (his house was situated between Arashiyama and the Ninna-ji, areas noted for their cherries). Apart from his painting he practised *waka*. He was the illustrator of Ban Kōkei's *Kinsei kijinden* and also did a catalogue of Kō Fuyō's collection (this catalogue most likely was produced after Fuyō's death in 1784: I have not found that Katen was acquainted with Fuyō).
Literature: Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 45; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,*vol. 1, 25-27; Wybe Kuitert, *Japanese flowering cherries*, Portland 1999, 66-67.

Minagawa Kien: 皆川淇園, Gen, Yūhisai, Bunzō, Hakkyō
Years of birth and death: 1734-1807
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies

Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, painting, seal carving, calligraphy, music, collecting
Teachers: Ōi Gitei (died late 1740s), Miyake Bokuyō (1710-1758), Itō Kinri (1710-1772), Mochizuki Gyokusen (1673-1755), Maruyama Ōkyo
Contacts: Minagawa Kōsai (son), Fujitani Mitsue (nephew), Fujitani Nariakira (brother), Akamatsu Shōshū, Azuma Tōyō, Ban Kōkei, Bitō Nishū, Daiten, Emura Hokkai, Seida Tansō, Ike Taiga, Itō Tōsho, Kagawa Gen'etsu, Kakizaki Hakyō, Kameda Bōsai, Kimura Kenkadō, Kō Fuyō, Suzuki Fuyō, Masuyama Sessai, Matsumura Goshun, Matsumura Keibun, Maruyama Ōzui, Nagasawa Rosetsu, Totoki Baigai, Nishiyori Seisai, Okamoto Yasutaka, Rikunyo, Shibano Ritsuzan, Shinnin Shinnō, Ueda Akinari, Uragami Gyokudō, Yunoki Taijun, Yosa Buson. As pupils: Iwagaki Ryōkei, Koishi Genshun, Murata Harumi, Ōta Kinjō, Matsura Seizan, Umetsuji Shunshō
Biographical sketch: Kien was the eldest son in a family of nine children. Some sources say his father was a court physician. Others say that he was an antiques dealer. Fujitani Nariakira was Kien's brother. Kien's education began when he was about five. He did Chinese studies with Ōi Gitei, Miyake Bokuyō and Itō Kinri, the elder brother of his friends Emura Hokkai and Seida Tansō. He took his first painting lessons with Mochizuki Gyokusen, a friend of Ike Taiga. Later he studied with Maruyama Ōkyo, who was both a teacher and a friend. Kien began to teach Chinese studies at the age of twenty-five. Around 1760 he was in the service of the Matsudaira family of the domain of Kameyama in Tanba province. He married a girl from this family and his son Kōsai was born in 1762. In the 1780s he was invited by the domain of Zeze in the province of Ōmi to set up a system of education. A year before his death Kien reorganized his own academy and had a new building put up. Together with Shibano Ritsuzan, Nishiyori Seisai and Akamatsu Sōshū, Kien was active in a small *kanshi* society. In 1783 he started twice-yearly public exhibitions of paintings and calligraphy. All in all, he organized fourteen such exhibitions at popular venues in Higashiyama. Many of his friends such as Uragami Gyokudō and Nagasawa Rosetsu contributed to them. Kien was himself a fine painter and a remarkable calligrapher. He also collected texts of the Jōruri theatre.
Literature: Yoshiaki Shimizu & John M. Rosenfield, *Masters of Japanese calligraphy 8th-19th century*, cat. nr 124; for Buson, see Morris, 'Group portrait with artist', 95; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 2, 176-183, vol. 3, 29, 42, 49, 60ff, 104; Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 9, 28; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Kyoto no bunkashakai' 京都の文化社会, 101-133 (113 for Kagawa Gen'etsu); Kunikane Kaiji 国金海二, *Joji shōkai*, 助字詳解, Tokyo 1978, 303-305; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 207; for Taiga, see Takahashi Hiromi 高橋博巳, *Kyōto geien no nettowâku* 京都芸苑のネットワーク, 61-62, and *ibid.*, 232, for Yunoki Taijun; for Uragami family and Kien's musical lineage, *ibid.* 115, and *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.vv. 1791, 1794, 1796.

Minagawa Kōsai: 皆川篁斎, Makoto, Kunyū, Yūzō, Kan'en, Kōjun sensei
Years of birth and death: 1762-1819
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies
Teachers: Minagawa Kien (father)
Contacts: Fujitani Nariakira (uncle), Fujitani Mitsue (nephew), Kagawa Gen'etsu (father-in-law), see also Minagawa Kien
Biographical sketch: Kōsai was educated by his father Minagawa Kien. Fujitani Nariakira was his uncle and Fujitani Mitsue his nephew. Mitsue was raised and educated by Minagawa Kien after his father Nariakira died in 1779. When Kien was engaged by the domain of Zeze in the 1780s he took his son as an assistant teacher. Kōsai may now and then have stood in for Kien as teacher of Matsura Seizan, the daimyo of Hirado. Later he was in the service of the Matsudaira of the domain of Kameyama in Tanba province, his mother's family The latter engagement may have caused him to neglect his father's Kyoto academy. After Kien's death the school rapidly fell into decline.

Miura Chora: 三浦樗良, Kanbyōe, Muian, Ichihōro, Genchū
Years of birth and death: 1729-1780
Place of birth: Toba in Shima province
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: *haikai*, painting
Activities: *haikai*, painting
Teachers: Hyakuyū (unidentified)
Contacts: Yosa Buson, Takai Kitō, Ueda Akinari, Katō Kyōtai
Biographical sketch: Sources agree that in 1742 Chora and his father settled in Yamada in Ise province after his father resigned from his function at the domain of Toba. It is not clear what the nature and status of this function was, but Chora's father may have been a samurai. Even before that time Chora had begun to study *haikai* with the poet Hyakuyū from Nagashima in Kii province. Chora did some travelling in the late 1750s and early 1760s. In 1762 he built himself a house in Yamada called Muian. By that time he had come into his own as a *haiga* artist and poet. In 1766 he left Yamada. Around this time he also took the tonsure and perhaps became a ronin. For a few years he lived an unsettled life, spending a year in Edo (on this occasion he took his wife with him) and traveling. By 1770 he was back in Yamada. In 1771 he made a trip to the northern provinces, with the work of Bashō in mind. In 1773 he travelled to Kyoto for the first time. Here he came into contact with Yosa Buson and his circle and became an advocate of the restoration of the *haikai* style of the Genroku period, a trend that is often referred to as the 'Bashō Revival Movement'. Chora settled in Kyoto in 1776 but returned to Yamada a few months before his death.

Literature: for Akinari, see *nenpu* in: Nagashima Hiroaki & kezawa Natsuki 長島弘明, 池澤夏樹, *Ueda Akinari* 上田秋成, Tokyo 1991, s.v. 1776; for *haiga*, see W. vande Walle, ed., *Schertsend geschetst. Haiku-schilderingen van de zeventiende tot de twintigste eeuw uit de verzameling Kakimori Bunko*, Hasselt 1989, 50-51; Takagi Sōgo 高木蒼梧, *Haikai jinmei jiten* 俳諧人名辞典, section Tenmei haidan 天明俳壇, 383-385.

Miyake Shōzan: 三宅嘯山, Bunchū, Kissai, Shigen, Sōrōkyo, Ōryūken
Years of birth and death: 1718-1801
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, popular fiction
Activities: *haikai, kanshi*, vernacular Chinese, popular fiction
Teachers: Mochizuki Sōoku (1682-1766), Keikun (unidentified)
Contacts: Chōmu, Yosa Buson, Takai Kitō, Rikunyo, Akutagawa Tankyū, Ban Kōkei
Biographical sketch: Shōzan came from the family that had produced such scholars as Miyake Kanran (1674-1718) and Miyake Sekian (1665-1730), but made a living conducting a pawnshop. In 1741 he went to study *haikai* with Mochizuki Sōoku and in 1745 he began *kanshi* with the monk Keikun. Shōzan was an advocate of the restoration of the *haikai* style of the Genroku period, a trend also known as the 'Bashō Revival Movement'. He was intimate with Yosa Buson, Chōmu and Takai Kitō. He attended Buson's monthly gatherings and took part in several *haikai* publication projects. He was a highly regarded theorist of poetry. His circle of friends also included Rikunyo and Akutagawa Tankyū. Under the influence (and possibly tutelage) of Tankyū he gained a thorough knowledge of the Chinese vernacular novel and wrote the *yomihon Tonoibumi* ('Notes of the Night Watch', 1785). Shōzan travelled to Hyōgo in 1779, and to Sanuki province on Shikoku in 1781. He regularly gave lectures on Chinese literature at the Shōren'in and the Ninnaji.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち; *ibid.*, 224, for Rikunyo; Matsumura Tomotsugu 松村友次, *Buson no tegami* 蕪村の手紙, Tokyo 1997, 237 (biographical sketch); Ogata Tsutomu 尾形仂, ed., *Haibungaku daijiten* 俳文学大辞典, Tokyo 1995 s.v.; Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 46.

Mogami Tokunai: 最上徳内, Tsunenori, Motoyoshi, Shiin, Fusakichi, Toshiharu, Ōkoku, Zōzan, Hakkōsai, original family name: Takamiya
Years of birth and death: 1755-1836
Place of birth: Tateokamura in the region of Murayama in the province of Uzen
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), possibly domestic service
Activities: Western studies
Teachers: possibly Yamada Tonan (1730-1787), Honda Toshiakira (1743-1820)
Contacts: Maeno Ryōtaku

Biographical sketch: Tokunai's father was a farmer. Tokunai went to Edo in 1781 and there came into contact with Yamada Tonan, physician to the Bakufu. He may have been his pupil, but it is also said he was Tonan's servant. Later Tokunai went to the academy of Honda Toshiakira. In 1785, at the recommendation of Toshiakira, he was added to an expedition of the Bakufu to Hokkaido. The expedition was well under way when it was suspended in 1786 at the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu. In 1787 Tokunai crossed over to Matsumae on his own initiative but was denied entrance into the province by the domain. He settled in Nobeji and married the sister of a local shipping agent. The couple had a son. In the fifth month of 1789 there were Ainu insurrections on the Kurils, and Tokunai became part of a Bakufu investigation team. He was implicated in the misbehaviour of one of the team's members and imprisoned. After investigation he was exonerated and given the function of *fushin* ('construction official'). In the following years he joined two other expeditions to the Kurils, but between 1800 and 1804 he travelled around the country as official responsible for timber. In 1805 and 1806 he was on expeditions again and was promoted to the function of *fushinyaku motojime* ('supervisor of construction'). He received two more promotions in the following years and he visited several domains in the context of the defence works against Russia. In 1826 when Siebold came to Edo, Tokunai lent him his own maps and surveys of the Ezo region and helped him with the compilation of a dictionary of the Ainu language.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 83.

Momozawa Mutaku: 桃沢夢宅, Masahiro, Yoichiemon, Keizan, Shinshitei, Suiunken, Mohyōe, Chōbō sanjin
Years of birth and death: 1738-1810
Place of birth: the region of Ina in Shinano province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: administration (rural), *waka*
Activities: *waka*
Teachers: Chōgetsu
Contacts: Kagawa Kageki
Biographical sketch: Mutaku was the son of a rural headman in the region of Ina in Shinano province, but sources do not agree on the name of his village. In due course he succeeded his father. In 1760 his mother's *waka* teacher Chōgetsu visited the region and from that time on Mutaku frequently travelled to Kyoto to have lessons with him. He made great progress under Chōgetsu's tuition. Mutaku retired from his duties as a headman in 1789 in order to concentrate on his *waka* activities, and in 1798 succeeded Chōgetsu. In 1801 he handed over the school to a pupil and returned to his native district. He became the most important *waka* teacher in the province of Shinano. In his Kyoto years he much associated with Kagawa Kageki.

Mori Sosen: 森狙仙 (also 祖仙), Shushō, Shukuga, Jokansai, Reimeian, Hanaya Hachihyōe
Years of birth and death: 1747-1821, 1749 is also found as the year of his birth

Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: unclear
Contacts: Mori Tessan (nephew and adopted son), members of the Maruyama family
Biographical sketch: Much is unclear about Sosen's early life. According to some sources he came from Nagasaki, but we also find that he was a native of Nishinomiya in Settsu province. Some sources say he was a pupil of Yamamoto Joshunsai (d.1781) of the Kano school, others that he had studied the Shen Nanpin-style. Sources agree that he mostly lived and worked in Osaka and that his two elder brothers, Yōshin (1730-1822) and Shūhō (1738-1823) were also well-known painters. Sosen was much influenced by Maruyama Ōkyo's style and method. His nephew and adopted son Tessan (son of his brother Shūhō) later studied with Ōkyo. Sosen had a special talent for painting animals and he is widely famous for his paintings of monkeys. The story goes that he lived for three years in the mountains to observe and sketch these animals.
Literature: Harold P. Stern, *Birds, beasts, blossoms, and bugs*, New York 1976, cat. nrs 55, 56; Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.

Mori Tessan: 森徹山, Shigen, Shushin
Years of birth and death: 1775-1841
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: Mori Shūhō (father, 1738-1823), Mori Sosen (uncle and adoptive father), Maruyama Ōkyo
Contacts: Maruyama Ōzui (brother in law)
Biographical sketch: Tessan was the son of Mori Shūhō, elder brother of Mori Sosen. He was adopted by Sosen and succeeded him. Tessan was taught by Shūhō and Sosen and later became a pupil of Maruyama Ōkyo. He was especially good at human figures, birds and flowers. Tessan was brother in law to Ōkyo's son and successor Ōzui: he was married to a sister of Ōzui's wife. Tessan returned to Osaka and was taken into the service of the Hosokawa family of the domain of Kumamoto in Higo province. Later he also worked in Edo. The introduction of the Maruyama style in Osaka and Edo is for a large part due to his efforts.
Literature: Harold P. Stern, *Birds, beasts, blossoms, and bugs*, New York 1976, cat. nr 69; Hyōgo kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan 兵庫県立歴史博物館, *Maruyama Ōkyo ten* 円山応挙展, genealogy on 182-183.

Morikawa Chikusō: 森川竹窓, Sekō, Rikichi, Ryōō, Sōdō
Years of birth and death: 1763-1830
Place of birth: Toriyamura in the region of Takaichi in Yamato province

Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: calligraphy
Activities: calligraphy, painting, seal carving
Teachers: Oka Gyokuen (1737-1798)
Contacts: Ueda Akinari, Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: When Chikusō was in his seventeenth year he went to Edo and entered the service of the Satake daimyo family. After a few years he left and went to Osaka. Here he came into contact with Oka (or Okada) Gyokuen, a scholar in the field of Chinese studies who was also a fine calligrapher and seal carver. Gyokuen introduced him to Chinese calligraphy and taught him his own method of self-instruction. By copying ancient models Chikusō developed his own style and expertise. He set up his a private academy and one of his first pupils became his wife. She was a competent painter and in fact they taught each other. She died in 1810. In the 1790s Chikusō became friendly with Kimura Kenkadō and Ueda Akinari. He regularly received the two together at his house and often was Kenkadō's companion for visiting gatherings and exhibitions. In the early 1820s Chikusō moved to Kyoto, where he also died.
Literature: Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.; Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, *Nihon shodō jiten* 日本書道辞典, Tokyo 1987, s.v.; for Gyokuen, see Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩也 & Nagasawa Kōjō 長沢孝三, *Kanbungakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, nr 1077; for Akinari and Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1794, 1796, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801; Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 122.

Morishima Chūryō: 森島中良, Hosan, Hosai, Yasuomi, Keirin, Shinra Banshō, Taketsue no Sugaru, Furai Sanjin II, original family name: Katsuragawa
Years of birth and death: 1756-1810
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine, popular fiction
Activities: medicine, Western studies, ethnography, vernacular Chinese, popular fiction, *kyōka*
Teachers: Hiraga Gennai
Contacts: Katsuragawa Hoshū (brother), Matsudaira Sadanobu, Santō Kyōden, Ōta Nanpo, Kitao Masayoshi, Shiba Kōkan, Hayashi Shihei, Maeno Ryōtaku, Murata Harumi. As pupil: possibly Aōdō Denzen
Biographical sketch: Chūryō was the second son in a family of physicians. His father was appointed official physician to the Bakufu in 1760. Katsuragawa Hoshū was his elder brother. Chūryō studied with Hiraga Gennai, but it is not clear during what period. Chūryō remained unmarried and lived at his elder brother's house, assisting him in his research. In 1792 Chūryō became personal physician (with the status of *konando* or 'personal attendant') to Matsudaira Sadanobu. He resigned from this function in 1797. Apart from his medical career Chūryō was active in popular fiction. Here he was

encouraged by Hiraga Gennai. The year 1779 saw the first performance of a *jōruri* they had written together. After Gennai's death Chūryō edited his posthumous works and he succeeded to Gennai's name of Furai Sanjin. In the following years he wrote several *kokkeibon* and *kibyōshi*. His first *yomihon* is from 1792. Like his friends Santō Kyōden and Ōta Nanpo, Chūryō was active as a *kyōka* poet. He also wrote several studies of an ethnographical nature and linguistic studies of Dutch and vernacular Chinese. He had meant to publish more books on foreign countries but gave up these projects, for political as well as scholarly reasons. Chūryō was an intimate friend of Maeno Ryōan, the son of Maeno Ryōtaku, who died much ahead of his father in 1791.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 86, 99; about abandoning of publishing projects, see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 281-282; for Hayashi Shihei, see *ibid.*, 275-276, 284-285, for contact with the Maeno family, *ibid.*, 102, and for Murata Harumi, *ibid.*, 299-300. Yashiro Hirokata is mentioned as one of Chūryō's informants, *ibid.*, 305.

Motoori Norinaga: 本居宣長, Suzunoya, original family name: Ozu
Years of birth and death: 1730-1801
Place of birth: Matsuzaka in Ise province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine, Japanese studies
Activities: medicine, Japanese studies, Shinto studies, *waka*, *zuihitsu*
Teachers: Hori Keizan (1688-1757), Hori Genkō (1686-1754), Takekawa Kōjun (1725-1780), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769)
Contacts: Katō Chikage, Shinnin Shinnō, Shibayama Mochitoyo, Murata Harumi, Gamō Kunpei, Ozawa Roan, Kimura Kenkadō, Hanawa Hokiichi
Biographical sketch: Norinaga was the son of a merchant who dealt in cotton goods. His father died when he was ten years old, but his mother saw to it that he was well educated. In 1748 he was adopted into a family of paper dealers, but the adoption was annulled after two years. In 1752 he went to Kyoto to study medicine. He lived at the house of Hori Keizan with whom he did both Chinese and Japanese studies. His medical teachers were Hori Genkō and Takekawa Kōjun. He returned to Matsuzaka in 1757 and opened a medical practice. He married in 1760, but the marriage stranded after a few months. In 1762 he married again and had two sons and three daughters. In 1763 he met Kamo no Mabuchi, whom he came to see as his teacher. They only met once, but remained in contact by way of correspondence. In 1764 Norinaga began work on his *magnum opus* the *Kojiki den* ('A Commentary on the Kojiki'), which he completed in 1798. Next to his work as a physician, Norinaga began to lecture on Japanese literature. These lectures were the beginning of his academy. During the Tenmei period (1781-1789) the number of his pupils more than doubled and in his final years he had some 500 pupils to teach. The Tenmei period also saw his notorious dispute with Ueda Akinari on matters of ancient phonetics and national ideology. Norinaga visited Kyoto in 1790, and again in 1793, when he met prince Shinnin and the *kuge* and *waka* poet Shibayama Mochitoyo. In 1801 he again held a successful series of lectures in Kyoto.

He died shortly afterwards. Norinaga's own son Haruniwa (1763-1828) developed an eye disease and, by 1794, was completely blind. He inherited his father's school, but the family headship went to Norinaga's adopted son Ōhira (1756-1833). Apart from his scholarly activities and his *waka*, Norinaga is also known for his collection of *zuihitsu Tamakatsuma* (often translated as 'The Jeweled Comb Basket'), which he composed between 1793 and 1801.
Literature: Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*; Peter Nosco, *Remembering paradise. Nativism and nostalgia in eighteenth-century Japan*, Cambridge, Mass. 1990, 159-233; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1787; for scholarship, ideology and the dispute with Ueda Akinari, see Burns, *Before the nation*; Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 78-87.

Murase Kōtei: 村瀬栲亭, Yukihiro, Kaemon, Shōkayō, Shinshū, Toki Chūsho
Years of birth and death: 1744-1818
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (domanial)
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, *sencha*, painting, calligraphy
Teachers: Hori Genshō (dates unknown),Takeda Bairyū (1716-1766), a member of the Kiyohara family
Contacts: Ueda Akinari, Shinnin Shinnō, Rikunyo, Ban Kōkei, Kakizaki Hakyō, Satake Yoshiatsu, Iwagaki Ryōkei. As pupils: Kayama Tekien, Matsumura Goshun, Umetsuji Shunshō
Biographical sketch: Kōtei was the eldest son of a physician. He did medicine with Hori Genshō and Chinese studies with Takeda Bairyū and with a member of the Kiyohara family. He became teacher of Chinese studies to prince Shinnin, when the prince was about eight years old. Shinnin was assigned the position of *monzeki* abbot of the Myōhō-in when he was one year old, and Kōtei's teacher Takeda Bairyū had also served as tutor at the Myōhō-in. Kōtei had to resign for reasons of illness in 1777, but would later become one of the prince's most intimate friends. In 1783 he was invited by the daimyo Satake Yoshiatsu to become specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Akita in Ugo province. He also became involved in the administration of the domain. In 1792 he retired and went back to Kyoto. Kōtei was a skillful painter of bamboo and orchids and a fine calligrapher. With his friend Ueda Akinari he was a pioneer of *sencha*.
Literature: Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 50; Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 105, 108, 123; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 224, 229; Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 88.

Murata Harumi: 村田春海, Sachimaro, Heishirō, Denzō, Shokkinsai, Kotojiri no okina, Gyōchō
Years of birth and death: 1746-1811

Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, Japanese studies, *waka*
Activities: Japanese studies, *waka*, calligraphy, music
Teachers: Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769), Hattori Hakufun (1713-1767), Udono Shin'ei (1710-1774), Minagawa Kien
Contacts: Adachi Seiga, Katō Chikage, Maruyama Ōkyo, Motoori Norinaga, Matsumura Goshun, Morishima Chūryō
Biographical sketch: Harumi's father conducted a wholesale trade in dried sardines and was very well to do. Harumi was the second son. As a boy he became a pupil of Kamo no Mabuchi, also the teacher of his father and elder brother. He did Chinese studies with Hattori Hakufun and Udono Shin'ei. It was probably through them that he met Adachi Seiga. Harumi can also be found in the pupil's register of Minagawa Kien. Harumi was adopted by Ban Shōshu (d. 1784), *renga* master to the Bakufu, but in 1769 his brother died and he had to take over the family business; the adoption was annulled. Harumi's flamboyant lifestyle brought the house to bankruptcy. He then had to make a living as a teacher of Japanese studies and *waka*, receiving advice and support from his friend Katō Chikage. As the number of his pupils grew and his talents were recognized, his circumstances improved. He received a special stipend from Matsudaira Sadanobu and enjoyed the patronage of several daimyo. Harumi visited Motoori Norinaga for the first time in 1788. The relationship was not cordial but Harumi respected Norinaga as a scholar. In 1788 Harumi also visited Kyoto and went on an outing to Fushimi with, amongst others, Kien, Matsumura Goshun and Maruyama Ōkyo. In 1805 prince Shinnin visited Edo and Harumi was one of the intellectuals he invited to meet him. Harumi was a fine calligrapher and played the *koto*. He is also known for having rediscovered the long-lost *Shinsen Jikyō* ('Newly Edited Mirror of Characters', compiled ca. 898-901), the oldest known Chinese-Japanese character dictionary.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 223 (mentioned as a pupil of Kien); for *Shinsen Jikyō*, see *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Tokyo/New York 1983, s.v. Murata Harumi, and Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 297; for Chūryō, *ibid.*, 299-300; for Ōkyo, Kien and Goshun, see *nenpu* in: Hyōgo kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan 兵庫県立歴史博物館, *Maruyama Ōkyo ten* 円山応挙展, and *nenpu* in: Osaka shiritsu bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, *Maruyama Ōkyo, shaseiga – sōzō e no chōsen* 丸山応挙, 写生画 – 創造への兆戦, s.v. 1788.

Nagasawa Rosetsu: 長沢芦雪, Nagasawa Masakatsu, Hyōkei, Kazue, Gyosha, Inkyo, Kanshū, original family name: Uesugi
Years of birth and death: 1754-1799
Place of birth: the domain of Sasayama in Tanba province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: painting, possibly administration (domanial)
Activities: painting

Teachers: Maruyama Ōkyo
Contacts: Minagawa Kien, Komai Genki
Biographical sketch: Rosetsu's father was a low-ranking samurai in the service of the domain of Sasayama in Tanba province. Much about Rosetsu's life is unclear. He was adopted by the Nagasawa, who may have been a samurai family in the service of the same domain, but could also have been a commoner family from Kyoto. Some sources say that Rosetsu served the domain of Yodo for a while. He studied painting with Maruyama Ōkyo but the story goes that he was expelled from the school for reason of insubordination. We find, however, that the relationship with Ōkyo continued after Rosetsu had set up his own studio around 1781. It is clear that Ōkyo supported him and recommended him to possible patrons. The two collaborated on several occasions. Rosetsu's rival at Ōkyo's studio was Komai Genki. Minagawa Kien was an intimate friend of Rosetsu and Rosetsu regularly contributed to the twice-yearly public exhibitions of paintings and calligraphy Kien had started in 1783. Rosetsu died in Osaka under mysterious circumstances. It is told that he had been taken into the service of the Asano family of Hiroshima as a painting teacher, but was poisoned by a jealous colleague while at the Asano's Osaka residence. Rosetsu had adopted a man from his native province of Tanba as his son.
Literature: Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 53, 64.

Nagata Kanga: 永田観鵞, Shunpei, Tōkō
Years of birth and death: 1738-1792
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: calligraphy
Activities: calligraphy, Buddhist studies, *kanshi*, *waka*, painting, collecting
Teachers: Emura Hokkai, Hattori Somon (1724-1769)
Contacts: Ban Kōkei, Rikunyo, Ike Taiga, Kayama Tekien
Biographical sketch: Most likely Kanga, who was of a poor samurai family, was born in Ōmi province, but it is also found that he was born in Kyoto. He did Chinese studies with Hattori Somon and Emura Hokkai, and was also engaged in Buddhist studies, *kanshi*, *waka*, painting and calligraphy. He is best-known as a calligrapher and conducted his own academy. He contributed to the first volume of Ban Kōkei's 'Lives of Remarkable People' (*Kinsei kijinden*, 1790) by writing out Rikunyo's preface for the printed edition. He was close to Ban Kōkei and Rikunyo, possibly because they also had relatives in Ōmi province. Ike Taiga was also among his friends. Kanga had an enormous collection of paintings, calligraphies and Chinese rubbings. He published a volume of *kanshi*, several works on calligraphy and catalogues of scholars and place names in Chinese poetry.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, ed., *Kinsei kijinden*, *Zoku kinsei kijinden* 近世奇人伝. 続近世奇人伝, 431; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, vol. 3, 65, 81; for Kōkei, see Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 45.

Nakagawa Jun'an: 中川淳庵 (also 純安), Rin, Genrin, Hankei, Juntei
Years of birth and death: 1739-1786
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, Western studies, botany
Teachers: Yasutomi Kiseki (unidentified), Tamura Ransui (1718-1776)
Contacts: Hiraga Gennai, Sugita Genpaku, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Maeno Ryōtaku, Kudō Heisuke. As pupil: Udagawa Genzui
Biographical sketch: Jun'an's father was physician to the Sakai family of the domain of Obama in Wakasa province. Jun'an was interested in botany from an early age and already contributed to exhibitions when he was still in his teens. He studied with Yasutomi Kiseki, physician to the lord of Yamagata, who brought him into contact with Western medicine. He also studied at the academy of Tamura Ransui, where he met Hiraga Gennai. He cooperated with Gennai in his research on asbestos and they managed to produce a non-inflammable cloth in 1764. In due course he would take care of the revised edition of Gennai's *Butsurui hinshitsu* ('A Classification of Various Samples') of 1763. Jun'an succeeded to the family headship in 1770 with a salary of 120 *koku.* With, amongst others, Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku he took part in the dissection of the body of a criminal in 1771, after which the *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* translation group was formed. In 1778 Jun'an became personal physician to his daimyo. Around 1780 his salary was 140 *koku*.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 66.

Nakai Chikuzan: 中井竹山, Kazuyoshi, Shikei, Zenta, Chikuzan koji, Dōkanshi, Setsurō
Years of birth and death: 1730-1804
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, political/economic studies
Teachers: Goi Ranshu (1697-1762)
Contacts: Nakai Riken (brother), Rai Shunsui and other members of the Rai family, Kimura Kenkadō, Katayama Hokkai and other members of the Kontonsha, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Iioka Gisai, Bitō Nishū, Kan Chazan. As pupil, probably Takayasu Rooku
Biographical sketch: Chikuzan was the eldest son of the scholar Nakai Shūan (1693-1758). Nakai Riken was his younger brother. At the death of the principal of the Kaitokudō merchant academy in Osaka, Miyake Sekian (1676-1730), Chikuzan's father succeeded. In 1743 Chikuzan became a pupil of Goi Ranshu, a teacher at the academy. At the death of Chikuzan's father, Miyake Shunrō (d. 1782) succeeded as principal, while Chikuzan became the school's administrator. In 1761 he also began teaching at the academy. In 1762 Goi Ranshu died and Chikuzan became a full-time teacher next to his job as administrator. In 1782 Chikuzan succeeded as principal. Under his direction

the school flourished. Chikuzan was an active member of the Kontonsha. He was acquainted with Rai Shunsui, and members of the Rai family regularly stayed at the Kaitokudō. Chikuzan was married and had nine sons and four daughters. When Matsudaira Sadanobu visited Osaka in 1788 he called on Chikuzan to hear him lecture on political economy. Chikuzan's best known work on this subject, *Sōbō kigen* ('Bold Words of Grasses and Reeds', 1789) is dedicated to Sadanobu. In 1792 the school was destroyed in a fire but, with support from the Bakufu, Chikuzan managed to have it rebuilt. The reconstruction was completed in 1796. The next year Chikuzan resigned and handed over his duties to his son Shōen (1767-1803). In 1796 the Bakufu invited Chikuzan to enter their service as an official historian, probably at the Wagaku Kōdansho (Bureau for Japanese Studies), established in 1793. Chikuzan refused, as he was more concerned with his academy and with the education of commoners in general. Chikuzan's son Shōen died in 1803 and Chikuzan himself in 1804. His brother Riken took over the direction of the school.
Literature: Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of virtue in Tokugawa Japan. The Kaitokudō merchant academy of Osaka*, Chicago/London 1987; for invitation to enter the service of the Bakufu, see *ibid.*, 184; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1790, 1799, 1800.

Nakai Riken: 中井履軒, Kazunori, Shoshuku, Tokuji, Riken yūjin, Tenrakurō shujin
Years of birth and death: 1732-1817
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, *waka*, painting, medicine, astronomy/calendrical sciences
Teachers: Goi Ranshu (1697-1762)
Contacts: Nakai Chikuzan (brother), Shibano Ritsuzan, Kimura Kenkadō, members of the Rai family, Bitō Nishū, Kan Chazan
Biographical sketch: Riken was the second son of the scholar Nakai Shūan (1693-1758), who was principal of the Kaitokudō merchant academy in Osaka from 1730 until his death. Together with his elder brother Chikuzan, Riken studied with Goi Ranshu. In 1782 Chikuzan became principal of the Kaitokudō academy. Riken assisted his brother at the Kaitokudō, but also had his own school. Riken was not the social figure his brother was. He was not interested in Chikuzan's circle of friends, although he knew many of them. He even refused to meet Matsudaira Sadanobu when the latter visited Osaka in 1788. However, he had many interests including medicine and calendrical sciences. He also practised *waka* and ink painting. He took over the direction of the Kaitokudō upon the death of his nephew and his brother.
Literature: Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of virtue in Tokugawa Japan. The Kaitokudō merchant academy of Osaka*, Chicago/London 1987; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka

Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, Kyoto 2003, s.v. 1781.

Nakayama Kōyō: 中山高陽, Shōsen, Seisaemon, Enchū, Shiwa, Suiboku sanjin, Shōsekisai, Ganse dōjin
Years of birth and death: 1717-1780
Place of birth: Kōchi in Tosa province on the island of Shikoku
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, painting
Activities: *kanshi*, painting, calligraphy, seal carving, theory of art
Teachers: Tominaga Ian (d.1752), Seki Hōkō (1697-1765), Sakaki Hyakusen (1698-1753)
Contacts: Inoue Kinga, Sawada Tōkō, Uragami Gyokudō
Biographical sketch: Kōyō was the second son of the owner of an imported goods shop. Before turning to trade the family had been samurai. While assisting his father and elder brother in the shop, Kōyō did Chinese studies with the domanial specialist Tominaga Ian, and calligraphy with Seki Hōkō (probably by correspondence). In 1743, with the support of the domain of Tosa, he made a study trip around the Kamigata region and studied painting in Kyoto with Sakaki Hyakusen. In 1753 (some sources say 1761) he was restored to the samurai status and allowed rations for three. In 1758 he entered the service of the Yamanouchi family, daimyo of the domain of Tosa. In this year he went to Osaka, where he met Kimura Kenkadō and Hosoai Hansai, and to Kyoto, where he became friendly with the Obaku monk Monchū Jōfuku (1739-1829). In 1759 he moved to Edo. He was helped along by his calligraphy teacher Seki Hōkō and his production really took off. Inoue Kinga and Sawada Tōkō were his best friends. In 1772 Kōyō lost his house in a fire and decided to make a journey to the northeast. He was back in Edo in 1773 and entered upon a second productive period. In 1774 Uragami Gyokudō met Kinga and Kōyō while on duty in Edo. Kōyō never married and had no children.
Literature: Ōtsuki Mikio 大槻幹郎, *Bunjingaka no fu* 文人画家の譜, 212-214; for Gyokudō, see *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1774.

Nawa Rodō: 那波魯堂, Kōkei, Shuzen, Tekken dōjin, his family name is also pronounced Naba
Years of birth and death: 1727-1789
Place of birth: Himeji in Harima province
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies
Teachers: Okada Ryūshū (grandfather, 1692-1767)
Contacts: as pupils: Nishiyama Sessai, Kan Chazan

Biographical sketch: When Rodō was in his seventeenth year he went to Kyoto to study with Okada Ryūshū, his maternal grandfather. He remained with him for five years. He subsequently worked as a tutor to the imperial court but also had his own pupils. Among them were Nishiyama Sessai (who became Rodō's pupil when he was already thirty-two years old) and Kan Chazan. Later Rodō became specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Awa in Awa province and moved to Tokushima. He was offered a salary of 150 *koku*.

Nishiyama Sessai: 西山拙斎, Tadashi, Tomokichi, Shiga, Sekiten, Ryokuten
Years of birth and death: 1735-1798
Place of birth: Kamogata in Bitchū province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, *waka*, collecting
Teachers: Kobayashi Kengi (unidentified), Okada Ryūshū (1692-1767), Nawa Rodō, Chōgetsu, Takiguchi Miryō (unidentified)
Contacts: Kan Chazan, Akamatsu Sōshū, Rai Shunsui, Takayama Hikokurō, Uragami Gyokudō, Rikunyo, Shibano Ritsuzan
Biographical sketch: Sessai's father was a physician. In 1750 Sessai went to Osaka where he studied medicine with a certain Kobayashi Kengi. He also did Chinese studies in Kyoto with Okada Ryūshū and after Ryūshū's death continued his studies with Ryūshū's grandson Nawa Rodō. It might be mentioned that Sessai's mother was from the Okada family. Sessai opened a private academy in his native Kamogata in 1772. He was an advocate of pure Confucian orthodoxy and wrote a memorandum in support of the Ban on Heterodoxy (1790) to the Shōheikō teacher Shibano Ritsuzan. Sessai's friend and former fellow pupil Akamatsu Sōshū (who was against the Ban) received a similar document from him. Sessai was the life-long friend of Kan Chazan, who had been his fellow pupil at Nawa Rodō's school. Among his other contacts we find Rai Shunsui and the imperial loyalist Takayama Hikokurō. In his Kyoto years he conducted a *kanshi* society with Rikunyo and it was probably during that period that he studied *waka* with Chōgetsu and one Takiguchi Miryō. Sessai had a collection of interesting stones. He was married and had two sons: the eldest became a physician in the service of the domain of Kamogata.
Literature: a scholar named Kobayashi Kengidō can be found in Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩也 & Nagasawa Kōjō 長沢孝三, *Kanbungakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, nr 3884 (died in 1657); Takiguchi Miryō may be the same person as the *haiku* poet Hirai Miryō (dates unknown); for Gyokudō, see *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.vv. 1785, 1786; Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'; *ibid.*, 302, for Shibano Ritsuzan (the two were briefly in contact through correspondence, but probably never met personally).

Nishiyori Seisai: 西依成斎, Kaneyuki, Tanmei, Gihei, Gihee
Years of birth and death: 1702-1797
Place of birth: the region of Tamana in Higo province
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Maebara Jōken (1656-1740), Wakabayashi Kyōsai (1697-1723 or 1732), Ono Kakuzan (1701-1770)
Contacts: Shibano Ritsuzan, Minagawa Kien, Akamatsu Sōshū. As pupil: Koga Seiri
Biographical sketch: Seisai was second son. He first studied with Maebara Jōken, a scholar from the same province, but in 1722 went to Kyoto to do Chinese studies with Wakabayashi Kyōsai. He was subsequently employed by his former teacher Jōken (some sources say he was adopted by him). Seisai made a trip to Nagasaki in 1741. Two years later he took up his studies again. He returned to Kyoto to become a pupil of Ono Kakuzan, Wakabayashi Kyōsai's son-in-law. After Kakuzan was engaged by the domain of Obama in Wakasa province, Seisai served as principal of Kakuzan's academy. Seisai received the patronage of the Nijō *kuge* family and was involved in a project for a building for the Nijō poetry school. During this period his nephew and adopted heir took over as principal at the academy. Seisai resumed his position in 1770. With Shibano Ritsuzan, Minagawa Kien and Akamatsu Sōshū, Seisai participated in a small *kanshi* society. In his final years Seisai received support from the domain of Obama.

Noro Kaiseki: 野呂介石, Takashi, Kuichirō, Shōrei, Konsai, Jūyū, Shiheki dōjin, Shihekisai
Years of birth and death: 1747-1828
Place of birth: Wakayama in Kii province
Status at birth: ronin
Source(s) of income: painting, administration (domanial)
Activities: painting
Teachers: Itō Rangū (1694-1778), Taihō Shōkon (1691-1774), Ike Taiga, Kakutei Jōkō
Contacts: Kuwayama Gyokushū, Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Kaiseki was the fifth son of a ronin physician who also served as a city official. His family was well-to-do. When Kaiseki was about ten years old he began his studies with Itō Rangū (the fifth son of Itō Jinsai, then in the service of the domain of Wakayama), who stimulated Kaiseki's interest in the arts. Around 1760 Kaiseki went to Kyoto to study painting with Taihō Shōkon, a Chinese-born Ōbaku priest, abbot of the Manpukuji, who was known for his bamboo painting. He also studied with Kakutei Jōkō, an acquaintance of Shōkon. Back in Wakayama, Kaiseki met Kuwayama Gyokushū somewhere in the mid-1760s. They remained friends until Gyokushū's death in 1799. In 1767 Kaiseki again went to Kyoto, to study with Ike Taiga. He was Taiga's pupil for about three years. Taiga's wife Gyokuran visited Kaiseki in Wakayama in 1771. In 1793 Kaiseki was taken into the service of the domain

of Wakayama and shed his ronin status. Some sources say he was a painting teacher and a guardsman. Others state that he worked for the Financial Magistrate (*kanjō bugyō*). In 1794 Kimura Kenkadō twice came to Wakayama to visit Kaiseki and Gyokushū. Kaiseki had known Kenkadō since 1782, and visited him regularly in Osaka. In 1799 Kaiseki travelled to Edo for the first time. He made several other visits. He had also been to Kumano (1793, possibly an official mission) and in 1810 he made a trip to Yamato. Rai San'yō (1781-1832), Shinozaki Shōchiku (1781-1851), Aoki Mokubei and Ōkubo Shibutsu are among Kaiseki's contacts of the 1800s. Kaiseki adopted his nephew as his heir.
Literature: Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 69-70; for Jōkō, see *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1, s.v. 1760; Ōtsuki Mikio 大槻幹郎, *Bunjingaka no fu* 文人画家の譜, 251-253; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1794.

Odano Naotake: 小田野直武, Shiyū, Takesuke, Uyō, Gyokusen, Chōkai, Rankeidō
Years of birth and death: 1749-1780
Place of birth: Kakunodate in the domain of Akita in Ugo province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: painting, book illustration, administration (domanial)
Activities: painting, book illustration
Teachers: Hiraga Gennai, Sō Shiseki
Contacts: circle of Sugita Genpaku, Shiba Kōkan. As pupil: Satake Yoshiatsu
Biographical sketch: Naotake was the fourth son of a retainer of the domain of Akita. As a youth he had learned to paint in the Kano style, but in 1773 he met Hiraga Gennai who had been invited by Naotake's lord, Satake Yoshiatsu, to investigate the mining industry of the domain. Under Gennai's influence, Naotake came to appreciate Western style painting. He moved to Edo, went to live with Gennai, and took painting lessons from him. He also studied the Shen Nanpin-style with Sō Shiseki, who had illustrated Gennai's *Butsurui hinshitsu* ('A Classification of Various Samples') of 1763. Naotake became the illustrator of *Kaitai shinsho* ('New Writings on Dissection') of 1774, the publication that was the result of the translation of the *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* by Sugita Genpaku and his circle. In 1777 Naotake returned to his domain and became the painting teacher of Yoshiatsu. He was given the rank of *koshō* ('page'). With his lord he again went to Edo in 1778. After Gennai's death in prison Naotake shared in his downfall. He was dismissed from his position and shortly afterwards also died. He was rehabilitated after his death.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 62.

Ogino Gengai: 荻野元凱, Shigen, Sachū, Daishū, Gengen, Kyūhō
Years of birth and death: 1737-1806
Place of birth: Kanezawa in Kaga province
Status at birth: commoner

Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, seal carving
Teachers: Okumura Ryōchiku (1686-1760), Kō Fuyō
Contacts: Ike Taiga, Kimura Kenkadō. As pupil: Yunoki Taijun
Biographical sketch: Gengai was the son of a physician. He first studied medicine with Okumura Ryōchiku of Fuchū in Echizen province and then went to Kyoto to continue his studies. He subsequently established a practice in Kyoto. Many of his patients were daimyo and *kuge*. In 1794 and 1797 he successfully treated members of the imperial family. Over the years he was appointed Court Physician Extraordinary (*ten'yaku tai'in*) and received junior fifth rank upper, as well as the titles of Kawachi no kami and *shōyaku* ('Grand Master of Medicine'). Around 1797 he went to Edo at the invitation of the Bakufu. He had an audience with the shogun Ienari and lectured on his speciality, contagious diseases and epidemics. He also lectured at the Seijūkan, although here he met with conflicting opinions from colleagues. Gengai was a patron of Ike Taiga and took seal carving lessons with Kō Fuyō.
Literature: Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 186 note 88; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1779, 1785, 1793.

Okada Beisanjin: 岡田米山人, Kuni, Shigen, Hikohyōe
Years of birth and death: 1744-1820
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: commerce, administration (domanial), painting
Activities: painting, collecting, *kanshi*
Teachers: none
Contacts: Kimura Kenkadō, Uragami Gyokudō, Shinozaki Santō
Biographical sketch: Not much is known about Beisanjin's early life. Some sources say he was born in Osaka, others say it was Harima Province. Sources agree that from the early 1770's he worked as a rice merchant in Osaka. He also found time to educate himself and taught himself to paint. By 1790 he had made his reputation as a painter and man of letters. It was in this year that he accepted a position at the rice warehouse of the daimyo of the domain of Tsu, the Tōdō family, which he combined with his own business. Around this same time he met Kimura Kenkadō. They would be friends until Kenkadō's death. He also knew and collaborated with Uragami Gyokudō and his sons. Other contacts include Shinozaki Santō and, after 1800, Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835). Beisanjin's son Hankō (1782-1846) also became a painter. Father and son worked on various painting projects together. In 1809 Beisanjin turned over his job at the rice warehouse to Hankō in order to devote himself to painting and to his collection of books and art. Sadly, the collection and Hankō's beautiful house were lost in the Osaka rebellion of 1837, led by Hankō's friend Ōshio Heihachirō (1793-1837).
Literature: Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 76; Ōtsuki Mikio 大槻幹郎, *Bunjingaka no fu* 文人画家の譜, 241-243; for Gyokudō, see *nenpu* in: Fukushima

kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin, Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1797; for Chikuden, see the *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gachō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 2 (Gyokudō, Chikuden, Beisanjin), Tokyo 1993, and Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.

Okada Kansen: 岡田寒泉, Hakaru, Zenri, Jinkei, Chūkei, Shikyō, Matajirō, Taisai, Shōgetsurō, Reisui
Years of birth and death: 1740-1816
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (Bakufu)
Activities: Chinese studies, medicine, military studies
Teachers: Suguri Tansai (1700-1772), Suguri Gyokusui (1729-1776), Inoue Kinga
Contacts: Bitō Nishū, Shibano Ritsuzan, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Hayashi Nobutaka, Hayashi Jussai, Koga Seiri, Hattori Rissai, probably Rai Shunsui
Biographical sketch: Sources do not agree whether Kansen's father was a *yoriai*, i.e. a *hatamoto* without office with an allowance of more than 3000 *koku*, a *shoinban*, i.e. a member of the Shogun's bodyguard with an income of 200 *koku*, or a *hatamoto* with 1200 *koku*. Kansen was his second son, probably by a concubine. Kansen studied with Suguri Tansai, specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Fukuyama, with Tansai's son Gyokusui and with Inoue Kinga. He did military studies and also had an interest in and a good knowledge of medicine. In 1789 he became specialist of Chinese studies to the Bakufu. He was tutor to the shogun Ienari and was engaged in the reform of the Shōheikō with Hayashi Nobutaka and Shibano Ritsuzan. His salary was 200 *koku*. In 1791 Bitō Nishū joined the team, and in 1793 Nobutaka was succeeded by Hayashi Jussai. With Ritsuzan, Kansen also took care of the monthly educational sessions on interesting cases of jurisdiction, the so-called Fukiage Sessions. In 1789 Kansen was appointed editor of a supplement to Arai Hakuseki's *Hankanpu* ('A History of the Daimyo Houses') of 1702. The project was finished in 1806. In the meantime, in 1794, Kansen had become intendant (*daikan*) of Bakufu territories in Hitachi province. He only resigned from this position in 1811. Koga Seiri replaced him at the Shōheikō from 1796, although even during his time as a *daikan* Kansen regularly went back to teach. In the year 1811 Kansen was also discharged from his teaching duties. In 1814 he turned over the family headship to his son.
Literature: Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu'; *idem*, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy'; *idem*, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'; for Fukiage sessions, see Anna Beerens, 'Interview with a Bakumatsu official', in: *MN* 57, 2002, 173-206, esp. 189.

Okamoto Toyohiko: 岡本豊彦, Shigen, Shiba, Rikyō, Chōshinsai, Kōson
Years of birth and death: 1773-1845
Place of birth: Mizuemura in the region of Tsukubo in Bitchū province

Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: Kuroda Ryōzan (1757?-1814), Matsumura Goshun
Contacts: Matsumura Keibun
Biographical sketch: Toyohiko first studied with a local master, Kuroda Ryōzan. Later he went to Kyoto to study with Matsumura Goshun. He was one of Goshun's most talented pupils. With Goshun's brother Keibun he was among Kyoto's leading painters of the Bakumatsu period. He also received commissions from the imperial court. Contacts of the period after 1800 include Aoki Mokubei. One of his pupils was Shibata Zeshin (1807-1891).
Literature: for Mokubei, see Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 15.

Okamoto Yasutaka: 岡本保考, Sadanosuke, Hōensai
Years of birth and death: 1749-1817
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: Shinto priest
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Shinto), administration (*kuge*), calligraphy
Activities: Shinto studies, calligraphy, *waka*
Teachers: Okamoto Kuniuji (a.k.a. Fujiki Kuniuji, 1702-1765), Kazanoin Tsunemasa (1700-1771)
Contacts: Ban Kōkei, Azuma Tōyō, Maruyama Ōzui, Minagawa Kien. As pupil: Shinnin Shinnō
Biographical sketch: Yasutaka was a priest of the Kamo shrine, but combined this function with that of lower official in the service of the *kanpaku* Ichijō Tadayoshi. He studied the Daishi style of calligraphy with Okamoto Kuniuji and Kazanoin Jōga. The Daishi school was supposed to have preserved and transmitted the calligraphy style of Kūkai. In the Tokugawa period the school was given a new impetus by Fujiki Atsunao (1582-1649). Atsunao held the title of Kai no kami, so the style was also known as the 'Kai-style'. It was strongly associated with priests of the Kamo shrine. The title of *shohakase* ('Doctor of Calligraphy') was first granted as a special favour of the court to Morinao, great-grandson of Atsunao, and it was subsequently inherited by Okamoto Kuniuji and by Yasutaka and Yasutaka's son and grandson. Yasutaka received the titles of Kai no kami and *shohakase* in 1779. In 1803 he received senior fourth rank lower and the honorary title of *jibu tayū* ('Senior Assistant Head in the Ministry of Civil Affairs'). Yasutaka executed several decorating commissions for the imperial court and was calligraphy teacher to the prince Shinnin. He also practiced *waka*.
Literature: Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, *Nihon shoseki taikan* 日本書蹟大鑑, Tokyo 1980, vol. 23, 224; Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon shodō jiten* 日本書道辞典, s.v.; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 219. For the title of *jibu tayū*, see William H. & Helen Craig McCullough, *A tale of flowering fortunes. Annals of Japanese aristocratic life in the Heian period*, vol. 2,

Stanford 1980, 809, and Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri & Robert E. Morrell, *The Princeton companion to classical Japanese literature*, Princeton 1985, 460.

Ōkubo Shibutsu: 大窪詩仏, Akira, Tenmin, Ryūtarō, Sōbai, Shiseidō, Kōzan'ō, Kōzanshioku
Years of birth and death: 1767-1837
Place of birth: Ōkubomura in the region of Taga in Hitachi province
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, painting, calligraphy, *sencha*
Teachers: Yamanaka Tenzui (1758-1790), Yamamoto Hokuzan, Ichikawa Kansai
Contacts: Kashiwagi Jotei, Kikuchi Gozan, Kojima Baigai
Biographical sketch: Shibutsu was the son of a samurai who worked as a physician. His exact status is unclear. Around 1781 Shibutsu's family moved to Edo. Shibutsu did medicine and Chinese studies. In 1788 he went to study with Yamanaka Tenzui, a pupil of Yamamoto Hokuzan, and joined Ichikawa Kansai's *kanshi* club, the Kōkoshisha. In 1790 his father and his teacher died and Shibutsu went to study with Yamamoto Hokuzan. In 1793 Hokuzan became a teacher at the Edo academy of the domain of Akita in Ugo province; Shibutsu became specialist of Chinese studies to the domain in 1825. Around 1792 Shibutsu and Kashiwagi Jotei founded their own poetry society, the Nisōshisha ('The Poetry Club of the Two Thin Men'). In 1806 Shibutsu's house burned down. He went on a journey to Shinano and the region of the Japan Sea. Upon his return he opened an academy. He remained in contact with Jotei and Kikuchi Gozan. In 1815 Shibutsu and Gozan were engaged in a quarrel with Ōta Kinjō about a *banzuke* or graded list of scholars and literary figures of Edo. Shibutsu was also known as a painter of bamboo, as a calligrapher and as a devotee of *sencha*. He was acquainted with Tani Bunchō, with the Osaka *sencha* master Tanaka Kakuō (1762-1848), and with Kagawa Kageki. He was fond of travelling and had many pupils in the provinces. In 1829 he again lost his academy in a fire and moved to the Edo residence of his domain. Later that year his wife died. In 1836 he organized a party for which he brought together nine eminent intellectuals over the age of seventy, among whom Tachi Ryūwan, Tani Bunchō and Yashiro Hirokata. Shibutsu was succeeded by an adopted son. Apart from his verses his work includes studies on Song poetry.
Literature: Watson, *Kanshi*, 89ff; for Kakuō and Kageki, see Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 149, 151(Graham wrongly gives Kakuō's year of birth as 1782); *nenpu* in: Ibi Takashi 揖斐高, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 5.

Okuda Eisen: 奥田穎川, Tsunenori, Moemon, Rikuhōzan
Years of birth and death: 1753-1811
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, pottery
Activities: pottery

Teachers: Ebiya Seibee (dates unknown, his name is also pronounced Seibei and Kiyobei)
Contacts: as pupil: Aoki Mokubei
Biographical sketch: Eisen was born into a family that had been conducting a pawnshop for generations. He succeeded to the business, but also studied pottery with Ebiya Seibee. In his later years he spent much of his time at his kiln in the precincts of the Kenninji in Higashiyama. He especially liked to imitate old ceramics from China. He was an important pioneer of the production of porcelain in Kyoto. Eisen ranks only second to great potters like Nonomura Ninsei and Ogata Kenzan. Aoki Mokubei became a pupil of Eisen in 1796 when he was about thirty years old. Eisen may have introduced him to his own teacher Seibee. Another famous pupil of Eisen was Nin'ami Dōhachi (1783-1855).

Ono Ranzan: 小野蘭山, Motohiro, Ibun, Shūhōken (the family name of Saeki is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1729-1810
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: botany
Activities: botany
Teachers: Matsuoka Joan (d.1746)
Contacts: members of the Taki family, Ōtsuki Gentaku. As pupil: Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Ranzan was from a good family. His father had a court rank and title but it is unclear what his function or status was. In 1744 Ranzan went to study botany with Matsuoka Joan, a pupil of Itō Jinsai and Yamazaki Ansai. After his teacher's death he studied on his own. When he was in his twenty-fifth year he opened an academy for botany and pharmacognosy. The school attracted pupils from all over the country. Kimura Kenkadō first met Ranzan in 1779. He officially became his pupil in 1784, when he was forty-eight years old. Kenkadō was devoted to Ranzan and visited him almost every time he came to Kyoto. In 1799 Ranzan was summoned to Edo to become a teacher at the official Bakufu medical academy, the Seijūkan. Between 1801 and 1805 Ranzan was on an official mission to gather specimens in various provinces. He published numerous works on botany. His *magnum opus* is *Honzō kōmoku keimō* ('Instructions on the Main Points of Botany') a work in 48 volumes first published in 1803. Ranzan remained unmarried, but had a son with a maidservant. The son of this boy, Ranzan's grandson, became a botanist and again took the name of Ono.
Literature: for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人; for Gentaku, see Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 118.

Ōta Kinjō: 大田錦城, Motosada, Kōkan, Takaken, Shunsōdō (the family name of Kashiwada is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1765-1825

Place of birth: the domain of Daishōji in Kaga province
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Minagawa Kien, Yamamoto Hokuzan
Contacts: Taki Renpu, Kameda Bōsai
Biographical sketch: Kinjō was the eighth child of the official physician to his native domain. He first studied medicine with an elder brother but later went to Kyoto, where he did Chinese studies with Minagawa Kien. In 1784 he went to Edo and studied with Yamamoto Hokuzan. He was unhappy with both teachers. In the end he gathered most of his knowledge by studying on his own. He received the support of the Bakufu physician Taki Renpu, to whom he was probably introduced by Kameda Bōsai. In 1787 he was able to open his own academy. As the school was seen as a stepping stone for the Seijūkan medical academy, it did very well. Around 1811 he entered the service of the domain of Yoshida in Mikawa province as tutor to the heir. In 1815 he was engaged in a quarrel with Ōkubo Shibutsu and Kikuchi Gozan on account of a *banzuke* or graded list of scholars and literary figures of Edo. In 1820 he made a trip to the West of Japan. Upon his return he was engaged by the domain of Kaga in Kaga province for a salary of 300 *koku*. Kinjō was married and had seven children, six boys and a girl. Two of his sons are also known as specialists of Chinese studies. One of them took over the position at the domain of Yoshida when his father went to Kaga.
Literature: for Bōsai, see *nenpu* in: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち, s.vv. 1784, 1788; Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 24.

Ōta Nanpo: 大田南畝, Ōta Tan, Shishi, Naojirō, Kyōkaen, Shichiuemon, Neboke sensei, Ōkoku inshi, Yomo no Akara, Shokusanjin, Yamate no Bakahito
Years of birth and death: 1749-1823
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), popular fiction, *kyōka*
Activities: *kyōka*, popular fiction, Chinese studies, *zuihitsu*, *kanshi*
Teachers: Tagaya Jōan (unidentified), Matsuzaki Kankai (1725-1775), Uchiyama Chinken
Contacts: Hiraga Gennai, Hezutsu Tōsaku, Karagoromo Kisshū, Akera Kankō, Satake Yoshiatsu, Tegara no Okamochi, Koikawa Harumachi, Morishima Chūryō, Santō Kyōden, Hanawa Hokiichi
Biographical sketch: Nanpo's father served the Bakufu as a *kachi* (a low ranking unmounted samurai). When Nanpo was seven he went to study with a certain Tagaya Jōan. At fourteen he entered the academy of Uchiyama Chinken and later also studied with Matsuzaki Kankai. In 1766, at the age of seventeen, he wrote a study of Ming poetry. He began his duties as a *kachi* in 1765, and took over the family headship in 1768. Hezutsu Tōsaku, a fellow pupil at Chinken's school, probably introduced Nanpo

to Hiraga Gennai. Tōsaku and Gennai stimulated Nanpo to publish his comic verses. The collection *Nebokesensei bunshū* ('Literary Works of Master Sleepyhead', 1767) brought Nanpo instant fame. In 1769 Nanpo and Tōsaku attended the first *kyōka* gathering organized by Karagoromo Kisshū. A few years later Akera Kankō joined the group. In 1771 Nanpo got married. In 1772 a daughter was born but she died the next year. In 1775 Nanpo suffered from a skin disease and for a considerable period was unable to leave his house. The situation so much affected his finances that his friends raised money for him. In 1780 his son was born; he also had another daughter. His wife died in 1798. During the 1770s Nanpo successfully took up various forms of popular fiction, but he withdrew from comic verse and fiction at the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu, devoting himself to study. In 1794 he won a first prize in the second of the public examinations (*gakumon ginmi*, 'scholarship test') established in 1792 in the context of the Kansei reforms. In 1796 he entered the Bakufu's Financial Magistrature (*kanjō bugyō*). In 1801 he worked for a year at the Osaka copper mint and became friendly with Kimura Kenkadō and Ueda Akinari. In 1804 he worked for the Nagasaki Magistrate (*Nagasaki bugyō*), arriving in Nagasaki in the middle of the Rezanov-affair. In 1808 he made an inspection tour of the Tamagawa waterworks. In the late 1790s Nanpo began to write *kyōka* again. He is also famous for his collection of essays *Ichiwa ichigen* ('One Tale, one Word', 1779-1820).
Literature: *nenpu* in: Hamada Giichirō 浜田儀一郎, *Ōta Nanpo* 大田南畝 Tokyo 1963, 252ff; Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 119; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 43, 50, 77-78, 82; *ibid.*, 102, for various contacts after 1800; Howard Hibbett, *The chrysanthemum and the fish*, 104-109; for the Rezanov-affair, see Totman, *Early modern Japan*, 487-488; for developments after 1790, see also Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 145-146; for Hanawa Hokiichi, see Matsuzaki-Petitmengin, 'Pourquoi Hanawa Hokiichi (1746-1821) a-t-il composé la collection Gunsho Ruijū', 395-396.

Ōtsuki Gentaku: 大槻玄沢, Hanzui or Banzui, Shigetada
Years of birth and death: 1757-1827
Place of birth: the domain of Ichinoseki in the province of Rikuchū
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine, Western studies
Activities: medicine, Western studies, military studies, ethnography
Teachers: Takebe Seian, Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku
Contacts: Kimura Kenkadō, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Morishima Chūryō, Ono Ranzan, Hayashi Shihei, Kudō Heisuke, Koishi Genshun, Shiba Kōkan. As pupils: Inamura Sanpaku, Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai
Biographical sketch: Gentaku was the son of a physician in the service of the domain of Ichinoseki. He first studied there with his father's colleague Takebe Seian. In 1778 he went to Edo to study with Sugita Genpaku, a friend of Seian. He also studied Dutch with Maeno Ryōtaku. In 1785 he travelled to Nagasaki: on the way there and on the way back he visited Kimura Kenkadō, who published one of his works. In 1786 he was

appointed physician to the residence of the domain of Sendai on the recommendation of Kudō Heisuke. Gentaku also opened his own academy. When Koishi Genshun came to study in Edo in 1786 he stayed at Gentaku's house. In 1783 Gentaku began his best-known work, *Rangaku kaitei* ('A Primer of Dutch Learning', published 1788). On the thirtieth day of the eleventh month of the sixth year of Kansei (also the first of January 1794) the first 'Dutch-style' New Year's celebration known as the *Oranda shōgatsu* was held at Gentaku's house (the last took place in 1837). In 1799 the botanist Ono Ranzan came to work in Edo and called on Gentaku. In 1811 Gentaku became one of the translators of the Bansho wage goyō ('Bureau for the Translation of Barbarian Texts') and took part in official translation projects. At the request of his teacher Sugita Genpaku, he also carried out a revision of the groundbreaking *Kaitai Shinsho* ('New Writings on Dissection') of 1774. Gentaku's two sons also became involved in Western studies.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization,* passim; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1785, 1786, 1795; for military studies, see Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*, 127; for ethnographical activities, notably his work *Kankai Ibun* (1807), see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 139-151.

Ozawa Roan: 小沢芦庵, Ozawa Tatewaki, Kankadō, Daigaku, Koō, Tonantei (the name of Honjō Shichirō is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1723-1801
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: ronin
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), administration (*kuge*), *waka*
Activities: *waka*, Chinese studies, Japanese studies, music
Teachers: Reizei Tamemura (1712-1774)
Contacts: Ban Kōkei, Chōgetsu, Ueda Akinari, Takahashi Munenao, Gamō Kunpei, Motoori Norinaga, Irie Masayoshi, Rikunyo, Kagawa Kageki, Umetsuji Shunshō. As pupils: Shinnin Shinnō, Rai Kōō, Rai Baishi
Biographical sketch: Roan's grandfather had been in the service of the Oda family of the domain of Matsuyama in Yamato province, but his father had become a ronin and had settled in Osaka. Roan was his youngest son. Roan was adopted by the Honjō, caretakers of the Kyoto residence of the Naruse family of the domain of Inuyama in Owari province. He was married, had a son, and another two sons with a concubine. His first wife died in 1762 and he lost a second wife in 1781, but it is not clear when he married her. When he was about thirty he went to study *waka* with Reizei Tamemura; for unknown reasons he was expelled from Tamemura's school some twenty years later. He was acquainted with Mushanokōji Sanetake, Ban Kōkei and Motoori Norinaga. By the end of the 1750s he had returned to the Ozawa family and entered the service of the high-ranking *kuge* Takatsukasa Sukehira. He accompanied him to Edo in 1765 on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu, where Sukehira was official imperial representative. But, while in Edo, Roan was unexpectedly dismissed

from service. From that time on he devoted himself to *waka*. He enjoyed the patronage of prince Shinnin, who had studied *waka* with him since childhood, and shared some of his pupils with Ueda Akinari. He lost his Okazaki house in the fire of 1788 and moved centre Kyoto, but from 1792 he lived at the former house of his friend Takahashi Munenao, again in Okazaki. In 1796 he became the mentor of Kagawa Kageki. Roan was well-versed in Chinese studies and the study of the early imperial administration of Japan. He also played the *koto*. In 1796 and 1799 Roan received Gamō Kunpei, who made inspection tours of the imperial tombs in and around Kyoto. Roan was known for his strong royalist feelings.
Literature: Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 104-106, 111; for Kageki, see Keene, *World within walls*, 486; for Norinaga, see Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*, 31; for Kōkei, see Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 46, 49-50; for Irie Masayoshi, see Mori Senzō 森銑三, 'Ozawa Roan sawa' 小沢芦庵瑣話, 66-67.

Rai Baishi: 頼梅颸, Shizuko
Years of birth and death: 1760-1843
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: see Rai Shunsui (husband)
Activities: *kanshi*, *waka*
Teachers: Suganuma Ayao (1786-1834), Ozawa Roan
Contacts: Iioka Gisai (father), Rai Shunsui (husband), members of the Rai family, Bitō Nishū (brother in law), Kan Chazan,
Biographical sketch: Baishi was born in Osaka, the second daughter of Iioka Gisai. She married Rai Shunsui in 1779 and their son San'yō was born in 1781. She contributed much to San'yō's education. Baishi's sister married Bitō Nishū. Baishi studied *waka* with Ozawa Roan and later with Suganuma Ayao, a friend of Kagawa Kageki. She also wrote *kanshi*. Kan Chazan was a special friend of the family. After her husband's death Baishi visited him in the company of her son San'yō in 1819 and again in 1824. Baishi was also on good terms with the painter and scholar Ema Saikō (1787-1861), eldest daughter of Ema Ransai. In 1814 Rai San'yō had asked Ransai for her hand but Ransai had refused. Saikō never married, but remained in close contact with the Rai family.
Literature: for contacts with Chazan, see *nenpu* in: Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4.

Rai Kōō: 頼亨翁, Matajūrō
Years of birth and death: 1707-1783
Place of birth: Takehara in the province of Aki
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: manufacturing
Activities: Chinese studies, *waka*

Teachers: Karasaki Kōryō (1707-1751), Shioya Hōshū (1703-1764), Umasugi Kyōan (unidentified), Ozawa Roan
Contacts: members of the Rai family
Biographical sketch: Kōō was the father of Shunsui, Shunpū and Kyōhei. He was a dyer by profession but had a taste for scholarship. He did Chinese studies with Karasaki Kōryō and with Shioya Hōshū, who would later also teach his eldest son Shunsui. He first studied *waka* with Umasugi Kyōan and later with Ozawa Roan, who was also the teacher of his daughter in law, Shunsui's wife Baishi.

Rai Kyōhei: 頼杏坪, Kiritsu, Sengi, Manshirō, Shunsō, Kyōō, Kyōsō, Shunsōdō, Nanrōjin, Nan'ō
Years of birth and death: 1756-1834
Place of birth: Takehara in the province of Aki
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies, administration (domanial)
Activities: Chinese studies, *waka*, *kanshi*, calligraphy
Teachers: Hattori Rissai
Contacts: members of the Rai family, Katayama Hokkai, Katsu Shikin, Shinozaki Santō and other members of the Kontonsha, Kan Chazan, Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Kyōhei was Rai Kōō's third son. In 1773 he went to Osaka, where his elder brother Shunsui had opened an academy that year. He also became a member of the Kontonsha. In 1783 Shunsui was on duty in Edo and Kyōhei joined him there to study with Hattori Rissai, a former student of Goi Ranshū. In 1785 he was engaged by the domain of Hiroshima and became the colleague of his brother Shunsui. He assisted Shunsui in the education of the heir and in other educational matters and was involved in the publishing activities of the domain. Kyōhei helped to take care of the education of his nephew San'yō, Shunsui's son. Uncle and nephew visited Kimura Kenkadō on their way back home from Edo in 1798. In 1811 Kyōhei was appointed *gunbugyō* (local magistrate). He resigned in 1830. Kyōhei wrote *kanshi* and *waka* and practised calligraphy.
Literature: for contacts with Chazan, see *nenpu* in: Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1798.

Rai Shunpū: 頼春風, Matsusaburō, Shukugi, Senrei
Years of birth and death: 1753-1825
Place of birth: Takehara in the province of Aki
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, *kanshi*, calligraphy
Teachers: unknown

Contacts: members of the Rai family, Katayama Hokkai, Katsu Shikin and other members of the Kontonsha
Biographical sketch: Shunpū was Rai Kōō's second son. When he was in his fourteenth year he went to Osaka where his elder brother Shunsui was also studying at the time. Shunpū studied medicine, but also became a member of the Kontonsha. In 1773 he returned to his native region where he took over a medical practice. He continued to write *kanshi* and was also a fine calligrapher. He was intimate with scholars and literary men from various regions.

Rai Shunsui: 頼春水, Hakuzoku, Yatarō, Senshū, Kagai, Watei, Sessō, Seizansō
Years of birth and death: 1746-1816
Place of birth: Takehara in the province of Aki
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, calligraphy, *kanshi*
Teachers: Shioya Hōshū (1703-1764), Hiraga Chūnan (1721/22-1792), Chō Tōsai
Contacts: members of the Rai family, Iioka Gisai (father in law), Bitō Nishū (brother in law), Totoki Baigai, Katayama Hokkai, Kimura Kenkadō, Hosoai Hansai, Nakai Chikuzan, Koga Seiri, Nishiyama Sessai, Irie Masayoshi, Eda Nagayasu, Kan Chazan, Shinozaki Santō, Shibano Ritsuzan, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Katsu Shikin, Sasaki Roan, other members of the Kontonsha, Tani Bunchō, probably Okada Kansen
Biographical sketch: Shunsui was the eldest son of Rai Kōō. At first he did Chinese studies with Shioya Hōshū (his father's teacher) and Hiraga Chūnan, but in 1764 he went to Osaka. He became a member of Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha and met Nakai Chikuzan, Kan Chazan, Bitō Nishū and Koga Seiri. He did calligraphy with Chō Tōsai. Shunsui opened an academy in 1773. In 1779 he married Shizu or Baishi, a daughter of Iioka Gisai. She was an educated woman and contributed much to the upbringing of their son San'yō (1781-1832). Shunsui's friend Bitō Nishū married a sister of Baishi. In 1781 Shunsui was engaged by the domain of Hiroshima to become official specialist of Chinese studies and to reform the educational system. His duties regularly took him to Edo where, on the recommendation of Bitō Nishū and Koga Seiri, he had the opportunity to lecture at the Shōheikō. He was also charged with the edition of the domain's historical documents, but this project was halted in 1789. Shunsui's son San'yō went to Edo to study with his uncle Nishū in 1797. Upon his return the next year a marriage was arranged for him, but in 1800, while his father was in Edo, San'yō ran away. A few weeks later he was caught in Kyoto. He was placed under house arrest, was disinherited, and his marriage ended in divorce. Shunsui raised the son from San'yō's first marriage and adopted a son of his brother Shunpu as his own new heir. However, as this boy died in 1815, a son of San'yō from a second marriage eventually became Shunsui's heir. In 1803 Shunsui travelled to Edo for the last time: the rest of his life he spent teaching at the academy of his domain. In 1813 his salary was raised to 300 *koku*.

Literature: for Kenkadō and Hansai, see Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 3; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 29, 79; for contacts with Chazan, see *nenpu* in: Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1782; Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'; *ibid.*, 291, for Matsudaira Sadanobu, and *ibid.*, 301-302, for Shibano Ritsuzan.

Rikunyo: 六如, Jishū, Muchakuan, original family name: Naemura.
Years of birth and death: 1734-1801
Place of birth: Hachiman in the province of Ōmi
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist)
Activities: Buddhist studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Miyase Ryūmon (1721-1773), Nomura Tōkō (1717-1784)
Contacts: Ban Kōkei, Shinnin Shinnō, Daiten, Minagawa Kien, Maruyama Ōkyo, Imei, Murase Kōtei, Ozawa Roan, Inoue Kinga, Sawada Tōkō, Ike Taiga, Kan Chazan, Nagata Kanga, Miyake Shōzan, Nishiyama Sessai, Kakizaki Hakyō, Umetsuji Shunshō
Biographical sketch: Rikunyo's father was a physician who had studied with Itō Tōgai. His mother wrote *tanka*. Rikunyo became a Tendai priest. His mentor was the priest Jimon, who had also studied with Tōgai. In 1744 Rikunyo and Jimon moved to the Zenkō-in, a subtemple of the Enryakuji. Here Rikunyo took the tonsure at age eleven. He also did Chinese studies and *kanshi* with Miyase Ryūmon and Nomura Tōkō, both pupils of Hattori Nankaku. In 1746 Jimon became abbot of the Kita'in in Kawagoe in Musashi province and Rikunyo went with him. In 1757 he returned to the Zenkō'in. In 1766 he went to the Shinryō-in at the Kan'eiji in Edo, but the next year was involved in a conflict within his sect. He returned to Kyoto in 1768 and became friendly with Ike Taiga and his wife. In this period he conducted a *kanshi* society with Nishiyama Sessai. In 1772 he was received back into favour and was given the direction of the Shōgaku'in at mount Hiei. In 1775 he returned to the Kan'eiji. In this year he met prince Kōjun (1723-1788) who lived at the Sensōji. Rikunyo moved there in 1780 at the invitation of the prince, who had arranged a teaching position for him. During this period Rikunyo met Inoue Kinga and Sawada Tōkō. In 1782 Kōjun returned to Kyoto with Rikunyo. Rikunyo became abbot of the Jōbodai'in in Kashihara in Ōmi province in 1785. He went there twice a year to lecture, but lived at the Hakuunkyōji in Kyoto and continued in the prince's service. Kōjun died in 1788 and Rikunyo withdrew to the Jōbodai'in, but in 1789 he resigned and returned to Kyoto. He became abbot of the Shōchi'in and settled in Saga. In 1791 Kakizaki Hakyō came to Kyoto and became an intimate friend. The two of them organized a moon viewing party for Kan Chazan on his visit to Kyoto in 1794. In 1797 Rikunyo left Saga and moved to the centre of town. He spent the summer of 1800 in the company of Hakyō, but at the end of the year he fell ill. He died in the third month of the next year.

Literature: Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 48ff; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 80ff; Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 224; *nenpu* in: Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *Edo shijin senshū* 江戸詩人選集, vol. 4.

Sakai Hōitsu: 酒井抱一, Tadanao, Kishin, Ōson, Teihyōshi, Toryū
Years of birth and death: 1761-1828
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist), painting
Activities: Buddhist studies, painting, theory of art, *haikai*, *waka*, calligraphy, *chanoyu*, *kyōka*
Teachers: Kanō Takanobu (1740-1794), Sō Shiseki, Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814), Watanabe Nangaku (1767-1813)
Contacts: Tegara no Okamochi
Biographical sketch: Hōitsu was the second son of the daimyo of the domain of Himeji in Harima province. From a young age he was involved in artistic pursuits such as *haikai*, *waka*, calligraphy, Nō and *chanoyu*. In 1790 he brought out a collection of *haikai*. An acquaintance from the *haikai* circles of Edo was Tegara no Okamochi. Hōitsu then seriously took up painting, and in the course of his life studied with various masters including Kanō Takanobu, Sō Shiseki (who was in the service of the domain of Himeji), Utagawa Toyoharu and Watanabe Nangaku. In 1797 he took the tonsure and became a disciple of the priest Monnyō of the Nishi Honganji in Kyoto. In the early 1800s Hōitsu met Kameda Bōsai and Tani Bunchō. They went on a journey to Hitachi province together in 1802. Hōitsu became interested in the Rinpa style and its famous exponent Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716) around 1807, probably under the influence of Bunchō. His family, the Sakai, were in the possession of a fine collection of Kōrin's work. In 1809 Hōitsu established a studio in Edo, the Uka'an, and brought about a complete Kōrin revival. He published two works on Kōrin and one on Kōrin's brother Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743). Hōitsu also practised *kyōka* and was acquainted with Ōta Nanpo.
Literature: for Bōsai and Bunchō, see *nenpu* in: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち, s.v. 1802; Honolulu Academy of Arts, *Exquisite visions. Rimpa paintings from Japan*, Honolulu 1980, 45-47.

Santō Kyōden: 山東京伝, Nobuyoshi, Jintarō, Denzō, Samuru, Yūsei, Santōan, Seisai, Kitao Masanobu, Seisei, Migaru no orisuke, original family name: Iwase
Years of birth and death: 1761-1816
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: book illustration, popular fiction, commerce
Activities: painting, book illustration, *kyōka*, popular fiction, study of popular culture

Teachers: Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820)
Contacts: Takizawa Bakin, Morishima Chūryō, Ōta Nanpo, Akera Kankō
Biographical sketch: Kyōden was the eldest son of the wealthy owner of a pawnshop. As a youth he first took up music lessons, but he does not seem to have been very gifted. Around 1775 he went to study painting with Kitao Shigemasa. In 1778 he illustrated his first *kibyōshi* and in 1780 he for the first time wrote one, using the name of Kyōden. He went on writing and illustrating an enormous amount of *kibyōshi* over a period that lasted about twenty-five years. In 1785 he published his first *sharebon*. He was also active as a *kyōka* poet (it is likely that he knew Akera Kankō) and brought out several deluxe illustrated collections of *kyōka*. In 1784 he brought out an illustrated book about famous courtesans; in 1790 he himself married a Yoshiwara girl. She died in 1793, but when Kyōden was in his fortieth year he again married a woman from the Yoshiwara. Both marriages were childless, but around 1803 Kyōden adopted his second wife's younger sister. In 1791 at the time of the Kansei reforms, Kyōden was punished for his satirical writings and spent fifty days in manacles. The experience was a great mental shock to him. He gradually turned to more sober *yomihon*. In 1793 he set up a business selling tobacco and paper tobacco containers (*tabakoire*) of his own design; they were a considerable success. He took great pleasure in advertising and package design. In his final years he developed a scholarly interest in the popular culture of Edo. He wrote two books on the subject. Santō Kyōzan (1769-1858), his younger brother, was also involved in popular fiction. In 1791 Kyōzan was adopted into the family of an aunt, the Ukai, and went into the service of the Aoyama daimyo family. Kyōzan's literary career really took off only after the adoption was annulled in 1799. Kyōden's younger sister Yone (1771-1788) wrote *kyōka* and *kibyōshi* using the name of Kurotobi Shikibu.
Literature: Howard Hibbett, *The chrysanthemum and the fish*, 118-128; for folklore studies, see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 314ff; Jane Devitt, 'Santō Kyōden and the *Yomihon*', in: *HJAS* 39, 1979, 253-274 (*ibid.*, 256, for Akera Kankō, and 260, for adoption of sister-in-law); for Yone, see Jane Devitt's contribution on Kyōden in the *Kodansha Encylopedia of Japan*.

Sasaki Roan: 佐々木魯庵, Shigaku
Years of birth and death: 1733-1782
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, medicine
Teachers: Ryū Sōrō (1714-1792), Katayama Hokkai
Contacts: Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Rai Shunsui, Katsu Shikin and other members of the Kontonsha.
Biographical sketch: Roan first did Chinese studies with Ryū Sōrō (a pupil of Uno Meika), but on the recommendation of his friend Hirasawa Kyokuzan (who also studied with Sōrō), he turned to medicine. He eventually became physician to the domain of Hasuike in Hizen province. It is known that he came to Edo in 1772 and studied at the

Shōheikō, where Kyokuzan had a teaching position. Apart from Hirasawa Kyokuzan he was intimate with Rai Shunsui. In 1765 Roan was one of the founding members of the Kontonsha *kanshi* society.

Satake Yoshiatsu: 佐竹義敦, Yoshinao, Jirō, Kōun, Shozan, Tairei, Dairoku
Years of birth and death: 1748-1785
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai (daimyo)
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial)
Activities: *waka*, *kanshi*, calligraphy, painting, theory of art
Teachers: Hiraga Gennai, Odano Naotake
Contacts: Murase Kōtei, Ōta Nanpo, Hezutsu Tōsaku, Tegara no Okamochi, Shiba Kōkan
Biographical sketch: Yoshiatsu was the eldest son of the daimyo of Akita in Ugo province. He succeeded his father in 1758. He held junior fourth rank lower and several court titles. His father left him the domain in an extremely bad condition and Yoshiatsu spent his life struggling to set things right. He was a cultivated man, fond of *waka*, *kanshi*, calligraphy and painting. Tegara no Okamochi, a member of Ōta Nanpo's *kyōka* circle, served as caretaker of the Edo residence of the Satake family. It may have been through him that Yoshiatsu came into contact with Ōta Nanpo, Hezutsu Tōsaku and Hiraga Gennai. In 1773 Gennai was invited to investigate the mining industry of the domain. Under Gennai's influence Odano Naotake, a retainer of the domain of Akita, came to appreciate Western style painting. The two of them introduced Yoshiatsu to Western painting. Yoshiatsu became one of Japan's first theorists of Western painting. In 1783 Yoshiatsu invited Murase Kōtei to become specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Akita.
Literature: for Shiba Kōkan, see *nenpu* in: Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄, *Shiba Kōkan, shōgai to gagyō* 司馬江漢, 生涯と画業, s.v. 1785.

Sawada Tōkō: 沢田東江, Rin, Keizui, Bunryū, Bunjirō, Raikindō, Kensha, Seirakan, Gyokuchō sanjin (the family name of Hira is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1732-1796
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: calligraphy, seal carving, popular fiction
Activities: calligraphy, seal carving, Chinese studies, popular fiction, collecting
Teachers: Inoue Randai (1705-1761), Fukami Isai (1715-1773), Hayashi Hōkoku (1721-1773)
Contacts: Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Nakayama Kōyō, Rikunyo. As pupil, possibly Kan Tenju
Biographical sketch: It is assumed that Tōkō was born in Edo into a merchant family, but this is uncertain. In his youth he studied with Inoue Randai and in 1757 he became a pupil at the Shōheikō, hoping to find employment as an official. Here he studied with

Hayashi Hōkoku. He also did calligraphy with Fukami Isai. He became famous as a calligrapher and seal carver, carrying out commissions for the Bakufu and even for Korean envoys. He had a large collection of calligraphy model books and invented a new method that became very popular with the townspeople of Edo. He also wrote light fiction: the *sharebon Iso rokujō* (untranslatable, 1757) is considered his masterpiece. In 1767 he was implicated in the so-called Meiwa Incident, and all his hopes of finding an official position were dashed. After this he completely devoted himself to literature and calligraphy.
Literature: for the Meiwa Incident, see Totman, *Early modern Japan*, 337-341; Hirasawa Kyokuzan's contacts with Seki Shōsō and Sawada Tōkō are in Kyokuzan's diary *Hirasawa Kyokuzan Nichiroku* (*non vidi*), which covers the year An'ei 10/Tenmei 1 (1781) from New Year's Day until almost the end of the tenth month.

Seida Tansō: 清田儋叟, Jun, Kunri, Genken, Bunpei, Bunkō, Kujakurō, Senshūsai, original family name: Itō
Years of birth and death: 1719-1785
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: retained scholar
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, vernacular Chinese, *kanshi*
Teachers: Itō Ryūshū (father, 1683-1755)
Contacts: Emura Hokkai (brother), Minagawa Kien, Fujitani Nariakira, Akutagawa Tankyū
Biographical sketch: Tansō was the third son of Itō Ryūshū, specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Fukui. Ryūshū's family name was Seida but he had been adopted by Itō Tan'an (1623-1708). Tansō used his father's original family name. Itō Kinri (1710-1772) and Emura Hokkai were Tansō's elder brothers. His mother was of the Kawamura family, retainers of the domain Akashi in Harima province. He spent his childhood with his mother's family. When he was in his nineteenth year, he met Yanada Zeigan (1672-1757), specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Akashi, who had great influence on him. Tansō began to suffer from a chronic disease when he was about twenty-three. He was not strong and needed a cane. In 1749 he became specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Fukui. He and his brother Kinri alternated in this position and shared the salary. Tansō never moved to the domain but always kept his house in Kyoto. He associated with Takeda Bairyū (1716-1766), Nagatomi Dokushōan (1832-1766), Minagawa Kien, Fujitani Nariakira and Akutagawa Tankyū. Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) extract of the *Zizhi tongjian* ('General Mirror as an Aid to Administration') by Sima Guang (1019-1086), *Tongjian gangmu* ('The Outline and Digest of the General Mirror'), had his special interest. Tansō's commentary on Zhu Xi's work (*Shijitsugan hihyō*, 'A Critical Approach to the General Mirror as an Aid to Administration') covers ten volumes. He was interested in vernacular Chinese and wrote an introduction to and commentary on the Chinese vernacular novel *Shuihu zhuan* (usually translated as 'The water margin', sixteenth century). Tansō married in 1770 but his wife died three years

later. He adopted the third son of his brother Hokkai to succeed him in the Fukui position.

Seki Shōsō: 関松窓, Nagatoshi, Kunchō, Eiichirō
Years of birth and death: 1727-1801
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Inoue Randai (1705-1761), teachers of the Shōheikō
Contacts: Hirasawa Kyokuzan. As pupil: Ichikawa Kansai
Biographical sketch: Shōsō was probably born in Edo, although it is also said that he was born in Kawagoe in Musashi province. At first he studied with Inoue Randai but around 1750 he went to the Shōheikō. In 1757 he became specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Umayabashi in Kōzuke province. In 1767 his lord was transferred to another domain, and Shōsō went into the service of the domain of Kawagoe, where he worked until 1769. He then again entered the service of the Shōheikō and served as *inchō* ('rector', 'director') from 1770 until 1787. In Kawagoe Shōsō had been the teacher of Ichikawa Kansai. The two met again around 1776 when Kansai became a student at the Shōheikō. In 1783 Kansai became his former teacher's colleague at the Shōheikō. At the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu, Kansai resigned his position. Shōsō was dismissed in 1790.
Literature: Hirasawa Kyokuzan's contacts with Seki Shōsō and Sawada Tōkō are to be found in Kyokuzan's diary *Hirasawa Kyokuzan Nichiroku* (*non vidi*), which covers the year An'ei 10/Tenmei 1 (1781) from New Year's Day until almost the end of the tenth month; Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 122 note 36.

Shiba Kōkan: 司馬江漢, Katsusaburō, Kichijirō, Takashi, Suzuki Harushige, Kungaku, Mugen dōjin, Shunharō, Seiyō dōjin, Tsuchida Magodayu, original family name: Andō (the family name of Tsuchida is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1747 (the year 1748 is also given)-1818
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting, book illustration, print making, possibly Western studies
Activities: painting, book illustration, print making, Western studies, astronomy/calendrical sciences
Teachers: Suzuki Harunobu (1725?-1770), Sō Shiseki, Maeno Ryōtaku
Contacts: Hiraga Gennai, Odano Naotake, Satake Yoshiatsu, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Morishima Chūryō, Kimura Kenkadō, Uragami Gyokudō, Haruki Nanko. As pupil: Aōdō Denzen
Biographical sketch: Kōkan may have begun painting around 1759 with a member of the Kano school, but this is uncertain. Around 1765 he did *ukiyo-e* with Suzuki

Harunobu. Harunobu died suddenly in 1770 and for a while Kōkan continued to bring out forged editions of his work. He had some success in the *bijinga*-genre under the name of Suzuki Harushige. In 1771 he went to study with Sō Shiseki and through him came into contact with Hiraga Gennai. Under the influence of Gennai and Odano Naotake he developed an interest in Western painting. Kōkan also knew Satake Yoshiatsu, daimyo of the domain of Akita, onetime employer of Gennai and lord of Naotake. Around 1779 Kōkan went to study with Maeno Ryōtaku and met such scholars as Morishima Chūryō and Ōtsuki Gentaku. Kōkan successfully experimented with copperplate engraving and developed his own oil-painting method. He got married in 1786 and probably had a daughter. He worked as a painter and illustrator, contributing to works of his scholarly acquaintances. In 1788 he left for Nagasaki. On his way there he visited Kimura Kenkadō and Uragami Gyokudō. By chance he met Haruki Nanko, also going to Nagasaki, and they travelled on together. From Nagasaki, Kōkan made a trip to Hirado, where he saw the Dutch books in the collection of the daimyo Matsura Seizan. He also went to the nearby village of Ikitsuki to observe whaling. On his way back, he stayed in Osaka for a while and again met Kenkadō. After his visit to Nagasaki, he no longer limited himself to art, but also began to write on Western science, especially geography and astronomy. As he got older he increasingly withdrew from society. In 1812 he moved to Kyoto. Within a year he was back in Edo following problems among the relatives to whom he had entrusted his Edo affairs. During a trip to Kamakura in 1813 he had it made known that he had died. Although in due course he was found out, it is clear that he considered his public life as something of the past.
Literature: Stephan Graf von der Schulenburg, *Aōdō Denzen*; Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 90, 110, 119; *nenpu* in: Kobe City Museum and Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts, 司馬江漢百科事展, *Shiba Kōkan. His versatile life*, Kobe 1996; *nenpu* in: Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄, *Shiba Kōkan, shōgai to gagyō* 司馬江漢, 生涯と画業; *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1788, 1789; *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1788; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘冶, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 64; Robert Parthesius & Kris Schiermeyer, eds, *Japanse verwondering. Shiba Kōkan 1747-1818: kunstenaar in de ban van het Westen*, Amsterdam 2000.

Shibano Ritsuzan: 柴野栗山, Kunihiko, Hikosuke, Kogu, Koguken, Gohōzanbō, Sekiten, Sankindō
Years of birth and death: 1736-1807
Place of birth: Mure in Sanuki province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, Japanese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Gotō Shizan (1723-1782), Takahashi Munenao, teachers at the Shōheikō

Contacts: Akamatsu Sōshū, Nishiyori Seisai, Minagawa Kien, Nakai Riken, Bitō Nishū, Koga Seiri, Kayama Tekien, Hayashi Nobutaka, Hayashi Jussai, Kō Fuyō, Suzuki Fuyō, Okada Kansen, Koishi Genshun, Rai Shunsui, Kan Chazan, Nishiyama Sessai, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Yashiro Hirokata. As pupils: Ichikawa Beian, Kikuchi Gozan, Takemoto Tōtōan
Biographical sketch: Ritsuzan was born into a family of farmers and local notables. His uncle, a rural magistrate, held samurai status. Ritsuzan was the eldest son. At first he studied with the specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Takamatsu, Gotō Shizan (known for his system of punctuation to facilitate the reading of *kanbun*). When he was in his eighteenth year he went to Edo to study at the Shōheikō. In 1765 he moved to Kyoto to do Japanese studies with Takahashi Munenao. In 1767 he became specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Awa. His duties regularly took him to Edo but he also opened an academy in Kyoto. In 1780 he was in Kyoto again and joined Akamatsu Sōshū, Nishiyori Seisai and Minagawa Kien in a small *kanshi* society. He was engaged by the Bakufu to become a teacher at the Shōheikō in 1788. He worked at first under Hayashi Nobutaka and subsequently under Hayashi Jussai. His colleagues were Bitō Nishū and Okada Kansen. Koga Seiri joined the team in 1796. When the imperial palace in Kyoto was destroyed in the fire of 1788, the *rōjū* Matsudaira Sadanobu had it reconstructed according to ancient laws and prescriptions; research was directed by Ritsuzan. Ritsuzan became the teacher of the shogun's heir and, with Okada Kansen, took care of the monthly Fukiage sessions, educational sessions on interesting cases of jurisdiction. Ritsuzan was married but had no children. He adopted the second son of his younger brother.
Literature: for Ritsuzan's family, see Mori Senzō 森銑三, *Chosakushū* 著作集, vol. 8, 275-278; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 28, 95; Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu'; *idem*, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy'; *idem*, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan'; *ibid.*, 302, for Shunsui, Chazan and Sessai.

Shibayama Mochitoyo: 芝山持豊
Years of birth and death: 1742-1815
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: *kuge*
Source(s) of income: administration (court)
Activities: *waka*
Teachers: unknown
Contacts: Motoori Norinaga, Chōgetsu
Biographical sketch: Mochitoyo was the son of the *gonchūnagon* (provisional middle councillor) Shibayama Shigetoyo. His mother was also of a high-ranking *kuge* family. In 1775 Mochitoyo received junior third rank, in 1793 junior second rank and in 1809 he was promoted to senior second rank. He became *gonchūnagon* himself in 1799 and a *gondainagon* (provisional major councillor) in 1814. He was much devoted to the Nijō school of *waka*, was an admirer of Motoori Norinaga and a patron of the *waka* poet

Chōgetsu. Mochitoyo met Norinaga in 1793 when Norinaga visited Kyoto. Mochitoyo's father was an imperial loyalist and the young Mochitoyo was implicated in the so-called Meiwa Incident of 1767. He somehow got off without punishment, and the affair did not harm his career.
Literature: Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*, 130; Kubota Utsubo 窪田空穂, ed., *Wakabungaku daijiten* 和歌文学大事典, Tokyo 1962, s.v. Mochitoyo; for the Meiwa Incident, see Totman, *Early modern Japan*, 337-341.

Shinnin Shinnō: 真仁親王, Naraen-in, Chikamoto, Myōhō-in no miya
Years of birth and death: 1768-1805
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: member of the imperial family
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Buddhist), see also status at birth
Activities: Buddhist studies, *waka*, *sencha*, calligraphy
Teachers: Murase Kōtei, Ozawa Roan, Okamoto Yasutaka
Contacts: Itō Tōsho, Minagawa Kien, Ban Kōkei, Kagawa Kageki, Matsumura Goshun, Matsumura Keibun, Maruyama Ōzui, Maruyama Ōkyo, Rikunyo, Gessen, Umetsuji Shunshō, Kayama Tekien, Motoori Norinaga, Itō Jakuchū
Biographical sketch: Shinnin was the fifth son of Kan-in no miya Tennin Shinnō and belonged to one of the four cadet branches of the imperial family. He was the elder brother of the emperor Kōkaku (1771-1840, r. 1779-1817). He had been adopted by the emperor Go-Momozono (1758-1779, r. 1771-1779) in 1778, but apparently was not a suitable candidate for succession. He was assigned the position of *monzeki* abbot of the Myōhō-in when he was one year old, and he entered the priesthood in 1778, the year of his adoption. He became abbot of the Myōhō-in in 1786. He did Chinese studies with Murase Kōtei (a pupil of Takeda Bairyū, who had also taught at the Myōhō-in). He also studied calligraphy with Okamoto Yasutaka and *waka* with Ozawa Roan. Shinnin was a patron of the arts and letters and was in contact with many eminent intellectuals. Motoori Norinaga visited him when he was in Kyoto in 1793. In 1805 Shinnin went to Edo and, amongst others, met Tani Bunchō, Katō Chikage, Murata Harumi. Matsumura Keibun, younger brother of Goshun, was for a while the attendant of Shinnin.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち; for Kōkei, see Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 46ff; for Norinaga, see Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*, 130; for the succession of the emperor Go-Momozono, see H. Webb, *The Japanese imperial institution in the Tokugawa period*, New York/London 1968.

Shinozaki Santō: 篠崎三島, Ōdō, Andō, Chōbee, Ikushū, Shino Ōdō
Years of birth and death: 1737-1813
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, Chinese studies

Activities: Chinese studies, calligraphy, collecting, *ekigaku*, astronomy/calendrical sciences
Teachers: Hashimoto Rakkō (no dates), Kan Kankoku (1691-1764)
Contacts: Bitō Nishū, Rai Shunsui, Rai Kyōhei, Katayama Hokkai, Katsu Shikin, Tanaka Meimon, Koga Seiri, Kimura Kenkadō, other members of the Kontonsha, Okada Beisanjin, Uragami Gyokudō
Biographical sketch: Santō's father, originally from Iyo province, had set up a paper shop in Osaka and had made a large fortune. Santō was the second son but, as his elder brother did not wish to succeed (preferring scholarship and the arts), it was he who took over the management of the business in 1757. He was an excellent businessman, but also did Chinese studies with Hashimoto Rakkō (elder brother of Katsu Shikin), and later moved on to Rakkō's own teacher Kan Kankoku. He was interested in the science of divination (*ekigaku*) and in astronomy, and he also was a fine calligrapher. He had an enormous collection of books and calligraphy. He joined the Kontonsha when it was founded in 1765. In 1776 he closed the paper shop and opened his own academy. He was acquainted with many Osaka intellectuals. His friends organized a party for his sixtieth birthday to which Okada Beisanjin and Uragami Gyokudō and his sons contributed a *gassaku* (a collective painting). Santō adopted two sons: one of them went to live in the countryside near Osaka and became village headman. The other, Shōchiku (1781-1851), studied with Bitō Nishū and Koga Seiri, and became a well-known scholar. Shōchiku succeeded Santō when he finally retired from his teaching activities in 1809.
Literature: Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.; for *gassaku*, see *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1797.

Sō Shiseki: 宋紫石, Kunkaku, Sekkei, Sekkō, Kōhachirō, Katei, Sōgaku, original family name: Kusumoto.
Years of birth and death: 1715 (the years 1712 and 1716 are also given) -1786
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting, book illustration
Activities: painting, book illustration
Teachers: Kumashiro Yūhi (1712-1772), Sō Shigan (dates unknown)
Contacts: Hiraga Gennai, Sugita Genpaku. As pupils: Sakai Hōitsu, Shiba Kōkan, Kakizaki Hakyō, Odano Naotake, possibly Suzuki Fuyō and Tani Bunchō
Biographical sketch: Shiseki was born in Edo, but not much is known about his early years. When he was about forty years old he went to Nagasaki where he studied the Shen Nanpin-style with Kumashiro Yūhi. In 1758 he met the Chinese painter Sō Shigan (Song Ciyan), who was staying in Nagasaki, and also studied with him. He returned to Edo a master of *kachōga* and the Shen Nanpin-style and took the name of Sō from his Chinese teacher. He greatly contributed to the dissemination of the Shen Nanpin-style in Edo. His work was popular with high-ranking samurai, many of whom were his pupils.

He was much sought after by scholars of Western Studies. Shiseki was the illustrator of Hiraga Gennai's *Butsurui hinshitsu* ('A Classification of Various Samples') of 1763 and taught Gennai's protégé Odano Naotake. Shiba Kōkan became his pupil in 1771 and Shiseki was also acquainted with Sugita Genpaku. Shiseki was later taken into the service of the daimyo of Himeji and was one of the teachers of Sakai Hōitsu, the daimyo's second son.
Literature: for Gennai and Kōkan, see *nenpu* in: Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄, *Shiba Kōkan, shōgai to gagyō* 司馬江漢, 生涯と画業, s.vv. 1773, 1776, 1779; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 65.

Sugita Genpaku: 杉田玄白, Kukōō, Issai, Shihō, Tsubasa
Years of birth and death: 1733-1817
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, *renga*, *kanshi*, *waka*, *haikai*
Teachers: Nishi Gentetsu (1681-1760), Miyase Ryūmon (1719-1771)
Contacts: Maeno Ryōtaku, Nakagawa Jun'an, Hiraga Gennai, Takebe Seian, Koishi Genshun, Sō Shiseki, Odano Naotake. As pupils: Ōtsuki Gentaku, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai
Biographical sketch: Genpaku's father was physician to the Sakai family of the domain of Obama in Wakasa province. Genpaku's mother died in giving birth to him. When he was about seventeen he became a pupil of the physician to the Bakufu, Nishi Gentetsu, who taught him Western methods. He did Chinese studies with Miyase Ryūmon, a pupil of Hattori Nankaku. Genpaku became domain physician in 1753. In 1757 he received permission also to open his own practice. When his father died in 1769, Genpaku took over the family headship. Around 1770 a copy of the *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* (1734, a Dutch translation of a German work of 1722, *Anatomische Tabellen* by Johann Adam Kulmus, 1689-1745) came to his attention. Genpaku took part in the dissection of the body of a female criminal in 1771, when those present were so impressed with the accuracy of the *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* that it was decided to translate the book. They started the next day at the house of Maeno Ryōtaku, who had the general supervision of the project. The translation appeared under the title of *Kaitai shinsho* ('New Writings on Dissection') in 1774. It was illustrated by Odano Naotake, a protégé of Genpaku's friend Hiraga Gennai. Genpaku got married in 1773. His own son became an eye specialist and set up a separate branch of the family, so in 1782 Genpaku adopted a son of his colleague Takebe Seian as his successor. In 1805 Genpaku had an audience with the shogun and his lord raised his stipend to 220 *koku*. Genpaku practised *renga*, *kanshi*, *waka* and *haikai*. He was interested in painting, especially in styles that suggested Western accuracy (apparent from his acquaintance with Sō Shiseki) and in *giga* (comic pictures). After his fiftieth year Genpaku left much of his research to Ōtsuki Gentaku and devoted himself to his patients and his teaching.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 44, 62, 64, 72, 75, 84.

Suzuki Fuyō: 鈴木芙蓉, Bunki, Rōren, Shinhyōe
Years of birth and death: 1749-1816
Place of birth: Shinano province
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: painting
Activities: painting
Teachers: teachers at the Shōheikō
Contacts: Shibano Ritsuzan, Minagawa Kien. As pupil, possibly Tani Bunchō
Biographical sketch: Fuyō was born in Shinano province but his exact birthplace is unclear. It is equally unclear who his painting teacher was. The names of Watanabe Sōsui (1720-1767), Kurokawa Kigyoku (1732-1756), Sō Shiseki and Ike Taiga are mentioned. Sources agree that he mainly studied in Edo and also took up Chinese studies at the Shōheikō. At the recommendation of his friend Shibano Ritsuzan, who had become specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Awa in 1767, he became official painter to this domain. His son was also gifted both as an artist and as a man of letters. He studied with another of his father's friends, Minagawa Kien. He died before his father and Fuyō adopted a successor. Friends of the period after 1800 include Kameda Bōsai, Ōta Nanpo and Kan Chazan. Fuyō is often said to have been a teacher of Tani Bunchō.
Literature: for Bunchō, see Chance, 'In the studio of painting study', 65.

Tachi Ryūwan: 館柳湾, Yūjirō, Sekikōsai, Shou rōjin, Sūkei
Years of birth and death: 1762-1844
Place of birth: Niigata in Echigo province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), *kanshi*
Activities: *kanshi*, *waka*, seal carving
Teachers: Kameda Bōsai
Contacts: Maki Ryōko (cousin)
Biographical sketch: Ryūwan was born into the Koyama family, shipping agents in Niigata, but was adopted back into his father's original family, the Tachi. He first studied with a local teacher, but when he was in his thirteenth year he went to Edo and became a pupil of Kameda Bōsai. Somewhere in the An'ei period (1772-1781) he became a subordinate official of one of the financial magistrates (*kanjō bugyo*) of the Bakufu. He spent considerable time away from Edo working in the service of the *gundai* (regional intendant) of the province of Hida. During his years in the rural administration he remained active as a *kanshi* poet and throughout his life he maintained the contact with Bōsai: Bōsai wrote the epitaph for Ryūwan's wife in 1795 and contributed prefaces to some of his books. Ryūwan returned to Edo in 1804 and resigned from office in 1827. He received offers of employment from several domains but declined them all. He led a retired life in Edo and spent his remaining years with the composing and teaching of *kanshi*, and with seal carving, *waka* and general writing. In 1836 he attended a special party organized by Ōkubo Shibutsu, who had brought

together nine eminent intellectuals over the age of seventy, among whom Tani Bunchō and Yashiro Hirokata
Literature: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち (*nenpu* and biography).

Tachibana Nankei: 橘南谿, Haruakira, Keifū, Baisen, Baika senshi, Higashiichi, original family name: Miyagawa
Years of birth and death: 1754-1806
Place of birth: Hisai in Ise province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine, *waka*, *kanshi*, travel writing
Teachers: Sano Seizan (1740-1814)
Contacts: Ban Kōkei, Koishi Genshun
Biographical sketch: Nankei was the fifth son of a retainer of the domain of Hisai. In his childhood he studied with his father and later with the domain's specialist of Chinese studies, Sano Seizan, a pupil of Itō Tōsho. When he was about eighteen years old he went to Kyoto to study medicine. He did not study with a teacher but worked on his own. He was much influenced by the works of the physician and specialist of Chinese studies Kagawa Shūan (1684-1755). In 1774 he went to Osaka, where he sought contact with Shūan's adopted heir Nan'yō (1714-1777). He also met Koishi Genshun. Nankei and Genshun became friends and stimulated each other's interest in Western medicine. Nankei first opened a practice in Fushimi and later (in 1785) in Kyoto. In 1782 he went to Nagasaki. Upon his return in 1783 he was given permission by the Fushimi *bugyō* (Magistrate) to conduct a dissection. Genshun was present at the occasion. In 1784 he went on another journey, to Shinano and the northern provinces. His two travel diaries *Tōyūki* ('Record of a Journey to the East') and *Seiyūki* ('Record of a Journey to the West'), published in the late 1790s, became classics of the genre. In 1785 he was was appointed *naizenshi shishō* (Clerk of the Table Office) at the imperial palace, receiving the title of Iwami no suke and senior seventh rank lower. In 1794 he was promoted to junior sixth rank lower. He kept his practice and his pupils. He published several medical works (including books on measles and smallpox) and composed *waka* and *kanshi*. He resigned from his court duties in 1796. In his later years he suffered from asthma and withdrew to Fushimi.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 74, 94, 100; Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 46; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘治, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 141.

Takahashi Munenao: 高橋宗直, Tonan
Years of birth and death: 1703-1785
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: *kuge*

Source(s) of income: administration (court), Japanese studies
Activities: Japanese studies, *waka*, Shinto studies
Teachers: Itō Tōgai (1670-1738), Yoshimi Yoshikazu (1673-1761), Shigenoi Kinzumi (1670-1756), Kyōgoku no miya Yakahito Shinnō (1703-1767)
Contacts: Chōgetsu, Ozawa Roan. As pupil: Shibano Ritsuzan
Biographical sketch: Munenao was the second son. He may have been adopted. In 1708 his elder brother died and in 1720 he succeeded to the family's hereditary position of official in a bureau of the imperial household that fell under the *naizenshi* or Table Office. He did Chinese studies with Itō Tōgai, Shinto studies with Yoshimi Yoshikazu and Japanese studies (especially ancient court practices and ceremonies) with Shigenoi Kinzumi. He also did *waka* with the prince Kyōgoku. He became a respected authority on the ancient court and was consultant for ceremonial matters at the enthronement of the emperor Sakuramachi in 1736. In 1746 he was given the title of Wakasa no kami. In this year he handed over his duties to his son and devoted himself to his writings. In 1763 he was given junior fourth rank lower. In his later years he led a secluded life in Okazaki, his most intimate friends being Chōgetsu and Ozawa Roan.

Takai Kitō: 高井几董, Kohachirō, Raifu, Enzantei, Kōshisha, Shunyarō, Shinmei, Yahantei
Years of birth and death: 1741-1789
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: *haikai*
Activities: *haikai*, *kanshi*
Teachers: Takai Kikei (father, 1687-1761), Ryū Sōrō (1714-1792), Yosa Buson
Contacts: Ueda Akinari, Miura Chora, Katō Kyōtai, Matsumura Goshun, Ki Baitei, Miyake Shōzan
Biographical sketch: Kitō was the second son of Takai Kikei. Kikei, who had first carried the name of Hayami Denzaemon, was a drummer of the Konparu school of Nō drumming. He later became a pupil of Hayano Hajin (1677?-1742), who was also the teacher of Yosa Buson, and became famous as a *haikai* poet. As a child Kitō studied *haikai* with his father, but in 1770 he entered Buson's school. In 1773 he also went to study *kanshi* with Ryū Sōrō, a pupil of Uno Meika. He brought out several collections of poems, both independently and under Buson's supervision, and made himself useful as 'agent' for Buson the painter. He associated with Matsumura Goshun, with Miura Chora and Katō Kyōtai and with his father's former pupil Ueda Akinari. No doubt, he also knew Ki Baitei. Kitō was an admirer of Takarai Kikaku (1661-1707), a pupil of Bashō, and was considered an expert on Kikaku's style. After Buson's death he edited a memorial collection of his master's work, *Buson kushū* ('A Collection of Haikai by Buson', 1784), and moved to the Shōgoin in the east of the capital. In 1785 Kitō travelled to Edo. He went by way of the domain of Zeze in the province of Ōmi, where he visited Bashō's grave at the Gichūji and took the tonsure. He visited Shinano and Kōzuke provinces before returning to Kyoto. In 1787 he moved to the centre of town,

but lost his new house in the fire of 1788. He did some travelling, visiting pupils in Osaka and Kobe, and then moved back to his old house at the Shōgoin. The following spring he went on a trip to Yoshino for three months, but in the autumn of that year he suddenly died.
Literature: Young, *Ueda Akinari*, passim; Morris, 'Group portrait with artist'; Ogata Tsutomu 尾形仂, ed., *Haibungaku daijiten* 俳文学大辞典, s.v.; for Goshun, see *nenpu* in: Itsuō bijutsukan 逸翁美術館, *Goshun* 呉春, s.v. 1788.

Takayama Hikokurō: 高山彦九郎, Masayuki, Chūjō, Sekijō
Years of birth and death: 1747-1793
Place of birth: Hosoyamura in the region of Nitta in Kōzuke province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: unclear
Activities: *waka*, travel writing
Teachers: Hosoi Hanshū (1728-1801), Okada Ryūshū (1692-1767) and/or Kawano Josai (1743-1779)
Contacts: Maeno Ryōtaku, Nishiyama Sessai, Hayashi Shihei
Biographical sketch: Hikokurō was the second son of a rural samurai. He first studied with a local teacher. When he was in his eighteenth year he went to Kyoto where he did Chinese studies with Okada Ryūshū or with Ryūshū's son Kawano Josai, possibly with both. He also did some travelling, visiting eminent scholars to receive additional tuition. He was much influenced by the Suika school founded by Yamazaki Ansai (1619-1682). He returned to his native region for a while, but in 1782 was in Kyoto again, seeking the company of *kuge* and other high-ranking persons at the imperial court. By this time he had become a fanatical imperial loyalist, who openly expressed his convictions. It is, for instance, told of him that he prostrated himself in the direction of the imperial palace from Sanjō Bridge, creating a stir among the passers by. He began travelling all over the country, visiting scholars in order to gain interest in and seek intellectual justification for his ideas. He went to Edo and Mito, and visited Hayashi Shihei in Sendai. As a result of his behaviour his family and his domain increasingly put pressure on him to modify his conduct. In the end the Bakufu got involved. In 1793, pursued by envoys of the Bakufu, Hikokurō committed *seppuku* in Kurume in Chikugo province. Apart from his political activities, Hikokurō was known as a diarist and as an author of travelogues. He was also a *waka* poet.

Takayasu Rooku: 高安蘆屋, Akira, Saiyō, Shunmin, Shōjirō, Hanjian
Years of birth and death: no dates, probably died late 1790s
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, calligraphy
Activities: calligraphy
Teachers: unclear
Contacts: Irie Masayoshi

Biographical sketch: Rooku was born into a wealthy family that conducted a salted fish shop. Rooku inherited the shop but he was totally unfit for business. By 1793 he had brought the shop to bankruptcy, after which he was left penniless. From that time on he made a living as a calligrapher and copyist. One of his customers was Irie Masayoshi. Rooku probably studied with Kan Kankoku (1691-1764) and Nakai Chikuzan, but never officially became anyone's pupil. He never married and had no children.
Literature: Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.

Takebe Seian: 建部清庵, Gensaku, Neiseikan
Years of birth and death: 1721-1782
Place of birth: Ichinoseki in the province of Rikuchū
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine
Teachers: Matsui Jutetsu (unidentified), Tominaga Jūi (unidentified)
Contacts: Sugita Genpaku. As pupil: Ōtsuki Gentaku
Biographical sketch: Seian was born into a family that had for generations been physicians in the service of the domain of Ichinoseki. In 1730 he went to Sendai to study with Matsui Jutetsu, physician to the domain of Sendai. He subsequently went to Edo where he studied Western style medicine with Tominaga Jūi. In due course he also became physician to the domain of Ichinoseki. He had been much affected by the famines of the Kan'en and Hōreki periods (1748-1764) and wrote *Minkan bikō roku* ('On Provision for the People in Case of Famine', 1755) in which he offered advice on countermeasures. Seian was well acquainted with Sugita Genpaku: his third and fifth son both studied with Genpaku and he also sent his pupil Ōtsuki Gentaku to Genpaku for advanced studies. Seian was succeeded by his third son. His fifth son was adopted by Genpaku.

Takemoto Hokurin: 武元北林, Masatsune, Kunritsu, Yūji, Yohyōe, Kōrin
Years of birth and death: 1769-1820
Place of birth: Kitagatamura in the region of Wake in the domain of Okayama in Bizen province
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: administration (rural), Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, agricultural studies
Teachers: Shimura Tōshū (1752-1802), Hayashi Jussai
Contacts: Takemoto Tōtōan (brother)
Biographical sketch: Hokurin's father most likely was a rural headman. Hokurin was the second son. Takemoto Tōtōan was his elder brother. Like his brother he first studied with a local teacher and then became a pupil at the academy of their domain. He also studied with Shimura Tōshū, specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Sendai, probably in Edo where he went in 1791. In 1793 he became a pupil of Hayashi Jussai at

the Shōheikō. The next year he returned home and assisted his brother in his official duties. He also wrote proposals for the improvement of the domain's administration. In 1800 he took over the family headship from his brother who resigned for reasons of ill health. In 1813 he began teaching at the academy of the domain of Okayama. He eventually obtained a full teaching position there. After resigning from this position, he set up a private academy in Kyoto, with the help of Rai San'yō (1781-1832). He was interested in agricultural studies, especially the economic aspects. In 1820 Hokurin went back to his native region. Both Takemoto brothers were friends of Uragami Gyokudō, who was also from Okayama.

Takemoto Tōtōan: 武元登登庵, Masatada, Keibun, Kanehira, Kōan, Han'an
Years of birth and death: 1767-1818
Place of birth: Kitagatamura in the region of Wake in the domain of Okayama in Bizen province
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: administration (rural)
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, Western studies, calligraphy
Teachers: Shibano Ritsuzan, Nakai Kōtaku (1775-1832)
Contacts: Takemoto Hokurin (brother), Kimura Kenkadō
Biographical sketch: Tōtōan's father most likely was a rural headman. He was the eldest son and in due course succeeded to the family headship. Takemoto Hokurin was his brother. He first studied with a local teacher and subsequently became a pupil at the academy of his domain. He then did some travelling, taking the opportunity to visit famous intellectuals. While he was in Edo he studied with Shibano Ritsuzan and also did Western studies with Nakai Kōtaku. He practised *kanshi* and studied the style, metre and rules of sound in ancient *kanshi* poetry. He published extensively. Tōtōan was also known as a calligrapher. In 1800 he turned over the family headship to his younger brother for reasons of ill health. He had by then settled in Kyoto. Among his contacts of this later period we find Rai San'yō (1781-1832), Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835), and Koga Kokudō (1777-1836), the eldest son of Koga Seiri. Both Takemoto brothers were friends of Uragami Gyokudō, who was also from Okayama.
Literature: *DJJ* states that the Takemoto had been in the service of the domain of Okayama for generations, making no mention of the headmanship, but implying that they were samurai; for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1796, 1799, 1800.

Taki Rankei: 多紀藍渓, Motonori, Chūmei, Kinnosuke, Yasumoto
Years of birth and death: 1732-1801
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine, music
Activities: medicine, music

Teachers: Taki Mototaka (father, 1695-1766), Onoda Tōsen (1684-1763)
Contacts: Inoue Kinga, Ono Ranzan. As pupils: Taki Renpu (son), Katakura Kakuryō, Uragami Gyokudō, Katsuragawa Hoshū
Biographical sketch: One of Rankei's ancestors, still carrying the family name of Kaneyasu, had served Tokugawa Ieyasu as a dentist. Rankei's father Mototaka (1695-1766) had changed the family name to Taki. He had specialized in internal medicine, had become physician to the shogunal household and received the title of *hōin*. In 1765 he had founded the Seijūkan, a private academy for medical studies in Edo. Rankei was his fifth son. He succeeded his father as head of the school in 1766. After the school burned down in 1772, Rankei had it rebuilt at his own cost. In 1776 he became physician to the shogunal household. At the end of the same year he received the honorary title of *hōgen*. In 1786 the school was again destroyed by fire, but this time the government contributed to its rebuilding. In 1788 Rankei became personal physician to the Shogun. In 1790 he received the title of *hōin* and in this same year the Seijūkan became the official medical academy of the Bakufu. In 1793 Katsuragawa Hoshū was engaged as a teacher. Rankei resigned in 1799 for reasons of ill health. Rankei was also famous as a musician. He had studied the Chinese koto (*qin*) with Onoda Tōsen and was the music teacher of Uragami Gyokudō and Katsuragawa Hoshū.
Literature: for musical activities, see Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術.

Taki Renpu: 多紀廉夫, Motohiro, Yasunaga, Keizan, Rekisō
Years of birth and death: 1755-1810
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine
Teachers: Taki Rankei (father), Inoue Kinga
Contacts: Katakura Kakuryō, Kameda Bōsai, Ōta Kinjō, Ono Ranzan, Katsuragawa Hoshū
Biographical sketch: Renpu was the son of Taki Rankei. He studied medicine with his father and Chinese studies with Inoue Kinga. Katakura Kakuryō and Kameda Bōsai were his fellow students. In 1790 Renpu became official physician to the Bakufu and received the title of *hōgen*. When his father resigned in 1799 he succeeded to the positions of physician to the shogunal household and principal of the Seijūkan medical academy. In this year the Kyoto botanist Ono Ranzan was summoned to Edo to become teacher of botany at the Seijūkan. In 1801 the academy underwent a large scale reorganization. Renpu violently opposed the will of the authorities and openly expressed his critical attitude. He was forced to resign and received a hundred days of house arrest. In 1810 he was again summoned by the Bakufu but he died suddenly later that year.

Literature: Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*; *nenpu* in: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち, s.v. 1765.

Takizawa Bakin: 滝沢馬琴, Kyokutei Bakin, Okikuni, Toku, Sakichi, Sashichirō, Seiemon, Saritsu gyo'in, Handai chinjin, Raisai
Years of birth and death: 1767-1848
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), domestic service, calligraphy, commerce, popular fiction
Activities: calligraphy, *haikai*, *kyōka*, popular fiction
Teachers: Yamamoto Sōei (1748?-1835), Kameda Bōsai, Koshigaya Gozan (1717-1787), Ishikawa Masamochi (1753-1830), Katō Chikage
Contacts: Santō Kyōden
Biographical sketch: Bakin's was the fifth son of a retainer to the Ōkōchi branch of the Matsudaira family. At his father's death in 1775 the family stipend was halved, which resulted in the breakdown of the family. In 1780 Bakin became the attendant of his lord's grandson, but absconded, unable to endure his young master's tantrums. He entered the service of the Toda daimyo family, but became a ronin again around 1788. In 1789 he went to study medicine with Yamamoto Sōei. He also did Chinese studies with Kameda Bōsai, *haikai* with Koshigaya Gozan, *kyōka* with Ishikawa Masamochi and calligraphy with Katō Chikage. In 1790 he came into contact with Santō Kyōden who became his mentor and helped him publish his first book. Bakin became ghostwriter for Kyōden, worked in a bookshop, was caretaker to a merchant and gave calligraphy lessons. His life became more settled after 1793, when he married a widow with a footwear business. They had three daughters and a son. In 1802 he went on a journey to Nagoya, Kyoto and Osaka in order to establish contacts with publishers. In 1814 he began his masterpiece, the historical novel *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* ('The Tale of the Eight Dogs of the Satomi of Southern Sagami', 1814-1842).When his eldest daughter got married in 1823, the shop was turned over to the young couple. Bakin's son became a physician, but he died in 1835. After a fundraising *shogakai* (a painting and calligraphy gathering) in 1836, Bakin was able to buy a samurai post for his grandson. In 1834 Bakin's eyes began to trouble him and by 1840 he was completely blind, but with the help of his widowed daughter-in-law he was able to finish *Hakkenden*. In the period after 1800 Bakin was acquainted with many scholars and artists including Yashiro Hirokata, Karagoromo Kisshū, Ōta Nanpo, Gamō Kunpei and Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841).
Literature: Zolbrod, *Takizawa Bakin*; *ibid.*, 27, for Katō Chikage; *idem*, 'Takizawa Bakin, 1767-1848, a restoration that failed', in: *MN* 21, 1966, 1-46; *nenpu* in: Tokuda Takeshi & Morita Seigo 徳田武, 森田誠吾, *Takizawa Bakin*, Tokyo 1997.

Tanaka Meimon: 田中鳴門, Shimei, Kanaya Shichirōuemon, Ainichien
Years of birth and death: 1722-1788
Place of birth: Tsujimura in the region of Kurita in Ōmi province
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: manufacturing
Activities: *kanshi*
Teachers: Kan Kankoku (1691-1764)
Contacts: Katayama Hokkai, Shinozaki Santō, Katsu Shikin, other members of the Kontonsha
Biographical sketch: Meimon left the provinces for Osaka, where he succeeded to the business of a relative, a workshop producing iron pots and kettles. He lived near the Meimon bridge from which he took his *gō*. As a child he had studied with a local teacher and after he had settled in Osaka he had become a pupil of Kan Kankoku. He soon came into contact with Katayama Hokkai and Toriyama Shūgaku (1707-1776). In 1765 he was one of those who took the initiative for the formation of the Kontonsha *kanshi* society. He was one of its central and most active members.

Tani Bunchō: 谷文晁, Masayasu, Bungorō, Shiryō, Tōkai, Santō koji
Years of birth and death: 1763-1840
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: painting, administration (domanial)
Activities: painting, book illustration, theory of art
Teachers: Katō Bunrei (1706-1782), Zhang Qiu Gu (dates unknown), possibly Watanabe Gentai (1749-1822), Kitayama Kangen (1761-1801), Sakurai Sekkan (1715-1790), Sō Shiseki, Suzuki Fuyō
Contacts: Tani Kankan (wife), Uragami Gyokudō, Kimura Kenkadō, Rai Shunsui, Ichikawa Kansai, Matsudaira Sadanobu. As pupil: Aōdō Denzen
Biographical sketch: Bunchō was the eldest son of a retainer to the Tayasu daimyo family. From the age of ten he took lessons in the Kanō style of painting with Katō Bunrei and from about 1780 he studied with, or at least was in contact with, such artists as Watanabe Gentai, Kitayama Kangen, Sakurai Sekkan, Sō Shiseki and Suzuki Fuyō. In 1785 Bunchō got married. Around 1795 a daughter was born. His first wife, Kankan, died in 1799. Bunchō remarried and had six children with his second wife. In 1788 he entered the service of the Tayasu family with rations for five. In the same year he travelled to Nagasaki. On his way he visited Kimura Kenkadō. In Nagasaki he studied with the Chinese painter Zhang Qiugu. In 1792 Bunchō was 'discovered' by Matsudaira Sadanobu, who made him a personal attendant. The next year he accompanied Sadanobu on an inspection tour of the coast of Izu and Sagami provinces. In the early 1790s Bunchō got into contact with Ichikawa Kansai and Rai Shunsui. In 1796, on the orders of Sadanobu, Bunchō carried out a survey of the collections of the temples and shrines of the Kinai, resulting in *Shūkojūshu* ('Ten categories of collected antiquities', completed 1800). On this occasion he again visited Kimura Kenkadō, and met Uragami

Gyokudō. Bunchō made several other sketching trips, sometimes in the company of friends: in 1802 he travelled to Hitachi province with Kameda Bōsai and Sakai Hōitsu, and in 1808 Ōta Nanpo accompanied him to Koishikawa. In 1829 Sadanobu died and Bunchō took the tonsure. The domain of Shirakawa only permitted him to retire in 1833. In 1836 Bunchō attended a party organized by Ōkubo Shibutsu, who had brought together nine eminent intellectuals over the age of seventy, among whom Tachi Ryūwan and Yashiro Hirokata. Bunchō had a large number of pupils among whom his first wife Kankan, Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841), Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835), and Kaburagi Untan (1782-1852, the second son of Ichikawa Kansai).
Literature: for Kansai and Shunsui, see *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 3 (Bunchō, Kazan, Chinzan), Tokyo 1993, s.vv. 1791, 1793; for Kankan, see Fister, *Japanese women artists 1600-1900*, 86ff; Hiramatsu Kanji 平松勘冶, *Nagasaki yūgakusha jiten* 長崎遊学者事典, 68 (for Kenkadō); *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1796; Chance, 'In the studio of painting study', 60-85; *nenpu* in: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, s.v. 1796.

Tani Kankan: 谷幹幹, Hama, Suiran, original family name: Hayashi
Years of birth and death: 1770-1799
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: see husband Tani Bunchō
Activities: painting
Teachers: Tani Bunchō (husband)
Contacts: Tani Bunchō (husband)
Biographical sketch: Kankan was born into a family of retainers of the domain of Hirado in Hizen province. She married Tani Bunchō in 1785. The two may have been cousins. Around 1795 their only daughter was born. More or less simultaneously they adopted a son, who was given the name of Bun'ichi. He was later given the girl as his wife. Bun'ichi showed a clear talent for painting, but died, ahead of his adoptive father, in 1818. Kankan studied painting with her husband and became a fine painter, especially good at landscape.
Literature: Fister, *Japanese women artists 1600-1900*, 86-87, 94-96; Chance, 'In the studio of painting study', 78-79.

Tegara no Okamochi: 手柄岡持, Tsunetomi, Chisoku, Aishū, Hōseidō Kisanji, Dōdarō Ma'a, Asagi no Uranari, Kan Chōrei, original family name: Nishimura (the family name of Hirasawa is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1735-1813
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai

Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), popular fiction
Activities: calligraphy, *haikai*, popular fiction, *kyōka*
Teachers: Baba Songi (1703-1782), Yamamoto Kisei II (d. 1768), Seki Hōkō (1697-1765), Narushima Kinkō (1689-1760)
Contacts: Satake Yoshiatsu, Ōta Nanpō, Hiraga Gennai, Koikawa Harumachi, Sakai Hōitsu
Biographical sketch: Okamochi was the third son of a retainer of the domain of Akita in Ugo province. At the age of thirteen he was adopted into his mother's family, the Hirasawa, who served at the Edo residence of the domain of Akita. In due course he became caretaker of the residence (1784) and served four generations of daimyo of the Satake family, among whom Satake Yoshiatsu. When he was about ten he went to study *haikai* with Baba Songi and Yamamoto Kisei II. In the Edo *haikai* circles he came into contact with Sakai Hōitsu. Okamochi also did Chinese studies and calligraphy with Seki Hōkō and Narushima Kinkō. He became involved in popular fiction in the 1770s and, with his friend and collaborator Koikawa Harumachi, he is seen as a pioneer of the *kibyōshi* genre. He also knew Ōta Nanpō and Hiraga Gennai. His literary career suffered a setback at the time of the Kansei Reforms. In 1788 Okamochi wrote a satire with the title *Bunbu nidō mangoku tōshi* ('The Ten Thousand Stones on the Double Path of Learning and Martials Arts', 1788). Harumachi followed in 1789 with *Ōmugaeshi bunbu no futamichi* ('Parroting the Slogan 'The Double Path of Learning and Martial Arts''). Both works were seen as a mockery of the *rōjū* Matsudaira Sadanobu. Okamochi's book was banned and his domain ordered him to stop writing fiction. Harumachi was censured, dismissed from his duties and died soon afterwards. It is often said that he committed suicide. Okamochi turned to *kyōka* and *kyōbun*.
Literature: Howard Hibbett, *The chrysanthemum and the fish*, 126-127. The translation of the title of Harumachi's 1789 satire is taken from Hibbett, I have adapted my translation of Okamochi's work accordingly.

Totoki Baigai: 十時梅崖, Hajime, Tamō, Kichō, Shiu, Kokyō, Seimuken, Tenrinkaku, Hanzō, Sekitei
Years of birth and death: 1749-1804
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, painting, seal carving, calligraphy
Teachers: Itō Tōsho, Ōtani Eian (unidentified), Chō Tōsai
Contacts: Masuyama Sessai, Kimura Kenkadō, Rai Shunsui, Haruki Nanko, Minagawa Kien, Ike Taiga
Biographical sketch: Baigai was born into a wealthy merchant family. He did Chinese studies with Itō Tōsho, and painting and calligraphy with Ōtani Eian and Chō Tōsai. Rai Shunsui was a fellow student at Tōsai's school. Baigai was acquainted with Minagawa Kien and Ike Taiga, and visited them whenever he was in Kyoto. During the time Masuyama Sessai, daimyo of the domain of Nagashima in Ise province, was serving as

Ōsaka jōban (Osaka castle guard) he met Baigai, probably through Tōsai, and in 1784 invited him to come to Nagashima to become the domain's specialist of Chinese studies and found a school. Haruki Nanko was a colleague at the domain. In 1785 he accompanied his new lord to Nagasaki. In 1790 he travelled to Nagasaki on his own and studied with visiting Chinese artists and scholars. In 1800 he retired from his job and was succeeded by his son. He returned to Osaka where he devoted his time to painting. Friends of this period include Okada Beisanjin and Hosoai Hansai. Baigai is best known for his landscapes and his 'four gentlemen' paintings.
Literature: *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1 (this gives 1731 as the year of Baigai's birth); for Kenkadō, see *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.vv. 1791, 1799; Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.; Ōtsuki Mikio 大槻幹郎, *Bunjingaka no fu* 文人画家の譜, 254-256 (for Kien and Taiga); Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons,* vol. 3, 103-104.

Tsuga Teishō: 都賀庭鐘, Kōsei, Rokuzō, Jūsenkaku, Senri rōshi, Taikō gyojin
Years of birth and death: 1718- ?, he probably died when he was about eighty
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: medicine, popular fiction
Activities: medicine, vernacular Chinese, calligraphy, seal carving, popular fiction, *sencha*, agricultural studies
Teachers: Nioki Mōsho (1687-1755), Kagawa Shūan (1684-1755)
Contacts: Ueda Akinari
Biographical sketch: Teishō went to Kyoto around 1736 to study there. He did calligraphy and seal carving with Nioki Mōsho and medicine with Kagawa Shūan, physician and specialist of Chinese studies, a pupil of Itō Jinsai. Teishō also studied vernacular Chinese and became an authority on the subject. He produced several adapted versions of Chinese popular novels, which are seen as early examples of the *yomihon* genre. He was also interested in agriculture and the cultivation of commodities. By the time he was thirty he had opened a medical practice in Osaka. In 1755 he met Ōeda Ryūhō (d. ca. 1756), a pioneer of *sencha*, and wrote the preface to his *Seiwanchawa* ('Tea Talk of the Blue Bay', 1756). When Ueda Akinari decided to become a physician after he had lost his house, shop and possessions in a fire in 1771, he may have done medical studies with Tsuga Teishō, but the nature of the contact is not very clear. Teishō wrote the preface to Akinari's *Yasumigoto* ('Plain and Natural Words') in 1792.
Literature: E. Pastreich, *The reception of Chinese vernacular narrative in Korea and Japan*, Cambridge, Mass. 1997, 426-427; for *sencha*, see Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 84-85, 87-88; Miyoshi Teiji 三善貞司, ed., *Osaka jinbutsu jiten* 大阪人物辞典, s.v.

Uchiyama Chinken: 内山椿軒, Naotoki, Bunkei, Denzō, Gatei, Shōshōrō, Fuyōrō, Gōkantei (the family name of Nagata is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1723-1788
Place of birth: unclear
Status at birth: unclear
Source(s) of income: *waka*, *kyōka*, Chinese studies, Japanese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, Japanese studies, *waka*, *kyōka*
Teachers: teachers of the Shōheikō, Ban Seizan (1665-1747)
Contacts: as pupils: Karagoromo Kisshū, Ōta Nanpo, Akera Kankō, Hezutsu Tōsaku
Biographical sketch: Chinken was probably born in Edo and may have been a retainer of the Bakufu, but this is uncertain. In 1765 he became a pupil of the Shōheikō. He studied *waka* with Ban Seizan and became one of Edo's best-known *waka* poets. He was even more influential in the field of *kyōka*. He was the teacher of a number of *kyōka* enthusiasts, who were instrumental in the fashion for *kyōka* during the 1770s and 1780s: Karagoromo Kisshū, Ōta Nanpo, Akera Kankō and Hezutsu Tōsaku. During this period Chinken himself took an independent position and remained largely outside the main groups and schools. He was, however, more drawn to the style of Kisshū than to that of his other pupils. He was much involved in Kisshū's *Kyōka Wakabashū* ('A Collection of Fresh Kyōka Leaves') of 1783, to which he contributed a large number of poems. Chinken taught *waka* and Japanese and Chinese studies to the children from the samurai families of his neighbourhood. We also find that he was in the service of the Bakufu as specialist of Chinese studies, but again this is uncertain.
Literature: Keene, *World within walls*, 517ff; the suggestion that Chinken was in the service of the Bakufu is taken from: Nagasawa Kikuya 長沢規矩也 & Nagasawa Kōjō 長沢孝三, *Kanbungakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, nr 730.

Udagawa Genzui: 宇田川玄随, Susumu, Meikei, Kaien
Years of birth and death: 1755-1797
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine
Teachers: Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Nakagawa Jun'an, Ōtsuki Gentaku
Contacts: Udagawa Shinsai (adopted son), Inamura Sanpaku, Hayashi Shihei
Biographical sketch: Genzui's family had served the domain of Tsuyama in the province of Mimasaka as physicians and specialists of Chinese studies for several generations. In his youth he did Chinese studies and traditional medicine. When he was about twenty-five years old he heard of the work of Katsuragawa Hoshū and Ōtsuki Gentaku and became interested in Western medicine. He went to study with Hoshū and Gentaku and also did medicine and general Western studies with Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku and Nakagawa Jun'an. In 1781 he became official physician to his domain. He also had a private medical practice. Genzui was the author of *Seisetsu naika*

sen'yō ('The Main Points of the Western Theory of Internal Medicine', 1793) based on a work by the Dutch physician Johannes de Gorter. It was the first book on internal medicine in Japan. He wrote several other medical works and had many pupils. Genzui's own children died young, and he was succeeded by his adopted son Shinsai.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 72, 79, 98, 102, 113.

Udagawa Shinsai: 宇田川榛斎, Genshin, Hikaru, original family name: Yasuoka
Years of birth and death: 1769-1834
Place of birth: Yamada in Ise province
Status at birth: unknown
Source(s) of income: medicine, Western studies
Activities: medicine, Western studies (astronomy/calendrical sciences)
Teachers: Udagawa Genzui (adoptive father), Katsuragawa Hoshū, Ōtsuki Gentaku
Contacts: Sugita Genpaku, Inamura Sanpaku
Biographical sketch: Shinsai came to Edo around 1790 to study with Katsuragawa Hoshū, Udagawa Genzui and Ōtsuki Gentaku. As he showed special promise for translation he was adopted by Sugita Genpaku. However, the adoption was annulled because of the young man's profligate behaviour. In the end he was adopted by Udagawa Genzui. In 1813 Shinsai was ordered by the Bakufu to become attendant at the Bakufu's official observatory (*bansho wage goyō*). He retired from this function on the ground of illness in 1832.
Literature: Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, 91, 102, 108, 113.

Ueda Akinari: 上田秋成, Yosai, Tōsaku, Muchō, Shimaya Senjirō
Years of birth and death: 1734-1809
Place of birth: Osaka
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: commerce, medicine, Japanese studies, popular fiction
Activities: *waka*, *sencha*, *haikai*, *zuihitsu*, vernacular Chinese, popular fiction, Japanese studies, medicine, pottery
Teachers: Takai Kikei (1687-1761), Kojima Shigeie (d. 1760), Katō Umaki
Contacts: Ban Kōkei, Kimura Kenkadō, Hosoai Hansai, Yosa Buson, Takai Kitō, Ozawa Roan, Murase Kōtei, Matsumura Goshun, Fujitani Nariakira, Morikawa Chikusō, Tsuga Teishō, Minagawa Kien, Miura Chora
Biographical sketch: It is not known who Akinari's father was. His mother was the daughter of a merchant with the family name of Matsuo. In 1737 Akinari was adopted by an oil and paper merchant called Ueda. In 1738 he contracted smallpox; both his hands were maimed by the disease. Around 1756 he went to study *haikai* with Takai Kikei. Kikei's son Kitō became one of his best friends. It was probably through them that Akinari met Yosa Buson. Around 1759 Akinari began Japanese studies with Kojima Shigeie, but his teacher died the next year. Akinari got married in 1760. The marriage was happy but childless. In 1761 he took over his adoptive father's shop. He became increasingly involved in literary and scholarly activities. In 1768 he finished

Ugetsu Monogatari ('Tales of Moon and Rain', published 1776), which is considered his masterpiece. In the late 1760s he became a pupil of Katō Umaki who had studied with Kamo no Mabuchi. Umaki was Akinari's guide and teacher for almost ten years. In 1771 Akinari lost his house, shop and possessions in a fire and for a while lived an unsettled life, teaching and writing. In 1773 he decided to become a physician. Tsuga Teishō is often said to have been his medical teacher, but in fact the nature of the contact is not clear. Akinari opened a practice in 1776. During the 1780s he was involved in a dispute with Motoori Norinaga on matters of ancient phonetics and national ideology. In 1787 he gave up his practice and in 1793 he moved to Kyoto. In the course of 1790 Akinari had developed cataract and lost the sight in his left eye. In 1797 his wife died and in 1798 he became completely blind. He was taken care of by two women, one of whom he had adopted as his daughter. After treatment in Osaka he recovered some of his sight. In 1801 he met Ōta Nanpo in Osaka and in 1803 his Osaka friends gave a party to celebrate his 70th year. In 1805, while Akinari was again Osaka, his adopted daughter ran away. Akinari's final years were again unsettled. He often moved, living in temple precincts or with friends. A work of his final years is his *zuihitsu Tandai shōshin roku* ('A Record of Pluck and Prudence', 1808).
Literature: Young, *Ueda Akinari* (see *ibid.*, 78-87, and also Burns, *Before the nation*, 102-130, for the Norinaga controversy); Leon M. Zolbrod, transl., *Ugetsu Monogatari. Tales of moonlight and rain*, Vancouver 1974, 19-94; Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 40-51; Takagi Sōgo 高木蒼梧, *Haikai jinmei jiten* 俳諧人名辞典, section Tenmei haidan 天明俳壇, 392-393; *nenpu* in: Nagashima Hiroaki & Ikezawa Natsuki 長島弘明, 池澤夏樹, *Ueda Akinari* 上田秋成; for Miura Chora, see *ibid.*, s.v. the year 1776; *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, passim; for *sencha*, see Graham, *Tea of the sages*, passim.

Umetsuji Shunshō: 梅辻春樵, Mugen, Kageyu, Shikin (the old family name of Hatoribe is also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1776-1857
Place of birth: Sakamoto in Ōmi province
Status at birth: Shinto priest
Source(s) of income: priesthood (Shinto)
Activities: Shinto studies, *waka*, Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Minagawa Kien, Murase Kōtei
Contacts: Shinnin Shinnō, Ozawa Roan, Rikunyo, Ban Kōkei
Biographical sketch: Shunshō's family had for generations been priests of a subsidiary sanctuary of the Hie shrine in Ōmi province. In due course he succeeded to the family position. He also held junior fourth rank lower. He began Chinese studies in Kyoto with Minagawa Kien and later moved on to Murase Kōtei, also in Kyoto. From his early twenties he received the favour of prince Shinnin and came to know the aged Rikunyo, Roan and Kōkei when he was invited to their gatherings. In 1807 he handed over his

function to his younger brother in order to devote himself to his studies. In his later years he moved to Kyoto.
Literature: Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, 'Shinnin hōshinnō wo meguru geibunkatachi' 真仁法親王をめぐる芸文家たち, 213; for Kōkei, see Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 46.

Uragami Gyokudō: 浦上玉堂, Tasuku, Hyōuemon
Years of birth and death: 1745-1820
Place of birth: Okayama in Bizen province
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (domanial), painting, music
Activities: music, painting, Chinese studies, *kanshi*
Teachers: Taki Rankei, Tamada Mokuō (1697-1785)
Contacts: Okada Beisanjin, Kan Chazan, Minagawa Kien, Kimura Kenkadō, Tani Bunchō, Shiba Kōkan, Haruki Nanko, Akamatsu Sōshū, Nishiyama Sessai, Hosoai Hansai, Nakayama Kōyō, Inoue Kinga, Shinozaki Santō
Biographical sketch: Gyokudō was the fourth child of a samurai in the service of the Ikeda family. When he was in his seventh year his father died and he succeeded to the family headship. In 1754 he entered the school of his domain. In 1760 he began his service with the Ikeda family as an attendant. He had a prosperous career with several promotions before resigning in 1793. Mention is made of an income of 150 *koku*. He probably already played the *qin* around 1765. In 1772 he got married. A daughter was born in 1775. In 1774 Gyokudō was in Edo on duty, and met Inoue Kinga and Nakayama Kōyō. Kinga put Gyokudō into contact with Taki Rankei, who became his music teacher. In this period Gyokudō also did Chinese studies with Tamada Mokuō. In 1779 he visited Kimura Kenkadō for the first time. It was the beginning of a firm friendship. His son Shunkin was born in this year and his second son Shūkin in 1785. In 1786 Gyokudō built his first *qin*: he is known to have built four or five instruments for friends and patrons. In 1792 his wife died and Gyokudō went on a journey to the Kinki region and Shikoku. He decided to become a ronin in 1794 and in 1795 we find him settled in Edo with his sons. Later that year Gyokudō took Shūkin on a visit to the music-loving daimyo of the domain of Aizu in Iwashiro province. The boy was subsequently engaged by the daimyo. Gyokudō and Shunkin settled in Kyoto around 1799. Gyokudō became famous as a painter and a musician. He had a large circle of friends, including Morikawa Chikusō, Okada Beisanjin, Rai Shunsui, Kan Chazan, Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835), Nakabayashi Chikutō (1776-1853), and the brothers Takemoto Tōtōan and Hokurin. He did a lot of travelling: between 1808 and 1811, for instance, he was away from home on a journey to the north-east of the country.
Literature: Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin*, *Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu* 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, *nenpu* and passim.

Yamamoto Hokuzan: 山本北山, Kiroku, Tenki, Chikutei in'itsu, Keigiō
Years of birth and death: 1752-1812
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: Chinese studies
Activities: Chinese studies, *kanshi*, astronomy/calendrical sciences, military studies, *ekigaku*, Buddhist studies
Teachers: Yamazaki Tōkei (unidentified)
Contacts: Kameda Bōsai, Inoue Kinga. As pupils: Ōta Kinjō, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Yashiro Hirokata, Kojima Baigai, possibly Gamō Kunpei
Biographical sketch: Hokuzan was born into a family of retainers to the Bakufu. He lost his father at an early age, but because his family was wealthy he was free to devote himself to scholarship. He first studied under Yamazaki Tōkei at the Edo branch of the Kimon academy founded by Yamazaki Ansai (1619-1682). Later he studied on his own. He was attracted by the eclectic approach of Inoue Kinga and studied with him but not as an official pupil. The work that made his reputation was *Kōkyōshūran* ('Collected views on the Classic of Filial Piety') of 1775. It was largely based on a work by Kinga. By the end of the 1780s he was a leading intellectual figure and teacher. He rejected the Ban on Heterodoxy of 1790, and did not give up his scholarly principles. He was one of the so-called 'five demons of the Kansei period', the others being Ichikawa Kakumei (1740-1795), Toshima Hōshū (1737-1814), Tsukada Taihō (1745-1832) and his friend Kameda Bōsai. Apart from the Chinese classics and *kanshi*, Hokuzan was well-read on the subjects of astronomy, military studies, divination (*ekigaku*), Daoism and Buddhism. In 1793 he was invited to become a teacher at the domanial academy in Edo of the domain of Akita in Ugo province. He was engaged by several other domains but details are unknown.
Literature: Keene, *World within walls*, 545-546; Watson, *Kanshi*, p. xi; biography in: Setagayaku ritsukyōdo shiryōkan 世田谷区立郷土資料館, *Edo no bunjin kōyūroku, Kameda Bōsai to sono nakamatachi* 江戸の文人交友録, 亀田鵬斎とその仲間たち.

Yashiro Hirokata: 屋代弘賢, Tarō, Tarokichi, Rinchi
Years of birth and death: 1758-1841
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: samurai
Source(s) of income: administration (Bakufu), calligraphy, Japanese studies
Activities: calligraphy, Japanese studies, *waka*, collecting, study of popular culture
Teachers: Hanawa Hokiichi, Matsuoka Tokikata (1764-1840), Ise Sadaharu (1760-1812), Reizei Tamemura (1712-1774), Reizei Tameyasu (1735-1816), Yamamoto Hokuzan
Contacts: Shibano Ritsuzan
Biographical sketch: Hirokata was the son of a retainer of the Bakufu. At the age of six he began calligraphy lessons with one of the Bakufu *yūhitsu* (secretaries). He did Japanese studies with Hanawa Hokiichi, Matsuoka Tokikata and Ise Sadaharu, *waka*

with Reizei Tamemura and Tameyasu, and Chinese studies with Yamamoto Hokuzan. In 1779 he became an official in the service of the kitchen of the Western Enceinte, and in 1786 a scribe at the Main Enceinte. In 1790 he took part in the editing of a historical work (*Kokkan*, 'Mirror of the Nation') under Shibano Ritsuzan. In 1792 he accompanied Ritsuzan on a tour of temples and shrines in the Kinki region. From 1793 he worked for the secretarial office of the Interior (*oku yūhitsu sho*). He served as a *shihai kanjō* (managing accountant) and later as a *kanjō* (accountant), and in 1824 was given the right of shogunal audience. He also served as a calligrapher: he wrote the fair copies of official missives to Russia (1805) and Korea (1811). More importantly, he was involved in a number of official historical compilations: *Kansei chōshū shokafu* ('The Kansei Period's Additions to the Various Genealogies', completed 1812), *Hankanpu zokuhen*, a supplement to Arai Hakuseki's *Hankanpu* ('A History of the Daimyo Houses', 1702), begun under Okada Kansen in 1789 and completed in 1806, *Kokon yōrankō* ('A Catalogue of Old and Recent Material', 1821-1842) a classified compilation of historical texts, and the *Kanjō roku* ('A Record of our Soldiers', 1827-1835), a compilation of historical material concerning samurai families. He also assisted his former teacher Hanawa Hokiichi's with his *magnum opus*, *Gunsho ruijū* ('A Classification of a Multitude of Texts'), a project that ran from 1779 until 1819. From its beginnings in 1793, he was involved in the Wagaku Kōdansho (Bureau for Japanese Studies), a research centre set up by Hokiichi. He also had an immense collection of books. Hirokata served as tutor to the daimyo family of Hachisuka of the Tokushima domain in Awa province. With Kariya Ekisai (1775-1835) he organized a seminar on bibliographical research in 1815. Among his friends we find Ōta Nanpo, Takizawa Bakin and Morishima Chūryō. In 1836 Hirokata was one of the invited when Ōkubo Shibutsu organized a special party for which he brought together nine eminent intellectuals over the age of seventy, among whom Tachi Ryūwan and Tani Bunchō.
Literature: see Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 305, for Chūryō; 330ff, for the questionnaire *Shokoku fūzoku toijo* ('Questions on Customs of All Provinces') of around 1813.

Yosa Buson: 与謝蕪村, Taniguchi Buson, Yahan'ō, Yahantei, Saichō, Shachōkō, Shashunsei, original family name: Taniguchi
Years of birth and death: 1716-1783
Place of birth: Kemamura in the region of Higashinari in Settsu province
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: painting, *haikai*
Activities*: haikai, kanshi*, painting
Teachers: Hayano Hajin (1677?-1742)
Contacts: Ike Taiga, Ueda Akinari, Miyake Shōzan, Miura Chora, Katō Kyōtai, Kimura Kenkadō, Minagawa Kien. As pupils: Ki Baitei, Matsumura Goshun, Takai Kitō
Biographical sketch: Buson was the son of a wealthy farmer. In his youth he may have studied painting with one Momoda Korenobu (unidentified) of the Kano school, but this is not certain. He went to Edo around 1735 and in 1737 began *haikai* with Hayano Hajin.

He possibly also attended lectures by Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759). After Hajin's death, Buson accompanied his friend and fellow pupil Isaoka Gantō (d.1773) to Yūki in Shimōsa province, Gantō's birthplace. He lived in this region for several years but visited Edo regularly. In 1751 he settled in Kyoto, where he met other former pupils of Hajin, such as Mochizuki Sōoku (1688-1766) and Takai Kikei (1687-1761). Later the *haikai* poets Tan Taigi (1709-1771), Miura Chora and Katō Kyōtai would also be among his contacts. Buson left Kyoto in 1754 for Miyazu in Tango province (probably his mother's native region). He lived here for more than three years, studying various styles of painting. He returned to Kyoto in 1757. Around 1760 he got married. The couple had a daughter. Takai Kikei's son Kitō became a *haikai* pupil of Buson around 1771. Kitō was a friend of Ueda Akinari and he probably introduced Akinari to Buson. Matsumura Goshun became a pupil around 1773. It is not clear when Ki Baitei arrived. Buson mainly made his living as a painter, but was also active in *haikai* circles. He became a central figure in what is often referred to as the 'Bashō Revival Movement', a trend to restore the *haikai* style of the Genroku period. In 1771 he collaborated with Ike Taiga on the album *Jūben jūgi* ('Ten Conveniences and Ten Pleasures'). In 1777 an 1778 he travelled to Osaka with Kitō and in the early 1780s he made trips to Yoshino and Uji. Not long after this last trip he fell ill with a chest complaint and died.
Literature: French, *The poet-painters. Buson and his followers*; for Kien, see Mark Morris, 'Group portrait with artist', 95; Young, *Ueda Akinari*, passim; Rosenfield, *Extraordinary persons*, vol. 3, 116; *nenpu* in: Matsumura Tomotsugu 松村友次, *Buson no tegami* 蕪村の手紙 (for Chora, s.vv. 1773, 1774); *nenpu* in: Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, ed., *Edo meisaku gajō zenshū* 江戸名作画帖全集, Bunjinga 文人画 vol. 1; *nenpu* in: Ōsaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 大阪歴史博物館, *Kimura Kenkadō, Naniwa chi no kyojin*, 木村蒹葭堂. なにわ知の巨人, s.v. 1779.

Yoshida Kōton: 吉田篁墩, Hiroshi, Shitan, Rin'an, Kankan, Gakuju, Gakusei, Tanzō, Chikumon (the family names of Sasaki and Fujii are also associated with him)
Years of birth and death: 1745-1798
Place of birth: Edo
Status at birth: retained physician
Source(s) of income: medicine, Chinese studies
Activities: medicine, Chinese studies, collecting, connoisseurship
Teachers: Inoue Kinga
Contacts: Kameda Bōsai
Biographical sketch: Kōton was the son of a physician to the domain of Mito in Hitachi province. In due course he also became domain physician, but when it was discovered that during his duty hours in Edo he went out secretly to see patients in town, his stipend was confiscated and he was dismissed. He subsequently was a successful town physician, but later closed his practice and became a specialist of Chinese studies. He had done Chinese studies with Inoue Kinga, who was also the teacher of his friend Kameda Bōsai. Kōton was an avid collector of old books and greatly contributed to

scholarship by critically comparing various editions. Furthermore, he was a respected connoisseur of calligraphy, painting and antiques.
Literature: for Bōsai, see Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 23.

Yunoki Taijun:柚木太淳, Chūso, Gyōmin, Kakkyō
Years of birth and death: 1762-1803
Place of birth: Kyoto
Status at birth: commoner
Source(s) of income: medicine
Activities: medicine
Teachers: Emura Hokkai, Ogino Gengai, Kagawa Yūsai (1733-1793)
Contacts: Minagawa Kien
Biographical sketch: Taijun was born into a family that had for generations been ophthalmologists in Ōmi province. His father had opened an ophthalmic practice in Kyoto. Like his father Taijun did Chinese studies with Emura Hokkai. He also did internal medicine with Ogino Gengai and obstetrics with Kagawa Yūsai and in due course succeeded to the Kyoto practice. He was a pioneer of Western ophthalmic science in Kyoto. He received permission to perform a dissection on the body of a criminal in 1797.
Literature: for Kien, see Takahashi Hiromi 高橋博巳, *Kyōto geien no nettowāku* 京都藝苑のネットワーク, 232.

PART III: ANALYSIS

1: Age

The third part of this monograph is devoted to the analysis of the biographical data; some historians would call what follows the 'real' prosopography. Usually the formation of a network is influenced by such factors as age and generation, place of origin, family relationships, social background and employment. However, what brings people together in a network of intellectuals is, supposedly, the actual intellectual activity. In order to investigate in how far these other factors played a role, questions concerning their significance are recurring throughout the analyis.

Perhaps the very first item in our analysis ought to have been gender. Five out of the 173 individuals in our network are women (2.8 %). This figure is mostly of interest in the context of questions concerning female literacy and erudition and related topics of gender hierarchy. Gender-related matters, however, had better not be entered upon in the context of this prosopographic analysis, because I did not set out to specifically highlight the situation of *women* intellectuals. Besides, previous assumptions concerning female literacy and education, and women's access to the public sphere are increasingly being questioned. A research project now under way at Cambridge University under the direction of Peter Kornicki investigates levels of female literacy, educational opportunities for women, and women's writing and reading cultures in pre-modern Japan, and should yield its first results within a few years. Questions relating to gender arising from my prosopography can only be properly addressed when this process of reassessment has been brought about.

As the first item in our analysis we will, therefore, address the issue of age. More often than not historians fail to point out explicitly that a certain period concerns so many years of real peoples' lives. They may want to focus on long-term structural changes or, on the other hand, on the effects of a certain event, in which cases they do not have to be concerned with individual life histories. Also, a periodization such as 'the late Tokugawa period' can be very artificial when dealing with the career of an individual. To begin with, the person in question did not know he or she was witnessing the twilight of Tokugawa rule. Too often individuals are treated as ageless beings who are supposed to have been at the height of their intellectual powers, from the day of their birth to the day of their death. Things may even become slightly bizarre as in the case of the paragraph discussing the late eighteenth century in Tetsuo Najita's contribution to volume 4 of the *Cambridge History of Japan*. Among the scholars mentioned as representative of late eighteenth-century thought we find Fujita Tōko (1806-1855), Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863), Rai San'yō (1780-1832), Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841)

and Takano Chōei (1804-1850), Ninomiya Sontoku (1787-1856) and Ōsho Heihachirō (1793-1837). Najita also mentions scholars who *did* take part in late eighteenth-century intellectual discourse, but his argument is surely weakened by including individuals who were hardly out of their teens, mere children or not even born yet by the year 1800. His choice of examples betrays the fact that Najita is actually looking ahead to the Bakumatsu period. It also demonstrates that his concern is with 'thought', and not with the individuals who thought the thoughts, not even on the most basic level: their years of birth and death.[93] Likewise, in her discussion of Motoori Norinaga's pupils, Susan Burns describes the affluent townsmen among them as targets for "the series of 'reform' efforts sponsored by the bakufu and domains in the Kansai [*sic*], Tenpō and Ansai [*sic*] eras". The impression of persecution resulting from such an enumeration loses much of its force when we realize that there are thirty years between the Kansei (1789-1801) and the Tenpō (1830-1844) period, and another ten years between the Tenpō and the Ansei period (1854-1860). Besides, the master himself died in 1801 – the majority of his pupils must have been dead by the time of the Ansei period.[94]

It is not a vain exercise to form an idea about when an individual's personal impact actually began or ceased. A figure like Rai San'yō (not included in the prosopography) may on the ground of his year of birth (1780, alternatively 1781) be said to belong to the late eighteenth century. However, by 1800 he was still in a formative phase and it took him some time to sow his wild oats. As a scholar, he definitely belongs to the nineteenth century. On the other hand, Hiraga Gennai, often designated a key figure of late eighteenth-century science, died in 1780, and we cannot but concede that Gennai's personal share ended there. For the remaining twenty years of the century Gennai could only be interpreted and represented.

The following list presents the individuals in my prosopography arranged according to the decade and the year of their birth. The year of each individual's death is included, as well as an overview of the number of people in each cohort and their 'survival rate'. This list should contribute to our awareness of generational presence and impact within the 1775-1800 period. It also shows which individuals took late eighteenth-century intellectual discourse into the nineteenth century.

FIRST DECADE: 1700–1709

4 persons, *1 died in the period 1775-1779, 2 in the period 1780-1789, 1 died in 1797*

Kagawa Gen'etsu	**1700**–1777
Nishiyori Seisai	**1702**–1797
Takahashi Munenao	**1703**–1785
Rai Kōō	**1707**–1783

SECOND DECADE: 1710–1719

13 persons*, 8 died in the period 1780-1789, 1 in the period 1790-1799, 1 died in 1800, 2 died in 1801, 1 person's year of death is not known*

Akutagawa Tankyū	**1710**–1785

[93] Tetsuo Najita, 'History and nature in eighteenth-century Tokugawa thought', in: *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, Cambridge 1991, 638-656.
[94] Burns, *Before the nation*, 98.

Chō Tōsai **1713**–1786
Emura Hokkai **1713**–1788
Chōgetsu **1714**–1798
Sō Shiseki **1715** (alt. 1712, 1716)–1786
Itō Jakuchū **1716 -**1800
Yosa Buson **1716**–1783
Iioka Gisai **1717**–1789
Nakayama Kōyō **1717**–1780
Miyake Shōzan **1718**–1801
Tsuga Teishō **1718**–year of death unknown
Daiten Kenjō **1719**–1801
Seida Tansō **1719**–1785

THIRD DECADE: 1720–1729
***23 persons**, 2 died in the period 1775-1779, 10 in the period 1780-1789, 4 in the period 1790-1799, 6 in the period 1800-1809, 1 died in 1810*
Eda Nagayasu **1720**–1795
Akamatsu Sōshū **1721**–1801
Katō Umaki **1721**–1777
Takebe Seian **1721**–1782
Irie Masayoshi **1722**–1800
Kakutei Jōkō **1722**–1785
Kō Fuyō **1722**–1784
Tanaka Meimon **1722**–1788
Ike Taiga **1723**–1776
Katayama Hokkai **1723**–1790
Maeno Ryōtaku **1723**–1803
Ozawa Roan **1723**–1801
Uchiyama Chinken **1723**–1788
Adachi Seiga **1726**–1792
Hezutsu Tōsaku **1726**–1789
Hiraga Gennai **1727**–1780
Hosoai Hansai **1727**–1803
Ike Gyokuran **1727** (alt. 1728)–1784
Kan Tenju **1727**–1795
Nawa Rodō **1727**–1789
Seki Shōsō **1727**–1801
Miura Chora **1729**–1780
Ono Ranzan **1729**–1810

FOURTH DECADE: 1730–1739
***37 persons**, 1 died in the period 1775-1779, 4 in the period 1780-1789, 10 in the period 1790-1799, 16 died in the period 1800-1809, 6 in the period 1810-1819*
Imei **1730**–1808
Itō Tōsho **1730**–1804
Miguma Katen **1730–**1794

Motoori Norinaga **1730**–1801
Nakai Chikuzan **1730**–1804
Chōmu **1732**–1795
Inoue Kinga **1732**–1784
Katō Kyōtai **1732**–1792
Nakai Riken **1732**–1817
Sawada Tōkō **1732**–1796
Taki Rankei **1732**–1801
Ban Kōkei **1733**–1806
Hirasawa Kyokuzan **1733**–1793
Maruyama Ōkyo **1733**–1795
Sasaki Roan **1733**–1782
Sugita Genpaku **1733**–1817
Ki Baitei **1734**–1810
Kudō Heisuke **1734**–1800
Minagawa Kien **1734**–1807
Rikunyo **1734**–1801
Ueda Akinari **1734**–1809
Katō Chikage **1735**–1808
Nishiyama Sessai **1735**–1798
Tegara no Okamochi **1735**–1813
Hattori Rissai **1736**–1800
Kimura Kenkadō **1736**–1802
Shibano Ritsuzan **1736**–1807
Hino Sukeki **1737**–1801
Ogino Gengai **1737**–1806
Shinozaki Santō **1737**–1813
Akera Kankō **1738**–1798
Fujitani Nariakira **1738**–1779
Hayashi Shihei **1738**–1793
Momozawa Mutaku **1738**–1810
Nagata Kanga **1738**–1792
Katsu Shikin **1739**–1784
Nakagawa Jun'an **1739**–1786

FIFTH DECADE: 1740–1749
***35 persons**, 4 died in the period 1780-1789, 5 in the period 1790-1799, 5 died in the period 1800-1809, 10 in the period 1810-1819, 10 in the period 1820-1829, 1 in the period 1830-1839*
Okada Kansen **1740**–1816
Gessen **1741**–1809
Iwagaki Ryōkei **1741**–1808
Takai Kitō **1741**–1789
Shibayama Mochitoyo **1742–**1815
Karagoromo Kisshū **1743**–1802
Koishi Genshun **1743**–1808
Koikawa Harumachi **1744**–1789

Murase Kōtei **1744**–1818
Okada Beisanjin **1744–**1820
Bitō Nishū **1745** (alt. 1747)–1813
Fushimatsu Kaka **1745**–1810
Kagawa Kagemoto **1745**–1821
Uragami Gyokudō **1745**–1820
Yoshida Kōton **1745**–1798
Hanawa Hokiichi **1746**–1821
Kuwayama Gyokushū **1746**–1799
Murata Harumi **1746**–1811
Rai Shunsui **1746**–1816
Ema Ransai **1747**–1838
Komai Genki **1747**–1797
Mori Sosen **1747** (alt. 1749)–1821
Noro Kaiseki **1747**–1828
Shiba Kōkan **1747** (alt. 1748)–1818
Takayama Hikokurō **1747**–1793
Aōdō Denzen **1748**–1822
Kan Chazan **1748**–1827
Satake Yoshiatsu **1748**–1785
Ichikawa Kansai **1749**–1820
Kayama Tekien **1749**–1795
Odano Naotake **1749**–1780
Okamoto Yasutaka **1749**–1817
Ōta Nanpo **1749**–1823
Suzuki Fuyō **1749**–1816
Totoki Baigai **1749–**1804

SIXTH DECADE: 1750–1759
22 persons*, 2 died in the period 1790-1799, 2 in the period 1800-1809, 8 died in the period 1810-1819, 5 in the period 1820-1829, 4 in the period 1830-1839, 1 died in 1841)*
Koga Seiri **1750**–1817
Katakura Kakuryō **1751**–1822
Kameda Bōsai **1752**–1826
Matsumura Goshun **1752**–1811
Yamamoto Hokuzan **1752**–1812
Okuda Eisen **1753**–1811
Rai Shunpū **1753**–1825
Katsuragawa Hoshū **1754**–1809
Masuyama Sessai **1754**–1819
Nagasawa Rosetsu **1754**–1799
Tachibana Nankei **1754**–1806
Taki Renpu **1755**–1810
Azuma Tōyō **1755**–1839
Mogami Tokunai **1755**–1836
Udagawa Genzui **1755**–1797

Morishima Chūryō **1756**–1810
Rai Kyōhei **1756**–1834
Ōtsuki Gentaku **1757**–1827
Inamura Sanpaku **1758**–1811
Matsudaira Sadanobu **1758**–1829
Yashiro Hirokata **1758**–1841
Haruki Nanko **1759**–1839

SEVENTH DECADE: 1760–1769
***28 persons**, 1 died in 1793, 2 died in the period 1800-1809, 5 in the period 1810-1819, 7 in the period 1820-1829, 5 died in the period 1830-1839, 8 in the period 1840-1849*
Geppō **1760**–1839
Matsura Seizan **1760**–1841
Rai Baishi **1760**–1843
Sakai Hōitsu **1761**–1828
Santō Kyōden **1761**–1816
Minagawa Kōsai **1762**–1819
Tachi Ryūwan **1762**–1844
Yunoki Taijun **1762**–1803
Kashiwagi Jotei **1763**–1819
Morikawa Chikusō **1763**–1830
Tani Bunchō **1763**–1840
Kakizaki Hakyō **1764**–1826
Kitao Masayoshi **1764**–1824
Ōta Kinjō **1765**–1825
Maruyama Ōzui **1766**–1829
Aoki Mokubei **1767**–1833
Hayashi Nobutaka **1767**–1793
Ōkubo Shibutsu **1767**–1837
Takemoto Tōtōan **1767**–1818
Takizawa Bakin **1767**–1848
Fujitani Mitsue **1768**–1823
Gamō Kunpei **1768**–1813
Hayashi Jussai **1768**–1841
Kagawa Kageki **1768**–1843
Shinnin Shinnō **1768**–1805
Takemoto Hokurin **1769**–1820
Kikuchi Gozan **1769** (alt. 1772)–1849 (alt. 1855, 1859)
Udagawa Shinsai **1769**–1834

EIGHTH DECADE: 1770–1779
***8 persons**, one died in 1799, 5 died in the period 1840-1849, 2 died in the period 1850-1859*
Tani Kankan **1770**–1799
Kojima Baigai **1772**–1841
Okamoto Toyohiko **1773**–1845
Mori Tessan **1775**–1841

Umetsuji Shunshō	**1776**–1857
Maki Ryōko	**1777–**1843
Ichikawa Beian	**1779**–1858
Matsumura Keibun	**1779**–1843

OTHERS

Aoki Shukuya	year of birth **unknown**–1802
Kō Raikin	year of birth **unknown**–year of death unknown
Takayasu Rooku	year of birth **unknown**–year of death unknown

This network of individuals who became acquainted in the years between 1775 and 1800 has an enormous time depth. One could say that it begins around 1720-1725, when individuals born in the first decade began their intellectual career, and ends in 1858, the year of the death of Ichikawa Beian. Not a few of the individuals in this network studied with people who lived through a considerable part of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, Mori Tessan was born in 1775 and four of the intellectuals in the network were not yet born at the beginning of the period under scrutiny. All in all, seventy-eight of the individuals in our network lived beyond the first decade of the nineteenth century, that is 45 %. The influence of many of them reached well into the Meiji period. Not surprisingly, the network is dominated by those born between 1720 (who would be 55 by the beginning of the period under scrutiny) and 1769 (who would be 30 by the end of it). This period gives the best chance of being around in the first place *and* being taken seriously as an intellectual. Not every individual in our network took part in the intellectual debate during the *whole* duration of the period under scrutiny. Moreover, for reasons of age distribution (seniority) people did not take part in this debate *at the same level* during the whole of the period under scrutiny: the up-and-coming scholar of the year 1775 was likely to be a respected authority by 1790, and may not have been taken seriously any more by 1800. All this demonstrates that it is hardly useful to speak about someone as "a crucial figure in eighteenth-century intellectual life", without specifying his or her particular life history.

Now that we have determined who was actually there at what time and, equally important, at what time of his or her life, the next thing we should look into is the question what role the aspect of age played in the formation of the network. Did people mainly associate with contemporaries or would there be contacts across generations? Would clubs be closed to young enthusiasts or would everyone who showed talent and was willing to make an effort be welcome?

For the following table, I have numbered every decade of birth (1700-1709 being decade 1, 1710-1719 being decade 2 etc.). The name of each individual is followed first by the number of the decade he was himself born in, and then gives the decades of birth of each of his contacts as given in the prosopography. I have not included family relationships (including relationships by marriage) or teacher/pupil relationships as these will be discussed separately. Obviously, pupils will, with a few exceptions, have been younger than their teachers. Contacts indicated by 'circle of' or 'members of' are not further specified nor included in the survey that follows.

Adachi Seiga	3 / 5
Akamatsu Sōshū	3 / 1, 4, 4, 4, 5
Akera Kankō	4 / 3, 5, 5, 7
Akutagawa Tankyū	2 / 2, 2, 4
Aōdō Denzen	5 / 5, 6, 6, 6
Aoki Mokubei	7 / 4
Aoki Shukuya	? / 7
Azuma Tōyō	6 / 3, 4, 4, 5, 7, 8
Ban Kōkei	4 / 2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6, 7, 7, 8
Bitō Nishū	5 / 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 6, 7, 7
Chō Tōsai	2 / only pupils
Chōgetsu	2 / 3, 4, 4, 5, 5
Chōmu	4 / 2, 2, 2, 4
Daiten Kenjō	2 / 2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4
Eda Nagayasu	3 / 3, 5
Ema Ransai	5 / ?
Emura Hokkai	2 / 4, 4, 4
Fujitani Mitsue	7 / only family members
Fujitani Nariakira	4 / 2, 4
Fushimatsu Kaka	5 / via husband
Gamō Kunpei	7 / 3, 4, 4
Geppō	7 / ?
Gessen	5 / 5, 6, 6, 7
Hanawa Hokiichi	5 / 4, 5
Haruki Nanko	6 / 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6
Hattori Rissai	4 / 5
Hayashi Jussai	7 / 4, 5, 5, 6, 7
Hayashi Nobutaka	7 / 4, 5, 5, 6
Hayashi Shihei	4 / 4, 5, 6, 6, 6, 6
Hezutsu Tōsaku	3 / 3, 4, 5, 5, 5
Hino Sukeki	4 / only pupils
Hiraga Gennai	3 / 2, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5
Hirasawa Kyokuzan	4 / 3, 4, 4, 4
Hosoai Hansai	3 / 3, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5
Ichikawa Beian	8 / only family members
Ichikawa Kansai	5 / 7, 7
Iioka Gisai	2 / 4
Ike Gyokuran	3 / ?
Ike Taiga	3 / 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, ?
Imei	4 / 2, 4, 4
Inamura Sanpaku	6 / 6, 6, 7
Inoue Kinga	4 / 2, 4, 5, 6
Irie Masayoshi	3 / 3, 3, 5, 7, ?
Itō Jakuchū	2 / 2, 3, 3, 4, 7
Itō Tōsho	4 / 3, 4, 7, ?
Iwagaki Ryōkei	5 / 2, 4, 5

Kagawa Gen'etsu	1 / 4
Kagawa Kageki	7 / 3, 4, 7
Kagawa Kagemoto	5 / pupil & adopted son
Kakizaki Hakyō	7 / 4, 4, 4, 5, 5
Kakutei Jōkō	3 / 2, 2, 3
Kameda Bōsai	6 / 4, 5, 6, , 6, 7
Kan Chazan	5 / 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 7
Kan Tenju	3 / 2, 3, 3
Karagoromo Kisshū	5 / 3, 4, 5
Kashiwagi Jotei	7 / 7, 7, 8
Katakura Kakuryō	6 / 6, 6
Katayama Hokkai	3 / 2
Katō Chikage	4 / 4, 5
Katō Kyōtai	4 / 2, 3, 5
Katō Umaki	3 / 3, 4
Katsu Shikin	4 / 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6
Katsuragawa Hoshū	6 / 4, 4, 4, 6, 6
Kayama Tekien	5 / 3, 3, 4, 4, 7
Ki Baitei	4 / 5, 6
Kikuchi Gozan	7 / 4, 5, 7, 7
Kimura Kenkadō	4 / 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7
Kitao Masayoshi	7 / 6
Kō Fuyō	3 / 2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5
Kō Raikin	? / 3, 4, 4
Koga Seiri	6 / 3, 4, 5, 5, 5, 7, 7
Koikawa Harumachi	5 / 4, 5
Koishi Genshun	5 / 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 6, 6
Kojima Baigai	8 / 7, 7, 7
Komai Genki	5 / 6
Kudō Heisuke	4 / 3, 4, 4, 6, 6
Kuwayama Gyokushū	5 / 3, 3, 4, 5
Maeno Ryōtaku	3 / 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6
Maki Ryōko	8 / a relative
Maruyama Ōkyo	4 / 4, 4, 4, 5, 6, 7
Maruyama Ōzui	7 / 4, 4, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Masuyama Sessai	6 / 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6
Matsudaira Sadanobu	6 / 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7, 7
Matsumura Goshun	6 / 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 7
Matsumura Keibun	8 / 7, 7, 8
Matsura Seizan	7 / 4, 7
Miguma Katen	4 / 4
Minagawa Kien	4 / 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7, 7, 8
Minagawa Kōsai	7 / only family members
Miura Chora	3 / 2, 4, 4, 5
Miyake Shōzan	2 / 2, 2, 4, 4, 4, 5

Mogami Tokunai	6 / 3
Momozawa Mutaku	4 / 7
Mori Sosen	5 / ?
Mori Tessan	8 / a relative
Morikawa Chikusō	7 / 4, 4
Morishima Chūryō	6 / 3, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7, 7
Motoori Norinaga	4 / 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 7, 7
Murase Kōtei	5 / 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 7, 7
Murata Harumi	5 / 3, 4, 4, 4, 6, 6
Nagasawa Rosetsu	6 / 4, 5
Nagata Kanga	4 / 2, 4, 4, 5
Nakagawa Jun'an	4 / 3, 3, 4, 4, 6
Nakai Chikuzan	4 / 2, 3, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6
Nakai Riken	4 / 4, 4, 5, 5
Nakayama Kōyō	2 / 4, 4, 5
Nawa Rodō	3 / only pupils
Nishiyama Sessai	4 / 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5
Nishiyori Seisai	1 / 3, 4, 4
Noro Kaiseki	5 / 4, 5
Odano Naotake	5 / 4, 5
Ogino Gengai	4 / 3, 4
Okada Beisanjin	5 / 4, 4, 5
Okada Kansen	5 / 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7, 7
Okamoto Toyohiko	8 / 8
Okamoto Yasutaka	5 / 4, 4, 6, 7
Ōkubo Shibutsu	7 / 7, 7, 8
Okuda Eisen	6 / a pupil
Ono Ranzan	3 / 6
Ōta Kinjō	7 / 6, 6
Ōta Nanpo	5 / 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7
Ōtsuki Gentaku	6 / 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6
Ozawa Roan	3 / 1, 2, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 7, 7, 7
Rai Baishi	7 / 5
Rai Kōō	1 / ?
Rai Kyōhei	6 / 3, 4, 4, 4, 5
Rai Shunpū	6 / 3, 4
Rai Shunsui	5 / 3, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7
Rikunyo	4 / 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 7, 7, 8
Sakai Hōitsu	7 / 4
Santō Kyōden	7 / 4, 5, 6, 7
Sasaki Roan	4 / 4, 4, 5
Satake Yoshiatsu	5 / 3, 4, 5, 5, 5
Sawada Tōkō	4 / 2, 4, 5
Seida Tansō	2 / 2, 4, 4
Seki Shōsō	3 / 4
Shiba Kōkan	5 / 3, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6

Shibano Ritsuzan	4 / 1, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6, 7, 7
Shibayama Mochitoyo	5 / 2, 4
Shinnin Shinnō	7 / 2, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 7, 7, 8, 8
Shinozaki Santō	4 / 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6
Sō Shiseki	2 / 3, 4
Sugita Genpaku	4 / 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 5, 5
Suzuki Fuyō	5 / 4, 4
Tachi Ryūwan	7 / a relative
Tachibana Nankei	6 / 4, 5
Takahashi Munenao	1 / 2, 3
Takai Kitō	5 / 2, 3, 4, 4, 4, 6
Takayama Hikokurō	5 / 3, 4, 4
Takayasu Rooku	? / 3
Takebe Seian	3 / 4
Takemoto Hokurin	7 / a relative
Takemoto Tōtōan	7 / 4
Taki Rankei	4 / 3, 4
Taki Renpu	6 / 3, 6, 6, 6, 7
Takizawa Bakin	7 / 7
Tanaka Meimon	3 / 3, 4, 4
Tani Bunchō	7 / 4, 5, 5, 5, 6
Tani Kankan	6 / via husband
Tegara no Okamochi	4 / 3, 5, 5, 5, 7
Totoki Baigai	5 / 3, 4, 4, 5, 6, 6
Tsuga Teishō	2 / 4
Uchiyama Chinken	3 / only pupils
Udagawa Genzui	6 / 4, 6
Udagawa Shinsai	7 / 4, 6
Ueda Akinari	4 / 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 7
Umetsuji Shunshō	8 / 3, 4, 4, 7
Uragami Gyokudō	5 / 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 7
Yamamoto Hokuzan	6 / 4, 6
Yashiro Hirokata	6 / 4
Yosa Buson	2 / 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4
Yoshida Kōton	5 / 6
Yunoki Taijun	7 / 4

In considering this survey we should be aware that the age difference between two persons born in successive decades can be less than between two persons born in the same decade. The contacts that should strike us are, therefore, not necessarily those between individual X born in decade *n* and people born in the previous or the following decade (*n* -/+ 1), but between X and those born in the decades before and after that (*n* -/+ 2). Of the 173 persons listed above, 150 yield usable data; of these 115 had one or more of such contacts, that is 76.6 % (66.4 % of the total network). These contacts include relationships between colleagues, or between patrons and clients and the like. But we also find relationships that could be characterized as ‘friendships’

such as between Chōgetsu (born 1714) and Iwagaki Ryōkei (1741); between Emura Hokkai (1713) and Minagawa Kien (1734); between Seida Tansō (1719), Fujitani Nariakira (born 1738) and Minagawa Kien (1734); between Hezutsu Tōsaku (1726) and Ōta Nanpo (1749); between Kakizaki Hakyō (1764) and Rikunyo (1734); between Kimura Kenkadō (1736) and Morikawa Chikusō (1763); between Momozawa Mutaku (1738) and Kagawa Kageki (1768); between Minagawa Kien (1734) and Nagasawa Rosetsu (1754), and between Takahashi Munenao (1703) and Ozawa Roan (1723). In addition, it is highly likely, though not made explicit in the sources I used, that Emura Hokkai (1713) was friendly with Fujitani Nariakira (1738) as well.

The network includes members of a few *kanshi* societies. One of these is a small group active in Kyoto in the 1780s, consisting of Akamatsu Sōshū (born 1721), Shibano Ritsuzan (1736), Minagawa Kien (1734) and the veteran scholar Nishiyori Seisai (1702). Another is the Kontonsha or 'Confusion Club', that was founded in Osaka in 1765 and existed well into the 1780s. Its chairman was Katayama Hokkai. Within our network we find the following Kontonsha members and individuals associated with the club: Katayama Hokkai (1723), Bitō Nishū (1745), Daiten Kenjō (1719), Hirasawa Kyokuzan (1733), Hosoai Hansai (1727), Ike Taiga (1723), Katsu Shikin (1739), Kimura Kenkadō (1736), Koga Seiri (1750), Nakai Chikuzan (1730), Rai Kyōhei (1756), Rai Shunpū (1753), Rai Shunsui (1746), Sasaki Roan (1733), Shinozaki Santō (1737), Tanaka Meimon (1722).[95] Several of the above (for instance Hokkai, Shikin, Kenkadō, Roan, Santō and Meimon) were active in or associated with the Kontonsha from the time it was founded, others joined later. The prosopography also includes four members of Ichikawa Kansai's Kōkoshisha or "Rivers and Lakes Poetry Club", founded in Edo around 1787: Kikuchi Gozan (1769), Kashiwagi Jotei (1763), Kojima Baigai (1772) and Ōkubo Shibutsu (1762). Even within this little group we find an age difference of ten years between Shibutsu and Baigai. Ichikawa Kansai himself was born in 1749.

We must conclude that within this network age was apparently not a criterion for inclusion in personal first order network zones or clubs and learned societies. On the contrary, we find people associating with individuals considerably older or younger than they were themselves. We may presume that, within a relationship or a learned or poetic society, age differences were recognized and that this was expressed in speech and behaviour, but these aspects fall outside the scope of prosopography. Age, however, certainly was not a decisive factor in the formation of the network.

[95] For Ike Taiga and the Kontonsha, see Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 116, 187 note 8. Daiten and Katayama Hokkai had both studied with Uno Meika. Nakai Chikuzan's brother Riken (born 1732) knew many of his brother's Kontonsha friends, but never went to the meetings of the club. Mention should also be made of Koyama Tadashi (1750-1774), a cousin of Irie Masayoshi, who was a pupil of Katayama Hokkai and a member of the Kontonsha, see the biographical sketch of Irie Masayoshi.

2: Background and mobility

With 173 biographies at our disposal we have a good opportunity to investigate intellectual aspirations and aspects of geographic and socio-economic mobility. Here we have to take into account some important factors that in pre-modern Japan gave a different logic to education, career and mobility than the ones that apply to the West. First of all, as I already pointed out, Japan had no universities: one could not study at a university and one could not pursue a university career.[96] Secondly, many career options that were in principle open to any man in the pre-modern West did not exist in Japan. The local and national administration were largely closed to commoners in Japan.[97] It was impossible to 'join the army' and there was no such thing as a career in the law. The Buddhist priesthood could provide the education that might enable a person of lowly status to considerably improve his social position, but it could not offer the means of secular power certain positions in 'the Church' had in the West. The Shinto priesthood was a hereditary position. Also, despite the large market for popular literature, pre-modern Japan had no newspaper culture that could offer a career. Finally, there was the 'hereditary system' that was stronger than the moral and social ties binding people in the West to their native place and family. All this had its influence on where people went and why, both in the geographical and social sense. In what follows, geographical and social mobility will mostly be discussed together, as the one cannot be seen apart from the other.

From our biographical profiles it is clear that an enormous amount of travelling was going on. There was the setback of having to deal with the bureaucracy in order to obtain the necessary travel documents, there were the difficulties and discomforts of travel and there was still the official notion that people were not really supposed to travel. Nevertheless, as Marius Jansen points out, "to an astonishing degree Tokugawa

[96] The head of the school of the Hayashi family had, from 1690, carried the grand title of *daigaku no kami* (大学の頭, 'Principal of the University'). Despite this and its "semi-official status as the school of the Bakufu", it cannot be compared to any pre-modern Western university, see Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 21 (Dore is describing the 1690s situation); also W. J. Boot, 'Education, schooling, and religion in early modern Japan', in: Shirahata Yōzaburō & W. J. Boot, eds, *Two faces of the early modern world: the Netherlands and Japan in the 17th and 18th centuries*, Kyoto 2001, 15-35.

[97] Our network, in fact, has two examples of commoners who obtained an official function in the Bakufu administration: Mogami Tokunai and Tachi Ryūwan. Several others were involved in the administration of the domain they served as retained scholars. However, this is not comparable to the situation in the West.

society, ruled as if it were altogether static, gradually became a society of movement and variety".[98] Especially intellectuals can be expected to be more mobile than the average individual, and indeed many of the careers of those in our network involved travel. Many actually began with a journey, when people left their native region to go to the nearest urban centre, or to one of the three metropolises.

PROVINCIALS

Within our network sixty-eight individuals (39.3 %) were born in the provinces, and eighty-nine (51.4 %) were born in one of the three metropolises: forty (23.1 %) in Edo, thirty-four (19.6 %) in Kyoto and fifteen (8.6 %) in Osaka. There are eleven whose place of birth is unclear and five whose place of birth is unknown (9.2 % in total).[99] Where sources were not explicit I have assumed that persons from daimyo families were born in Edo, mindful of the rule of the *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 system that daimyo's wives and children were obliged to live in Edo. A special case is the *bushi* Kakizaki Hakyō, fifth son of the daimyo of the domain of Matsumae on Ezo, now called Hokkaido. Sources state he was born in Matsumae. All individuals from families of Bakufu retainers were born in Edo; all persons connected to the imperial court were born in Kyoto.

We will first have a look at those who were born in the provinces. The following table shows their number, subdivided by area and province.[100] It will be understood that in this and in further tables Musashi province does not include Edo, Yamashiro province does not include Kyoto, and Settsu province does not include Osaka.

Ezo 蝦夷	1
Tōhoku 東北 area	6
Ugo	1
Rikuchū	2
Rikuzen	1
Uzen	1
Iwashiro	1
Kantō 関東 area	6
Hitachi	1
Shimotsuke	2
Kōzuke	1
Musashi	1
Sagami	1

[98] Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, 134-141.

[99] Mori Sosen was born either in Nagasaki or in Nishinomiya in Settsu province. He was counted among those born in the provinces, but not included in the following analysis of careers of 'provincials'. For the careers of those whose place of birth is unclear or unknown, see the separate table below.

[100] For the small province of Shima, see E. Papinot, *Historical and geographical dictionary of Japan*, Rutland/Tokyo 1972, s.v., and map of Tōkaidō.

Chūbu 中部 area	11
Echigo	3
Kaga	2
Kai	1
Shinano	2
Owari	2
Mino	1
Kinki 近畿 area	20
Ōmi	5
Yamashiro	2
Tamba	2
Yamato	1
Kii	2
Ise	3
Settsu	2
Harima	2
Shima	1
Chūgoku 中国 area	13
Bizen	3
Bitchū	3
Bingo	1
Aki	4
Inaba	2
Shikoku 四国	5
Sanuki	3
Iyo	1
Tosa	1
Kyūshū 九州	4
Hizen	3
Higo	1

The following table presents the individuals born in the provinces according to the metropolis *they first went to*; several of them later went to one or both of the other metropolises as well. The table also gives their province of origin, at what age they left, for what purpose, and an indication of their social background (the position or profession of their father, or the occupation of the family); for all details see the biographical profiles.[101] An asterisk indicates domanial (or 'retained') scholars, artists and physicians.

[101] Not included in this table are Kuwayama Gyokushū from Kii province, Chō Tōsai from Hizen and Takemoto Tōtōan from Bizen, whose wanderings are unclear. I have likewise not included Rai Kōō from Aki province: my sources do not tell us what journeys he may have undertaken.

Provincials who went to Edo

Name	Province of origin	Purpose	Background	Age
Adachi Seiga	Shimotsuke	study	*shugenja*	20
Aōdō Denzen	Iwashiro	study	manufacturer	50
Ema Ransai	Mino	study	physician*	45
Gamō Kunpei	Shimotsuke	study	merchant	34
Hanawa Hokiichi	Musashi	study	farmer	14
Hirasawa Kyokuzan	Yamashiro	study	manufacturer	“youth”
Kakizaki Hakyō	Ezo	joined family	samurai	“youth”
Katakura Kakuryō	Sagami	study	physician	11
Katō Kyōtai	Owari	samurai duty	samurai	25
Kō Fuyō	Kai	study	physician	“youth”
Maki Ryōko	Echigo	study	merchant	18
Miura Chora	Shima	unclear	unclear	Ca. 37
Mogami Tokunai	Uzen	unclear	farmer	26
Morikawa Chikusō	Yamato	employment	unknown	16
Odano Naotake	Ugo	study	samurai	Ca. 25
Ōkubo Shibutsu	Hitachi	with family	physician	14
Ōtsuki Gentaku	Rikuchū	study	physician*	21
Shibano Ritsuzan	Sanuki	study	farmer	17
Suzuki Fuyō	Shinano	study	unknown	unknown
Tachi Ryūwan	Echigo	study	merchant	12
Takebe Seian	Rikuchū	study	physician*	“youth”
Takemoto Hokurin	Bizen	study	rural headman	22
Udagawa Shinsai	Ise	study	unknown	Ca. 21
Uragami Gyokudō	Bizen	samurai duty	samurai	29
Yosa Buson	Settsu	unclear	farmer	19

Provincials who went to Kyoto

Name	Province of origin	Purpose	Background	Age
Akamatsu Sōshū	Harima	study	physician*	“youth”
Azuma Tōyō	Rikuzen	study	unknown	“youth”
Chōgetsu	Bitchū	priesthood	unknown	12
Daiten Kenjō	Ōmi	priesthood	scholar	10
Emura Hokkai	Harima	joined family	scholar*	17
Gessen	Owari	priesthood	merchant	7
Inamura Sanpaku	Inaba	study	physician*	25
Kagawa Gen’etsu	Ōmi	employment	illegitimate	unknown
Kagawa Kageki	Inaba	employment	samurai	ca. 25
Kan Chazan	Bingo	study	farmer	18
Katayama Hokkai	Echigo	study	farmer	17
Kikuchi Gozan	Sanuki	study	scholar*	“youth”
Koga Seiri	Hizen	study	samurai	24
Maruyama Ōkyo	Tanba	unclear	farmer	ca. 11

Momozawa Mutaku	Shinano	study	rural headman	ca. 22
Motoori Norinaga	Ise	study	merchant	22
Nagasawa Rosetsu	Tanba	unclear	samurai	unknown
Nakayama Kōyō	Tosa	study	merchant	26
Nawa Rodō	Harima	study	unknown	16
Nishiyori Seisai	Higo	study	unknown	20
Noro Kaiseki	Kii	study	physician	13
Ogino Gengai	Kaga	study	physician	unknown
Okamoto Toyohiko	Bitchū	study	unknown	unknown
Ōta Kinjō	Kaga	study	physician*	“youth”
Rikunyo	Ōmi	priesthood	physician	10
Tachibana Nankei	Ise	study	samurai	ca. 18
Takayama Hikokurō	Kōzuke	study	samurai	17
Umetsuji Shunshō	Ōmi	study	shinto priest	“youth”

Provincials who went to Osaka

Name	**Province of origin**	**Purpose**	**Background**	**Age**
Bitō Nishū	Iyo	study	skipper	25
Hattori Rissai	Settsu	study	scholar*	13
Hiraga Gennai	Sanuki	study	samurai	29
Kakutei Jōkō	Hizen	employment	unknown	25
Koishi Genshun	Yamashiro	with family	physician	7
Nishiyama Sessai	Bitchū	study	physician	15
Rai Kyōhei	Aki	study	manufacturer	17
Rai Shunpū	Aki	study	manufacturer	13
Rai Shunsui	Aki	study	manufacturer	18
Tanaka Meimon	Ōmi	inheritance	unknown	unknown

Of the sixty-three individuals above, twenty-five (39.6 %) went to Edo, twenty-eight (44.4 %) to Kyoto and ten (15.8 %) to Osaka. It is obvious that many went to a metropolis that was relatively near their region of birth. For Edo this concerns for instance Adachi Seiga, Aōdō Denzen, Gamō Kunpei, Hanawa Hokiichi, Katakura Kakuryō, Kō Fuyō, Maki Ryōko, Mogami Tokunai, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Suzuki Fuyō and Tachi Ryūwan (11 of 25). Several of the others who first went to Edo were samurai or retained physicians (like Kakizaki Hakyō, Ema Ransai, Katō Kyōtai, Odano Naotake, Ōtsuki Gentaku and Takebe Seian); in their case, wherever they came from, going to Edo was a logical step. For Kyoto we find Akamatsu Sōshū, Chōgetsu, Daiten, Emura Hokkai, Gessen, Inamura Sanpaku, Kagawa Gen’etsu, Kagawa Kageki, Kan Chazan, Kikuchi Gozan, Maruyama Ōkyo, Motoori Norinaga, Nagasawa Rosetsu, Nawa Rodō, Ōta Kinjō, Rikunyo, Tachibana Nankei and Umetsuji Shunshō (18 of 28). Nakayama Kōyō and Noro Kaiseki could also have gone to Osaka. For Osaka we could mention Bitō Nishū, Hattori Rissai, Hiraga Gennai, Koishi Genshun, Nishiyama Sessai and the three Rai brothers (8 of 10). Tanaka Meimon might have gone to Kyoto, if his inheritance had not called him to Osaka. Anyway, the difference in distance between Kyoto and Osaka is not *that* significant. The table, however, also shows that people

were prepared to travel considerable distances: take for instance Koga Seiri, Nishiyori Seisai, Katayama Hokkai, Kakutei Jōkō and some of the samurai and retained physicians who came to Edo from the north. As Ronald Dore put it: "The youth who conceived a 'desire for learning' and travelled half-way across the country in search of a teacher was no mere myth of the moral story books".[102]

Forty-three (68.2 % of a total of sixty-three) left the provinces *for the purpose of study* (several of them having previously studied with local teachers or in provincial urban centres). Sixteen of them were in their teens and thirteen in their twenties. There are eight where sources do not specify their age but tell us they left the provinces "in their youth" or "in their early years". There are only three who were older than thirty and three for whom we have no suitable data.

Of the sixty-three individuals in the table the largest group (eighteen) were (adopted) sons of physicians or scholars. Thirteen of these travelled to the metropolis for study; two of them came as children with their families; one had lived with his mother's relatives in the provinces and joined his family in Kyoto when he was about seventeen; the other two entered the Buddhist priesthood in Kyoto at a very young age. Nine of the sixty-three had an agricultural background: seven were from families of farmers and two were sons of rural headmen. Six of these nine left the provinces for the purpose of study. Twelve were from families of merchants or manufacturers.[103] All of these, except one who became a Buddhist priest, went for study.

One person in this table was a Shinto priest and one was from a comparable background, that is from a family of mountain ascetics (*shugenja*); both left the provinces in order to study. Ten persons were from a background of active samurai: half of them left the provinces for the purpose of study.

Finally, there are eleven persons in the table whose social background is unclear or unknown and one who was of illegitimate birth. Six of these twelve left the provinces for study; three to find employment; one to become a Buddhist priest; one because he inherited a relative's business and one for reasons that are unclear.

The following table shows where and in what way our "provincials" were professionally active. An asterisk indicates domanial (or 'retained') scholars, artists and physicians.

Name	**Province of origin**	**Background**	**Location/source of income**
Adachi Seiga	Shimotsuke	*shugenja*	*shugenja* in Shimotsuke, academy in Edo
Akamatsu Sōshū	Harima	physician*	scholar* and domanial official in Harima, academy in Kyoto
Aōdō Denzen	Iwashiro	manufacturer	manufacturer in Iwashiro, painter* in Iwaki, printmaker in Iwashiro
Azuma Tōyō	Rikuzen	unknown	painter in Kyoto, painter* in Rikuzen

[102] Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 33.

[103] I have included Bitō Nishū, who was the son of a skipper on the island of Shikoku. We should take into account a slight distortion here because three (the Rai brothers) were the son of one manufacturing father.

Bitō Nishū	Iyo	skipper	academy in Osaka, teacher at Shōhei-kō in Edo
Chō Tōsai	Hizen	Chinese immigrant	unclear, calligrapher and painter in Osaka
Chōgetsu	Bitchū	unknown	Buddhist priest and *waka* teacher in Kyoto
Daiten Kenjō	Ōmi	scholar	Buddhist priest in Kyoto
Ema Ransai	Mino	physician*	physician* in Mino
Emura Hokkai	Harima	scholar*	domanial official/scholar* in Kyoto
Gamō Kunpei	Shimotsuke	merchant	scholar, various places
Gessen	Owari	merchant	Buddhist priest and painter in Ise
Hanawa Hokiichi	Musashi	farmer	scholar in Edo, scholar/official to the Bakufu
Hattori Rissai	Settsu	scholar*	scholar* in Edo, academy in Edo
Hiraga Gennai	Sanuki	samurai	scholar and author of fiction in Edo
Hirasawa Kyokuzan	Yamashiro	manufacturer	physician in Osaka, teacher at Shō-heikō in Edo, academy in Edo
Inamura Sanpaku	Inaba	physician*	physician* in Inaba, academy in Kyoto
Kagawa Gen'etsu	Ōmi	illegitimate	shopkeeper, paramedic and obstetrician in Kyoto
Kagawa Kageki	Inaba	samurai	paramedic, official to *kuge* and *waka* teacher in Kyoto
Kakizaki Hakyō	Ezo	samurai	*karō* to domain in Ezo
Kakutei Jōkō	Hizen	unknown	painter and Buddhist priest in Osaka, Kyoto and Edo
Kan Chazan	Bingo	farmer	academy in Bingo, scholar* in Bingo
Katakura Kakuryō	Sagami	physician	physician in Edo
Katayama Hokkai	Echigo	farmer	academy in Osaka
Katō Kyōtai	Owari	samurai	*haikai* teacher in Owari
Kikuchi Gozan	Sanuki	scholar*	academy in Edo, academy in Sanuki, scholar* in Sanuki
Kō Fuyō	Kai	physician	academy in Kyoto, domanial official, various places
Koga Seiri	Hizen	samurai	official/scholar* in Hizen, teacher at Shōheikō in Edo
Koishi Genshun	Yamashiro	physician	physician in Osaka and Kyoto
Kuwayama Gyokushū	Kii	merchant	merchant in Kii
Maki Ryōko	Echigo	merchant	academy in Edo
Maruyama Ōkyo	Tanba	farmer	painter in Kyoto
Miura Chora	Shima	unclear	*haikai* teacher in Ise and Kyoto
Mogami Tokunai	Uzen	farmer	Bakufu official in Edo
Momozawa Mutaku	Shinano	rural headman	teacher of *waka* in Kyoto and Shinano
Morikawa Chikusō	Yamato	unclear	academy in Osaka
Motoori Norinaga	Ise	merchant	physician in Ise, academy in Ise
Nagasawa Rosetsu	Tanba	samurai	painter in Kyoto
Nakayama Kōyō	Tosa	merchant	painter* in Edo

Nawa Rodō	Harima	unknown	academy in Kyoto, tutor to imperial court
Nishiyama Sessai	Bitchū	physician	academy in Bitchū
Nishiyori Seisai	Higo	unknown	scholar in service of academy in Kyoto
Noro Kaiseki	Kii	physician	domanial official (perhaps painter*) in Kii
Odano Naotake	Ugo	samurai	painter* in Ugo
Ogino Gengai	Kaga	physician	physician in Kyoto
Okamoto Toyohiko	Bitchū	unknown	painter in Kyoto
Ōkubo Shibutsu	Hitachi	physician	academy and scholar* in Edo
Ōta Kinjō	Kaga	physician*	academy in Edo, scholar* probably in Edo
Ōtsuki Gentaku	Rikuchū	physician*	physician* and academy in Edo
Rai Kōō	Aki	unknown	dyer in Aki
Rai Kyōhei	Aki	manufacturer	scholar* and domanial official in Aki
Rai Shunpū	Aki	manufacturer	physician in Aki
Rai Shunsui	Aki	manufacturer	academy in Osaka, scholar* in Aki
Rikunyo	Ōmi	physician	Buddhist priest and tutor to imperial prince in Edo and Kyoto
Shibano Ritsuzan	Sanuki	farmer	academy in Kyoto, scholar* and teacher at Shōheikō in Edo
Suzuki Fuyō	Shinano	unknown	painter in Edo, painter* in Edo and possibly Awa
Tachi Ryūwan	Echigo	merchant	Bakufu official and teacher of *kanshi* in Edo
Tachibana Nankei	Ise	samurai	physician in Yamashiro and Kyoto
Takayama Hikokurō	Kōzuke	samurai	unclear
Takebe Seian	Rikuchū	physician*	physician* in Rikuchū
Takemoto Hokurin	Bizen	rural headman	rural headman and scholar* in Bizen, academy in Kyoto
Takemoto Tōtōan	Bizen	rural headman	rural headman in Bizen, independent scholar in Kyoto
Tanaka Meimon	Ōmi	unknown	manufacturer in Osaka
Udagawa Shinsai	Ise	unknown	physician* and Bakufu official in Edo
Umetsuji Shunshō	Ōmi	Shinto priest	Shinto priest in Ōmi
Uragami Gyokudō	Bizen	samurai	domanial official in Bizen, painter and musician in Kyoto
Yosa Buson	Settsu	farmer	*haikai* teacher and painter in Kyoto

First and foremost this table shows us the transformatory power of the Big City. In this respect pre-modern Japan was no different from pre-modern Western society. Whether it concerns only a temporary stay or a complete break (in the socio-economic sense) with native region and milieu: the metropolis affected the life of everyone of those mentioned here.

As has already been determined, at least forty-three (24.8 % of the total network of 173) left the provinces for the purpose of study. Our data allow us to conclude that some thirty 'provincials' (17.3 % of the total network of 173) left their milieu to become a professional scholar, artist or physician. Eighteen 'provincials' conducted an academy in one of the three metropolises; another fifteen had an artist's studio there or were

engaged in the teaching of *waka* or *haikai*, to whom we may add Mori Sosen, who was born in the provinces although his exact birthplace is uncertain. That is to say that 19.6 % of the total network of 173 were 'provincials' who at some point in their lives conducted an educational establishment in one of the three metropolises. If we again include Mori Sosen, no less than forty 'provincials' permanently settled in Edo, Kyoto or Osaka, that is 23.1 % of the total network of 173 individuals.

The majority of the sixty-eight individuals who were born in the provinces were commoners. Our network contains ten provincial samurai. Three of these somehow continued in official service. Seven at a certain point left service or never served at all.

EDO-ITES

As for the forty individuals who were born in Edo, we find that geographic movement has a different character here. Samurai and retained scholars, artists and physicians travelled up and down between Edo and their domain. They belonged both to Edo and to their domain and more or less went 'home' whether travelling in one direction or the other. Travel for the purpose of study did take place (Nagasaki was a popular destination), but usually there seems to have been no incentive to remain in the provinces. Officials of the Bakufu went on official missions and sometimes spent considerable time in the provinces, but in due course returned to Edo. As the next table shows, circumstances were also more stable in other respects. An asterisk indicates domanial (or 'retained') scholars, artists and physicians.

Name	**Background**	**Source of income**	**Location**
Akera Kankō	samurai	Bakufu official, teacher of *kyōka*, author of fiction	Edo
Fushimatsu Kaka	samurai	teacher of *kyōka*	Edo
Haruki Nanko	unknown	painter*	Ise
Hayashi Jussai	samurai	principal of Shōheikō	Edo
Hayashi Shihei	samurai	unclear	Rikuzen
Hezutsu Tōsaku	shopkeeper	shopkeeper, author of fiction	Edo
Ichikawa Beian	scholar*	private academy, scholar*	Edo, Etchū, Kaga
Inoue Kinga	physician*	private academy, teacher at academy, official/teacher at temple	Edo
Kameda Bōsai	merchant	private academy, calligrapher, painter, scholar	Edo
Karagoromo Kisshū	samurai	domanial official	Edo
Kashiwagi Jotei	Bakufu craftsman	Bakufu craftsman, *kanshi* teacher, painter	Edo, various places
Katō Chikage	samurai	*yoriki*, teacher of *waka*/ Japanese studies	Edo
Katsuragawa Hoshū	Bakufu physician	Bakufu physician/scholar, shogunal physician, teacher at academy	Edo
Kitao Masayoshi	craftsman	illustrator, painter*	Edo
Kojima Baigai	merchant	merchant, unclear	Edo

Maeno Ryōtaku	physician*	physician*	Edo
Masuyama Sessai	samurai	daimyo	Ise and Edo
Matsudaira Sadanobu	samurai	daimyo, Bakufu official	Iwaki and Edo
Matsura Seizan	samurai	daimyo	Hizen and Edo
Morishima Chūryō	Bakufu physician	physician*, author of fiction, scholar	Edo
Murata Harumi	merchant	merchant, teacher of *waka/* Japanese studies	Edo
Nakagawa Jun'an	physician*	physician*	Edo
Okada Kansen	samurai	Bakufu scholar/official, teacher at Shōheikō	Edo, Hitachi
Ōta Nanpo	samurai	Bakufu official, author of fiction, scholar	Edo, Osaka, Nagasaki
Sakai Hōitsu	samurai	Buddhist priest, painter	Edo, Kyoto
Santō Kyōden	shopkeeper	shopkeeper, illustrator, author of fiction	Edo
Satake Yoshiatsu	samurai	daimyo	Ugo and Edo
Shiba Kōkan	unknown	painter, illustrator, scholar	Edo
Sō Shiseki	unknown	painter, painter*	Edo, possibly Harima
Sugita Genpaku	physician*	physician*, private practice	Edo
Taki Rankei	shogunal physician	shogunal physician, private academy	Edo
Taki Renpu	shogunal physician	shogunal physician, private academy	Edo
Takizawa Bakin	samurai	odd jobs, shopkeeper, author of fiction	Edo
Tani Bunchō	samurai	domanial official/painter*	Edo
Tani Kankan	samurai	see her husband Bunchō	Edo
Tegara no Okamochi	samurai	domanial official, author of fiction	Edo
Udagawa Genzui	physician*	physician*, private practice	Edo
Yamamoto Hokuzan	samurai	scholar*	Edo
Yashiro Hirokata	samurai	Bakufu official/scholar, scholar*	Edo
Yoshida Kōton	physician*	private practice, private academy	Edo

The above table contains data about forty careers. In twelve of these are the provinces mentioned; in four cases this concerns daimyo, in two cases (Ōta Nanpo, Okada Kansen) it concerns temporary residence in the provinces in the context of official duty. One person (Sakai Hōitsu) spent some ten years in Kyoto as a Buddhist priest. It is hard to say in how far domanial scholar/artists Haruki Nanko, Ichikawa Beian and Sō Shiseki actually moved to the provinces. It is known, for instance, that Beian's father, Ichikawa Kansai, never responded to orders from his domain to settle there and kept his house in Edo. However, it would seem that only in these three cases and in the cases of Kashiwagi Jotei and Hayashi Shihei we might speak of some movement away from Edo. Data concerning the tuition of our Edo-ites are not very fascinating: all forty individuals received tuition or training in Edo. Masuyama Sessai also studied with Chō Tōsai in Osaka, and Matsura Seizan studied with the Kyoto teacher Minagawa Kien.

Twenty-four began their studies in their teens or thereabouts ("youth"). Kameda Bōsai is said to have begun at the age of five and Ōta Nanpo and Yashiro Hirokata at the age of seven. Takizawa Bakin began medical studies when he was in his early twenties. Data concerning the others are imprecise.

Exactly twenty out of forty were from a samurai background.[104] Two of them were women (Fushimatsu Kaka and Tani Kankan, the wives of Akera Kankō and Tani Bunchō) who both married samurai, and adapted to their husband's circumstances. Four were daimyo. Nine were from families in the service of the Bakufu or a domain and somehow continued in official service. I have included Yamamoto Hokuzan, who (probably being a younger son) did not succeed to his father's position but served several domains as a scholar. I have not found that he ever gave up his samurai status. For five others, things turned out differently. One, Maeno Ryōtaku, was adopted into a family of domanial physicians as a youth, for the others see below.

If we again include Maeno Ryōtaku, eleven persons were from families of scholars or physicians in the service of the Shogun, the Bakufu or a domain. Nine continued in the same or a comparable official position. Inoue Kinga did not succeed to the family headship, but *did* become a scholar. Yoshida Kōton succeeded, but was dismissed for reasons of misbehaviour, after which he embarked upon an independent intellectual career.

Seven individuals were from families of merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers or artisans. I have included Kashiwagi Jotei, master carpenter to the Bakufu. Two of them (Hezutsu Tōsaku and Santō Kyōden) remained in the commercial world. Three (Jotei, Kojima Baigai and Murata Harumi) initially succeeded to the family business, but Jotei and Baigai later handed over the headship to a younger brother, and Harumi went bankrupt. Two (Kameda Bōsai and Kitao Masayoshi) went a different way from the outset.

We might say that as far as geographic mobility is concerned, behaviour was generally firmly Edo-centred: in just five possible cases can we detect some movement away from Edo. In the end, Kashiwagi Jotei and Hayashi Shihei may have been the only persons who really permanently left Edo. As regards the social aspect, we also find less detachment from milieu and background than was the case for the provinces. The social background of Haruki Nanko, Shiba Kōkan and Sō Shiseki is unknown.

KYOTO-ITES

It is unfortunate that the following table, containing data about the thirty-four individuals born in Kyoto, has as many as eleven persons, almost one third, whose background is unknown or unclear. This makes it hard to draw conclusions about social mobility for this group.

Name	**Background**	**Source of income**	**Location**
Akutagawa Tankyū	unknown	private academy	Kyoto
Aoki Mokubei	restaurant owner	potter	Kyoto

[104] Compare Rozman, *Urban Networks*, 296, who sets the number of *buke* in Edo at 35 to 40 percent of the total population of the city.

Aoki Shukuya	unknown	painter	Kyoto
Ban Kōkei	merchant	merchant, teacher of Japanese studies and *waka*	Kyoto, Ōmi
Chōmu	unknown	Buddhist priest	Kyoto
Fujitani Mitsue	samurai	domanial official, teacher of Japanese studies and *waka*	Kyoto
Fujitani Nariakira	unclear	domanial official, teacher of Japanese studies	Kyoto
Hino Sukeki	*kuge*	court official, teacher of *waka*	Kyoto
Ike Gyokuran	illegitimate	see her husband Taiga, tea house owner, teacher of calligraphy	Kyoto
Ike Taiga	Bakufu official	painter, calligrapher, seal carver	Kyoto
Itō Jakuchū	merchant	merchant, painter	Kyoto
Itō Tōsho	scholar	private academy	Kyoto
Iwagaki Ryōkei	unknown	private academy, court official	Kyoto
Kagawa Kagemoto	Shinto priest	official to *kuge*, teacher of *waka*	Kyoto
Kan Tenju	unknown	shopkeeper	Ise
Kayama Tekien	unknown	court/temple tutor	Kyoto
Komai Genki	unknown	painter	Kyoto
Maruyama Ōzui	painter	painter	Kyoto
Matsumura Goshun	Bakufu official	Bakufu official, painter	Kyoto, Settsu
Matsumura Keibun	Bakufu official	painter, attendant to imperial prince	Kyoto
Minagawa Kien	unclear	private academy, scholar*	Kyoto, Tanba, Ōmi
Minagawa Kōsai	scholar*	private academy, scholar*	Kyoto, Ōmi, Tanba
Miyake Shōzan	shopkeeper	shopkeeper, temple tutor	Kyoto
Murase Kōtei	physician	tutor to imperial prince, scholar*, domanial official	Kyoto, Ugo
Okamoto Yasutaka	Shinto priest	Shinto priest, official to *kuge*, calligrapher	Kyoto
Okuda Eisen	shopkeeper	shopkeeper, potter	Kyoto
Ono Ranzan	unclear	private academy, teacher at academy	Kyoto, Edo
Sasaki Roan	unknown	physician*	Edo, possibly Hizen
Seida Tansō	scholar*	scholar*	Kyoto
Shibayama Mochitoyo	*kuge*	court official	Kyoto
Shinnin Shinnō	imperial family	Buddhist priest	Kyoto
Takahashi Munenao	*kuge*	court official, teacher of Japanese studies	Kyoto
Takai Kitō	*haikai* teacher	*haikai* teacher	Kyoto
Yunoki Taijun	ophthalmologist	ophthalmologist	Kyoto

In eight of these thirty-four careers, the provinces or the city of Edo played a part. In at least four cases this concerns temporary arrangements and people in due course resettled in Kyoto; the case of Minagawa Kōsai is somewhat unclear. However, we can be sure

that three persons at some point permanently left the Capital: Ono Ranzan (at the age of seventy!), Kan Tenju and Sasaki Roan. It might be added here that three persons received tuition in Edo: Akutagawa Tankyū, Kan Tenju and Sasaki Roan. All others studied or trained in Kyoto.

Most of the twenty-three persons whose background *is* known, succeeded to or somehow continued their (adoptive) family's business, position or occupation; we might even include prince Shinnin here. Murase Kōtei did not become a physician like his father, but did become a professional scholar. However, Aoki Mokubei, eldest son of a restaurant owner, became a professional potter, and the merchants Ban Kōkei and Itō Jakuchū initially succeeded but resigned (both after seventeen years in the counting house) in order to devote themselves to intellectual activities. Ike Gyokuran inherited a tea house from her mother, but it is not clear how much she was actually involved in running the business.[105] Ike Taiga, son of a minor employee of the silver mint, lost his father as a child after which he had to fend for himself and became an artist. The Matsumura brothers, sons of a high-ranking employee of the gold mint, became professional painters. Keibun, the youngest, however, was hardly in a position to chose: he was raised by his elder brother (twenty-seven years his senior) and also succeeded him.

The table contains *two* active samurai: Fujitani Nariakira and his son Mitsue. Nariakira, of commoner origin, was adopted by the Fujitani, a family of caretakers of the Kyoto residence of the Tachibana, daimyo of Yanagawa in Chikugo province. Mitsue also held the position, but the Tachibana broke with him when he was well over fifty "for reasons of misconduct".

Not surprisingly, the table for Kyoto contains the very few persons in our network related to the imperial court: prince Shinnin and three persons from *kuge* families, just 2.3 % of the total network of 173. The table also presents two more persons from families of Shinto priests. This means that the whole network only contains three such persons (1.7 %), one of whom, Kagawa Kagemoto, was adopted into another family.

OSAKANS

The following table gives the data of the fifteen individuals born in Osaka.

Name	**Background**	**Source of income**	**Location**
Eda Nagayasu	merchant	merchant	Osaka
Iioka Gisai	physician	private academy	Osaka
Irie Masayoshi	merchant	merchant	Osaka
Katsu Shikin	physician	physician	Osaka
Kimura Kenkadō	manufacturer	manufacturer, publisher	Osaka, Ise
Mori Tessan	painter	painter*	Osaka, Edo
Nakai Chikuzan	scholar	private academy	Osaka

[105] In her *Japanese women artists*, Lawrence 1988, 75, Patricia Fister claims that, by the time Gyokuran inherited the tea house, it had "passed its golden age".

Nakai Riken	scholar	private academy, teacher at academy	Osaka
Ozawa Roan	ronin, further occupation unknown	domanial official, official to *kuge*, teacher of *waka*	Kyoto
Rai Baishi	scholar	see her husband Rai Shunsui	Osaka, Aki
Shinozaki Santō	shopkeeper	shopkeeper, private academy	Osaka
Takayasu Rooku	shopkeeper	shopkeeper, calligrapher	Osaka
Totoki Baigai	merchant	scholar*	Osaka, Ise
Tsuga Teishō	unknown	physician	Osaka
Ueda Akinari	illegitimate	merchant, physician, scholar, author of fiction	Osaka, Kyoto

In six cases the provinces or the cities of Kyoto and Edo are mentioned. However, Kimura Kenkadō's sojourn in Ise province was extraordinary; Totoki Baigai in due course returned to Osaka, and I am not certain if Mori Tessan at some point permanently settled in Edo.[106] That leaves three persons who moved away from Osaka at some point: Ozawa Roan, Ueda Akinari, and Rai Baishi (who followed her husband to Hiroshima). In this geographic context it is interesting to add that no fewer than eight of the individuals above received tuition or training in Kyoto.[107]

Six of the above were from a background of merchants, shopkeepers or manufacturers. If we add Ueda Akinari, who was adopted by a merchant, almost half of the persons born in Osaka was from a commercial background, but only two of these (Eda Nagayasu, Kimura Kenkadō) continued in the commercial milieu.[108] Six persons were from a scholarly or artistic background and (as could be expected given their inclusion in this network of intellectuals) all remained in the intellectual world; Rai Baishi married a scholar. As for samurai: Ozawa Roan's father was a ronin. Roan was adopted into a samurai family and regained his samurai status, only to lose it again later in life. The social background of Tsuga Teishō is unknown.

UNKNOWNS

Finally, a table with the data of those whose place of birth is unclear or unknown:

Name	**Background**	**Place of origin**	**Tuition or training**	**Source of income**	**Location**
Geppō	unknown	unknown	Kyoto	Buddhist priest, painter	Kyoto
Hayashi Nobutaka	samurai	unknown	probably Edo	principal of Shōheikō	Edo

[106] Kenkadō was banished from Osaka for two years after he was accused of having exceeded his brewing quota.
[107] I have included Ueda Akinari whose teacher Katō Umaki, a guardsman in the service of the Bakufu, served both at Osaka castle and at Nijō castle in Kyoto.
[108] For the somewhat irregular career of Irie Masayoshi, see his biographical profile.

Hosoai Hansai	unknown	Ise or Kyoto	Osaka	private academy, tutor to temple	Osaka, Kyoto
Ichikawa Kansai	samurai	Kōzuke or Edo	Musashi, Edo	domanial official, teacher at Shōheikō, scholar*	Edo
Imei	unknown	unknown	probably Kyoto	Buddhist priest	Kyoto
Katō Umaki	samurai	unknown	Edo	domanial official, Bakufu official, teacher of Japanese studies	Edo, Kyoto, Osaka
Ki Baitei	unknown	probably Yamashiro	Kyoto	painter	Ōmi
Kō Raikin	unknown	unknown	Kyoto	servant, see her husband Kō Fuyō	Kyoto
Koikawa Harumachi	samurai	Kii, Suruga or Edo	Edo	domanial official, illustrator, author of fiction	Edo
Kudō Heisuke	physician*	Kii or Edo	Edo	physician*, domanial official	Edo
Miguma Katen	unknown	Kaga or Kyoto	Kyoto	painter, illustrator	Kyoto
Mori Sosen	unknown	Hizen or Settsu	unclear	painter	Osaka
Nagata Kanga	samurai	Ōmi or Kyoto	Kyoto	private academy	Kyoto
Okada Beisanjin	unknown	Harima or Osaka	selftaught	merchant, domanial official	Osaka
Sawada Tōkō	unclear	probably Edo	Edo	calligrapher, author of fiction	Edo
Seki Shōsō	unknown	Musashi or Edo	Edo	scholar*, teacher at Shōheikō	Edo, Kōzuke, Musashi
Uchiyama Chinken	unclear	probably Edo	Edo	teacher of *waka*, *kyōka* and Chinese and Japanese studies	Edo

As the table also contains eleven persons whose social background is unknown or unclear, it does not add much about social mobility either. Kudō Heisuke succeeded to his adoptive family's position of physician. Of the five persons known to have been from a samurai background four somehow remained in official service; one, Nagata Kanga, opened his own academy. Ichikawa Kansai became a ronin in 1775, but entered the service of the domain of Toyama in 1791.

In this network of 173 individuals there are sixteen whose place of birth is unknown or unclear (9.2 %) and 39 persons whose social background is unknown or unclear (22.5 %). Although especially this last percentage is considerable, we still have 90.8 % for whom we have data concerning place of origin and 77.5 % about whose social background something can be said. This is sufficient to draw conclusions.

The network is not lacking in dynamism, and, both socially and geographically, most of it is provided by those born in the provinces. Some of the outstanding careers in the network can be found, for instance, among the ten individuals from an agricultural background: Hanawa Hokiichi, Kan Chazan, Katayama Hokkai, Maruyama Ōkyo, Mogami Tokunai, Shibano Ritsuzan and Yosa Buson. As we have seen, of the sixty-eight individuals born in the provinces at least forty-three left the provinces for the purpose of study: that is 63.2 % (24.8 % of the total network of 173). Some thirty of our 'provincials' (44.1 % of sixty-eight, 17.3 % of the total network of 173) left their milieu to become professional scholars, artists or physicians. No less than 19.6 % of the 173 individuals in my prosopography were 'provincials' who at some point contributed to the supply of education in the metropolises, and 58.8 % of the sixty-eight 'provincials' (23.1 % of the total network of 173) permanently settled in Edo, Kyoto or Osaka.

The largest most dynamic social category are the individuals with a commercial background, 32 persons, 18.4 % of the total network of 173. Twenty-five of these (78.1 %, that is 14.4 % of 173) at some point in their lives left the commercial for the intellectual world.[109] Among them were three persons who became domanial painters, three persons who became domanial scholars, four who established a private academy, one who became a Bakufu official and two who had both a private academy and a teaching position at the Shōheikō.

Thirty-six individuals out of 173 (20.8 %) were from a background of active samurai.[110] As the samurai only constituted about six percent of the total population, they are evidently overrepresented. This is due to the fact that the samurai were the best-educated population segment in pre-modern Japan.[111] Of these thirty-six samurai, thirteen *permanently* left official service or *never served at all*.[112] This concerns 36.1 %

[109] Of these 25, 12 were from the provinces, 5 from Edo, 3 from Kyoto and 5 from Osaka.

[110] I have included Fujitani Mitsue. Fujitani Nariakira was not of a samurai background. Ozawa Roan was the son of a ronin.

[111] Compare Passin, 'The Japanese intellectual', 455: "The most substantial component of the intellectual classes of Tokugawa Japan was the samurai. It would not be far wrong to say that virtually all samurai males had received some education and, increasingly toward the end of the era, one that went well beyond the elementary levels", compare Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, 2 (speaking of the late Tokugawa period): "Practically every samurai was literate, most had at least a smattering of the basic Chinese classics, some were learned in Chinese literature, philosophy or history, in Dutch medicine, astronomy or metallurgy". Both Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, 105 and Chie Nakane, 'Tokugawa society', in Nakane & Ōishi, eds, *Tokugawa Japan*, 227, set the number of samurai at about 6 % of the total population.

[112] I have not included individuals like Maeno Ryōtaku (who was adopted into a family of domanial physicians as a youth), Yamamoto Hokuzan (who served several domains as a scholar) or Ichikawa Kansai (who after several years as a ronin re-entered domanial service as a scholar).

of the samurai in the network, a figure that seems to support the prominence historians give to the plight of 'left-over samurai' (especially younger sons) within their picture of intellectual life in a society in crisis. However, we should not jump to conclusions: if we look at them in more detail we find that it may not be so easy to give these people an unequivocal place in 'a society in crisis'. Some were indeed younger sons (Kagawa Kageki, Sakai Hōitsu, Tachibana Nankei, Takayama Hikokurō, Hayashi Shihei, Takizawa Bakin), but then, some were not, or at any rate initially succeeded to the family headship (Hiraga Gennai, Katō Kyōtai, Uragami Gyokudō, Katō Chikage, Fujitani Mitsue). Some left service (Hiraga Gennai after twelve years, Katō Kyōtai after eleven years, Uragami Gyokudō after thirty-three years, Katō Chikage after twenty-five years), for others we have no record of service (Tachibana Nankei, Hayashi Shihei, Nagata Kanga, Takayama Hikokurō). Nagasawa Rosetsu's early career is completely unclear. In some cases we detect demonstrable reactions to concrete events (Hayashi Shihei's fate was sealed when his father was found guilty of murder; Kagawa Kageki absconded as a result of a love affair; Fujitani Mitsue was dismissed for reasons of misconduct; Katō Chikage resigned in the wake of the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu). In cases like Takizawa Bakin or Nagata Kanga choices were probably guided by economic necessity; in the case of Sakai Hōitsu they certainly were not. Takayama Hikokurō's career is absolutely exceptional: a deranged imperial loyalist who took his own life at the age of forty-six.

We find a comparable variety in the life histories of individuals from other social backgrounds. It is obvious from what we have seen above that for a society in which so much is supposed to have been fixed, mobility (both in the social and in the geographical sense) is striking. When people felt they had some talent to exploit, they seem to have attached little value to existing ideologies concerning birthplace and family occupation. An intellectual career was evidently seen as a way to get on in the world. The implications of all this will be further discussed in the final part of this monograph.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE OF ORIGIN FOR THE NETWORK

Our next question is, whether a common region or place of origin had a role to play in establishing and/or maintaining contacts within our network. Actually, the prosopography does not show many contacts between people who share a common region of origin. To begin with, seventeen of the thirty-six provinces mentioned in the table above are only represented by one person. As far as the other nineteen provinces are concerned, people often differed widely in age, social position and career so that they 'missed' each other, despite a common region of origin and (a) common intellectual interest(s). A good example of this is the contact between the brothers Takemoto Tōtōan and Hokurin from the domain of Okayama in Bizen province, and Uragami Gyokudō, also born there. They only got together after 1800. In the network we find the following cases of a common region of origin:

- Takebe Seian and his pupil Ōtsuki Gentaku from the domain of Ichinoseki in Rikuchū province.
- The cousins Maki Ryōko and Tachi Ryūwan from Echigo province.

- A small Kyoto-centered "coterie" of individuals born in or connected to Ōmi province: Rikunyo, Daiten Kenjō, Umetsuji Shunshō, Nagata Kanga and Ban Kōkei.
- Maruyama Ōkyo and his pupil Nagasawa Rosetsu from Tanba province.
- Kuwayama Gyokushū and Noro Kaiseki from Kii province.
- Chōgetsu and his pupil Nishiyama Sessai from Bitchū province. As Chōgetsu's original family name was Nishiyama it is likely that they were related.
- Four members of the Rai family, all born in Aki province.
- Shibano Ritsuzan and his pupil Kikuchi Gozan from Sanuki province.

Of the eight contacts or clusters of contacts mentioned above, at least two (and very likely three) are also family relationships and four were also teacher/pupil relationships: it is very hard to tell how much weight the common region of origin had here. The contact between Gyokushū and Kaiseki was a friendship established in their region of origin. However, in the case of 'the Ōmi coterie' sources indicate that these individuals were acquainted with each other's relatives and that they visited their native region in each other's company.[113] It is perhaps only in this case that a common region of origin can be shown to have played a role in the relationship they maintained in the city of Kyoto.

In conclusion, in this particular network a common region of origin does not seem to have played an important role in establishing or maintaining contacts. Almost half of the provinces mentioned are only represented by one person and in other cases circumstances were not conducive to establishing contacts. As for the contacts we could consider as being of interest here, other factors were probably of equal or greater importance. All in all, for this network, the "Ōmi coterie" is the only example we have.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND THE NETWORK

Despite the fact that people were evidently well able to take an independent stance vis-à-vis their background and milieu, 'personal cell' relationships (that is family relationships, including relationships by marriage and adoption) concern no less than forty-nine individuals in the network (28.3 % of 173), an indication of the ongoing importance of the family in this rapidly changing society.[114] Although we cannot, in general, be certain about the nature of relationships between family members, or the level of their intimacy, the biographical profiles make it clear that the 'personal cell' contacts within our network were sufficiently intimate to guarantee regular, even frequent, communication. This tallies with the fact that in late Tokugawa Japan, family obligations were felt very keenly. An exploration of this most intimate of the 'zones' that constitute an individual person's network is therefore expedient:

[113] See for instance the poem composed by Rikunyo on the occasion of a visit to his native place in the company of his friend Ban Kōkei mentioned above, p. 25f; also Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, Tokyo 1981, 48.
[114] Jeremy Boissevain's terminology, above, p. 31ff.

1. Maruyama Ōkyo/Maruyama Ōzui/Mori Tessan/Mori Sosen
Ōkyo was succeeded by his second son and pupil Ōzui. Ōzui and Mori Tessan (another of Ōkyo's pupils) married two sisters and became each other's brother-in-law. Tessan was the nephew and adopted son of Mori Sosen.

2. Matsumura Goshun/Matsumura Keibun
Keibun was Goshun's younger brother by twenty-seven years. He was raised and taught by his elder brother and inherited the painting studio upon his Goshun's death.

3. Minagawa Kien/Fujitani Nariakira/Minagawa Kōsai/Fujitani Mitsue/Kagawa Gen'etsu
Kien and Nariakira were brothers, but Nariakira was adopted into the Fujitani family. Kōsai was Kien's son and Mitsue Nariakira's. Mitsue lost his father when he was in his eleventh year, and his uncle Kien took over his education. Mitsue in due course inherited the position his father had held within the Fujitani family. Kōsai was his father's teaching assistant and inherited his father's school. He married a daughter of his father's friend Kagawa Gen'etsu.[115]

4. Katsuragawa Hoshū/Morishima Chūryō
Hoshū and Chūryō were brothers and sons of a Bakufu physician. Hoshū became physician to the shogunal household in 1777, but was dismissed in 1786. He was reinstated in the function around 1792, the year Chūryō became personal physician to Matsudaira Sadanobu. Chūryō was not married and lived at his brother's house.

5. Nakai Chikuzan/Nakai Riken
Chikuzan and Riken were brothers and sons of the principal of the Kaitokudō merchant academy in Osaka. Chikuzan, the eldest, succeeded their father in 1782. Riken was a teacher at the academy but also had his own school. As Chikuzan's son died a year before his father, Riken took over the direction of the academy at the death of his brother.

6. Rai Baishi/Rai Kōō/Rai Kyōhei/ Rai Shunpū/Rai Shunsui/Bitō Nishū/Iioka Gisai
Rai Kōō was the father of Shunsui, Kyōhei and Shunpū. Shunsui married Baishi, a daughter of Iioka Gisai. Nishū married Baishi's sister. After Nishū had become a teacher at the reformed Shōheikō, he arranged for his brother-in-law to give lectures there. Both Nishū and Rai Kyōhei were involved in the education of their nephew, the son of Baishi and Shunsui, Rai San'yō (1781-1832). All three Rai brothers and Bitō Nishū had been members of the Kontonsha.

7. Emura Hokkai/Seida Tansō
These two brothers were the sons of a scholar in the service of the domain of Fukui in Echizen province. Hokkai was adopted into another family. Tansō, who suffered from a chronic disease, shared the position of domanial specialist of Chinese studies with another brother.[116] He adopted one of Hokkai's sons to succeed him in the position.

[115] One of Gen'etsu's sons studied with Kien.
[116] This was Itō Kinri (1710-1772), who was also the teacher of Minagawa Kien.

8. Sugita Genpaku/Takebe Seian
Seian's third and fifth son both studied with Genpaku. After the annulment of an earlier adoption (see Udagawa Shinsai), Genpaku adopted Seian's fifth son as his heir. Seian had also been the original teacher of Genpaku's later star pupil Ōtsuki Gentaku.

9. Tachi Ryūwan/Maki Ryōko
Ryūwan and Ryōko were cousins. Both studied with Kameda Bōsai.[117]

10. Aoki Mokubei/Aoki Shukuya/Kan Tenju
Aoki Shukuya and Kan Tenju were brothers. Mokubei was their cousin. Tenju was an intimate friend of Ike Taiga and Kō Fuyō. Shukuya studied painting with Taiga and succeeded to Taiga's studio name of Taigadō. Mokubei studied with Kō Fuyō.

11. Takemoto Tōtōan/Takemoto Hokurin
Tōtōan and Hokurin were most likely sons of a rural headman. Tōtōan, who was the eldest, first succeeded to the family position. Hokurin would later succeed his brother. Both brothers made study trips to Edo. Tōtōan studied with Shibano Ritsuzan and Hokurin with Ritsuzan's Shōheikō colleague Hayashi Jussai. Both brothers settled in Kyoto after their resignation.

12. Taki Rankei/Taki Renpu
Rankei was the son of Taki Mototaka, founder of the Seijūkan academy for medical studies in Edo. The school became the Bakufu's official medical academy in 1790 during Rankei's tenure as principal. Rankei was also physician to the shogunal household. Renpu became physician to the Bakufu in 1790 and succeeded to both his father's functions in 1799.

13. Tani Bunchō/Tani Kankan
Bunchō and Kankan were husband and wife. It is likely that they were cousins. Bunchō was Kankan's painting teacher. He remarried after she died in 1799.

14. Udagawa Genzui/Udagawa Shinsai
Genzui was Shinsai's teacher. Shinsai was first adopted by one of Genzui's own teachers, Sugita Genpaku, but the adoption was annulled because of Shinsai's reprehensible behaviour. In the end Shinsai was adopted by Genzui. Shinsai also studied with two other teachers of Genzui, Katsuragawa Hoshū and Ōtsuki Gentaku.

15. Ichikawa Kansai/Ichikawa Beian
Beian was Kansai's eldest son. Kansai had been a teacher at the Shōheikō before its reform (he resigned in 1787). Beian first studied with his father and later with two teachers of the reformed Shōheikō, Hayashi Jussai and Shibano Ritsuzan. Kansai later entered the service of the domain of Toyama and Beian succeeded him in this position.

16. Ike Taiga/Ike Gyokuran
Taiga and Gyokuran were husband and wife. As a girl Gyokuran became acquainted with the polymath Yanagisawa Kien (1706-1758). Taiga met Kien in 1738. Together, Taiga and Gyokuran did *waka* with

[117] There was an age difference of fifteen years between the two.

Reizei Tamemura (1712-1774). They shared many friends and acquaintances, among whom the next couple: Kō Fuyō and Kō Raikin.

17. Kō Fuyō/Kō Raikin
Fuyō and Raikin were husband and wife.

18. Kagawa Kagemoto/Kagawa Kageki
Kagemoto was the *iemoto* of the Baigetsudō school of *waka*. He adopted Kageki as his successor, after which Kageki also entered the service of the Tokudaiji *kuge* family, for whom Kagemoto worked next to his *waka* activities. The adoption was annulled when Kageki changed his outlook as a poet under the influence of Ozawa Roan. Kageki founded a separate school.

19. Akera Kankō/Fushimatsu Kaka
Kankō and Kaka were husband and wife. Together they conducted a *kyōka* school in Edo.

Naturally, part of these personal cell relationships concerns income and employment situations, the family occupation and inheritance. Relevant aspects of mobility have already been discussed above, and much more about what we may call the 'intellectual market' will be said below in the chapter on sources of income. However, interaction did not only take place on a socio-economic level, but also on the level of intellectual discourse, and herein lies the importance of personal cell contacts for our network. As could be expected, many of the individuals in the above list shared the interests of their personal cell relationships, but even within families interests differed. Family relationships (to a greater extent perhaps than relationships between friends) kept people acquainted with intellectual debates they were not (yet/any more) directly involved in themselves, and in this respect they are crucial for the intellectual dynamism of the network. Let me present some examples. Both Fujitani Nariakira and his son Mitsue were drawn to Japanese studies, whereas their brother/uncle Kien and their nephew/cousin Kōsai were mostly engaged in Chinese studies. Katsuragawa Hoshū and Morishima Chūryō were both interested in Western medicine, general Western science and ethnography, but Chūryō was active in popular fiction and *kyōka* as well. The brothers Nakai Chikuzan and Riken shared the activities of Chinese studies and *kanshi*, but Riken also painted, composed *waka* and had an interest in medicine and calendrical sciences. Chikuzan, on the other hand, was engaged in politico-economic studies. Rai Kōō had an amateur interest in Chinese studies and his eldest and youngest sons Shunsui and Kyōhei were both professionally active in this field; the second son Shunpū became a physician. All three brothers were interested in *kanshi* as was Shunsui's wife Baishi, but Baishi, Kōō and Kyōhei also did *waka*. Emura Hokkai and Seida Tansō both did Chinese studies and *kanshi*, but Tansō had an interest in vernacular Chinese as well. Sugita Genpaku and Takebe Seian were Western-style physicians, but Genpaku also had literary interests like *kanshi* and various forms of Japanese poetry. Maki Ryōko made a living as a professional calligrapher, whereas his cousin Tachi Ryūwan was one of those rare commoners who made a career as an official in the service of the Bakufu. They shared many of their interests, but Ryūwan also composed *waka*. Aoki Mokubei became involved in *sencha*. His interest may have been partly stimulated by his cousins Tenju and Shukuya. The brothers Takemoto Tōtōan and Hokurin shared their interest in

Chinese studies, but Tōtōan also studied the technical aspects (like metre and rules of sound) of *kanshi*. Tōtōan did Western studies while on a study trip to Edo, and Hokurin had an interest in agricultural economics.

Family members not only shared interests, they also shared contacts. I have been conservative in the prosopography, putting only those persons in the lists of first order zone contacts that I actually found in my sources. Here, I feel, we may look at second and third order zone contacts ('friends of friends') as well. For all details, see the biographical profiles.

It is very likely that Maruyama Ōzui knew many of his father's friends and pupils, and that Ōkyo was in contact with his son's acquaintances; a little investigation into the common contacts of father and son Maruyama actually opens up a large circle of interrelated scholars and artists of various fields and interests. If we look at the 'friends of friends' we find that the Maruyama circle is not so far removed from the Western medicine and science circuit: lines run through Minagawa Kien (think of Koishi Genshun), Gessen (a friend of Aōdō Denzen), Kimura Kenkadō (who knew Koishi Genshun, Ōtsuki Gentaku and Shiba Kōkan) and Ban Kōkei (via Tachibana Nankei). The two Matsumura brothers were first order zone contacts of father and son Maruyama. We find these four shared several contacts, for instance Ueda Akinari, Ban Kōkei, Minagawa Kien and the prince Shinnin. Via Shinnin, Akinari and Goshun's other teachers, Yosa Buson and Murase Kōtei, the Matsumura and the Maruyama circles link up with *haikai* (including Takai Kitō) and *sencha* circuits.[118] We find that the 'pioneers' of what became known as the Maruyama-Shijō school of painting were part of an extensive and variegated intellectual circle.

According to some sources, the father of Minagawa Kien and Fujitani Nariakira was a physician in the service of the imperial court. This would explain the fact that both Nariakira and Mitsue studied *waka* with members of *kuge* families, the Arisugawa family (Nariakira), the Hirohashi family (Mitsue) and Hino Sukeki (Mitsue).[119] Apart from his contact with the prince Shinnin, we do not associate Minagawa Kien with the imperial court, but he probably had more contacts there than we are aware of. It is likely that Kien met Ueda Akinari through his brother Nariakira. Akinari and Nariakira shared an interest in historical linguistics. I wonder if Nariakira ever met Akinari's mentor Katō Umaki. Kien did Chinese studies with Itō Kinri, the elder brother of Emura Hokkai and Seida Tansō. Kien knew both Hokkai and Tansō. Nariakira's list of contacts mentions only Tansō, but it is highly likely that he knew Hokkai as well. At any rate we have here an interesting set of contacts between scholars of Chinese and Japanese studies.[120] It is also probable that Nariakira, Mitsue and Kōsai were acquainted with several other members of Kien's extensive circle of contacts.

Morishima Chūryō was one of the links between Edo's Western studies circuit (including his brother Katsuragawa Hoshū) and the circuits of popular fiction and *kyōka*

[118] During his visit to Kyoto in 1788 Murata Harumi met Matsumura Goshun, Maruyama Ōkyo and Minagawa Kien. Harumi met Shinnin when the prince visited Edo not long before his death in 1805.
[119] Hino Sukeki and Fujitani Nariakira both studied with Arisugawa Yorihito.
[120] See also the discussion of vernacular Chinese below, p. 238ff.

(including Santō Kyōden and Ōta Nanpo).[121] Another link was Chūryō's teacher Hiraga Gennai. Via Shiba Kōkan the brothers Chūryō and Hoshū can be connected to individuals like Kimura Kenkadō, Haruki Nanko and Uragami Gyokudō. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Chūryō's friend Ōta Nanpo would establish contacts with Kenkadō and with Ueda Akinari. Hoshū's position at the Seijūkan connects him with the circle of Kameda Bōsai, and Taki Rankei (the head of the Seijūkan) provides another link with Uragami Gyokudō.

The case of the Takemoto brothers demonstrates how contacts moved on into the next generation. Both brothers studied with Shōheikō teachers and Tōtōan became friendly with Koga Kokudō, the son of Koga Seiri, another member of the Shōheikō team. Moreover, after 1800 both brothers were acquainted with Rai San'yō (Rai Shunsui's son) and with Uragami Gyokudō and his son Shunkin, who came from the same domain, but had settled in Kyoto around the turn of the century.

The circle of father and son Taki provides a surprising link between the Bakufu medical circuit and scholars who had a reputation of independence (even heterodoxy), like Kameda Bōsai, Ōta Kinjō and Inoue Kinga, and (via these three) with Yamamoto Hokuzan.[122] Kinga brought about the contact between Taki Rankei and Uragami Gyokudō. Kinga also provides a link with a person more often associated with Kyoto's literary circles, the priest Rikunyo.

Kagawa Kagemoto may have known Ozawa Roan, who in the 1790s would 'lure away' his adopted son Kageki. Kagemoto was employed (and well-known) in court circles. Roan was in the service of a *kuge* from the end of the 1750s until 1765. Roan had studied with Reizei Tamemura, was an intimate friend of the the *kuge* Takahashi Munenao, and was also the *waka* teacher of the prince Shinnin. Kagawa Kageki enjoyed Shinnin's patronage. Roan connects these court poetry circles with individuals like Motoori Norinaga and Gamō Kunpei, but he also had Rai Baishi and Rai Kōō among his pupils.

Akera Kankō and his wife Kaka were acquainted with Ōta Nanpo and Hezutsu Tōsaku. These two figures provide a link with Hiraga Gennai, with the Akita daimyo Satake Yoshiatsu, and with the Western studies circuit.

Personal cell relationships concern almost a third (28.3 % of 173, forty-nine persons) of the individuals in our network. Here we should take into account that only those family members who were active as intellectuals have been included in the network. Relationships with other family members may have been of equal or greater importance (affectionately and otherwise) to the individuals in our network. The great importance of personal cell contacts for our network, however, lies in the fact that they stimulate intellectual debate (drawing people towards fields they are not directly involved in) and are generally conducive to the formation of intellectual relationships.

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[121] The implications of the meeting between these two circuits is actually the subject of Timon Screech's *Lens within the heart*, *The Western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan*, Cambridge 1996.

[122] Both Bōsai and Hokuzan belonged to the 'five demons of the Kansei period', see below, p. 286.

As an extension of what has been said above about family relationships in general, we will look at adoption in more detail. The 'hereditary system' explains the phenomenon of *yōshi engumi* 養子縁組: 'the adopting of an heir'. If there was to be inheritance, there had to be an heir. Naturally, this was not always the case.[123] However, adoption was not a measure limited to the childless. Kagawa Gen'etsu had to adopt an heir because both his own sons set up separate family establishments; Sugita Genpaku did likewise because his own son wished to specialize as an ophthalmologist. Motoori Norinaga's own son Haruniwa became blind; he inherited Norinaga's academy but the family headship went to an adopted son. Maruyama Ōzui had two sons of his own but left the studio to a nephew. Rai Shunsui disinherited his own son and had to adopt a new successor. Katakura Kakuryō had no children with his wife, but had three sons and a daughter with a concubine; he adopted a boy to marry the daughter. It is evident that adoption provided a solution in case the 'real' successor was not willing or not suitable. The above examples demonstrate the flexibility of the ubiquitous 'hereditary system'.

The network contains twenty-five persons who were adopted, twenty-one persons who adopted someone, and eight persons for whom both was the case. Takahashi Munenao and Nishiyori Seisai may have been adopted but this is uncertain. All in all, adoption concerns fifty-four individuals (31.2 % of 173) and the figure may have been even higher; we have no suitable data for everyone.[124] Others who were not themselves adopters or adoptees, experienced adoption within their family: the second son of Ichikawa Kansai was adopted by the painter Kaburagi Baikei; Takebe Seian's fifth son was adopted by his colleague Sugita Genpaku. We might add the example of Kimura Kenkadō whose relatives arranged the formal adoption of a nephew a few months after Kenkadō's death. The following list contains all cases of adoption found in the prosopography; the asterisk indicates people who were both adoptees and adopters.

Adoptees

Name	**Remarks**
Akamatsu Sōshū	adopted into related family
Ban Kōkei*	adopted by main branch of the house
Ema Ransai*	
Emura Hokkai	adopted into samurai family
Fujitani Nariakira	adopted into samurai family
Hayashi Jussai	adoption arranged by Bakufu
Hayashi Nobutaka	adoption arranged by Bakufu
Hayashi Shihei	adopted by uncle
Hino Sukeki	

[123] For adoption and the concept of 'household' (*ie* 家), see Chie Nakane, 'Tokugawa society', 216-222.

[124] Compare the figure Ray A. Moore gives for samurai families in his 'Adoption and samurai mobility in Tokugawa Japan', in: *JAS* 29, 1970, 617-632: "from one-fourth to more than a third had recourse to adoption" (619). For more on samurai and adoption, see Kozo Yamamura, *A study of samurai income and entrepreneurship*, Cambridge, Mass. 1974, 79ff.

Inamura Sanpaku	adopted by teacher
Kagawa Gen'etsu*	illegitimate, adopted into mother's family
Kagawa Kageki	adoption was annulled
Kagawa Kagemoto*	
Kakizaki Hakyō	daimyo's son, adopted by prominent retainer
Kan Tenju	
Katō Kyōtai	
Katō Umaki*	
Koikawa Harumachi	adopted by uncle
Kudō Heisuke	
Maeno Ryōtaku	adopted by relative of uncle
Maki Ryōko	adoption may have been annulled, unclear
Matsudaira Sadanobu	adoption arranged by Bakufu
Matsura Seizan	adopted by grandfather
Mori Tessan	adopted by uncle
Motoori Norinaga*	adoption was annulled
Murata Harumi	adoption was annulled
Nagasawa Rosetsu*	circumstances of adoption unclear
Ozawa Roan	adoption may have been temporary
Shinnin Shinnō	imperial prince, adopted by emperor
Tachi Ryūwan	adopted back into father's original family
Tegara no Okamochi	adopted into mother's family
Udagawa Shinsai	was adopted twice, first adoption was annulled
Ueda Akinari*	

Adopters

Name	**Remarks**
Ban Kōkei*	adopted young couple
Ema Ransai*	adopted husband of youngest daughter
Irie Masayoshi	adopted twice (probably nephew and brother's grandson)
Kagawa Gen'etsu*	adopted pupil (sons set up separate houses)
Kagawa Kagemoto*	adopted twice (first adoption was annulled)
Kan Chazan	adopted grandchild of brother
Katakura Kakuryō	adopted boy to marry daughter by a concubine
Katayama Hokkai	adopted son-in-law
Katō Chikage	
Katō Umaki*	
Katsuragawa Hoshū	adopted son of colleague
Maruyama Ōzui	had two sons but left studio to nephew
Mori Sosen	adopted nephew
Motoori Norinaga*	own son inherited academy, adopted son family headship
Nagasawa Rosetsu*	
Nishiyori Seisai	adopted nephew
Noro Kaiseki	adopted nephew
Ōkubo Shibutsu	

Rai Shunsui	first adoptee (nephew) died, second was grandson
Santō Kyōden	adopted second wife's younger sister
Seida Tansō	adopted nephew
Shibano Ritsuzan	adopted nephew
Shinozaki Santō	adopted two boys
Sugita Genpaku	own son set up separate house, adopted son of colleague
Suzuki Fuyō	
Tani Bunchō	adopted son died ahead of him
Tani Kankan	see husband Bunchō
Udagawa Genzui	adopted pupil
Ueda Akinari*	adopted girl

The network also shows seven cases of what was in fact a form of adoption: handing over the family headship to a younger brother (again the number may have been higher; we have no data for everyone).[125] This concerns Hiraga Gennai (who handed over the family headship to his brother-in-law), Itō Jakuchū, Kan Chazan, Kashiwagi Jotei, Kojima Baigai, Takemoto Tōtōan (whose brother Hokurin is also in the network) and Umetsuji Shunshō. If we add these eight cases (Hokurin included), well over one third (35.8 %) of the individuals in our network were adopters, adoptees or both.

It is obvious that many adopted, or were adopted, by relatives.[126] We also find examples of adoptions of pupils and of sons of colleagues. Motoori Norinaga's adopted son Ōhira, who inherited the family headship, was one of his pupils. Hattori Rissai inherited the academy and the library of his friend and patron Suguri Gyokusui, but I have not found that he was adopted or inherited the family headship. The network contains only two cases of adoption into a higher social rank: Emura Hokkai and Fujitani Nariakira were commoners adopted into samurai families. Usually, adoption did not affect people's social status in a radical way, but it might, of course, change their social prestige and stability, and their financial situation; the cases of Ema Ransai and Ueda Akinari can serve as illustrations. Tegara no Okamochi, Kudō Heisuke and Inamura Sanpaku are examples of younger sons who were able to have a fine career thanks to their being adopted. The case of Katō Kyōtai demonstrates that adoption was not limited to younger sons: he was the eldest son, but was adopted nonetheless. Hayashi Jussai, Hayashi Nobutaka and Matsudaira Sadanobu are examples of adoption on the order of the Bakufu. Ozawa Roan was probably a case of temporary adoption, an adoption to tide over the minority of the 'real' heir.

The network also contains a few examples of adoptions that went awry. Adoptions could be annulled because the candidate misbehaved (as in the case of the first adoption of Udagawa Shinsai), because he did not live up to expectations (like

[125] Matsumura Keibun and Nakai Riken both succeeded their elder brother. Shinozaki Santō is an example of a younger brother who inherited the family business because the eldest did not wish to succeed.

[126] Emura Hokkai's adoptive family was related by marriage and Kakizaki Hakyō's adoptive family was also related to his own, see Papinot, *Dictionary of Japan*, s.v. Matsumae. Compare I. J. McMullen, 'Non-agnatic adoption: a Confucian controversy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan', in: *HJAS* 35, 1975, 133-189.

Kagawa Kageki and probably Motoori Norinaga) or because he unexpectedly had to take over his original family's headship (as was the case for Murata Harumi).[127]

The frequent occurrence of adoption in our network and the various ways in which people handled the phenomenon, strongly suggest that adoption was seen as a natural complement to the 'hereditary system', and was part of the mobility process. Adoption belonged to people's plans and prospects; it was considered a genuine possibility to 'get in', and was taken into account as a way to 'get out' when planning for one's own future or the future of one's family. Whereas no ambitious boy could possibly have fantasized about becoming Lord Mayor of Edo, he may have dreamed of being adopted by a rich and powerful person, or by his uncle or teacher for that matter. In this way the network again contradicts the image of a society in which positions were fixed and careers predetermined.

The final question to be answered is what role adoption played in the formation of this network. In fact relationships involving adoption between members of the network are rare. We have Mori Tessan (the nephew and adopted son of Mori Sosen), Udagawa Shinsai (first adopted by Sugita Genpaku and subsequently by Udagawa Genzui) and Kagawa Kageki (the adopted son of Kagawa Kagemoto). In all cases the contact was established before the adoption took place, and it was not the adoption *as such* that got people into the network. This seems a normal course of events within a network of intellectuals.

[127] For Motoori Norinaga, see Shigeru Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 26-29.

3: Teachers and pupils

There are two main aspects concerning the matter of teacher/pupil relationships: not only should we investigate teacher/pupil relationships within the formation and functioning of the network, but there is also the question of whether we can discern a prominence for certain teachers or 'schools'. The following table contains all 222 persons mentioned as teachers in the biographical profiles with the pupils concerned. Teachers who are also included in our prosopography (fifty-four individuals) are given in italics. When within a family of teachers no specific member could be identified, the name of the family is mentioned. Under 'Shōheikō' the reader may find the names of those who studied there, without it being known with whom. However, these families and the Shōheikō are neither included in the number of 222, nor in the analysis that follows. The role of the Shōheikō will be further discussed in the chapter on activities.

Teacher	**Pupil(s)**
Ametomi Sugaichi	Hanawa Hokiichi
Aoki Kon'yo	Maeno Ryōtaku
Arisugawa no Miya Yorihito Shinnō	Fujitani Nariakira, Hino Sukeki
Asakawa Zen'an	Matsura Seizan
Baba Songi	Tegara no Okamochi
Ban Seizan	Uchiyama Chinken
Chō Tōsai	Hosoai Hansai (?), Kimura Kenkadō, Masuyama Sessai, Rai Shunsui, Totoki Baigai
Chōgetsu	Momozawa Mutaku, Nishiyama Sessai
Daichō Genkō	Daiten Kenjō
Ebiya Seibee	Okuda Eisen
Emura Hokkai	Kayama Tekien, Nagata Kanga, Yunoki Taijun
Fujitani Nariakira	Fujitani Mitsue
Fukami Isai	Sawada Tōkō
Fukui Shōsha	Koga Seiri
Gekko	Miguma Katen
Goi Ranshū	Hattori Rissai, Nakai Chikuzan, Nakai Riken
Gotō Shizan	Kikuchi Gozan, Shibano Ritsuzan
Hagiwara Sōko	Hanawa Hokiichi, Karagoromo Kisshū
Hanawa Hokiichi	Yashiro Hirokata

Hashimoto Rakkō	Katsu Shikin, Shinozaki Santō
Hattori Chūzan	Hayashi Jussai
Hattori Hakufun	Murata Harumi
Hattori Nankaku	Adachi Seiga, Akutagawa Tankyū, Kudō Heisuke
Hattori Rissai	Rai Kyōhei
Hattori Somon	Nagata Kanga
Hayano Hajin	Yosa Buson
Hayashi Hōkoku	Sawada Tōkō
Hayashi Jussai	Gamō Kunpei, Ichikawa Beian, Takemoto Hokurin
Hino Sukeki	Fujitani Mitsue, Hanawa Hokiichi
Hiraga Chūnan	Rai Shunsui
Hiraga Gennai	Morishima Chūryō, Odano Naotake, Satake Yoshiatsu
Hirohashi Kanetane	Fujitani Mitsue
Honda Toshiakira	Mogami Tokunai
Hori Genkō	Motoori Norinaga
Hori Genshō	Murase Kōtei
Hori Keizan	Motoori Norinaga
Hosoai Hansai	Kuwayama Gyokushū
Hosoi Hanshū	Takayama Hikokurō
Hyakuyū	Miura Chora
Ichikawa Kansai	Ichikawa Beian, Kashiwagi Jotei, Kojima Baigai, Ōkubo Shibutsu
Ike Taiga	Aoki Shukuya, Geppō, Kimura Kenkadō, Noro Kaiseki
Imperial family	Hino Sukeki
Inoue Kinga	Kameda Bōsai, Katakura Kakuryō, Okada Kansen, Taki Renpu, Yoshida Kōton
Inoue Randai	Inoue Kinga, Sawada Tōkō, Seki Shōsō
Ishida Yūtei	Maruyama Ōkyo
Ishikawa Masamochi	Takizawa Bakin
Ise Sadaharu	Yashiro Hirokata
Itō family	Emura Hokkai, Itō Tōsho
Itō Kinri	Minagawa Kien
Itō Rangū	Noro Kaiseki
Itō Ryūshū	Emura Hokkai, Seida Tansō
Itō Tōgai	Akutagawa Tankyū, Itō Tōsho, Takahashi Munenao
Itō Tōsho	Totoki Baigai
Jiun	Eda Nagayasu
Kada no Arimaro	Hirasawa Kyokuzan
Kagawa family	Katakura Kakuryō
Kagawa Kagehira	Kagawa Kagemoto
Kagawa Kagemoto	Kagawa Kageki
Kagawa Shūan (Shūtoku)	Akamatsu Sōshū, Tsuga Teishō
Kagawa Yūsai	Yunoki Taijun
Kakutei Jōkō	Kimura Kenkadō, Noro Kaiseki
Kameda Bōsai	Maki Ryōko, Tachi Ryūwan, Takizawa Bakin
Kamei Nanmei	Inamura Sanpaku

Kamo no Mabuchi	Hanawa Hokiichi, Hiraga Gennai, Katō Chikage, Katō Umaki, Motoori Norinaga, Murata Harumi
Kan Kankoku	Hosoai Hansai, Katsu Shikin, Shinozaki Santō, Tanaka Meimon
Kan'in no Miya Sukehito Shinnō	Hanawa Hokiichi
Kanō Baishō (Moronobu)	Azuma Tōyō
Kanō Takanobu	Sakai Hōitsu
Karasaki Kōryō	Rai Kōō
Karasumaru family	Hino Sukeki
Katayama Hokkai	Bitō Nishū, Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Kimura Kenkadō, Sasaki Roan
Katō Bunrei	Tani Bunchō
Katō Chikage	Takizawa Bakin
Katō Umaki	Ueda Akinari
Katsuragawa Hoshū	Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai
Kawachi Chikushū	Ichikawa Kansai
Kawaguchi Yūhō	Inoue Kinga
Kawano Josai	Takayama Hikokurō (?)
Kawashima Takashige	Hanawa Hokiichi
Kazanoin Tsunemasa	Okamoto Yasutaka
Keikun	Miyake Shōzan
Kikuchi Shissan	Kikuchi Gozan
Kitao Shigemasa	Kitao Masayoshi, Santō Kyōden
Kitayama Kangen	Tani Bunchō (?)
Kiyohara family	Iwagaki Ryōkei, Murase Kōtei
Kiyohara Nobueda	Iwagaki Ryōkei
Kō Fuyō	Aoki Mokubei, Katsu Shikin, Kimura Kenkadō, Ogino Gengai
Kobayashi Kengi	Nishiyama Sessai
Kojima Shigeie	Ueda Akinari
Koshigaya Gozan	Takizawa Bakin
Kudō Saian	Kudō Heisuke
Kumashiro Yūhi	Kakutei Jōkō, Sō Shiseki
Kuroda Ryōzan	Okamoto Toyohiko
Kyōgoku no miya Yakahito Shinnō	Takahashi Munenao
Maebara Jōken	Nishiyori Seisai
Maeno Ryōtaku	Ema Ransai, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Shiba Kōkan, Udagawa Genzui
Maruyama Ōkyo	Azuma Tōyō, Gessen, Kakizaki Hakyō, Komai Genki, Maruyama Ōzui, Minagawa Kien, Mori Tessan, Nagasawa Rosetsu
Matsu Shōho	Adachi Seiga
Matsui Jutetsu	Takebe Seian
Matsumura Goshun	Azuma Tōyō, Matsumura Keibun, Okamoto Toyohiko
Matsuoka Joan	Ono Ranzan
Matsuoka Tokikata	Yashiro Hirokata
Matsushita Useki	Kan Tenju

Matsuzaki Kankai	Ōta Nanpo
Minagawa Kien	Fujitani Mitsue, Iwagaki Ryōkei, Koishi Genshun, Matsura Seizan, Minagawa Kōsai, Murata Harumi, Ōta Kinjō, Umetsuji Shunshō
Mitsui Shinna	Kameda Bōsai
Miura Heizan	Hiraga Gennai
Miyake Bokuyō	Minagawa Kien
Miyase Ryūmon	Rikunyo, Sugita Genpaku
Miyazaki Kinpo	Iwagaki Ryōkei
Mochizuki Gyokusen	Minagawa Kien
Mochizuki Sōoku	Miyake Shōzan
Mori Shūhō	Mori Tessan
Mori Sosen	Mori Tessan
Morishima Chūryō	Aōdō Denzen (?)
Murase Kōtei	Kayama Tekien, Matsumura Goshun, Shinnin Shinnō, Umetsuji Shunshō
Mushanokōji Saneoka	Ban Kōkei
Mushanokōji Sanetake	Chōgetsu
Mutō Hajaku	Katō Kyōtai
Mutō Hakuni	Katō Kyōtai
Nagatomi Dokushōan	Koishi Genshun
Nakagawa Jun'an	Udagawa Genzui
Nakai Kōtaku	Takemoto Tōtōan
Narushima Kinkō	Tegara no Okamochi
Nawa Rodō	Kan Chazan, Nishiyama Sessai
Nioki Mōsho	Tsuga Teishō
Nishi Gentetsu	Sugita Genpaku
Nishiyori Seisai	Koga Seiri
Nomura Tōkō	Rikunyo
Odano Naotake	Satake Yoshiatsu
Ogino Gengai	Yunoki Taijun
Ōi Gitei	Minagawa Kien
Oka Gyokuen	Morikawa Chikusō
Okada Ryūshū	Akamatsu Sōshū, Nawa Rodō, Nishiyama Sessai, Takayama Hikokurō (?)
Okamoto Kuniuji	Okamoto Yasutaka
Okamoto Yasutaka	Shinnin Shinnō
Okuda Eisen	Aoki Mokubei
Okumura Ryōchiku	Ogino Gengai
Ōmachi Tonbyō	Akutagawa Tankyū
Ōnishi Suigetsu	Matsumura Goshun
Ono Kakuzan	Nishiyori Seisai
Ono Ranzan	Kimura Kenkadō
Onoda Tōsen	Taki Rankei
Ōoka Shunboku	Itō Jakuchū (?), Kimura Kenkadō
Ōshio Gōsho	Hayashi Jussai
Ōtani Eian	Totoki Baigai
Ōtsuka Takasue	Matsudaira Sadanobu
Ōtsuki Gentaku	Inamura Sanpaku, Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai

Ōuchi Yūji	Ichikawa Kansai
Ozawa Roan	Rai Baishi, Rai Kōō, Shinnin Shinnō
Reizei Tamemura	Hino Sukeki, Ike Gyokuran, Ike Taiga, Ozawa Roan, Yashiro Hirokata
Reizei Tameyasu	Yashiro Hirokata
Ryū Sōrō	Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Sasaki Roan, Takai Kitō
Sakaki Hyakusen	Nakayama Kōyō
Sakurai Sekkan	Gessen, Kuwayama Gyokushū (?),Tani Bunchō (?)
Sano Seizan	Tachibana Nankei
Satō Issai	Matsura Seizan
Sawada Tōkō	Kan Tenju (?)
Seki Hōkō	Nakayama Kōyō, Tegara no Okamochi
Seki Shōsō	Ichikawa Kansai
Shiba Kōkan	Aōdō Denzen
Shibano Ritsuzan	Ichikawa Beian, Kikuchi Gozan, Takemoto Tōtōan
Shibui Taishitsu	Hayashi Jussai
Shigenoi Kinzumi	Takahashi Munenao
Shimura Tōshū	Takemoto Hokurin
Shioya Hōshū	Rai Kōō, Rai Shunsui
Shōheikō (teachers of)	Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Ichikawa Kansai, Seki Shōsō, Suzuki Fuyō, Uchiyama Chinken, Shibano Ritsuzan
Sō Shigan	Sō Shiseki
Sō Shiseki	Kakizaki Hakyō, Odano Naotake, Sakai Hōitsu, Shiba Kōkan, Tani Bunchō (?)
Suganuma Ayao	Rai Baishi
Sugita Genpaku	Katsuragawa Hoshū, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Udagawa Genzui
Suguri Gyokusui	Okada Kansen
Suguri Tansai	Okada Kansen
Suzuki Bujo	Gamō Kunpei
Suzuki Fuyō	Tani Bunchō (?)
Suzuki Harunobu	Shiba Kōkan
Suzuki Michihiko	Kojima Baigai
Suzuki Sekkyō	Gamō Kunpei
Suzuki Teisai	Iioka Gisai
Tagaya Jōan	Ōta Nanpo
Taihō Shōkon	Noro Kaiseki
Takahashi Munenao	Shibano Ritsuzan
Takai Kikei	Takai Kitō, Ueda Akinari
Takebe Ayatari	Kakizaki Hakyō, Katō Chikage
Takebe Seian	Ōtsuki Gentaku
Takeda Bairyū	Kayama Tekien, Murase Kōtei
Takegawa Baryō	Kan Tenju
Takekawa Kōjun	Motoori Norinaga
Taki Mototaka	Katakura Kakuryō, Taki Rankei
Taki Rankei	Katakura Kakuryō, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Taki Renpu, Uragami Gyokudō
Takiguchi Miryō	Nishiyama Sessai
Takimoto Shōkadō	Katō Chikage

Tamada Mokuō	Uragami Gyokudō
Tamura Ransui	Hiraga Gennai, Nakagawa Jun'an
Tanabe Kigen (Sonsai)	Chō Tōsai (?)
Tani Bunchō	Aōdō Denzen, Tani Kankan
Tannowa Gensen	Koishi Genshun
Toda Kyokuzan	Hiraga Gennai
Tominaga Ian	Nakayama Kōyō
Tominaga Jūi	Takebe Seian
Toriyama Sekien	Koikawa Harumachi
Toyama Mitsuzane	Hanawa Hokiichi
Tsushima Keian	Kimura Kenkadō
Uchiyama Chinken	Akera Kankō, Hezutsu Tōsaku, Karagoromo Kisshū, Ōta Nanpo
Udagawa Genzui	Udagawa Shinsai
Udagawa Yōken	Bitō Nishū
Udono Shinei	Murata Harumi
Umasugi Kyōan	Rai Kōō
Uno Meika	Akamatsu Sōshū, Akutagawa Tankyū, Daiten Kenjō, Katayama Hokkai
Utagawa Toyoharu	Sakai Hōitsu
Wada Tōkaku	Kan Chazan
Wakabayashi Kyōsai	Nishiyori Seisai
Watanabe Gentai	Tani Bunchō (?)
Watanabe Nangaku	Sakai Hōitsu
Yamada Tonan	Mogami Tokunai (?)
Yamamoto Hokuzan	Gamō Kunpei (?), Kojima Baigai, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Ōta Kinjō, Yashiro Hirokata
Yamamoto Kisei II	Tegara no Okamochi
Yamamoto Sōei	Takizawa Bakin
Yamanaka Tenzui	Ōkubo Shibutsu
Yamaoka Matsuakira	Hanawa Hokiichi
Yamazaki Tōkei	Yamamoto Hokuzan
Yanagisawa Kien	Ike Gyokuran
Yasutomi Kiseki	Nakagawa Jun'an
Yosa Buson	Ki Baitei, Matsumura Goshun, Takai Kitō
Yoshimasu Tōdō	Maeno Ryōtaku
Yoshimi Yoshikazu	Takahashi Munenao
Yuri	Ike Gyokuran
Zhang Qiu Gu	Tani Bunchō

It is more than obvious that the table above does not reveal an interesting pattern of interrelated 'old boys' networks'. The majority of the teachers mentioned here (many of them quite obscure) is only represented by one pupil; this concerns 164 teachers, 73.8 % of 222.

Twenty-three persons are represented by two of their pupils. Of these, Ōoka Shunboku should perhaps be ruled out, because it is not certain that he was Itō Jakuchū's teacher. Jakuchū was acquainted with the other pupil, Kimura Kenkadō. Indeed, if Shunboku was their teacher, they may have seen each other at his studio for

the first time. However, given the age difference between the two, it is not likely that any meaningful communication took place at that stage. I have not found any evidence of contact between Hino Sukeki and Fujitani Nariakira (both pupils of Arisugawa Yorihito). Nariakira's son Mitsue became a pupil of Hino Sukeki, but this was more than five years after Nariakira's death. I have not found that Momozawa Mutaku and Nishiyama Sessai (both pupils of Chōgetsu) were in contact, nor did I find any evidence of contact between Hanawa Hokiichi and Karagoromo Kisshū (pupils of Hagiwara Sōko), and between Hanawa Hokiichi and Fujitani Mitsue (pupils of Hino Sukeki). Hanawa Hokiichi was blind and may not actually have travelled to Kyoto to study with Sukeki. Tuition most likely took place through correspondence. I found no evidence of contact between Akamatsu Sōshū and Tsuga Teishō (who both studied with Kagawa Shūan), but Kitao Masayoshi and Santō Kyōden (pupils of Kitao Shigemasa) probably knew each other, even if the sources I used do not mention it explicitly. As for the two pupils of Kumashiro Yūhi: Kakutei Jōkō had already left Nagasaki when Sō Shiseki arrived there. I found no evidence of contact between Rikunyo and Sugita Genpaku (Miyase Ryūmon); between Nakayama Kōyō and Tegara no Okamochi (Seki Hōkō), and between Aōdō Denzen and Tani Kankan (Tani Bunchō), although there is the possibility that Kōyō and Okamochi, and Denzen and Kankan met each other through their teacher. Finally, I found no proof of contact between Kakizaki Hakyō and Katō Chikage (Takebe Ayatari). There was an age difference of almost thirty years between the two; Ayatari died in 1774 and Hakyō was only a child when he studied with him. On the other hand, Gotō Shizan's two pupils Shibano Ritsuzan and Kikuchi Gozan in their turn had a teacher/pupil relationship, and the same holds good for the two pupils of Takeda Bairyū, Murase Kōtei and Kayama Tekien. Shinozaki Santō was acquainted with Katsu Shikin, who was the younger brother of their teacher Hashimoto Rakkō. Santō and Shikin also both studied with Rakkō's own teacher, Kan Kankoku, and both were members of the Kontonsha. Kakutei Jōkō's two pupils Kimura Kenkadō and Noro Kaiseki were also in contact; the two of them studied with Ike Taiga as well. Katsuragawa Hoshū's two pupils are Udagawa Genzui and the man Genzui later adopted as his son; Kan Chazan and his life-long friend Nishiyama Sessai most likely met through their teacher Nawa Rodō; Shioya Hōshū was the teacher of father Rai Kōō and son Rai Shunsui; Takai Kikei's son and pupil Kitō became a friend of another pupil, Ueda Akinari; Katakura Kakuryō studied at the Seijūkan medical academy with both Taki Mototaka and Mototaka's son and pupil Rankei; Tamura Ransui's two pupils, Hiraga Gennai and Nakagawa Jun'an, met at his academy and would later conduct experiments together. The individuals mentioned as Itō Ryūshū's students are two of his sons.

Sixteen teachers are represented by three of their pupils. Here Sakurai Sekkan is a problematic case, since it is not certain if he was indeed the teacher of Kuwayama Gyokushū and Tani Bunchō. I have found no proof that the three pupils mentioned here knew each other, although a link between them exists through the person of Kimura Kenkadō. There was a contact between Nagata Kanga and Kayama Tekien, two of the pupils of Emura Hokkai mentioned here, but I have not found that either of them knew Yunoki Taijun. Goi Ranshū's three pupils certainly knew each other, but the contact was not included in the prosopography because it is unclear if it was maintained during the period under scrutiny. There was no contact between the three pupils of Hattori

Nankaku mentioned here: Adachi Seiga settled in Edo, whereas Akutagawa Tankyū was a Kyoto-ite. Kudō Heisuke concentrated on medical studies. There were, moreover, considerable age differences between the three. I have found no evidence of contact between the three pupils of Hayashi Jussai, although Ichikawa Beian may have seen Takemoto Hokurin at the Shōheikō where Hokurin studied for a year from 1793. Gamō Kunpei only came to study with Jussai in 1802. Finally, I found no evidence of contact between the three pupils of Itō Tōgai. One of them is Tōgai's youngest son Tōsho, who was probably just an infant when the other two studied with his father. Although I have been conservative in the prosopography, I would not rule out contacts between Hiraga Gennai's three pupils. Morishima Chūryō was Gennai's pupil and he also became Gennai's friend and collaborator. Through his brother Katsuragawa Hoshū, he was in touch with Sugita Genpaku's circle. Odano Naotake was the illustrator of *Kaitai shinsho*, the publication that was the result of a translation project of that circle. Gennai and Naotake were both painting teacher to Satake Yoshiatsu, who, as the daimyo of Akita in Ugo province, regularly visited Edo. Inoue Randai's three pupils probably also knew each other; although my sources give no evidence for direct contacts, there were links through the persons of Hirasawa Kyokuzan and Nakayama Kōyō. Maki Ryōko and Tachi Ryūwan, pupils of Kameda Bōsai, were cousins. I have not found that they knew Takizawa Bakin, at least, not during the period under scrutiny. Azuma Tōyō and Okamoto Toyohiko both knew the brother of their teacher Matsumura Goshun, Keibun, but I have not found any contact between the two. Ōtsuki Gentaku's three pupils certainly knew each other. Ozawa Roan's three pupils include Rai Baishi and her father-in-law Kōō; it is not likely that these knew the imperial prince Shinnin. Likewise, Hirasawa Kyokuzan and Sasaki Roan (two of Ryū Sōrō's pupils) were friends, but I have not found evidence of contact between them and Takai Kitō. Kitō probably mostly associated with the *haikai* circles of his father Kikei and his other teacher Yosa Buson. Although I have not mentioned it in the prosopography, it is likely that Kikuchi Gozan knew Ichikawa Beian, the son of the 'president' of the Kōkoshisha poetry society to which Gozan belonged. I have not found that any of these two were in contact with Shibano Ritsuzan's other pupil, Takemoto Tōtōan, who returned to his native domain in Bizen province after his study tour. The pupils of Sugita Genpaku and Yosa Buson all knew each other.

Nineteen teachers are represented by more than three of their pupils. There are several contacts between Chō Tōsai's five pupils:

- Hosoai Hansai: Rai Shunsui, Kimura Kenkadō
- Kimura Kenkadō: Rai Shunsui, Hosoai Hansai, Masuyama Sessai, Totoki Baigai
- Masuyama Sessai: Kimura Kenkadō, Totoki Baiga
- Rai Shunsui: Kimura Kenkadō, Totoki Baigai, Hosoai Hansai
- Totoki Baigai: Kimura Kenkadō, Masuyama Sessai, Rai Shunsui

Ichikawa Kansai's four pupils include his son Beian, who probably knew many of his father's pupils and members of his father's poetry club, the Kōkoshisha already mentioned above. The others all knew each other. Ike Taiga is represented by four of his pupils. Many of Taiga's pupils probably met at occasions like the master's fiftieth

birthday in 1772 and the founding of the memorial hall dedicated to Taiga in 1787, but I have not found evidence of much further contact: Aoki Shukuya knew Geppō and Noro Kaiseki is among the many contacts of Kimura Kenkadō. Katakura Kakuryō, Kameda Bōsai and Taki Renpu, three of Inoue Kinga's pupils, were friends for life, but I have not found that Okada Kansen was in contact with any of the others. The contacts are as follows:

- Kameda Bōsai: Katakura Kakuryō, Taki Renpu, Yoshida Kōton
- Katakura Kakuryō: Kameda Bōsai, Taki Renpu
- Okada Kansen: none of the others
- Taki Renpu: Kameda Bōsai, Katakura Kakuryō
- Yoshida Kōton: Kameda Bōsai

The pupils of Kamo no Mabuchi mentioned here do not form a tight network either:

- Hanawa Hokiichi: none of the others
- Hiraga Gennai: none of the others
- Katō Chikage: Murata Harumi, Motoori Norinaga
- Katō Umaki: none of the others
- Motoori Norinaga: Katō Chikage, Murata Harumi
- Murata Harumi: Katō Chikage, Motoori Norinaga

It must be added that Chikage and Norinaga were in contact through correspondence, and that Harumi and Norinaga did not get along very well. Chikage and Harumi, however, met each other at Mabuchi's school and were friends for life.

Kan Kankoku's four pupils were all involved in the Osaka poetry club the Kontonsha. Katayama Hokkai was one of the founders of this club, and the four of his pupils mentioned here were likewise all involved in it. As for the pupils of Kō Fuyō contacts are as follows:

- Aoki Mokubei: Kimura Kenkadō
- Katsu Shikin: Kimura Kenkadō
- Kimura Kenkadō: Aoki Mokubei, Katsu Shikin, Ogino Gengai
- Ogino Gengai: Kimura Kenkadō

I assume that Ema Ransai met many of Maeno Ryōtaku's circle during the time he studied with him in Edo.

As far as the other four of Ryōtaku's pupils are concerned, the situation is as follows:

- Katsuragawa Hoshū: Ōtsuki Gentaku, Udagawa Genzui
- Ōtsuki Gentaku: Katsuragawa Hoshū, Shiba Kōkan, Udagawa Genzui
- Shiba Kōkan: Ōtsuki Gentaku
- Udagawa Genzui: Katsuragawa Hoshū, Ōtsuki Gentaku

The eight pupils of Maruyama Ōkyo constitute one of the larger groups of pupils given here. Let me present the contacts separately.

- Azuma Tōyō: Minagawa Kien, Maruyama Ōzui
- Gessen: none of the others
- Kakizaki Hakyō: Minagawa Kien
- Komai Genki: Nagasawa Rosetsu
- Maruyama Ōzui: Mori Tessan, Minagawa Kien, Azuma Tōyō
- Minagawa Kien: Nagasawa Rosetsu, Maruyama Ōzui, Azuma Tōyō, Kakizaki Hakyō
- Mori Tessan: Maruyama Ōzui
- Nagasawa Rosetsu: Minagawa Kien, Komai Genki

Maruyama Ōzui was Ōkyo's son and heir, and will have known many of his father's pupils, even if sources do not mention contacts explicitly. He was, however, only a child when Gessen left Kyoto for Ise province in 1774 and probably never met him. The story goes that Nagasawa Rosetsu was expelled from Ōkyo's school for reasons of insubordination, but there is evidence that the two maintained a cordial relationship after Rosetsu set up his own studio around 1781. To Minagawa Kien, Ōkyo was probably more a friend than a teacher. Nagasawa Rosetsu was, in fact, one of Kien's very best friends. As the biographical profiles indicate, these eight persons had many other contacts in common.

Minagawa Kien himself is also represented by eight pupils, among whom his nephew Fujitani Mitsue and his son Kōsai:

- Fujitani Mitsue: Minagawa Kōsai
- Iwagaki Ryōkei: none of the others
- Koishi Genshun: none of the others
- Matsura Seizan: none of the others
- Minagawa Kōsai: Fujitani Mitsue
- Murata Harumi: none of the others
- Ōta Kinjō: none of the others[128]
- Umetsuji Shunshō: none of the others[129]

Murase Kōtei is represented by four of his pupils, one of them the prince Shinnin, a patron of the arts and letters, who was very much a *trait d'union* within this particular group, as the following shows:

- Kayama Tekien: Shinnin Shinnō
- Matsumura Goshun: Shinnin Shinnō
- Shinnin Shinnō: Kayama Tekien, Matsumura Goshun, Umetsuji Shunshō
- Umetsuji Shunshō: Shinnin Shinnō

[128] From 1784 Kinjō was based in Edo.
[129] Shunshō, born in 1776, was much younger than the other pupils. There was even an age difference of eight years between him and the second youngest one, Fujitani Mitsue.

Matsumura Goshun's brother Keibun worked for a while as Shinnin's attendant.

One of Okada Ryūshū's pupils was his grandson Nawa Rodō. Nishiyama Sessai studied with both grandfather and grandson; Sessai's mother was from the Okada family. It is not certain if Ryūshū was indeed the teacher of Takayama Hikokurō. Hikokurō may also have studied with Ryūshū's son Kawano Josai, possibly with both. Contacts within this group are as follows:

- Akamatsu Sōshū: Nishiyama Sessai
- Nawa Rodō: Nishiyama Sessai
- Nishiyama Sessai: Akamatsu Sōshū, Nawa Rodō, Takayama Hikokurō
- Takayama Hikokurō: Nishiyama Sessai

The five pupils of Reizei Tamemura do not seem to have been in contact with each other at all, apart from Ike Taiga and Gyokuran, who were husband and wife. As for Sō Shiseki: it is not certain if he was really a teacher of Tani Bunchō. Contacts between Shiseki's pupils were not strong:

- Kakizaki Hakyō: none of the others
- Odano Naotake: Shiba Kōkan
- Sakai Hōitsu: Tani Bunchō
- Shiba Kōkan: Odano Naotake
- Tani Bunchō: Sakai Hōitsu

Sakai Hōitsu was the second son of the daimyo of the domain of Himeji, Shiseki's employer. He studied with Shiseki when he was a boy. The contact between Tani Bunchō and Sakai Hōitsu dates from the early nineteenth century and is therefore not given in the prosopography.

Taki Rankei, principal of the Seijūkan medical academy in Edo, was also famous as a musician; Uragami Gyokudō and Katsuragawa Hoshū studied music with him, not medicine. We find the following contacts:

- Katakura Kakuryō: Taki Renpu
- Katsuragawa Hoshū: Taki Renpu
- Taki Renpu: Katakura Kakuryō, Katsuragawa Hoshū
- Uragami Gyokudō: none of the others

Hoshū became a teacher at the Seijūkan in 1793. He, Rankei and Renpu were all three physicians to the shogunal household.

We can be brief about Uchiyama Chinken's pupils; they all knew each other. As for Uno Meika's pupils: Daiten Kenjō and Katayama Hokkai remained in contact, but sources do not mention any contacts with the others. Finally, there are the five pupils of Yamamoto Hokuzan; I am not sure about Gamō Kunpei. Only one of my sources mentions Hokuzan as his teacher, see Kunpei's biographical profile.

- Gamō Kunpei: none of the others
- Kojima Baigai: Ōkubo Shibutsu
- Ōkubo Shibutsu: Kojima Baigai
- Ōta Kinjō: none of the others
- Yashiro Hirokata: none of the others

Ōkubo Shibutsu and Kojima Baigai were also both pupils of Ichikawa Kansai and members of Kansai's poetry club, the Kōkoshisha. Ōta Kinjō and Shibutsu were in 1815 engaged in a dispute on account of a graded list of Edo intellectuals, but I do not know if they met or corresponded at that occasion.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the prosopography contains thirteen individuals whose teacher(s) is/are unknown or unclear (Chōmu, Fushimatsu Kaka, Haruki Nanko, Hayashi Nobutaka, Hayashi Shihei, Imei, Kagawa Gen'etsu, Kō Fuyō, Kō Raikin, Mori Sosen, Rai Shunpū, Shibayama Mochitoyo and Takayasu Rooku), and two who were self-taught (Irie Masayoshi, Okada Beisanjin). We should also take into consideration that in many cases we do not know the teacher for every one of a certain individual's activities.

As far as our network is concerned: if there was any factionalism in the intellectual community of the Tokugawa period, it was not based on common teachers. It is evident that no single school or teacher dominates this network and, on the whole, the prosopography presents an image that is far from factious in this respect. To begin with: almost seventy-five percent of the teachers mentioned in the table are only represented by one pupil. I do realize that there may have been tight groups of former fellow pupils outside our network, but the table amply demonstrates that a contact between two or more persons with the same teacher was by no means a matter of course. The information provided by 173 biographical profiles, supported by material found in monographs such as Rubinger's *Private academies of Tokugawa Japan* and Dore's *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, gives us several ideas about why people should *not* come into contact with each other at a domanial school, a private academy or an artist's studio. There were age differences and differences in social background; there were boarders and day pupils; some stayed for years, others only a few months; some came for 'special counseling', others to complete a 'course of study', and then, naturally, some got on together and some did not.[130] We should also be aware that, if there was a contact, the teacher was not necessarily the link, as the cases of Tani Bunchō/Sakai Hōitsu, and Kimura Kenkadō/Itō Jakuchū would demonstrate. It is quite possible to meet later in life or in a different context and only then discover one had a common teacher. Intellectual life in the late eighteenth century also knew such phenomena as professional jealousy and economic competition between teachers, but these phenomena probably played only a marginal role where contacts between (former) pupils were concerned.[131]

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[130] Compare Rubinger, *Private academies*, 88, 90.

[131] See, for instance Cullen, *A History of Japan*: "teachers, in acute competition with one another for students, were loudly critical of all rivals, even of those whose views were essentially similar" (122), and also "each teacher or school had to struggle hard to survive ... Denunciations of each other by

Although there are a few groups that stand out in the network (such as the Kōkoshisha, the Kontonsha, the *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* translation group, and the *kyōka* pupils of Uchiyama Chinken), these cannot be said to have dominated it in any way. They did not even exist during the whole period under scrutiny. Ichikawa Kansai's Kōkoshisha *kanshi* club was only active between 1787 and the early 1790s, and the Kontonsha *kanshi* club directed by Katayama Hokkai between 1765 and about 1785 (by which time several of those in the prosopography who were associated with it had died).[132] The *kyōka* club formed by pupils of Uchiyama Chinken in 1769 was active in some form or another until the early 1780s. The *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* translation group falls, strictly speaking, outside the time limits set for our prosopography, although the collaborators remained in contact after the project was finished. Moreover, it was the project that united these people, not a common teacher.

More importantly, it is well to realize that these groups *were not in any way exclusive*. Kimura Kenkadō (who had an enormous collection of books, maps and remarkable objects) and Nakai Chikuzan (who ran the Kaitokudō merchant academy) were both members of Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha.[133] It is significant that these three important meeting points for intellectuals of every kind (Kenkadō's collection, the Kaitokudō and the Kontonsha) were not somehow 'competing' with each other. In fact they provide overlapping personal networks of immense ramifications. To present but one example, the Kontonsha was the starting point of contacts between Nakai Chikuzan, Nakai Riken, the Rai brothers and Bitō Nishū.[134] Bitō Nishū belonged to the team of orthodox Confucianists who gave shape to the Kansei reforms. On the other hand, through Kontonsha contacts, Nishū can also be connected to poets, painters and scholars who are not usually seen as 'orthodox' ('rigid'), but are associated with the *bunjin* discourse, and catchwords like 'untrammeled' and 'eccentric'. Such links are not only provided by Katayama Hokkai and Kimura Kenkadō; among Nishū's Kontonsha

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teachers testified to the ferocity and economic significance of the competition ... At stake in the end was economic success, whether as a teacher or the prospect of being retained as an advisor by a daimyo" (125). Cullen stresses how vital it was for teachers to recruit students for themselves "or secure employment for their students in place of those of rival teachers ... abuse extended even to criticism of daimyo or of the shogunate itself for supporting or employing people holding a particular philosophy". Much of what Cullen states in these pages makes one think again about the *ideological* nature of factionalism within intellectual life in the late eighteenth century.

[132] Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan', 297-298, tries to reconstruct a small current of 'ideological' influence within the Kontonsha: the relationship between Rai Shunsui, Bitō Nishū and Koga Seiri. Backus states that Shunsui attended the club "only for the company and the poetry". He goes on to describe how Shunsui's convictions influenced his friends Nishū and Seiri. It is clear that, in the case of these three friends, influence did not come from teacher/'president' Katayama Hokkai.

[133] Nakai Riken, Chikuzan's brother and collaborator, was not a social figure and refused to attend the Kontonsha meetings, but he did know many of its members.

[134] Chikuzan was the matchmaker who arranged the marriage between Rai Shunsui and Iioka Gisai's daughter Baishi, but I do not know what role he played in the marriage between Nishū and Baishi's sister. At any rate, in 1796 Nishū was among those who recommended Chikuzan for a Bakufu position.

contacts we find, for instance, Shinozaki Santō, who was acquainted with such iconic '*bunjin*' as Okada Beisanjin and Uragami Gyokudō.

Let us also have a look at the contacts of the translators of the *Ontleedkundige tafelen* and their pupils. The polymath Hiraga Gennai was a contact shared by Nakagawa Jun'an, Sugita Genpaku and Morishima Chūryō, providing a connection between the Western style scientists and the world of popular fiction. Kudō Heisuke, Morishima Chūryō, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Katsuragawa Hoshū and Udagawa Genzui all belonged to the circle of Hayashi Shihei. Shihei also knew the imperial loyalist Takayama Hikokurō; another link between this circle and Hikokurō is Maeno Ryōtaku. Koishi Genshun and Tachibana Nankei provide links with Kyoto's intellectual circles. Genshun also knew 'sinologists' Shibano Ritsuzan and Rai Shunsui. Genshun and Ōtsuki Gentaku belonged to the circle of Kimura Kenkadō (Shiba Kōkan provides another connection with Kimura Kenkadō). Many of those mentioned above knew the illustrator of *Kaitai shinsho*, Odano Naotake, a protégé of Hiraga Gennai. One of Naotake's teachers, Sō Shiseki, was among Sugita Genpaku's contacts. Shiseki (likewise a friend of Hiraga Gennai) was also the teacher of Sakai Hōitsu, Shiba Kōkan, Kakizaki Hakyō, and possibly of Suzuki Fuyō and Tani Bunchō. Finally, in the nineteenth century Ema Ransai developed a somewhat involuntary relationship with the Rai family, when in 1814 Rai San'yō asked for the hand of his daughter Saikō. Ransai refused and Sanyō married another, but Saikō remained on intimate terms with the Rai. Inamura Sanpaku settled in Kyoto in 1805 and established an academy for Western studies there.

In conclusion we can say that intellectuals *could* meet future friends or colleagues at a certain teacher's academy or studio, but that this was not necessarily the case. Therefore, a common teacher was not a prominent factor in the formation of the network. Academies and studios were not breeding grounds for factionalism and did not nurture a sense of exclusivity (as a university or some other large educational establishment might have done). Contacts indicate that there was free and extensive communication between circuits, fields, styles, 'schools' and genres, and between professionals and non-professionals.

4: Sources of income

So far we have mainly spoken about individuals in terms of functions, professions and positions. It is hard to avoid designating people as 'a scholar', 'a painter' or 'a physician': we do so for puposes of expediency. In the biographical profiles, however, I have taken a different line when indicating sources of income, a line that is in accordance with what I have said above about the dangers of using activities as 'identifiers' ('the *kanshi* poet', 'the abbot', 'the doctor', 'the *kokugakusha* – who is supposed to detest Chinese moral philosophy') and is more in keeping with what was actually going on in people's professional lives. The table in the appendix provides a survey of 170 of the 173 intellectuals and thirty-one different kinds of activities from which they derived income. The table does not contain Rai Baishi, Tani Kankan and Takayama Hikokurō. I have found no evidence that the two women ever had any independent income. Hikokurō's sources of income are unclear; he probably lived mostly on his family.

The thirty-one different kinds of activities included here, in their turn represent a large amount of enterprises, tasks, duties, and possibilities for employment and reward. Scholars, artists and phycisians could have their private academy, studio or practice, or could be engaged by the Bakufu, a domain, the imperial court, a temple and/or another academy. More often than not, it was some kind of combination, with people having their private pupils and/or patients next to official duties. Official scholars might teach a daimyo's heir, teach at a domanial school (or both), or be engaged in official publication or research projects, or combinations of all this. Our network contains some examples of scholars being involved in the foundation of a domanial school (Koga Seiri, Totoki Baigai) or the revision or development of an educational system (Rai Shunsui, Minagawa Kien). Painters, calligraphers and seal carvers would teach and work on commission, while trying to sell some of their 'free' work.[135] They might also be paid for the assessment of artifacts. Poets received subscription fees when people joined their poetry groups. They corrected their pupils' work or would be judges in poetry

[135] Commissions might even include decorating kimono. See, for instance, Mark Morris 'Group portrait with artist', 102, which has a letter from Buson with the following: "I have received a request from Koito – would I please paint a landscape on her white silk kimono. This I regard as being in abominable taste ... My student Baitei should do it; he always knows how to handle a painting for some beautiful woman's kimono in such a way that the whole design works out quite nicely ". Dale Carolyn Gluckman & Sharon Sadako Takeda, eds, *When art became fashion. Kosode in Edo-period Japan*, New York/Tokyo 1992, 184-187, presents illustrations of kimono decorated by Sakai Hōitsu, Matsumura Goshun and Gion Nankai (1677-1751).

competitions.[136] Teaching through correspondence was common practice for teachers of, for instance, poetry and calligraphy. It enabled them to remain in contact with (and receive fees from) pupils in the provinces. We should also be aware that salaries, working conditions and demands made by employers differed widely.[137] Finally, there were those who had their 'sidelines', like, for instance, Kudō Heisuke's somewhat shady transactions in imported goods via one of the official Dutch interpreters, Hezutsu Tōsaku's (unsuccessful) charcoal and lumber enterprises and Kuwayama Gyokushū's investment in a land reclamation project.

There is one other aspect that needs some discussion. As far as income from authorship is concerned, Peter Kornicki points out that "different categories of author enjoyed quite different relationships with the commercial world of publishing". He states that many of the works of, what he calls, Sinologists "were in fact published by the institutions for which they worked, at least in the first instance. So their writing was a step removed from commercial publishing, even if it did eventually circulate on the commercial market". In other words, it was not very likely that specialists of Chinese studies in the service of a domain or the Bakufu had any income from their scholarly writings. However, Kornicki is of the opinion that in the case of "scholars in other disciplines, such as medicine, mathematics, Kokugaku or Rangaku" it *was* "likely that they derived additional income from their writings".[138] I have not made 'scholarly writing' a separate category, because I feel that 'Chinese studies', 'Japanese studies' or 'medicine' includes writing about one's research, paid or unpaid. The reader should keep in mind that scholarly writing could be *yet another* means to supplement one's income. I do include the category 'popular fiction', even if the subject of royalties and professional authorship requires more study. The period under scrutiny seems to have been the very period in which developments towards professional authorship were taking place. Kornicki states that "it was commercial publishing that made the career of

[136] Morris 'Group portrait with artist', 101, has an interesting letter of Buson inviting an acquaintance in Tango province to take part in a *renga* anthology. Buson writes: "... perhaps you might enjoy composing a sequence together with me ... Given the great distance that separates us, however, there is no way to do so ... I would like to act as your stand-in, and publish a sequence with your name alongside my own poems". Morris adds: "The price of this effortless fame would be 200 *momme*; alternatively Buson would be willing to include, or invent, single hokku at two *momme* per poem".

[137] Sources give the salary/stipend of Bitō Nishū (200 *koku*, 1791), Hayashi Jussai (4000 *koku*, early 1790s), Ichikawa Beian (350 *koku*, 1821), Kagawa Gen'etsu (100 *koku*, 1768), Koga Seiri (200 *koku*, 1795), Kudō Heisuke (300 *koku*), Nawa Rodō (150 *koku*, before 1789), Ōta Kinjō (300 *koku*, around 1820), Rai Shunsui (300 *koku*, 1813), Sugita Genpaku (220 *koku*, 1805) and Nakagawa Jun'an (120 *koku* in 1770, raised to 140 *koku* around 1780). Hanawa Hokiichi was awarded rations for ten by the domain of Mito for his work on the *Dainihonshi*. Fujitani Nariakira's stipend as Kyoto caretaker was 200 *koku* (circa 1760). Nakayama Kōyō was restored to samurai status in the 1750s or early 1760s with rations for three. Tani Bunchō received rations for five. All three may have received additional payment for services as specialist of Japanese studies (Nariakira) and domanial painter. Uragami Gyokudō's stipend at the hight of his career as an official (late 1780s) was probably 150 *koku*.

[138] Peter Kornicki, *The book in Japan. A cultural history from the beginnings to the nineteenth century*, Honolulu 2001 (first published Leiden 1998), 235-236.

author possible, at least by the early nineteenth century but probably earlier".[139] The inclusion of 'popular fiction' as a separate category, even if debatable, should make us aware of what was going on at the time and, at least, covers the possibility of income from authorship.

The following discussion is not meant to repeat what the reader can find for himself in the biographical profiles or can distil from the table in the appendix. It rather intends to highlight some of the different career lines and opportunities for remuneration I have spoken of above.

Seventy-six of the individuals in the table (44.7 %) were active in just one type of the thirty-one different sources of income. But being active in 'only one field' in actual practice implies, as was already said above, that the tasks they undertook in their professional lives were often quite complex and diverse. It is impossible to show every task and activity for which our individuals ever received payment. And there were also sources of income other than their position or profession: I am convinced, for instance, that many more of them sold their paintings, calligraphies or seals than is indicated here.[140] The reader should approach these data with some flexibility: I do not wish to maintain that a teacher of *kanshi* never discussed prose, or that someone known for his philosophical or historical studies never tried his hand at poetry. Several of our specialists of Chinese studies, for instance, had a good knowledge of vernacular Chinese and, no doubt, let their pupils profit from it.

The figure of seventy-six includes three daimyo (Masuyama Sessai, Matsura Seizan and Satake Yoshiatsu) and one member of the imperial family who acted as a *monzeki* (the prince Shinnin). In the case of these four individuals their 'source of income' coincided with their state in life and precluded every other function or profession.

Among the seventy-six there are twenty persons whose single source of income was Chinese studies. Among these we find the brothers Nakai, Chikuzan and Riken, who were the driving force behind the Kaitokudō merchant academy in Osaka. Chikuzan, after having combined the jobs of school administrator and teacher, became

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[139] Kornicki, *The book in Japan*, 236. In his paragraph on royalties (239-242) Kornicki mentions agreements about payment concerning Santō Kyōden from 1791 and even from the late 1780s, and adds "there is nothing to indicate that there was anything novel about these arrangements" (239-240), compare Ekkehard May, *Die Kommerzialisierung der japanischen Literatur in der späten Edo-Zeit (1750-1868)*, Wiesbaden 1983, 93, concerning "Honorarzahlungen" for Takizawa Bakin and Kyōden. Kornicki quotes Japanese sources stating that writers like Hiraga Gennai, Koikawa Harumachi and Tegara no Okamochi (or Hōseidō Kisanji) were merely paid in kind ("a night on the town at the theatre or in the pleasure quarters"). Being samurai they would all have had an income anyway (240-241). However, he does not seem to accept this as the final word. The network has three individuals who were known for their travel writing and may have derived income from this activity, but as I find it hard to say anything about the status of this genre, I have not included it as a separate category.

[140] Sources do not always mention this explicitly, possibly because it is seen as a matter of course. Perhaps this also is a side effect of the *bunjin* discourse: the 'detached' *bunjin* is not supposed to have done anything so banal as selling his work. For the section 'sources of income' in the biographical profiles, I have been rather conservative in my judgment about income derived from the sale of art work and have given more weight to teaching and working on commission.

principal of the academy in 1782. Riken assisted his brother at the academy and had his own private pupils. We also find two members of the team of scholars that conducted the reform of the Shōheikō in Edo: Bitō Nishū and Shibano Ritsuzan. Before this engagement Nishū had had an academy in Osaka and Ritsuzan had been specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Awa while at the same time conducting an academy in Kyoto. After entering the service of the Shōheikō, Ritsuzan also became tutor to the shogun's heir, was engaged in investigation and editing projects (see the biographical profile of Yashiro Hirokata), helped to organize the educational sessions for the shogun known as the Fukiage sessions, and directed the research for the rebuilding of the imperial palace after the great fire of 1788.[141] The case of Nishiyori Seisai gives us an insight in *shijuku* dynamics. After his teacher Ono Kakuzan had been enganged by the domain of Obama, Seisai took over as principal of Kakuzan's academy. Seisai himself was for a time involved in a building project for a poetry school for the Nijō *kuge* family. During this period Seisai's nephew and adopted heir replaced him at the academy until he could resume his position. Seida Tansō and his elder brother Itō Kinri alternated in the position of specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Fukui and also shared the salary. Nawa Rodō is an example of a specialist of Chinese studies to the imperial court, but he also had his private pupils. He later entered the service of the domain of Awa.

We find eleven painters on this group, notably Maruyama Ōkyo (who is supposed to have died from overwork!), his son and successor Ōzui and some of his followers. And here we also find fifteen of the persons who derived income from medicine, among them Taki Renpu, principal of the Seijūkan medical academy. Both Renpu and his father and predecessor Taki Rankei combined the direction of the academy with the function of physician to the shogunal household (however, Rankei was also famous as a *qin* virtuoso and music teacher).

Among the seventy-six we find seven individuals who made their living in commerce or manufacture. Of course, as already suggested, it is very well possible that some of them occasionally sold paintings, seals or calligraphy, made some money with their writing or, for instance in the case of Eda Nagayasu, received payment for the assessment of works of art, but I have assumed they did not work on commission, nor had pupils on a regular basis. It is unclear what Kojima Baigai's sources of income were after he had turned over the family business to his brother.

The group contains five Buddhist (one of them the prince Shinnin already mentioned) and one Shinto priest. Of these, Rikunyo had a rather lively career, travelling up and down between Edo and Kyoto, spending eight years in the service of an imperial prince and obtaining several abbotships in Kyoto and his native Ōmi province. Daiten Kenjō was, apart from his religious duties, adviser to the Bakufu on

[141] For Fukiage sessions, see Anna Beerens, 'Interview with a Bakumatsu official, a translation from Kyūji shimonroku (2)', in: *MN* 57, 2002, 189. The former *metsuke*, *machi bugyō* and *gaikoku bugyō* Yamaguchi Naoki (1830-1895) was interviewed by a group of scholars in 1891. When reminded about the existence of something called 'Fukiage sessions', he says: "A temporary structure would be put up in front of some place like one of the watchtowers around the Fukiage garden [of Edo castle]. The shogun would sit inside and the three *bugyō* would hold a hearing before him on cases under their jurisdiction. Originally, in old times, they were supposed to judge complicated [cases in this way], but gradually it seems to have become customary to present interesting and diverting ones".

matters of Korean diplomacy. The Shinto priest Umetsuji Shunshō carried out his duties until he was thirty-one. He then handed over his function to his younger brother in orde to devote himself to his studies (the other Shinto priest in the prosopography, Okamoto Yasutaka, also served as an official to a *kuge* and was *iemoto* of the Daishi school of calligraphy).

The group of seventy-six contains two women (Kō Raikin, who was in domestic service before her marriage, and Fushimatsu Kaka, who assisted her husband as a teacher of *kyōka*), three persons who earned their livelihood with calligraphy (Maki Ryōko, Morikawa Chikusō and Nagata Kanga) and one specialist of botany (Ono Ranzan). Kikuchi Gozan made a living as a *kanshi* poet, teacher and critic. He had his own academy and later also served the domain of Takamatsu. Takai Kitō did much the same for *haikai* and was for a number of years Yosa Buson's assistant. Shibayama Mochitoyo was a high-ranking *kuge* and worked in the court administration. Takemoto Tōtōan worked in the rural administration. Gamō Kunpei and Hayashi Shihei were probably active as independent scholars in the fields of Japanese studies and Western studies respectively. Their exact sources of income are actually somewhat unclear. Kakizaki Hakyō was a son of the daimyo of Matsumae and was adopted by a prominent retainer of the domain. After spending a number of years indulging his love for painting and intellectual company, he entered the service of his domain and became its *karō*. Hanawa Hokiichi worked as a specialist of Japanese studies for the domain of Mito and took the initiative for what would become the Bakufu's official Bureau for Japanese Studies (*wagaku kōdansho*, 和学講談所). Hokiichi, who was blind himself, also obtained a supervising position in the *mōkan* (盲官), a semi-official corporation for blind professionals like musicians, masseurs and acupuncture therapists. However, as I was not sure in how far this would make him an 'official', I have included him here.

The table shows sixty-three individuals (37.0 % of 170) active in two fields. Among them we have eleven persons who derived income from the combination of Chinese studies and some form of administration. Akamatsu Sōshū combined his scholarly duties with the function of *karō*; Emura Hokkai with that of caretaker of the domanial residence in Kyoto, and Rai Kyōhei also served his domain as a magistrate. Murase Kōtei and Koga Seiri too were employed as scholars and as administrators. Hayashi Jussai and Hayashi Nobutaka were, as principals of the Shōheikō, both scholars and bureaucrats. Okada Kansen combined the functions of teacher at the Shōheikō and provincial intendant. Inoue Kinga had conducted a private academy before being engaged by the Seijūkan medical school. After resigning from that position he opened a second academy, which was destroyed in a fire. Kinga subsequently was in the service of various temples as tutor and official. Iwagaki Ryōkei combined the function of court official with his own academy for Chinese studies. Takemoto Hokurin probably combined his position in the rural administration with his position at the domanial school. He later opened an academy in Kyoto.

We have eight persons who combined an official position with some other form of art, literature or scholarship: Fujitani Nariakira, caretaker of the Kyoto residence of the domain of Yanagawa and active in Japanese studies; Karagoromo Kisshū, samurai in the service of the Tayasu family and active in *kyōka*; Kō Fuyō, domanial administrator, sealcarver and seal expert; Morishima Chūryō, personal physician to the

rōjū Matsudaira Sadanobu and active in popular fiction; Noro Kaiseki, domanial official and painter; Tachi Ryūwan, a commoner in the service of the Bakufu and *kanshi* poet; Tani Bunchō, samurai in the service of the Tayasu family and painter, and Tegara no Okamochi, caretaker of the Edo residence of the domain of Akita and active in popular fiction.

We find two cases of the obvious combination of Chinese studies and *kanshi* (one of them Katayama Hokkai, the president of the Kontonsha). Four individuals represent the combination of medical and Western studies and there are also four who combined the Buddhist priesthood with painting. One of these, Kakutei Jōkō, became a pupil of Shen Nanpin while he was still a young Ōbaku priest in his native Nagasaki. When he was in his early twenties he returned to lay life and settled in Osaka as a painter. He later moved to Kyoto. When he was in his forties he became a priest again. He lived in Edo for a while but moved back to Kyoto to become an administrator at the Manpukiji. He later became abbot of a Manpukuji subtemple.

We have two persons who combined Chinese studies with calligraphy. Hosoai Hansai had an academy in Osaka where he taught both subjects. He later became specialist of Chinese studies to the Senjuji and moved to Kyoto. Ichikawa Beian opened a calligraphy academy when he was in his twentieth year. When in his early thirties he succeeded his father Kansai as specialist of Chinese studies to the Maeda family of the domain of Toyama. Ten years later he was engaged by the main branch of the Maeda at the domain of Kanazawa.

As for other combinations, we find Aoki Mokubei (painting and pottery), Chōgetsu (the Buddhist priesthood and *waka*), Hezutsu Tōsaku and Miyake Shōzan (popular fiction and commerce), Hino Sukeki (court adminstration and *waka*), Ike Gyokuran (painting and calligraphy), Kagawa Kagemoto (administration in the service of a *kuge* family and *waka*), Kimura Kenkadō (manufacture and publishing), Matsudaira Sadanobu (daimyo and Bakufu official), Matsumura Keibun (temple attendant and painter), Miguma Katen, Odano Noatake and Sō Shiseki (painting and book illustration), Miura Chora and Yosa Buson (*haikai* and painting), Motoori Norinaga (medicine and Japanese studies), Okuda Eisen (commerce and pottery), Takahashi Munenao (court administration and Japanese studies), Taki Rankei (music and medicine) and Tsuga Teishō (medicine and popular fiction).[142]

Finally, we should not overlook the ten individuals who made a fundamental career change in the course of their lives. The table listing the sources of income does not show simultaneity or succession: several of those for whom two or more fields are given were active in these fields successively and not simultaneously. This should be kept in mind. Hirasawa Kyokuzan moved from medicine to Chinese studies and may have returned to his former profession again after having been dismissed as a Shōheikō teacher in 1790. Itō Jakuchū left his family's vegetable business to become a painter, like Kan Chazan left his father's farm and brewery to open an academy for Chinese studies. Katō Kyōtai left samurai service for *haikai*. Matsumura Goshun was an

[142] Tōsaku made a tour of Ezo about which he wrote a report. The mission was probably made on the request of the *rōjū* Tanuma Okitsugu and with his financial support. As for Ike Gyokuran, I have not taken into account any income she may have had from the tea house her mother left her, see above note 105. Miyake Shōzan also gave lectures in Chinese literature at two Kyoto temples.

employee of the Kyoto gold mint before becoming a pupil of Yosa Buson. Momozawa Mutaku left his function of rural headman to devote himself to *waka*. Nakayama Kōyō was an assistant in his father's imported goods shop before turning to painting. Shinozaki Santō closed his paper shop and began an academy for Chinese studies. Takayasu Rooku went into calligraphy after his salted fish shop had gone bankrupt, and Yoshida Kōton exchanged his medical practice for a private academy for Chinese studies.

The cases of Mogami Tokunai and Nagasawa Rosetsu are somewhat unclear. Tokunai may have been the servant of Yamada Tonan, physician to the Bakufu, before embarking on his scholarly career but he may also have been Tonan's pupil. Some sources state that Rosetsu, a samurai, was in the service of the domain of Yodo for a while. Anyway, Tokunai made an excellent career in the service of the Bakufu and Rosetsu became a painter.

The eventful lives of Takizawa Bakin, Hiraga Gennai, Ueda Akinari and Santō Kyōden are well known. We find these four among the thirty-one individuals (18.2 % of 170) who derived income from three or more different fields. Sometimes this concerns related types of activities as in the cases of Uchiyama Chinken (Chinese and Japanese studies, *waka* and *kyōka*), Ike Taiga and Chō Tōsai (painting, calligraphy and seal carving), Kitao Masayoshi, Shiba Kōkan and Aōdō Denzen (painting, book illustration and printmaking) or Murata Harumi and Ban Kōkei (Japanese studies and *waka*). Denzen turned to these activities after having been the assistant of his elder brother, a dyer, for a number of years. Tōsai had been an Ōbaku monk until he was in his late twenties and after returning to lay life may for a while also have made a living selling medicine. Harumi and Kōkei had both been in business before turning to scholarship and poetry. Kōkei left the house to an adopted couple, Harumi's dried sardines business went bankrupt.

Several individuals among these thirty-one combined their intellectual activities with an official function: Fujitani Mitsue (Japanese studies, *waka* and domanial administration), Koikawa Harumachi (popular fiction, book illustration and domanial administration), Kudō Heisuke (domanial administration, medicine and Western studies), Akera Kankō and Ōta Nanpo (Bakufu administration, *kyōka* and popular fiction), and Yashiro Hirokata (calligraphy, Japanese studies and Bakufu administration). Apart from serving the Bakufu as administrator, calligrapher and specialist of Japanese studies, Hirokata was tutor to the daimyo of the domain of Tokushima. Okada Beisanjin combined his own Osaka rice business with a position at the rice warehouse of the domain of Tsu, and also found time to paint.

Ichikawa Kansai was a retainer to the domain of Kawagoe. He became a ronin and was then engaged as a teacher at the Shōheikō. After he resigned in the wake of the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu, he taught *kanshi* to private pupils, taught at a regional academy and finally became a specialist of Chinese studies to the domain of Toyama. Ozawa Roan was caretaker of the Kyoto residence of the domain of Inuyama and subsequently entered the service of a high-ranking *kuge*. After his abrupt dismissal from that function he turned to *waka*. Uragami Gyokudō faithfully served his domain for more than thirty years before becoming a ronin and devoting himself to music and painting. Kashiwagi Jotei left his function of master carpenter to the Bakufu to devote

himself to *kanshi* and painting. Katō Chikage turned to *waka*, Japanese studies and calligraphy after he had been dismissed as a *yoriki*. Katō Umaki had been in domanial service before being adopted by a retainer of the Bakufu. He combined his job of guardsman to the Bakufu with Japanese studies.

The following survey presents the number of individuals (and the percentage of the *total network* of 173) per field. I have also included here every source of income that has a question mark in the table.

1	Chinese studies	43	24.8 %
2	*kanshi*	7	4.0 %
3	Japanese studies	13	7.5 %
4	*waka*	11	6.3 %
5	*kyōka*	5	2.8 %
6	*haikai*	4	2.3 %
7	medicine	28	16.1 %
8	Western studies	8	4.6 %
9	painting	39	22.5 %
10	book illustration	8	4.6 %
11	print making	3	1.7 %
12	calligraphy	15	8.6 %
13	seal carving	4	2.3 %
14	music	2	1.1 %
15	pottery	2	1.1 %
16	therapy	2	1.1 %
17	botany	1	0.5 %
18	popular fiction	13	7.5 %
19	publishing	1	0.5 %
20	commerce	20	11.5 %
21	manufacture	5	2.8 %
22	domestic service	3	1.7 %
23	administration (domanial)	27	15.6 %
24	*idem* (Bakufu)	13	7.5 %
25	*idem* (rural)	3	1.7 %
26	*idem* (temple)	2	1.1 %
27	*idem* (court)	4	2.3 %
28	*idem* (*kuge*)	4	2.3 %
29	priesthood (*shugenja*)	1	0.5 %
30	priesthood (Buddhist)	11	6.3 %
31	priesthood (Shinto)	2	1.1 %

Those making a living from Chinese studies (whether as a single source of income or in combination with other sources) are the largest group, but we should not, therefore, conclude that our network has a 'Sinologist bias'. The figure has more to do with the place Chinese studies occupied in the intellectual life of the late eighteenth century: it was an established field of elite education, but also, by that time, offered plenty of

opportunities at every level in a context of urbanization and increasing cultivation among other social groups.[143] Much more about the status of Chinese studies within our network will be said in the chapter on activities.

Our table confirms the status of Japanese studies as a 'young' field. Not only do we find relatively few people professionally engaged in this field, it is also significant that virtually all individuals who derived income from Japanese studies either came to it via a detour (Ban Kōkei, Katō Chikage, Motoori Norinaga, Murata Harumi,) and/or had other sources of income at the same time (Fujitani Mitsue, Fujitani Nariakira, Katō Chikage, Katō Umaki, Takahashi Munenao, Uchiyama Chinken, Ueda Akinari, Yashiro Hirokata). Even Gamō Kunpei, whose sources of income are unclear, but who seems to have made a living in Japanese studies, was sent to the Shōheikō by his domain for Chinese studies. Hanawa Hokiichi also had his position within the *mōkan*.

The percentage of persons deriving income from painting is high, but as has already been pointed out above, painting was the *single* source of income in the career of *only eleven individuals* (28.2 % of 39 painters, 6.3 % of the total network of 173). Others came to the field with a detour, like Itō Jakuchū, Aōdō Denzen or Nakayama Kōyō, and/or combined it with other, often related, activities such as book illustration, print making or calligraphy. Nevertheless, the high number of 'decorators' and 'illustrators', might again be a reflection of the cultural dynamism of the period, of a burgeoning art market and a growing readership. The surprisingly high number of persons who may have derived income from popular fiction could be seen in the same light.

It is not in itself remarkable that there is a significant number of physicians among our intellectuals. What *is* remarkable is that the network has no fewer than fifteen physicians who made use of Western methods of diagnosis, treatment and research: Ema Ransai, Inamura Sanpaku, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Koishi Genshun, Kudō Heisuke, Maeno Ryōtaku, Morishima Chūryō, Nakagawa Jun'an, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Sugita Genpaku, Tachibana Nankei, Takebe Seian, Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai and Yunoki Taijun. This puts the relatively low figure of individuals in the network said to have derived income from Western studies into perspective.

When looking at the figures concerning the domanial and Bakufu bureaucracy we should not forget that several of these individuals were not samurai and did not even come from families of retained scholars or physicians. We could think of Mogami Tokunai and Tachi Ryūwan, two commoners who served the Bakufu, or of Rai Kyōhei, Murase Kōtei, Kō Fuyō and Okada Beisanjin, commoners in the domanial administration.

A final point for consideration is what contacts between the individuals, *apart from teacher/pupil relationships*, can be connected to their professional life or their employment situation. If we include contacts established before the beginning of the period under scrutiny, we find that relationships such as those between direct colleagues, employer and employee, or artist and client concern about forty individuals in the network (about 23 %). First of all, there are two of the 'discoveries' of Matsudaira Sadanobu: Aōdō Denzen and Tani Bunchō. Denzen studied with Bunchō and possibly

[143] Boot, 'Education, schooling, and religion', esp. 16-19.

also with Morishima Chūryō, who had by that time just resigned from his position as Sadanobu's personal physician. Relationships are as follows:

- Matsudaira Sadanobu: Aōdō Denzen, Tani Bunchō, Morishima Chūryō
- Aōdō Denzen: Matsudaira Sadanobu, Tani Bunchō, possibly Morishima Chūryō
- Tani Bunchō: Matsudaira Sadanobu, Aōdō Denzen
- Morishima Chūryō: Matsudaira Sadanobu, possibly Aōdō Denzen

As the reformer of the Bakufu's educational system Sadanobu was also acquainted with the head of the Shōheikō, Hayashi Nobutaka (a contact that was anything but smooth), and with several members of the new Shōheikō staff.

We have Haruki Nanko and Totoki Baigai who were simultaneously in the service of Masuyama Sessai, daimyo of the domain of Nagashima in Ise province, and we also find some employees of the daimyo of Akita in Ugo province, Satake Yoshiatsu. The caretaker of the domain's Edo residence, Tegara no Okamochi, probably introduced Hiraga Gennai to his lord. Gennai was subsequently engaged to investigate the mining industry of the domain. Gennai introduced both his employer Yoshiatsu and a retainer of the domain, Odano Naotake, to Western painting. The Kyoto scholar Murase Kōtei was engaged by Yoshiatsu in 1783. Yoshiatsu died in 1785; Kōtei worked for the domain until 1792. I will give the relationships separately:

- Satake Yoshiatsu: Tegara no Okamochi, Hiraga Gennai, Odano Naotake, Murase Kōtei
- Tegara no Okamochi: Satake Yoshiatsu, Hiraga Gennai
- Odano Naotake: Satake Yoshiatsu, Hiraga Gennai
- Hiraga Gennai: Satake Yoshiatsu, Tegara no Okamochi, Odano Naotake
- Murase Kōtei: Satake Yoshiatsu

Odano Naotake apparently made such progress in Western painting that he was selected to be the illustrator of *Kaitai Shinsho*, the publication that was the result of the *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* translation project mentioned earlier. In connection to this commission Naotake probably met some of the scholars engaged in the project. It must be added that, although the project was undertaken by a group of (mainly domanial) physicians, it cannot strictly be said to have been a product of their employment situation. The link between them and the incentive for this enterprise was a shared interest in Western medicine.

The network contains several members of Hayashi Jussai's team of teachers at the reformed Shōheikō: Shibano Ritsuzan, Bitō Nishū, Okada Kansen and Koga Seiri. Naturally, all five scholars knew each other. However, we also find scholars who worked at the Shōheikō before its reform: Hirasawa Kyokuzan, his colleague Seki Shōsō and Shōsō's pupil Ichikawa Kansai. Interestingly, Kansai's son Beian was a pupil of both Hayashi Jussai and Shibano Ritsuzan, an indication of contact between members of the new and the 'disgraced' Shōheikō staff.

The directing of official research projects was among the tasks of Shibano Ritsuzan at the Shōheikō; Yashiro Hirokata worked under him at the occasion of the compilation of *Kokkan* in 1790 and in 1792 accompanied Ritsuzan on a tour of temples and shrines in the Kinki region. Hirokata probably knew Okada Kansen, who directed

of *Hankanpu zokuhen* (in which Hirokata also took part), even though Kansen became intendant in Hitachi province in 1794, when the project was still under way.

It is not unlikely that Ban Kōkei and Ueda Akinari met each other in a business context. Amongst other products, the Ban family business dealt in umbrellas, whereas Akinari sold oil and paper. Miguma Katen was the illustrator of Ban Kōkei's best-selling *Kinsei kijinden* and its sequel *Zoku kinsei kijinden*.

Takayasu Rooku worked on commission for Irie Masayoshi: he made fair copies of Masayoshi's work. Kō Fuyō's wife Raikin was in the service of Itō Tōsho before her marriage. Matsumura Keibun was prince Shinnin's attendant, probably in the early 1800s. Kayama Tekien was specialist of Chinese studies in the service of Shinnin's temple, the Myōhō-in. Inoue Kinga held the same position at the Seijūkan medical academy under Taki Mototaka and under his son and successor Taki Rankei. Katsuragawa Hoshū taught medicine at the Seijūkan under Rankei and under his son Renpu, and Ono Ranzan worked under Renpu as teacher of botany. Takizawa Bakin worked as a ghostwriter for Santō Kyōden.

In conclusion we might say that although some came closely to having a 'job' in our modern sense of the word, it was more often a matter of using all available means not only to feed oneself and one's family, but also to finance even more activities and enterprises. Personal ambitions and expectations, no doubt, played a role here, but so did intellectual dynamism, curiosity and creativity. It was all very comparable to the situation in the West at that time, in which the local church cantor was also director of the Collegium Musicum and court composer, gave recitals and conducted highly technical examinations of newly built and renovated organs; or the would-be playwright, poet, biographer and hack turned lexicographer; or the man who sold mathematical and musical instruments and toys tried to find means to finance his experiments with steam.[144] In 1801 the Reverend Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826) wrote to his son Samuel: "Your natural disposition, my dear son, renders it proper for me earnestly to recommend to you to *attend to one thing at a time*. It is impossible that you can do two things well at the same time, and I would, therefore, never have you attempt it". The Reverend Morse, not only a Calvinist minister but (despite his admonitions) also a geographer, historian and author of religious pamphlets, wrote in vain; Samuel (1791-1872) went on to become a fine painter, but he is best known today as the inventor of the telegraph.[145]

In Japan, in this same period, people would likewise combine their various enterprises and/or engagements, seek additional tasks and projects, and/or make use of artistic talents to supplement their income and realize their social and/or intellectual ambitions. My prosopography also shows career changes, where people, either by choice or through circumstances, resigned from positions, gave up practices or closed shops and assumed new functions or devoted themselves to other activities. More about

[144] Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach, the learned musician*, Oxford 2001, passim; Walter Jackson Bate, *Samuel Johnson*, London 1984, passim, and Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men. Five friends whose curiosity changed the world*, New York 2002, 96-104 (the person concerned is James Watt, 1736-1819).

[145] William Kloss, *Samuel F. B. Morse*, New York 1988, 12.

the functioning of intellectuals ‘on the market’ will be said in the final part of this monograph.

This network has several cases in which engagement, commission or some other professional service were the reason that individuals found their way into the first order contact zones of others. However, virtually all individuals concerned also had other contacts within the network. Employment as such was, therefore, not a decisive factor for the formation of the network, but it must be clear that professional matters and employment situations played an important role in network dynamics. Such matters and their context will likewise be discussed in part IV.

5: Activities

Before we turn our attention to the activities our intellectuals engaged in, there are a few matters that should be clarified. As is evident from the biographical profiles, all *intellectual* activities that comprised or contributed to a person's income have been included in the category 'activities', but I would like to stress again that 'source(s) of income' should *not* be read as 'most important activitie(s)'. Also, as I have already said above, the list of activities given with the biographical profiles is *not* supposed to indicate any order of preference or importance. Moreover, the reader must be aware that the list of activities only includes the activities a certain individual engaged in *for their own sake*, professionally or otherwise. For instance, 'Chinese studies' has only been included in the list of a person's activities when sources indicate that he was either professionally engaged in the study of Chinese classical texts, regularly studied such texts in his leisure hours in the course of his life, or took up Chinese studies for a certain period outside his formative years. When Chinese studies was part of, for instance, medical training, it has not been included in the list of activities. '*Kanshi*' is a separate category and the reader will understand that the composing of Chinese poetry involves a knowledge of classical Chinese and a willingness to study Chinese classical poetry and poetical theory. The study of Chinese texts concerning various forms of art, the theory of art or, for instance, *sencha* has been understood to belong to *those* particular activities. The same holds good for Japanese studies *as such* and the composing of various forms of Japanese poetry. Likewise, if the study of Western material was solely directed at the art of healing, I have not mentioned it as a separate activity ('Western studies'); in these cases the reader will only find 'medicine'.

Sources can, of course, be deficient. Sometimes they only mention the 'umbrella genre', so that, even if it is not explicitly stated, '*kanshi*' may have included the composing of *kyōshi* (comic Chinese verse), just as '*waka*' may have included *kyōka*, and '*kyōka*' may have included *kyōbun* (comic Japanese prose). There may have been more poetry enthousiasts who tried their hand at *renga* or *senryū*, or calligraphers who carved seals, than sources tell us. The biographical sketch of Matsura Seizan, daimyo of the domain of Hirado, tells us that he practised several polite pastimes befitting his rank such as Nō and *kemari*; the biographical sketches of Sakai Hōitsu (son of the daimyo of the domain of Himeji) and of Matsudaira Sadanobu add *chanoyu*. This leads to the assumption that, in fact, several of the more affluent and high-ranking individuals in our network may have been engaged in such activities. However, I have not included anything based on conjecture. This would only have resulted in too many instances of 'given X, he/she will probably also have been engaged in Y'. Neither have I included

anything that the sources presented as a one-off or a rarity. To give an example: it is known that Ueda Akinari produced a few paintings in the course of his life. Some of them have survived.[146] Nevertheless, I have not included 'painting' in his list of activities.

Finally, activities that people took up in their early years, but evidently abandoned before the end of their formative period, have *not* been included in the list of their activities. There are, for instance, several individuals who embarked on medical studies but changed course at an early stage. I might mention Akamatsu Sōshū, Kan Chazan, Kō Fuyō, Murase Kōtei, Nishiyama Sessai, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Ōta Kinjō and Takizawa Bakin.

I focus on aspects of geography and on social background, but wherever appropriate, further data are added. The table in the appendix shows our intellectuals' activities. To keep that table within bounds, the activities in which fewer than five individuals partook, have been listed together. The table below gives the all activities mentioned in our prosopography, followed by the number of individuals involved and the percentage of the total number of 173 persons:

Activity	**Number**	**Percentage of 173**
Chinese studies	56	32.3 %
kanshi	65	37.5 %
vernacular Chinese	6	3.4 %
Japanese studies	20	11.5 %
waka	42	24.2 %
kyōka	16	9.2 %
haikai	15	8.6 %
renga	2	1.1 %
senryū	1	0.5 %
zuihitsu	4	2.3 %
popular fiction	13	7.5 %
travel writing	3	1.7 %
Buddhist studies	15	8.6 %
Shinto studies	6	3.4 %
political/economic studies	3	1.7 %
military studies	5	2.8 %
ethnography	5	2.8 %
epigraphy/*kanji* etymology	1	0.5 %
study of popular culture	2	1.1 %
gardening	2	1.1 %
music/ dance	22	12.7 %
kōdō	1	0.5 %
sencha	10	5.7 %
chanoyu	2	1.1 %

[146] Some are represented in Nagashima Hiroaki & Ikezawa Natsuki 長島弘明, 池澤夏樹, *Ueda Akinari* 上田秋成, Tokyo 1991.

connoisseurship	2	1.1 %
collecting	15	8.6 %
medicine	30	17.3 %
Western studies	14	8.0 %
botany	6	3.4 %
agricultural studies	2	1.1 %
astronomy/calendrical sciences	7	4.0 %
ekigaku	2	1.1 %
mechanics	1	0.5 %
painting	60	34.6 %
illustration/print making	9	5.2 %
calligraphy	43	24.8 %
seal carving	17	9.8 %
theory of art	6	3.4 %
pottery	3	1.7 %

The table in the appendix allows one to see how many activities are combined by a single individual. Here I give the totals: 38 individuals engaged in only one activity (21.9 % of 173); 41 engaged in two activities (23.7 %); 27 engaged in three activities (15.6 %); 35 engaged in four activities (20.2 %); 18 engaged in five activities (10.4 %); 5 engaged in six activities (2.9 %); 5 engaged in seven activities (2.9 %); 3 engaged in eight activities (1.7 %); and one engaged in nine activities (0.5 %). Thus, 135 engaged in more than one activity (78 %), over one half in three or more (54.3 %). This in itself is telling, but of course some combinations of activities are self-evident. So we want to know what combinations are rather more unexpected. On an admittedly subjective, but also quite conservative judgement, I consider some 65 cases as unexpected, that is 37.6 % – to arrive at this result, the range of combinations has to be fairly large, and indeed the number of permutations is very large. Thus, over one-third of our 173 individuals combined activities in an adventurous, more or less unpredictable manner. Several of these instances are discussed in more detail below.

CHINESE STUDIES AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

It is evident that Chinese studies and *kanshi* are the activities most practised by the individuals in our network. Are there any patterns in their geographical spread and spacing? Linking up activity and geography could reveal certain centres for Chinese studies and/or *kanshi*, or perhaps a shift in prominence from, for instance, Kyoto to Edo within the period under scrutiny. In order to do this we must have a look at the places where people studied these activities and/or the places where they subsequently were professionally active in this field.

If we consider the persons who were *professionally* active as specialists of Chinese studies (for the moment disregarding *kanshi* and vernacular Chinese), we find nine individuals who studied in Edo and later also taught there:

- Adachi Seiga
- Hayashi Jussai
- Inoue Kinga
- Kameda Bōsai
- Okada Kansen
- Ōkubo Shibutsu
- Uchiyama Chinken
- Yamamoto Hokuzan
- Yoshida Kōton

We find seven who studied and taught in Kyoto:

- Akamatsu Sōshū
- Emura Hokkai
- Itō Tōsho
- Iwagaki Ryōkei
- Kayama Tekien
- Nishiyori Seisai
- Seida Tansō

And finally four who studied and worked in Osaka:

- Iioka Gisai
- Nakai Chikuzan
- Nakai Riken
- Shinozaki Santō

However, simplicity ends there, because we also find a plethora of other combinations. We have two individuals who studied in Edo and worked there and in the provinces (Ichikawa Beian, Seki Shōsō); four who studied in Kyoto and worked there and in the provinces (Minagawa Kien, Minagawa Kōsai, Murase Kōtei, Nawa Rodō), and three who studied in Kyoto and subsequently (re)settled in the provinces (Nishiyama Sessai, Kan Chazan, Totoki Baigai). Moreover, we have the following careers: Takemoto Hokurin studied in the provinces and in Edo, subsequently taught in the provinces and finally settled and taught in Kyoto; Hattori Rissai studied in Osaka and taught in Edo; Hirasawa Kyokuzan studied in Kyoto, was active as a physician in Osaka and later became a teacher at the Shōheikō in Edo; Katayama Hokkai studied in Kyoto and taught in Osaka; Akutagawa Tankyū studied in Edo and Kyoto and subsequently taught in Kyoto; Ōta Kinjō also studied in Edo and Kyoto, but worked in Edo and in the provinces; Rai Kyōhei studied in Osaka and Edo and worked in the provinces; Rai Shunsui studied in Osaka and worked there and in the provinces; Shibano Ritsuzan studied in Edo and worked there and in Kyoto; Koga Seiri studied in Kyoto and worked in the provinces and in Edo; Bitō Nishū studied in Osaka and worked there and in Edo; Hosoai Hansai studied in Osaka and worked there and in Kyoto, in sum: is a veritable jumble of different movements and career lines.

As for those who were not *professionally* active in the field of Chinese studies, but have Chinese studies in their list of activities: the physician Koishi Genshun (active in Osaka and Kyoto) and the daimyo Matsura Seizan (of the domain of Hirado in Hizen province) both studied with Minagawa Kien (based in Kyoto); the teachers of Eda Nagayasu (a merchant from Osaka) and Ozawa Roan (active in Kyoto as an official and later as a teacher of *waka*) are unknown; Rai Kōō was active as a dyer in the province of Aki; the physician Sasaki Roan (Hizen province) went to study at the Shōheikō when he was about forty years old; domanial retainer Uragami Gyokudō (Bizen province) took the opportunity to study when he was on duty in Edo; Bakufu retainer Ōta Nanpo (Edo) turned to serious study as a reaction to the Kansei reforms; Sawada Tōkō (Edo, he studied at the Shōheikō) did Chinese studies for years hoping for employment as an official; rural official Takemoto Tōtōan (Bizen province) studied in the provinces and in Edo; the Shinto priest Umetsuji Shunshō (Ōmi province) studied in Kyoto; Gamō Kunpei (mostly active in the provinces as a specialist of Japanese studies) was ordered to study at the Shōheikō by his native domain in 1802. The career of Kō Fuyō is somewhat unclear. He had studied in Kyoto and had established an academy there (next to his job as a domanial official), but it is hard to say what he actually taught. It is known that Aoki Mokubei, at least, did Chinese studies with him, but the other pupil our prosopography mentions (Ogino Gengai) studied seal carving with Fuyō, the field for which he is actually best known.

All of the above strongly suggests that, as far as our network is concerned, we cannot speak of any 'centre' for Chinese studies in the first place, let alone detect a shift in prominence. The Shōheikō played a role in the career of fifteen individuals in our network. Four studied and later also taught there (Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Ichikawa Kansai, Shibano Ritsuzan and Seki Shōsō); five taught at the Shōheikō but did not study there (Bitō Nishū, Hayashi Jussai, Hayashi Nobutaka, Koga Seiri and Okada Kansen); four studied at the Shōheikō but were not professionally active in the field of Chinese studies (Gamō Kunpei, Sasaki Roan, Sawada Tōkō and Suzuki Fuyō), and two individuals studied there and subsequently taught at other or their own educational establishments (Takemoto Hokurin and Uchiyama Chinken). In addition, Ichikawa Beian studied with Hayashi Jussai and Shibano Ritsuzan, but most likely as a private pupil. Kikuchi Gozan was already a pupil of Ritsuzan before Ritsuzan moved to Edo. Rai Shunsui was several times invited to lecture at the Shōheikō. Nevertheless, although the Shōheikō and its teachers evidently exerted a special attraction, it is impossible to maintain that the academy in any way dominated the network. The information provided merely leads to the somewhat vacuous conclusion that all three metropolises were important centres for Chinese studies (which is not surprising in view of the general high local concentration of intellectual activity) and that there must have been fine schools in the provinces as well; Kan Chazan's Renjuku in the domain of Fukuyama (Bingo province) is a case in point.

It is equally difficult to establish geographical patterns for the study and composing of *kanshi*. For many, *kanshi* was a leisure activity, that yielded immediate (even if sometimes imperfect) results and was often practised without formalities or obligations. Whereas, in the case of 'Chinese studies' we could usually point at a definite place (or definite places) where people received tuition and/or a place or places where they were professionally active, in the case of *kanshi* this is all much less obvious.

For many of the individuals in our prosopography we do not have the name of a specific *kanshi* teacher. We can assume that often a person's teacher(s) of Chinese studies played a role, but this was not necessarily the case. The husbands of Kō Raikin and Rai Baishi (Kō Fuyō and Rai Shunsui) will certainly have encouraged their wives' interest in *kanshi*. But encouragement may also have come from another side: Raikin's employer (Itō Tōsho) also practised *kanshi*, and Rai Baishi's father (Iioka Gisai) was a professional specialist of Chinese studies (although I have not found he had an interest in *kanshi*). Moreover, one of the most important *kanshi* poets of the period, Kan Chazan (active in Bingo province), was an intimate friend of the Rai family. Ike Taiga had links with Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha poetry club and also was acquainted with the monk Rikunyo (active in Kyoto and Edo) who was famous for his *kanshi*. Haruki Nanko may have stimulated his employer Masuyama Sessai, or *vice versa*. The Minagawa brothers (Minagawa Kien and Fujitani Nariakira) will have been influenced by their friend Seida Tansō. Katsu Shikin began *kanshi* with his elder brother, Rakkō (also known as Hashimoto Rakkō), continued his studies with Kan Kankoku and later became a member of Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha. The two famous *kanshi* poets Kan Chazan and Emura Hokkai can be found among his contacts.

Several of the individuals in the network were involved in *kanshi* societies. Akamatsu Sōshū, Shibano Ritsuzan, Minagawa Kien and Nishiyori Seisai – an interesting company in view of the positions they would take in the context of the Kansei reforms – conducted their own little *kanshi* club in Kyoto, probably in the early 1780s. Nishiyama Sessai and Rikunyo also had a club in Kyoto, but this was before Sessai opened his academy in Kamogata in 1772. Emura Hokkai held poetry meetings in Kyoto on the thirteenth day of every month. The network contains two *kanshi* societies that caught the special attention of the literary historians; the one for its longevity and prestige, the other for its modernity. Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha in the city of Osaka has already been mentioned. It was formed in 1765 and lasted until about 1785. Its members and associates included several of the professional specialists of Chinese studies mentioned above (Bitō Nishū, Rai Kyōhei, Rai Shunsui, Shinozaki Santō, Hosoai Hansai, Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Nakai Chikuzan, Koga Seiri), but also others like Daiten Kenjō (active in Kyoto); Kimura Kenkadō, Katsu Shikin and Tanaka Meimon (Osaka); Sasaki Roan (Kyoto, Hizen province and Edo) and Rai Shunpū (Osaka, province of Aki). The club attracted many visiting poets and scholars and was definitely of wide-ranging influence. Ichikawa Kansai's Kōkoshisha *kanshi* club flourished in Edo for a brief period in the late 1780s and early 1790s, and produced some fine poets who were active well into the nineteenth century, like Kashiwagi Jotei (who taught in Kyoto and in the provinces), and Kikuchi Gozan and Ōkubo Shibutsu (who both taught in Edo and in the provinces).[147] Burton Watson points out that Kansai and Yamamoto Hokuzan (also active in Edo) were "leading exponents" of a style that gained popularity in Japan in the late eighteenth century, the Seirei or Xing-ling style (性霊派).[148] So, in the final years of the period under scrutiny, Edo seems to have been the place where one could get the best of the latest fashion.

[147] Kansai himself studied in the provinces and in Edo.
[148] See Watson, *Kanshi*, xi.

It is not very fruitful to enumerate here the places where every practitioner of *kanshi* in our network lived, worked (in various capacities) and probably composed *kanshi*. It will bring us to more or less the same conclusion as the one given for Chinese studies above. However, as we have seen, we *can* highlight two societies that are deemed of particular importance for the period under scrutiny.

The network includes six individuals with an interest in vernacular Chinese: Akutagawa Tankyū, Miyake Shōzan, Morishima Chūryō, Seida Tansō, Tsuga Teishō and Ueda Akinari.[149] Tankyū, Shōzan and Tansō were active in Kyoto; Chūryō in Edo and Teishō and Akinari in Osaka. Teishō, who was a physician by profession, may have been Akinari's medical teacher, but this is not certain. It is clear, however, that they knew each other. Tankyū was in contact with both Shōzan and Tansō, but these two do not seem to have known each other.[150] Akinari was intimate with the Minagawa brothers (especially Fujitani Nariakira), who were, in their turn, friends of Seida Tansō. It is interesting to see this cluster of six individuals, but I would hesitate to declare the city of Kyoto, or the Kamigata region, a centre for the study of vernacular Chinese on this basis.

Now we come to another aspect of the investigation of activities. If we look at the status at birth of those of our intellectuals who were somehow engaged in Chinese studies we find the following:

- Commoner: 22
- Samurai/ronin: 12
- Retained scholar/physician: 6
- Shinto priest: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 15

The same survey for *kanshi* yields the following results:

- Commoner: 33
- Samurai/ronin: 12
- Retained scholar/physician: 6
- Shinto priest: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 13

Finally those who were engaged in *both kanshi* and Chinese studies:

- Commoner:16
- Samurai/ronin: 7
- Retained scholar/physician: 4
- Shinto priest: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 10

[149] See also Pastreich, *Chinese vernacular narrative*, 347-349, and passim.

[150] Tankyū was a pupil of, amongst others, Uno Meika, and was much influenced by the works of Ogyū Sorai, who is given prominence of place in Pastreich. Both Tankyū and Tansō died in 1785.

It is unfortunate that the status at birth of so many persons is unknown or unclear. Judging by the biographies of these people, we may assume that most of them were of a commoner background, but I do not think it wise to speculate.

Only some 20 % of the individuals in our network were from a background of active samurai. However, as has already been pointed out, the samurai were the best educated segment of society. Moreover, Chinese studies was the basis of samurai education. It is therefore not surprising that they make a good showing here. The fact remains, however, that, within this network, the majority of the individuals engaged in various forms of Chinese studies were non-samurai. It is significant, for instance, that of the 43 individuals who had Chinese studies as a source of income, only six were from a background of active samurai: Hayashi Jussai and Hayashi Nobutaka (whose careers were exceptional), and furthermore Ichikawa Kansai, Koga Seiri, Okada Kansen and Yamamoto Hokuzan.[151] Of these four individuals only Koga Seiri was really 'groomed for scholarship' by his domain. The position of the samurai will be further discussed in the conclusions to this chapter and in part IV.

The fact that Chinese texts of various kinds had such a prominent place in the lives of many of our intellectuals, may give rise to the question whether the network is in any way 'sinophile'. Now, 'sinophile' is a qualification that cannot be investigated using the prosopographical method. Other material is needed, not only to find out what people saw as 'sinophile', but also to establish what aspects of 'China' most fascinated them, in what way, and for what purpose. Besides, for the image to be complete one also needs to involve data concerning their appreciation of various forms of Chinese-style painting, calligraphy and *sencha*. However, the prosopographical method can contribute something to the discussion.

The network has only nineteen individuals (10.9 % of 173) who had no interests outside the field of Chinese studies and related activities: six for whom Chinese studies was the only activity; one who seems to have exclusively concentrated on *kanshi*; ten who combined Chinese studies with *kanshi*, but apparently had no other interests, and two individuals who were engaged in Chinese studies, *kanshi and* vernacular Chinese. All others included in the above surveys were engaged in other activities as well. However, these other activities (notably calligraphy, seal carving, painting and collecting, not to mention *sencha*) were also often of a 'Chinese' character, even if this is not always evident from the biographical profiles.

Nevertheless, we do find the following: Eda Nagayasu combined Chinese studies with Japanese studies, *waka* and *kōdō* (香道, the incense ceremony); Fujitani Nariakira wrote *kanshi* but was famous as a specialist of Japanese studies and *waka*; Gamō Kunpei is likewise better known for his activities in the field of Japanese studies; Haruki Nanko combined *kanshi* with *haikai* and *kyōka*; Shōheikō teacher Hirasawa Kyokuzan

[151] Hall, 'The Confucian teacher', 286, makes the point that there were very few professional *jusha* among the samurai. He speaks of "less than one per cent of the total samurai population", explaining that for samurai "the game, in many instances, was not worth the candle". He continues: "The training of a jusha was long and rigorous, and required both aptitude and application. Yet the upper limits of official service to which the jusha could aspire were not high ... the upper levels of the ruling class were largely a closed hereditary preserve. Consequently there was little motivation for members of the upper or even middle samurai class to go into the jusha's profession. At the other end of the social scale, economic necessity made an elaborate education impossible".

was also interested in Buddhist studies; Ike Taiga combined *kanshi* and *waka*; Karagoromo Kisshū wrote *kanshi* but is best known as a *kyōka* and *waka* poet; Kō Fuyō was also interested in ancient Japanese court traditions; Kojima Baigai at a certain point completely abandoned *kanshi* in favour of *haikai*; Matsura Seizan combined Chinese studies with Japanese studies, Western studies, *waka* and *renga*; Minagawa Kien collected texts of the Jōruri theatre; Miyake Shōzan combined *kanshi* and vernacular Chinese with *haikai*; Morishima Chūryō combined his interest in vernacular Chinese with Western studies, ethnography and *kyōka*; Nagata Kanga combined *kanshi* with *waka* and Buddhist studies; Nakai Riken, teacher at the Kaitokudō, also composed *waka*; Nishiyama Sessai at one time studied *waka* with the monk/poet Chōgetsu; Ōta Nanpo, who took up Chinese studies as a reaction to the Kansei reforms is better known for his *kyōka*, *zuihitsu* and fiction; Ozawa Roan combined Chinese studies with Japanese studies and *waka*; Rai Baishi combined *kanshi* with *waka*; Rai Kōō and his son Kyōhei both combined Chinese studies with *waka*; Satake Yoshiatsu combined *kanshi* and *waka*; Shōheikō teacher Shibano Ritsuzan will have made good use of his knowledge of the ancient Japanese court when he was charged with the reconstruction of the imperial palace after the great fire of 1788; Sugita Genpaku, famous as a Western-style physician, also did *kanshi*, *waka*, *haikai* and *renga*; Tachi Ryūwan combined *kanshi* and *waka*; Tachibana Nankei, pioneer of Western medicine in the Kyoto area, composed *kanshi* and *waka*; Takai Kitō and his teacher Yosa Buson both combined *kanshi* and *haikai*; Takemoto Tōtōan combined Chinese studies and *kanshi* with an interest in Western studies; Uchiyama Chinken combined Chinese studies and *kanshi* with Japanese studies, *waka* and *kyōka*; Ueda Akinari also practised *waka* and *haikai* and was famous as a specialist of Japanese studies, and the Shinto priest Umetsuji Shunshō combined his interest in Chinese studies and *kanshi* with *waka*. Moreover, several of the above had even more interests than those mentioned here.

An investigation into contacts would reveal that even those who were exclusive in their 'sinophile' tastes, were by no means so in their choice of friends. Let me just present two examples. There were two individuals in the network who were engaged in Chinese studies, *kanshi* and vernacular Chinese, but seem to have had no other interests. One of these, the Kyoto scholar Akutagawa Tankyū, was intimate with Miyake Shōzan, a prominent figure in the field of *haikai*, both as a poet and as a theorist. They shared an interest in vernacular Chinese. Tankyū's friend Seida Tansō was the other individual solely engaged in Chinese studies and its related fields. Tansō was also intimate with Fujitani Nariakira, specialist of historical Japanese linguistics and *waka* poet. They shared an interest in *kanshi*.

So, even though more material is needed to further investigate the 'sinophile' issue, the behaviour (activities and contacts) of individuals with a marked interest in 'China' suggests there was not much exclusivity in this respect.

JAPANESE STUDIES AND INDIGENOUS POETRY

A fairly large number of the individuals in the network engaged in the study of Japanese classical texts and/or the study and composition of forms of indigenous poetry: *waka* was evidently a very popular activity. In the investigation below I will concentrate on "Japanese studies", "*waka*", "*kyōka*" and "*haikai*". Some individuals also engaged in

other forms of Japanese literature. We have *senryū* (Akera Kankō), *renga* (Matsura Seizan and Sugita Genpaku), and *zuihitsu* (Matsudaira Sadanobu, Motoori Norinaga, Ōta Nanpo and Ueda Akinari).

We will now look at possible geographical patterns in the biographies of those involved in Japanese studies. The locations where people were active are given below:

Kyoto (7)
- Ban Kōkei
- Fujitani Nariakira
- Fujitani Mitsue
- Hino Sukeki
- Kō Fuyō
- Ozawa Roan
- Takahashi Munenao

Osaka (2)
- Eda Nagayasu
- Irie Masayoshi

Kyoto/Osaka (1)
- Ueda Akinari

Kyoto/Edo (1)
- Shibano Ritsuzan

Edo (5)
- Hanawa Hokiichi
- Katō Chikage
- Murata Harumi
- Uchiyama Chinken
- Yashiro Hirokata

Edo/provinces (2)
- Gamō Kunpei
- Matsura Seizan

Kyoto/Edo/Osaka (1)
- Katō Umaki

Provinces (1)
- Motoori Norinaga

From the above it is evident that half of our twenty specialists of Japanese studies were, at some point in their lives active in Kyoto. It should be added that several of the persons mentioned above studied classical Japanese texts with a teacher related to the imperial court, often in the context of the study of *waka*: this concerns not only Ban

Kōkei, Fujitani Nariakira, Fujitani Mitsue, Hino Sukeki, Ozawa Roan, Shibano Ritsuzan and Takahashi Munenao, but also Hanawa Hokiichi and Yashiro Hirokata who were based in Edo. Hino Sukeki and Takahashi Munenao were themselves *kuge*. Fujitani Mitsue and Hanawa Hokiichi studied with Sukeki; Shibano Ritsuzan with Munenao. Kō Fuyō's teachers are unknown, but as his interest was ancient court traditions, it is likely that he also sought the tuition of a person linked to the court. Gamō Kunpei conducted much of his research on the imperial tombs in the Kyoto region. At these occasions he would stay with Ozawa Roan.

Among our twenty specialists of Japanese studies we find no fewer than five pupils of the Edo scholar Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1796). Murata Harumi and Katō Chikage became his pupils when they were still boys. Hanawa Hokiichi (Yashiro Hirokata's teacher) and Katō Umaki (Ueda Akinari's teacher) also studied with Mabuchi. Motoori Norinaga met Mabuchi only once in his life but would always consider himself his pupil.[152] Nevertheless, the city of Kyoto had a place in the lives of these five as well. Motoori Norinaga began his studies in Kyoto with, amongst others, Hori Keizan, a specialist of Chinese studies, who also had a good knowledge of Japanese literature.[153] Norinaga visited the Capital in 1790, 1793 and 1801. Hanawa Hokiichi studied *waka* with Kyoto teachers. Katō Umaki, a Bakufu guardsman, regularly served at Osaka castle and at Nijō castle in Kyoto, and Murata Harumi visited the Capital in 1788. Mabuchi, the son of a Shinto priest, had himself studied in Kyoto. His teacher Kada no Azumamaro (1669-1736), also from a family of Shinto priests, had served at the imperial court for three years.

Even from this little survey concerning only twenty persons the importance of Mabuchi's pupils is obvious. Nevertheless, we must also conclude that the imperial court, and the scholars and poets associated with it, gave the city of Kyoto a unique position, the value of which was evidently recognized by the individuals in the network.[154]

Among the forty-two individuals who practised *waka*, there are seventeen (40.4 % of forty-two) who were based in Kyoto. Among them we find six of our specialists of Japanese studies (Ban Kōkei, father and son Fujitani, Hino Sukeki, Takahashi Munenao, and Ozawa Roan). Apart from the *kuge* Sukeki and Munenao, this group includes four others associated with the imperial court: the prince Shinnin; the *kuge* Shibayama Mochitoyo; Okamoto Yasutaka, priest of the Kamo shrine, and Kagawa Kagemoto, fourth generation head of the Baigetsudō school of *waka* poetry. Among these seventeen we also find Kagawa Kagemoto's adoptive son Kagawa Kageki. The adoption was annulled when Kageki fell under the influence of Ozawa Roan's ideas, but he remained active in Kyoto.

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[152] For the meeting with Mabuchi, see Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*, 34-35, and Nosco, *Remembering paradise*, 174-178. Mabuchi and Norinaga remained in contact through correspondence. I should add that Hiraga Gennai also did Japanese studies with Mabuchi, but as he concentrated on completely different fields he has not been included here.

[153] For Norinaga and Keizan, see Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*, 31; Pastreich, *Chinese vernacular narrative*, 253-254, and Nosco, *Remembering paradise*, 166-167.

[154] For the relationship between the *kuge* scholars and their not so noble pupils, see Thomas J. Harper, '*The Tale of Genji* in the eighteenth century: Keichū, Mabuchi and Norinaga', in: C. Andrew Gerstle, ed., *Eighteenth century Japan*, 106-123.

As for the twenty-five others (59.5 % of forty-two): there were seven who were based in Edo (Akera Kankō, his wife Fushimatsu Kaka, Karagoromo Kisshū, Katō Chikage, Murata Harumi, Sugita Genpaku, Uchiyama Chinken), and two who lived in Osaka (Eda Nagayasu and Nakai Riken). Four individuals were active both in Edo and the provinces (Tachi Ryūwan and three daimyo who practised *waka*, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Matsura Seizan and Satake Yoshiatsu); one was active in both Kyoto and Osaka (Ueda Akinari); two were based in Edo but studied *waka* with a Kyoto teacher (Hanawa Hokiichi and Yashiro Hirokata); two were active in Kyoto and in the provinces (Momozawa Mutaku and Takayama Hikokurō); Motoori Norinaga, though active in Ise province, visited the Capital several times; Tachibana Nankei was active in Kyoto, in Fushimi (near Kyoto) and in Osaka; Rai Kyōhei was active in Osaka, Edo and in the province of Aki; his sister-in-law Rai Baishi lived in Osaka and in Aki province, and studied *waka* (probably through correspondence) with Ozawa Roan in Kyoto; Kyōhei's father Kōō, based in the province of Aki, also studied with Roan; Sakai Hōitsu was mostly active in Edo, but lived as a monk in Kyoto for a number of years, and Nishiyama Sessai settled in the provinces but had studied *waka* in Kyoto.

Thirteen individuals (30.9 % of forty-two) studied with teachers associated with various schools of court poetry: Ban Kōkei, Chōgetsu, Fujitani Nariakira, Fujitani Mitsue, Hanawa Hokiichi, Hino Sukeki, Ike Gyokuran, Ike Taiga, Kagawa Kageki, Kagawa Kagemoto, Ozawa Roan, Takahashi Munenao and Yashiro Hirokata. Okamoto Yasutaka very likely did so. Shibayama Mochitoyo's teacher is unknown, but he is said to have practised the Nijō style of *waka*. Ike Gyokuran, in fact, began her *waka* studies with her mother Yuri. Her grandmother Kaji was also a well-known *waka* poet. Gyokuran later studied *waka* with Reizei Tamemura, together with her husband Taiga.

Although the category *waka*, understandably, shows some of the diversity of movement we found for *kanshi*, we do detect a special interest in what was happening in the city of Kyoto. It is true that among the seventeen individuals based in Kyoto, there are six (associated with the imperial court) who could hardly have been active anywhere else. However, these individuals were doubtless part of the attraction of Kyoto for others. It is striking that several persons based in Edo or in the provinces actively sought the tuition of a Kyoto teacher. In addition to the examples already given: Momozawa Mutaku from Shinano province came to Kyoto to study with Chōgetsu. Nishiyama Sessai from Bitchū province also studied with Chōgetsu, probably during the time he was doing Chinese studies in Kyoto. It is likely that Sessai and Chōgetsu were related.

That, in the period under scrutiny, the activity of *kyōka* should be associated with the city of Edo is hardly debatable. Of the sixteen individuals who engaged in *kyōka*, fifteen were active in Edo (93.75 % of sixteen). The one exception, Haruki Nanko, was born in Edo, though mostly active in the provinces. Sakai Hōitsu lived in Kyoto for some years as a monk at the Nishi Honganji. He probably took up *kyōka* after 1800. The group of *kyōka* enthusiasts includes Uchiyama Chinken and four of his pupils (Karagoromo Kisshū, Ōta Nanpo, Akera Kankō and Hezutsu Tōsaku), all of whom were instrumental in the fashion for *kyōka* that swept Edo in the 1770s and 1780s.[155] The group also includes Akera Kankō's wife Fushimatsu Kaka and several other individuals

[155] See, for instance, Donald Keene, *World within walls. Japanese literature of the pre-modern era, 1600-1867*, New York 1976, 517. Keene describes Edo *kyōka* as "quite distinct" from earlier *kyōka* and Uchiyama Chinken (a.k.a. Gatei) as "the founder" of Edo *kyōka*.

belonging to the (overlapping) circles of Nanpo and Santō Kyōden (Koikawa Harumachi, Tegara no Okamochi, Morishima Chūryō, Takizawa Bakin). Considering that no fewer than eight of the individuals who practised *kyōka* were also engaged in popular fiction (Kankō, Tōsaku, Harumachi, Chūryō, Nanpo, Kyōden, Bakin, Okamochi), it is no surprise that we find the print maker and book illustrator Kitao Masayoshi here as well.

It is much more difficult to discover geographic patterns in the biographies of those who practised *haikai*. Kojima Baigai, Sugita Genpaku, Takizawa Bakin and Tegara no Okamochi were based in Edo. The priest Chōmu, Matsumura Goshun, Miyake Shōzan, Takai Kitō and Yosa Buson were based in Kyoto. Haruki Nanko was mostly active in Ise province. Ki Baitei settled in Ōmi province after the death of his teacher Yosa Buson. Katō Kyōtai was mostly active in his native Nagoya, but regularly visited Kyoto. As a retainer of the domain of Owari he had served in Edo. Likewise Miura Chora was mostly active in Yamada in Ise province, but he spent a year in Edo, and lived in Kyoto for almost four years. Sakai Hōitsu lived in Kyoto as a monk for a number of years before returning to Edo. Ueda Akinari was active in Osaka and Kyoto. It must be mentioned, though, that Chōmu, Kyōtai, Chora, Kitō, Shōzan and Buson were all advocates of the restoration of the *haikai* style of the Genroku period, a trend (also known as the 'Bashō Revival Movement') that emerged around 1750.[156] Takai Kitō, a disciple of Buson, was an expert on the poetry of Takarai Kikaku, one of Bashō's pupils. Donald Keene states in his *World within Walls*: "The center of the revival definitely was Kyoto", a statement supported by data from our prosopography.[157]

On the basis of what we have seen, the following can be concluded concerning geographic patterns and a possible centre for Japanese studies and related fields: as was the case for the fields of Chinese studies, vernacular Chinese and *kanshi*, our network does not reveal a definite centre for Japanese studies and various forms of indigenous poetry either. The city of Edo was of importance for Japanese studies because of the influence of Kamo no Mabuchi and his pupils; it was also the hub of the *kyōka* craze. Kyoto was the centre of the so-called 'Bashō Revival Movement', but, as far as our network is concerned, the genre of *haikai* was also enthusiastically studied in Edo and in the provinces. Nevertheless, the network on the whole suggests a certain prominence for the city of Kyoto, mainly to be ascribed to the presence of the imperial court. The court was, of course, an immense repository of knowledge and material, which must have greatly contributed to a favourable climate for Japanese studies, and the study and composing of forms of indigenous poetry. Individuals like Ban Kōkei (whose family's mercantile house also had a branch store in Edo), Ueda Akinari (whose teacher Katō Umaki was a retainer of the Bakufu and a pupil of Kamo no Mabuchi), Kagawa Kageki

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[156] Keene, *World within walls,* 351-355. For more on the 'Bashō Revival Movement', see also Kakimori bunko 柿衛文庫, ed., *Bashō ni kaere, Miyako, Owari kara no shōfū fukkō, Buson to Kyōtai* 芭蕉に帰れ, 京. 尾張からの蕉風復興, 蕪村と暁台, Itami 2004. This book only came to my attention after I had established the prosopographical network.

[157] Keene, *World within walls*, 351. The city of Nagoya also played an important role. Kakutei Jōkō, painter and Ōbaku monk, may have been engaged in *haikai*, but as this is not certain he has not been included here.

(after the annulment of his adoption) and Ozawa Roan (after his relationships with the Naruse family and the *kuge* Takatsukasa Sukehira had ended) were perfectly at liberty to settle in Edo; I think it is significant that they did not. In addition, the network includes three individuals for whom veneration for the person of the emperor may have played a part in their preference for Kyoto: Ozawa Roan, Gamō Kunpei and Takayama Hikokurō.

This somewhat challenges the almost exclusive focus by modern scholars on what Susan Burns terms, "the 'great men' of kokugaku": Keichū (1640-1701), Kada no Azumamaro, Kamo no Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), and takes added significance if we bring to mind Mark Teeuwen's contention about the nature of Japanese studies at grassroots level.[158]

Next, the social backgrounds. I first present the data of those involved in 'Japanese studies':

- Commoner: 11
- Samurai/ronin: 6
- *Kuge*: 2
- Unknown/unclear: 1

Fujitani Nariakira (of commoner background but adopted into a samurai family) is included in the total of commoners; his son Mitsue in the total of samurai/ronin.

As for those engaged in *waka*:

- Commoner: 16
- Samurai/ronin: 15
- *Kuge*/imperial family: 4
- Shinto priest: 3
- Retained scholar/physician: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 3

Father and son Fujitani are included as above. The prince Shinnin is actually the only member of the imperial family in our network.
The activity of *kyōka* gives a somewhat different picture:

- Commoner: 4
- Samurai/ronin: 9
- Retained scholar/physician: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 2

Finally, we have *haikai*:

[158] Burns, *Before the nation*, 5. The same 'lineage of National Scholars' can be found in John S. Brownlee, *Japanese historians and the national myths, 1600-1945*, Vancouver 1997, 61. See also above, notes 43 and 54.

- Commoner: 6
- Samurai/ronin: 4
- Retained scholar/physician: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 4

Although 'Japanese studies' as such seems mostly a non-samurai affair, samurai enthusiasm for various genres of indigenous poetry is evident. Here the fact that the composing of *waka* and *haikai* were traditional pastimes for the elite must be taken into account. Samurai interest in the *kyōka* genre is, of course, remarkable. *Kyōka* is a form of *waka*, and the interest may therefore be partly explained from what I have just said about indigenous poetry as a traditional pastime for the elite. The *kyōka* infatuation was limited to the city of Edo and, no doubt, there is a link between the popularity of the genre and the large concentration of samurai there, but it is hard to tell 'what came first'. The question will be further discussed in part IV.

POPULAR FICTION

Our network contains thirteen individuals who engaged in popular fiction. Matsudaira Sadanobu, who wrote one novel, has not been included here (for details, see his biographical profile). From the list presented below it is evident that no fewer than ten (76.9 % of thirteen) were based in the city of Edo:

Edo (10)

- Akera Kankō
- Hezutsu Tōsaku
- Hiraga Gennai
- Koikawa Harumachi
- Morishima Chūryō
- Ōta Nanpo
- Santō Kyōden
- Sawada Tōkō
- Takizawa Bakin
- Tegara no Okamochi

Other (3)

- Miyake Shōzan (Kyoto)
- Tsuga Teishō (Osaka)
- Ueda Akinari (Osaka/Kyoto)

These figures (and the renown of the individuals concerned) amply support the general claim that, by the time of the period under scrutiny, Edo was, the centre of activity for popular fiction. We also find support for this in the fact that two of the three authors mentioned under 'other', Miyake Shōzan and Tsuga Teishō, were born as early as 1718, whereas the most senior Edo authors, Hezutsu Tōsaku and Hiraga Gennai, were born in 1726 and 1727 respectively. All others were born after 1730; Takizawa Bakin as late as 1767.

As for the social background of the thirteen authors of fiction:

- Commoner: 4
- Samurai/ronin: 6
- Retained scholar/physician: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 2

The relatively large number of samurai engaged in popular fiction presents us with the same problem as we had for *kyōka*: there must be a link between the popularity of the genre and the large concentration of samurai in Edo, but how can we tell what came first? It must be added that participation by members of this group suffered a setback with the Kansei reforms (which will be discussed in the final part): three of the six samurai included here withdrew from popular fiction at that time.

RELIGIOUS STUDIES (BUDDHIST/SHINTO)

As I have assumed that every Buddhist priest was, to a certain extent, engaged in the study of his creed, the majority of the fifteen students of Buddhism included in our prosopography were Buddhist priests or had been part of a monastic community in the course of their lives. This holds good for eleven persons: Chō Tōsai, Chōgetsu, Chōmu, Daiten Kenjō, Geppō, Gessen, Imei, Kakutei Jōkō, Rikunyo, Sakai Hōitsu and the prince Shinnin. The others are Hirasawa Kyokuzan, Nagata Kanga, Yamamoto Hokuzan and Itō Jakuchū. Jakuchū had become a lay monk (using the suffix *koji* 居士 after his name) around 1750, but the presence of at least three 'ordinary' scholars in this category of Buddhist studies testifies to the fact that it existed as a field of interest outside the Buddhist clergy.[159] Actually, none of the individuals mentioned above was particularly known for his merits in the field of Buddhist studies, neither does our prosopography indicate much interaction concerning this particular field. *Serious Buddhist scholarship seems to have taken place in different circuits*. In view of this, it does not seem fruitful to me to further pursue the investigation.

There is a certain lack of clarity about what 'Shinto studies' is actually supposed to entail. Scholars who consider Japan's ancient past as "an unlettered age permeated by a Way later known as Shinto" might be inclined to reject 'Shinto studies' as a separate field of scholarship and to see it as an inextricable part of 'Japanese studies'.[160] Others would prefer to define 'Shinto studies' as 'the study of Shinto theology'. I think that this last definition best describes the interest of the six persons in our network who are said to have engaged in 'Shinto studies'. It concerns Adachi Seiga, Hanawa Hokiichi, Motoori Norinaga, Okamoto Yasutaka, Takahashi Munenao and Umetsuji Shunshō. Yasutaka was a priest of the Kamo shrine and Shunshō's family were priests of a shrine in Ōmi province. Adachi Seiga came from a family of mountain ascetics. For these three individuals, Shinto studies was probably mostly a 'professional' interest. In the case of

[159] Concerning Jakuchū, see for instance the chronology in Money Hickman & Yasuhiro Satō, *The paintings of Jakuchū*, New York 1989, 204, s.v. the year 1752.
[160] This depiction is given as a kind of summary of Keichū's teachings in Nosco, *Remembering paradise*, 11.

Hanawa Hokiichi, Motoori Norinaga and Takahashi Munenao, it was evidently part of a larger program of scholarship.[161] For further details see these individuals' biographical profiles.

POLITICO-ECONOMIC STUDIES, MILITARY STUDIES AND ETHNOGRAPHY

Three individuals in our network engaged in what may be described as 'politico-economic studies': Hayashi Shihei, his friend Kudō Heisuke, and Nakai Chikuzan, principal of the Kaitokudō merchant academy in Osaka. Chikuzan's work belonged more to the traditional discourse on 'statesmanship' in the context of Confucian philosophical studies than the work of the two others.[162] Shihei's and Heisuke's research was inspired by an awareness of 'the West' and the possible threat it might pose.[163]

Shihei is also one of the five persons involved in military studies, the others being Ōtsuki Gentaku, Matsura Seizan, Okada Kansen and Yamamoto Hokuzan. Shihei's, Gentaku's and Seizan's involvement was, again, inspired by the perceived possibility of encroachment by Western powers.[164] Seizan's interest in coastal defence and Western artillery must have been of a very practical nature: he was daimyo of the domain of Hirado in Hizen province.

The West as a force to be reckoned with also partly inspired the ethnographical research of Hayashi Shihei, the brothers Morishima Chūryō and Katsuragawa Hoshū, Ōtsuki Gentaku and of Tanuma Okitsugu's protégé Hezutsu Tōsaku. However aspects of colonization and exploitation also played a part, as, no doubt, did plain curiosity.[165]

Apart from Nakai Chikuzan (Osaka), all persons mentioned above had strong links with the city of Edo. Hayashi Shihei lived in Sendai, but was born in Edo and visited Edo regularly. Okada Kansen served in the province of Hitachi for a number of years, but combined this function with a teaching position at the Shōheikō. Matsura Seizan, of course, travelled up and down between Hirado and Edo. The others all lived in Edo. As for the social backgrounds of these individuals: Nakai Chikuzan and Hezutsu Tōsaku were commoners; Ōtsuki Gentaku, Kudō Heisuke, Morishima Chūryō and Katsuragawa Hoshū were from a background of retained physicians and the others belonged to the samurai/ronin category.

As could be expected, the activities under consideration here (especially when the idea of 'the West' was involved) are mostly connected to the milieu of samurai and retained scholars (physicians in this case) and to the city of Edo.

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[161] For Norinaga's involvement in Shinto studies, see Matsumoto, *Motoori Norinaga*, 62 ("his interest in Shinto can be traced back to his teens") , and passim.
[162] Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of virtue*, passim.
[163] See for instance Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*, 211-215.
[164] For Gentaku's work on artillery of 1808, see Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*, 127.
[165] Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 7, 139-151, 235-285. I have not included Kimura Kenkadō in this category. I feel his interest in contemporary China and the West was mostly of an antiquarian nature and that he should primarily be seen as a catalyst. Matsura Seizan was one of Kenkadō's many contacts.

'Music' as an activity concerns no fewer than eighteen individuals in our network, almost as many as the number for Japanese studies, and a bit more than we found for *kyōka* and *haikai*. Below the reader finds a list of the musicians, with data on geography and social background, and the instrument(s) of their choice if known:

Eda Nagayasu (*biwa*)	commoner	Osaka
Fujitani Mitsue (unknown)	samurai/ronin	Kyoto
Fujitani Nariakira (unknown)	commoner	Kyoto
Hayashi Jussai (unknown)	samurai/ronin	Edo
Ike Gyokuran (*koto*)	commoner	Kyoto
Ike Taiga (*biwa*)	commoner	Kyoto
Kameda Bōsai (*koto*)	commoner	Edo
Katsu Shikin (*shō* and *hichiriki*)	commoner	Osaka
Katsuragawa Hoshū (*koto*)	retained scholar/physician	Edo
Maeno Ryōtaku (*hitoyogiri*)	samurai/ronin	Edo
Matsudaira Sadanobu (unknown)	samurai/ronin	Edo/provinces
Matsumura Goshun (flute)	commoner	Kyoto/provinces
Matsura Seizan (*koto* and *shamisen*)	samurai/ronin	Edo/provinces
Minagawa Kien (*koto*)	commoner	Kyoto
Murata Harumi (*koto*)	commoner	Edo
Ozawa Roan (*koto*)	samurai/ronin	Kyoto
Taki Rankei (*koto*)	retained scholar/physician	Edo
Uragami Gyokudō (*koto*)	samurai/ronin	provinces/Edo/Kyoto

Let me first present some details on the musical activities of the individuals in our network. Taki Rankei and Uragami Gyokudō are the only two individuals in the network who have music as a source of income. Rankei was the music teacher of Gyokudō and Katsuragawa Hoshū. He was also a physician to the shogunal household and the principal of the Seijūkan medical academy in Edo. Hoshū was a shogunal physician as well; he was engaged as a teacher by the Seijūkan in 1793. Gyokudō served as a retainer of the domain of Okayama in Bizen province until he became a ronin in 1794. He is known as a virtuoso and a composer, and also built several instruments for friends and patrons. Of Gyokudō's two talented sons (appropriately named Shunkin 春琴 and Shūkin 秋琴, Spring Koto and Autumn Koto, which is some indication of their father's love of music), Shūkin, the youngest, was the better musician. In 1795 father and son made a lengthy visit to the music-loving daimyo of the domain of Aizu. After ten months Gyokudō returned to Edo, but Shūkin (then in his eleventh year) remained in the daimyo's service.[166] Kameda Bōsai's *koto*, given to him by a music-loving friend in 1811, survives, but it is not known how well he actually

[166] See the chapter on Gyokudō as a musician in Fukushima kenritsu hakubutsukan 福島県立博物館, ed., *Gyokudō to Shunkin, Shūkin, Uragami Gyokudō fushi no geijutsu*, 玉堂と春琴. 秋琴, 浦上玉堂父子の芸術, 124-137. A genealogy of teachers and pupils can be found *ibid.*, 115.

played.[167] Hayashi Jussai is said to have played in ensembles with his children and his friends, and Matsudaira Sadanobu's interest was of a musicological nature: he reconstructed and preserved old compositions. Santō Kyōden studied music in his early years and music was also an important subject in the curriculum of the school for the blind attended by Hanawa Hokiichi.[168] Takai Kitō was the son of a stage musician, who later turned to teaching *haikai*.

Half of our musicians, possibly more, played the *koto*: this instrument seems to have been one of the few that had some kind of a solo repertoire.[169] Minagawa Kien played the *koto*. His brother Fujitani Nariakira and Nariakira's son Mitsue may have played the same instrument. In the list given above I have not distinguished between the Chinese *koto* (*qin*) and its Japanese counterpart, but in the case of Taki Rankei, Uragami Gyokudō, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Kameda Bōsai and Minagawa Kien we may be sure that the instrument was the seven-stringed Chinese *qin*. An illustration in Ban Kōkei's *Kinsei kijinden* (近世奇人伝) of 1790 showing Ike Taiga and his wife making music together, has Gyokuran playing the thirteen-stringed Japanese *koto*. I am not certain which type of *koto* the others played.[170]

The *shamisen* was particularly associated with the *kabuki* theatre and was somewhat frowned upon in the later years of the Tokugawa period.[171] I found it, therefore, rather surprising that the only person to play the *shamisen* should have been the daimyo Matsura Seizan, who in 1798 donated a large sum to the Bakufu for the benefit of the Shōheikō. Perhaps by that time he had given up playing this dubious instrument.

As for the aspects of social background and geographical distribution: again, the majority are non-samurai and again we cannot really detect significant geographical patterns. I might add that three individuals in the network at some point in their lives practised Nō: Matsumura Goshun, Matsura Seizan, and Sakai Hōitsu. All three were from affluent families: Seizan and Hōitsu were sons of daimyo; Goshun's father was a high-ranking official at the Kyoto gold mint. However, I find it hard to determine whether this activity was just part of their upbringing and was abondoned later in life, or remained one of their pastimes. Maeno Ryōtaku (from a samurai background but adopted into a family of retained physicians) is the only individual in our network who certainly practised some form of dance.

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[167] Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai*, 53-54. Addiss gives an illustration of the instrument and also a description of an intimate performance. He states that it is not known how well Bōsai played.

[168] See for instance Howard Hibbett, *The chrysanthemum and the fish. Japanese humor since the age of the shoguns*, Tokyo, London/New York, 2002, 118. As they seem to have abandoned the activity, it has not been included in their biographical profile.

[169] Compare Siegfried Borris, ed., *Musikleben in Japan in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Berichte, Statistiken, Anschriften*, Kassel 1967, 23, 30; also Henry Johnson, *The Koto. A traditional instrument in contemporary Japan*, Amsterdam 2004.

[170] See the modern edition of *Kinsei kijinden* edited by Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, Tokyo 1994, 157.

[171] Compare Borriss, ed., *Musikleben in Japan*, 35; Totman, *Early modern Japan*, 472, and Beerens, 'Interview with a Bakumatsu official', 391, where Yamaguchi Naoki who had served as a *metsuke* in the Bakumatsu period states that the official *metsuke* oath stated that "one could not have his daughter study the shamisen. The koto was all right, [but] it said 'do not play the shamisen' ".

Music is generally discussed in the context of the performing arts where the actual focus is either on literary aspects, or on the social and more general cultural aspects of a certain theatrical genre. The information provided usually concerns only professional musicians. Additionally, we have the specialized musicologists with an interest in Japan's musical traditions, who are mostly concerned with tone systems, structures of harmony and the technical details of various instruments.[172] Therefore, although it invariably appears in the discourse on *bunjin* as one of the manifold activities the supposed *bunjin* engaged in, not much seems to be known about music as a private pastime in the Tokugawa period.[173] This may be partly explained, as Marius Jansen suggests, by the fact that especially the more popular musical styles of the Tokugawa period were strongly condemned by Meiji ideologists.[174] From the data provided by our network it is obvious that music was part of the daily reality of people with all kinds of interests and from different walks of life, but how this all worked in practice largely remains an intriguing question. What was the status of music as an activity? How did the activity of music or even the choice of an instrument relate to gender and social status? What about teachers and systems of transmission? What about (amateur) music societies? I think we have here an interesting subject for further investigation.

WAYS OF TEA: *SENCHA* AND *CHANOYU*

Sencha (煎茶), steeped leaf tea (as opposed to powdered whisked tea, *matcha*, 抹茶), was gaining popularity as an everyday beverage during the second half of the eighteenth century, although it had been available in Japan for at least a hundred years.[175] Its special way of brewing required utensils that were different from those used to prepare *matcha* (which were also used in the Japanese "tea ceremony" or *chanoyu*): instead of the large tea bowl, one used very small cups, and a teapot was used to let the leaves steep, which made the tea whisk obsolete. *Sencha* was, in fact, the 'modern' way of drinking tea in China, where it had, by this time, completely replaced powdered tea.[176] *Sencha*, an interesting novelty, was in Japan much associated with China and its utensils

[172] Compare, for instance, an introductory work like Borris, ed., *Musikleben in Japan*, or the series 'Studien zur traditionellen Musik Japans' published by Bärenreiter in Kassel.
[173] See, for instance, Totman, *Early modern Japan*, 406-407.
[174] Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, 474-475. For the availability of 'modern' Chinese music in the late Tokugawa period, see Britten Dean, 'Mr Gi's music book, An annotated translation of Gi Shimei's *Gi-shi Gakufu*', in: *MN* 37, 1982, 318-332. A name that attracted my attention here is that of Ryū Sōrō, a scholar and musician who contributed a preface to Mr Gi's book. Ryū Sōrō is mentioned above in my chapter on teachers and pupils as the Chinese studies teacher of several individuals.
[175] The only monograph on *sencha* in English is Graham, *Tea of the sages*. It is generally reliable as a pioneering study, although it suffers from a few mistakes (the worst being Baisaō written 梅茶翁, see glossary) and from an all-pervading *bunjin* rhetoric. Some information on *sencha* can also be found in Paul Varley & Kumakura Isao, eds, *Tea in Japan. Essays on the history of Chanoyu*, Honolulu 1989, 182-184. More information in, for instance, Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫, *Kindai chadōshi no kenkyū* 近代茶道史の研究, Tokyo 1980, in the chapter 'Chagyō no tenkai to sencha ryūkō' 茶業の展開と煎茶流行, and in Moriyama Shigeo 森山重雄, *Ueda Akinari no koten kankaku* 上田秋成の古典感覚, Tokyo 1996, in the chapter 'Chajin to shite no Akinari' 茶人としての秋成.
[176] Compare John Blofeld, *The Chinese art of tea*, Boston 1997^2, 23-24.

and general ambiance would usually be in the Chinese style. Drinking *sencha* as a slightly ritualized pastime was especially popular with intellectuals, and I think this was mainly for three reasons: first, because of its 'modernity', second, because it was *not chanoyu* (an extremely expensive pastime that had in the eyes of many degenerated into something that could only interest the pretentious), and, third, because of the role of one of *sencha*'s first popularizers Baisaō, (売茶翁, The Old Man who Sells Tea, 1675-1763), a former Ōbaku priest who, indeed, sold tea on the streets of Kyoto and had a mainly intellectual clientele.[177] The fact that Baisaō had been an Ōbaku priest, a fine calligrapher in the Chinese style and an eminent *kanshi* poet, no doubt, underlined the 'Chineseness' of *sencha*. *Sencha* enabled intellectuals to take part in an elegant and up-to-date pastime in which, due to the Chinese bias of their scholarly background, they all will have felt 'at home'.

The following ten individuals from the network were involved in *sencha*:

- Aoki Mokubei (Kyoto)
- Daiten Kenjō (Kyoto)
- Geppō (Kyoto)
- Shinnin Shinnō (Kyoto)
- Murase Kōtei (Kyoto, provinces)
- Ueda Akinari (Osaka, Kyoto)
- Kimura Kenkadō (Osaka)
- Tsuga Teishō (Osaka)
- Masuyama Sessai (provinces,Osaka, Edo)
- Ōkubo Shibutsu (Edo)

Aoki Mokubei and Ōkubo Shibutsu were both born in 1767. Their involvement in *sencha* dates from after 1800. Shibutsu is actually the only real Edo-ite here. Masuyama Sessai (friend and benefactor of Kimura Kenkadō) had during his career as a daimyo served as Castle Guard in Osaka. As far as our network is concerned, in the period under scrutiny, *sencha* was a Kamigata activity. This supports the conclusions of Patricia Graham, who situates the introduction in Edo of *sencha* as a pastime for intellectuals in the early nineteenth century.[178] Several individuals in the network had actually known Kyoto's Old Tea Seller, Baisaō, among them not only actual practicioners of *sencha* like Daiten and Kimura Kenkadō mentioned here, but also Ike Taiga, Katayama Hokkai, Kō Fuyō, and Itō Jakuchū.[179] After Baisaō's death, Daiten, Taiga and Jakuchū collaborated on a commemorative edition of his works.

Tsuga Teishō had been in contact with another pioneer of *sencha*, Ōeda Ryūhō, like himself active in Osaka. Teishō wrote the preface to Ryūhō's *Seiwanchawa* (青湾茶話) a work on *sencha* published in 1756, which was probably also the year of Ryūhō's

[177] See for instance, Kanō Hiroyuki 狩野博幸, 'Baisaō, kijin no bakkubōn' 売茶翁, 奇人のバックボーン, in: *Geijutsu shinchō* 芸術新潮 5, 1990; also Fukushima Riko 福島理子, ed., *Edo kanshisen* 江戸漢詩選, vol. 5 (*sōmon* 僧門), 313-319.
[178] Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 113.
[179] Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 69.

death.[180] Teishō, in his turn, was among those who inspired Ueda Akinari; another source of inspiration was, no doubt, Akinari's friend Kimura Kenkadō. Akinari wrote one of the most popular *sencha* manuals of the period, *Seifūsagen* (清風瑣言) which appeared 1794.[181] In compiling the booklet, Akinari made use of an impressive amount of Chinese sources; *Seifūsagen* testifies to his great erudition as a scholar of Chinese studies, a field we do not usually associate with him. The preface was written by Akinari's friend and neighbour Murase Kōtei, likewise a person with a longstanding interest in *sencha*.[182] In his preface, Kōtei takes a rather strong anti-*chanoyu* stance, much more so, in fact, than Akinari himself. Their interest in *sencha* stimulated both men to take an interest in pottery, although Akinari was an active potter whereas Kōtei probably was not.[183] The name mostly associated with utensils for *sencha* is that of the potter Aoki Mokubei.

Apart from being mostly a Kamigata activity, *sencha* does not seem to have been popular with samurai:

- Commoner: 5
- Samurai/ronin: 1
- Imperial family: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 3

Samurai may have been more attracted to *chanoyu* as an elite pastime that was traditionally associated with their class.

Although it was not unaffordable to take lessons in *chanoyu*, the serious pursuit of this pastime would have required expensive utensils, a tea room or tea house, and the wherewithal to receive guests and organize gatherings. Practitioners of *sencha* may, therefore, have had something of a point when they turned away from *chanoyu* as a pastime for the wealthy (or the upstarts). Indeed, the only two individuals in our network associated with *chanoyu* are from high-ranking families: Sakai Hōitsu, the second son of the daimyo of the domain of Himeji, and Matsudaira Sadanobu, the grandson of the eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune. Sadanobu also produced two small tracts on *chanoyu*, *Sadōkun* (茶道訓) and *Saji okite* (茶事掟), in which he, characteristically, discussed the art from a Confucian point of view.[184] Given their high birth both Masuyama Sessai and the prince Shinnin may have practised *chanoyu* as part of their upbringing.

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[180] Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 83. Graham points out that Ryūhō may have been in contact with Baisaō, because the Old Tea Seller dedicated one of his poems to him. *Seiwanchawa*, with a brief introduction and annotation, can be found in Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 et al., eds, *Nihon no chasho* 日本の茶書, Tokyo 1992, vol. 2, 69-152. Moriyama Shigeo, *Ueda Akinari no koten kankaku*, 134, describes *Seiwanchawa* as the oldest substantial book on *sencha* in Japan.

[181] Hayshiya Tatsusaburō et al., *Nihon no chasho*, vol. 2, 153-210.

[182] Blake Morgan Young, *Ueda Akinari*, Vancouver 1982, 105, 108-109. It is interesting in this context to add that Young has found some evidence that Akinari may have been a descendant of the tea master and garden designer Kobori Enshū (1579-1647).

[183] Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 109, and Graham, *Tea of the sages*, 106.

[184] Varley & Kumakura, *Tea in Japan*, 171-172. The two tracts can also be found in: Hayashiya Tatsusaburō et al., *Nihon no chasho*, vol. 2, 211-222.

Fifteen individuals in the network are singled out in the sources for their collections, usually of objects that had something to do with their professional life or with cherished leisure interests. Several also collected *kibutsu* (奇物, 'curious things'), a term that covers a wide variety of curiosities, that might be remarkable (and desirable) for their age, rarity, exoticism or even for their strange shape or substance. Many others will, no doubt, have had less spectacular collections.

Below the collectors are listed together with an indication of what their collections contained:

Eda Nagayasu	books, painting, calligraphy, *kibutsu*
Ichikawa Beian	painting, calligraphy, rubbings, calligraphy utensils
Kan Tenju	calligraphy, rubbings, seals, ink-cakes
Katsuragawa Hoshū	Western books, *kibutsu*
Kimura Kenkadō	(Western) books, maps, *kibutsu*
Kō Fuyō	seals, *kibutsu* (notably Chinese ceramics)
Matsura Seizan	(Western) books
Minagawa Kien	texts of the Jōruri theatre
Nagata Kanga	painting, calligraphy, rubbings
Nishiyama Sessai	*kibutsu* (curious stones)
Okada Beisanjin	books, painting, calligraphy
Sawada Tōkō	calligraphy model books
Shinozaki Santō	books, calligraphy
Yashiro Hirokata	books
Yoshida Kōton	books

As for the *kibutsu* collected by Kenkadō: he had a special interest in botany and the natural world. Sessai's 'curious stones' were not of the type he picked up from the ground. His prize piece seems to have been a Fuji-shaped amethyst.

All of these collections were famous in their own way, as local attractions or for those who shared the same interest. Two collections enjoyed national renown: that of Kimura Kenkadō (it ensured him a steady stream of visitors) and that of Yashiro Hirokata. Hirokata's library, said to have contained some 50,000 volumes, was destroyed in the Second World War.[185] Two of the individuals mentioned above were also called upon as specialists to assess the value and authenticity of artifacts and antiques: Eda Nagayasu and Yoshida Kōton. We will look at geography first:

Edo (4)

- Katsuragawa Hoshū
- Sawada Tōkō
- Yashiro Hirokata
- Yoshida Kōton

[185] *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, s.v. Yashiro Hirokata.

Kyoto (3)

- Kō Fuyō
- Minagawa Kien
- Nagata Kanga

Osaka (4)

- Eda Nagayasu
- Kimura Kenkadō
- Okada Beisanjin
- Shinozaki Santō

Other (4)

- Ichikawa Beian (Edo, provinces)
- Matsura Seizan (Edo, provinces)
- Kan Tenju (provinces)
- Nishiyama Sessai (provinces)

If we do not include the collections of Ichikawa Beian and Yashiro Hirokata, that strictly speaking belong to the nineteenth century, we find that we have four collections in Osaka, three in Kyoto, three in Edo and three in the provinces. Matsura Seizan's collection is included in the last three: Shiba Kōkan visited Seizan's library when he was in Nagasaki and Hirado in 1788/1789.

Instead of investigating social background we might in this case try to say something about the income of these persons; a certain affluence seems a condition for putting together a collection. Matsura Seizan was a daimyo. Kan Tenju conducted a money lending business in Ise province and was a wealthy man. The same holds good for the four collectors based in Osaka, all four of whom were active as businessmen in the course of their lives. As the reader will find when consulting the biographical profiles, everyone of the other nine individuals mentioned above seems to have been well-off. Although they were perhaps not what one would call 'rich', they had a steady income that would have enabled them to buy items regularly.

MEDICINE

The matter that mainly concerns me in my investigation into medicine is that of the breakthrough of Western medicine (*ranpō* 蘭方, as opposed to traditional medicine, *kanpō* 漢方), which took place in the period under scrutiny.

For the activity of medicine we find exactly thirty individuals: twenty-eight of them were professionally active as physicians and, remarkably, two individuals had an 'amateur' interest: Nakai Riken and Okada Kansen. Fifteen of the twenty-eight professional physicians made use of Western methods and insights. It might be observed that Kagawa Gen'etsu is actually the only *traditional* physician of this period singled out by the sources for his merits. Gen'etsu, was a (if not *the*) leading specialist in the field of obstetrics.

Where did our twenty-eight professional physicians have their practices? Physicians who (also) used Western methods are indicated by an asterisk:

Edo (13)

- Katakura Kakuryō
- Katsuragawa Hoshū*
- Kudō Heisuke*
- Maeno Ryōtaku*
- Morishima Chūryō*
- Nakagawa Jun'an*
- Ōtsuki Gentaku*
- Sugita Genpaku*
- Taki Rankei
- Taki Renpu
- Udagawa Genzui*
- Udagawa Shinsai*
- Yoshida Kōton

Kyoto (3)

- Kagawa Gen'etsu
- Ogino Gengai
- Yunoki Taijun*

Osaka (4)

- Hirasawa Kyokuzan
- Katsu Shikin
- Tsuga Teishō
- Ueda Akinari

Provinces (4)

- Ema Ransai*
- Motoori Norinaga
- Rai Shunpū
- Takebe Seian*

Osaka/Kyoto (1)

- Koishi Genshun*

Provinces/Kyoto (2)

- Inamura Sanpaku*
- Tachibana Nankei*

Edo/provinces (1)

- Sasaki Roan

One of the most important events in the history of Western medicine in Japan was, no doubt, the publication in 1774 of *Kaitai shinsho* (解体新書), a translation into Japanese of a work known in Dutch as *Ontleedkundige tafelen* (1734). It was originally written in German (*Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722) by Johann Adam Kulmus (1689-1745). The

story is well known: in 1771 a group of Western-style physicians working in Edo took part in the dissection of the body of a female criminal. They were so impressed by the accuracy of their copy of the *Ontleedkundige tafelen* that they decided to translate the book.[186] Four of the physicians who took this initiative can be found under 'Edo' above: Katsuragawa Hoshū, Maeno Ryōtaku, Nakagawa Jun'an and Sugita Genpaku.[187] The translation project and the subsequent publication not only greatly augmented their knowledge; it was also a boost to their reputation. The four translators attracted many pupils, notably Ōtsuki Gentaku and Udagawa Genzui (the author of the first book on internal medicine in Japan). Udagawa Shinsai came from Ise province around 1790 to study with Hoshū, Gentaku and Genzui; the latter adopted him as his heir. The appeal of such famous researchers confirmed the position of Edo as one of the two centres for the study of Western medicine in Japan, the other, of course, being Nagasaki. Edo and Nagasaki were also the only two cities in Japan where one could get into contact with the official 'Dutch' interpreters (*Oranda tsūji*, オランダ通辞) of the Bakufu and with 'real-life' Dutch physicians, as, indeed, several of those mentioned here actually did.[188]

However, the story did not end in Edo. Ema Ransai went to study with Maeno Ryōtaku in 1792, attracted by what he had heard about the work of Ryōtaku and his circle. Upon his return to his domain he began to practice in the Western style. Inamura Sanpuku, had come into contact with Western science during a visit to Nagasaki in the late 1770s, but it was Ōtsuki Gentaku's primer *Rangaku kaitei* (蘭学階梯, 1788) that really won him over. He went to study with Gentaku in 1792. Sanpaku was the compiler of the *Haruma Wage* (波留麻和解, 1796), the first Dutch-Japanese dictionary. He opened a school for Western studies in Kyoto in 1805. Koishi Genshun had been in Nagasaki in the context of a study trip when he was in his twenties. He met Sugita Genpaku in Kyoto in 1785 and went to Edo to study with members of Genpaku's circle a year later, staying at the house of Ōtsuki Gentaku. He was of great importance as a teacher of Western medicine in both Kyoto and Osaka. Genshun stimulated the interest in Western medicine of his friend Tachibana Nankei, who went to Nagasaki in 1782/1783.

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[186] This was not the first dissection in Japan. That actually took place in 1754 and was conducted by the Kyoto court physician Yamawaki Tōyō (1704-1762). For a description of the 1771 dissection, see for instance Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and its world. Two centuries of change*, Princeton 1980, 32-33. Jansen characterizes the incident as the beginning of "the age of translation" (33). The occasion is also described alongside more general information by Harmen Beukers, 'The introduction of Western medicine in Japan', in: Leonard Blussé, Willem Remmelink & Ivo Smits, *Bridging the divide. 400 year the Netherlands-Japan*, Leiden 2000, 103-109, 111-115. For aspects of art, representation and world view, see Timon Screech, *The lens within the heart*. For further background information: Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*.

[187] It should be added that *Kaitai shinsho* was illustrated by Odano Naotake, a pupil of Sugita Genpaku's friends Hiraga Gennai and Sō Shiseki; see also Screech, *The lens within the heart*, 89.

[188] See for instance Krieger, *The infiltration of European civilization*, passim. Krieger's book is in fact a translation of the part covering the years 1700 to 1800 from *Shinsen yōgaku nenpyō* 新選洋学年表 ('Revised chronological tables of Western learning') by Ōtsuki Nyoden (大槻如電, the grandson of Ōtsuki Gentaku), published in 1927. See also Jansen, *Japan and its world*, 30-31. Maeno Ryōtaku visited Nagasaki in 1770/71 and in 1773, and Ōtsuki Gentaku in 1785. For information on the 'Dutch interpreters', see Torii Yumiko, '"Dutch studies". Interpreters, language, geography and world history', in: Leonard Blussé, Willem Remmelink & Ivo Smits, *Bridging the divide,* 117-137.

As for the other Western-style physicians: Kudō Heisuke had a general interest in Western studies and we find Gentaku, Jun'an, Ryōtaku, Hoshū and Aoki Kon'yō (1698-1769, a specialist of Western studies from an earlier generation) among his contacts. Takebe Seian had studied Western style medicine in his early years and was the first teacher of Ōtsuki Gentaku. Two of his sons became Western-style physicians, one of them as the adopted heir of Sugita Genpaku. I have not found who or what inspired Yunoki Taijun, eye specialist in Kyoto.

Although the *Ontleedkundige tafelen* translation project itself falls outside the time limits set for my investigation, our network reflects its genesis and its impact in Edo and also in the Kamigata region and the provinces.[189] Moreover, not only the medical specialists, but also the officials of the Bakufu were impressed: in 1793 Katsuragawa Hoshū was engaged as a teacher at the Seijūkan, the former private academy of the Taki family that had become the official medical academy of the Bakufu in 1790.

The social backgrounds of our physicians are the following:

- Commoner: 11 (three of them used Western methods)
- Samurai/ronin: 3 (all three used Western methods)
- Retained physicians: 11 (eight of them used Western methods)
- Unknown/unclear: 3 (one of them used Western methods)

Among those with a commoner background we find Ema Ransai, who was adopted into a family of retained physicians. The category of samurai/ronin includes Maeno Ryōtaku, the son of a samurai, who was likewise adopted into a family of retained physicians, and also Koishi Genshun, whose father had started a medical practice after having become a ronin. Among those with a background that is unknown or unclear we find Udagawa Shinsai, who was adopted by the retained physician Udagawa Genzui. The majority of this group of twenty-eight individuals were in fact sons of physicians: this concerns no fewer than seventeen persons and if we add the adoptees (Ransai, Ryōtaku and Shinsai) the total comes to twenty (71.4 % of twenty-eight).

If we again include the adoptees, half of our physicians belonged to the category of retained physicians. As many as eleven of them used Western methods and insights, which suggests that neither domanial nor Bakufu authorities looked unfavourably upon their physicians' interest in the field. In fact, in several cases financial support for travel or advanced research came from the side of the domanial or national authorities.[190]

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[189] In *Japan and its world*, Jansen stresses that the "translation movement" begun by the specialists of Western medicine contributed to the end of the "dominance of China" (34). As he puts it: "The translation movement that Sugita and his friends inaugurated, and the education and experimentation to which it led, were both symbol and agent of the demolition of a world outlook that was already in process of change" (37).

[190] Compare Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*, 148. He mentions Sugita Genpaku, Maeno Ryōtaku, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Takebe Seian, Udagawa Genzui and Inamura Sanpaku.

Individuals with an interest in aspects of Western science *not directed at the art of healing*, have been grouped here under 'Western studies', but there is actually a considerable overlap with medical studies and with the activities of politico-economic studies, military studies, ethnography and collecting discussed above. All these activities would involve some knowledge of the Dutch language and also a willingness to confront the Western world view and, as Timon Screech put it, "the Western scientific gaze" with its maps, diagrams and and other pictorial material. There is a similar overlap between Western studies and various forms of pictorial art: several individuals active in such fields took the trouble to learn Western techniques and to study Western styles and genres (notably Aōdō Denzen, Shiba Kōkan, Odano Naotake, Satake Yoshiatsu and Hiraga Gennai, but also, for instance, Aoki Mokubei and Tani Bunchō).[191] Kimura Kenkadō deserves special mention for his broad outlook as a collector.

The fourteen individuals discussed here under Western studies are those who were involved in Western science and technology (including aspects of chemistry, physics, mathematics, geography, navigation, and astronomy): Hayashi Shihei, Hiraga Gennai, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Kudō Heisuke, Maeno Ryōtaku, Matsura Seizan, Mogami Tokunai (who, as a pupil and protégé of Honda Toshiakira, had a knowledge of Western mathematics, navigation and geography), Morishima Chūryō, Nakagawa Jun'an, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Shiba Kōkan, and Udagawa Shinsai. I have also included Inamura Sanpaku for his work as a lexicographer, and Takemoto Tōtōan who took up Western studies in Edo while on a study trip.

Almost all of the fourteen individuals were either based in Edo or had strong links with the city. As has already been mentioned, Hayashi Shihei lived in Sendai but visited Edo regularly. The daimyo Matsura Seizan divided his time between Edo and his domain. Inamura Sanpaku left Edo after his resignation in 1802 and went to live in the provinces. He settled in Kyoto in 1805 and opened an academy for Western studies there. Takemoto Tōtōan returned to the domain of Okayama after his study trip. He moved to Kyoto around 1800. Shiba Kōkan made an attempt to settle in Kyoto in 1812, but returned to Edo within a year.

Six of those included here visited Nagasaki: Hayashi Shihei in 1775, 1777 and 1782; Hiraga Gennai in 1752 and 1770; Inamura Sanpaku somewhere in the late 1770s around the time he studied with Kamei Nanmei in Fukuoka; Maeno Ryōtaku in 1770/1771 and in 1773; Ōtsuki Gentaku in 1785 and Shiba Kōkan in 1788/1789.

As for the social background of the fourteen individuals with an interest in Western studies:

[191] Compare Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄, *Edo jidai yōfūga shi, Momoyama jidai kara Bakumatsu made* 江戸時代洋風画史, 桃山時代から幕末まで,Tokyo 2002. For Western style painting in the domain of Akita, see 91-138, for Shiba Kōkan, 197-262. Western style painting in the domain of Akita is also the subject of Hiroko Johnson, *Western influences on Japanese art. The Akita ranga art school and foreign books*, Amsterdam forthcoming.

- Commoner: 2
- Samurai/ronin: 4
- Retained physicians: 5
- Unknown/unclear: 3

The category 'samurai/ronin' includes Maeno Ryōtaku, who was adopted into a family of retained physicians. As was the case with the Western-style physicians we find that a majority of those interested in Western studies are from the ranks of (non-active) samurai or from families of retained physicians.

If we include what has been discussed in the sections on medicine and on politico-economic studies, military studies and ethnography, we have now a fair idea about which individuals in our network had an interest in matters concerning the West. In the same way as we tried to investigate how 'sinophile' our specialists of Chinese studies and *kanshi* poetry were, we may now be able to say something about how '*ran*-minded' our Western style physicians and our specialists of Western studies were by having a look at their other activities.[192]

All in all, an interest in the West concerns twenty-five individuals (14.4 % of 173) divided over various (overlapping) disciplines. Ten of these had no interest outside their fields of Western studies/Western medicine. Among the ten we find Hayashi Shihei and Mogami Tokunai.[193] The other eight are all physicians: Ema Ransai, Inamura Sanpaku, Nakagawa Jun'an (whose activities, by the way, did include botany), Ōtsuki Gentaku, Takebe Seian, Udagawa Genzui, Udagawa Shinsai and Yunoki Taijun. As for the other fifteen: Hiraga Gennai was also engaged in popular fiction; Katsuragawa Hoshū played the Chinese *koto*; Koishi Genshun did Chinese studies (and also practised Zen meditation); Kudō Heisuke was involved in seal carving; Maeno Ryōtaku played the *hitoyogiri* and practised a form of Kabuki dance; Matsura Seizan did Chinese studies, *waka*, and *renga*, had an interest in classical Japanese prose and played the *koto* and the *shamisen*; Morishima Chūryō had an interest in vernacular Chinese, composed *kyōka* and wrote popular fiction; Shiba Kōkan began his career as an *ukiyo-e* painter; Sugita Genpaku practised *renga*, *kanshi*, *waka* and *haikai*; Tachibana Nankei composed *waka* and *kanshi* and wrote travel books; Takemoto Tōtōan was mostly engaged in *kanshi* and Chinese studies; Aōdō Denzen turned to non-Western painting styles later in life; Kimura Kenkadō did *kanshi*, seal carving and *sencha*; Odano Naotake was familiar with non-Western painting styles, and Satake Yoshiatsu composed *waka* and *kanshi* and practised calligraphy.[194] A majority of the individuals with an interest in the West (fifteen out of twenty-five) were by no means exclusive in their tastes. Most of the

[192] *Ran* (蘭) here, of course, indicates Holland, but as Timon Screech remarks "*Ran* was a cluster of concepts, not a place" (*The lens within the heart*, 7).

[193] I have not found that Shihei was engaged in any kind of poetry but he was at least able to compose his famous farewell poem: " I have no parents, no wife, no children, no printing blocks, no money, no desire to die", quoted here from the contribution of Katagiri Kazuo to the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, s.v. Hayashi Shihei.

[194] Odano Naotake also studied the Shen Nanpin-style, as did Kimura Kenkadō. This style enjoyed a special popularity with people interested in Western science because of its aura of Western accuracy. Frank Chance, 'In the studio of painting study', in: Jordan & Weston, eds, *Copying the master and stealing his secrets*, 65, speaks of "the Nagasaki style of Sinified Western realism" .

others were extremely busy combining their duties as physicians and teachers with their research. They were indeed a fairly exclusive circle, though even among them there were those who had acquaintances with a broader outlook: Ōtsuki Gentaku was in contact with Kimura Kenkadō; Nakagawa Jun'an knew Hiraga Gennai and Yunoki Taijun was a contact of Minagawa Kien. Hayashi Shihei was a contact of the imperial loyalist, scholar and *waka* poet Takayama Hikokurō.

OTHER FIELDS OF SCIENCE

There are no distinctive geographic patterns to be detected for the sixteen individuals with an interest in such fields as botany, agricultural studies and astronomy. As for their social background:

- Commoner: 5
- Samurai/ronin: 4
- Retained physician: 2
- Unknown/unclear: 5

In the case of the six individuals involved in botany, details are of interest, because one expects to find a sharp distinction between those who were in touch with Western insights and those who were traditional (i.e. Chinese) in their outlook. On first sight one would assign Hiraga Gennai and his friend and fellow student Nakagawa Jun'an to the first category, and Ono Ranzan, Kimura Kenkadō, Ike Taiga and Masuyama Sessai to the second.[195] Ranzan's *magnum opus Honzō kōmoku keimō* 本草綱目啓蒙 (1803) was based on a famous Chinese pharmacopoeia, the *Pencao gangmu* (本草綱目). Moreover, Ranzan was the teacher of Kimura Kenkadō, and Taiga and Sessai can be found among Kenkadō's contacts. In her monograph on Taiga, Melinda Takeuchi firmly places both Kenkadō's and Taiga's interest in the natural world in a Confucian context.[196] However, things may have been more subtle than this. We have Kenkadō's collection, with its many Western objects and his contacts with Ōtsuki Gentaku and Shiba Kōkan, and there is the fact that Kenkadō travelled to Nagasaki in 1778. Masuyama Sessai also went to Nagasaki (1785) and both he and Kenkadō practised the naturalistic style of bird and flower painting known as the Shen Nanpin-syle.[197] Ranzan himself became a colleague of Katsuragawa Hoshū (one of the translators of *Kaitai shinsho* of 1774) when in 1799 he was engaged as a teacher at the official Bakufu medical academy, the Seijūkan, where Hoshū had been working since 1793. From Krieger's *Infiltration of European*

[195] Hiraga Gennai and Nakagawa Jun'an cooperated in research on asbestos (they produced a non-inflammable cloth in 1764). It is, therefore, no surprise that both died young; Gennai in his fifty-third year and Jun'an in his forty-eighth.

[196] Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, 114-115. As for Taiga's personal role in this network: the master died in 1776.

[197] Takeuchi also seems to be aware of the specific role of this style in the context of pre-modern science, compare *Taiga's true views*, 187 note 16. An important representative of the Shen Nanpin-style was Sō Shiseki, a friend of Hiraga Gennai and Sugita Genpaku and teacher of Odano Naotake and Shiba Kōkan.

civilization it appears that at the time Ranzan got into contact with Ōtsuki Gentaku.[198] Instead of showing a sharp distinction, the network may, in fact, reflect a process of cross-fertilization between Western and Chinese methods and insights.

I cannot find such cross-fertilization in the case of the seven individuals involved in astronomy and/or calendrical sciences. Udagawa Shinsai, Maeno Ryōtaku and Shiba Kōkan were aware of Western insights, but Fujitani Nariakira, Nakai Riken, Shinozaki Santō and Yamamoto Hokuzan most likely concentrated on material reflecting the traditional Chinese cosmology. Still, even here it might be pointed out that Nakai Riken, Shinozaki Santō and Shiba Kōkan are among the contacts of Kimura Kenkadō. Yamamoto Hokuzan and Shinozaki Santō were also interested in the art of divination (*ekigaku*, 易学).

Takemoto Hokurin and Tsuga Teishō were involved in agricultural studies. Hokurin seems to have been more of an economist in his approach, whereas Teishō was more of a botanist. Kudō Heisuke was the single individual with an interest in mechanics.

PAINTING AND RELATED FIELDS

No fewer than sixty individuals in our network were involved in painting, including painting and drawing for reproduction, such as book illustration and print making. Geographical distribution first:

Edo (14)

- Inoue Kinga
- Kameda Bōsai
- Katō Chikage
- Kitao Masayoshi
- Koikawa Harumachi
- Nakayama Kōyō
- Ōkubo Shibutsu
- Sakai Hōitsu
- Santō Kyōden
- Shiba Kōkan
- Sō Shiseki
- Suzuki Fuyō
- Tani Bunchō
- Tani Kankan

Edo/provinces (4)

- Aōdō Denzen
- Hiraga Gennai
- Masuyama Sessai
- Satake Yoshiatsu

[198] See there 118, Bansui is Gentaku.

Kyoto (20)

- Aoki Mokubei
- Aoki Shukuya
- Geppō
- Ike Gyokuran
- Ike Taiga
- Imei
- Itō Jakuchū
- Kō Fuyō
- Kō Raikin
- Komai Genki
- Maruyama Ōkyo
- Maruyama Ōzui
- Matsumura Goshun
- Matsumura Keibun
- Miguma Katen
- Minagawa Kien
- Nagasawa Rosetsu
- Nagata Kanga
- Okamoto Toyohiko
- Yosa Buson

Kyoto/provinces (6)

- Azuma Tōyō
- Gessen
- Kashiwagi Jotei
- Ki Baitei
- Miura Chora
- Murase Kōtei

Osaka (5)

- Kimura Kenkadō
- Mori Sosen
- Morikawa Chikusō
- Nakai Riken
- Okada Beisanjin

Osaka/Edo (1)

- Mori Tessan

Osaka/provinces (1)

- Totoki Baigai

Provinces (6)

- Haruki Nanko
- Kakizaki Hakyō

- Kan Tenju
- Kuwayama Gyokushū
- Noro Kaiseki
- Odano Naotake

Kyoto/Edo/Osaka (2)
- Chō Tōsai
- Kakutei Jōkō

Provinces/Edo/Kyoto (1)
- Uragami Gyokudō

Twenty-nine of the sixty individuals involved in painting were at some point in their lives active in Kyoto (48.3 % of sixty), twenty-two (36.6 % of sixty) in Edo, nine (15 % of sixty) in Osaka, and eighteen (30 % of sixty) in the provinces.[199] We have no exact data or no data at all concerning the location of tuition for twenty of the sixty painters, but we can be sure that twenty-two individuals studied painting in Kyoto, thirteen studied in Edo, two studied in Osaka and some studied, for instance, in Nagasaki. We may conclude, therefore, that for the activity of 'painting' we find a prominence for the city of Kyoto. This is even more obvious when we consider the renown of the Kyoto painters, who include masters like Ike Taiga, Yosa Buson, Itō Jakuchū, Maruyama Ōkyo and Matsumura Goshun. I should also mention the twice-yearly public exhibitions of paintings and calligraphy organized by Minagawa Kien from the year 1783. All in all Kien organized fourteen such exhibitions.

As for the social background of our painters:

- Commoner: 25
- Samurai/ronin: 14
- Retained scholar/physician: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 20

Again, the commoners are a majority; indeed, the five eminent Kyoto masters mentioned above were all from commoner backgrounds. Most of those whose social background is unknown or unclear were very likely also commoners. Miura Chora's father may have been a samurai (he resigned when Chora was about fourteen years old), and Ōkubo Shibutsu's father is said to have been a samurai who worked as a physician. I find his status somewhat unclear. Inoue Kinga is the only person from a background of retained scholars/physicians. Among those from a background of samurai/ronin we find two painting daimyo (Masuyama Sessai and Satake Yoshiatsu). Kakizaki Hakyō and Sakai Hōitsu were sons of daimyo. Six of our painters were, or had for some time been, Buddhist priests: Chō Tōsai, Geppō, Gessen, Imei, Kakutei Jōkō and Sakai Hōitsu. Itō Jakuchū became a lay monk around 1750.

[199] The percentages add up to more than 100 % because several individuals were active in more than one location.

The most remarkable fact concerning our painters is perhaps that the network does not contain any representatives of the two great traditional schools of painting: the Kanō (狩野) school of Chinese-style painting, and the Japanese-style Tosa (土佐) school. The Tosa school obviously was a completely different circuit: none of the painters included in our network studied with a teacher from the Tosa school. Several studied with a Kanō master, but none of them permanently pursued the style. The individuals concerned are Kimura Kenkadō, Kitao Masayoshi (on his lord's orders), Maruyama Ōkyo, Koikawa Harumachi, Odano Naotake and Sakai Hōitsu. Itō Jakuchū, Mori Sosen, Shiba Kōkan and Yosa Buson may have studied with a Kanō master, but in each case this is uncertain. The priest/painter Gessen studied with Sakurai Sekkan (1715-1790), a master of the Unkoku (雲谷) school, who painted in the style of Sesshū (1420-1506). Kuwayama Gyokushū and Tani Bunchō possibly also studied with him. Sakai Hōitsu brought about a revival of the Rinpa (琳派) style of Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716). The overall majority of our painters seem to have preferred what was 'new' or recently rediscovered, the eclectic, the experimental and individual, or even the 'Western'. Several of them actually worked in a wide variety of styles.

Amongst the painters in the network nine (15 % of 60) were also regularly active as book illustrators and/or print makers: Aōdō Denzen, Kitao Masayoshi, Koikawa Harumachi, Miguma Katen, Odano Naotake, Santō Kyōden, Shiba Kōkan, Sō Shiseki and Tani Bunchō. Illustrators Koikawa Harumachi and Santō Kyōden were themselves authors of popular fiction. Tani Bunchō was one of Aōdō Denzen's teachers; both were protégés of Matsudaira Sadanobu. Denzen also studied with Shiba Kōkan. Kōkan and Odano Naotake studied with Sō Shiseki; Tani Bunchō may have studied with him as well. The work of our illustrators was certainly not limited to the popular genres: Denzen, Naotake, Kōkan and Shiseki also illustrated scientific publications. Miguma Katen was active in Kyoto; all other illustrators were based in Edo or had, at least, strong links with this city.

Six of our painters were involved in the theory of art: Kuwayama Gyokushū, Matsumura Keibun, Nakayama Kōyō, Sakai Hōitsu, Satake Yoshiatsu and Tani Bunchō. Gyokushū wrote three books on the subject; Yoshiatsu is known as one of Japan's first theorists of Western painting; Hōitsu wrote two works on Ogata Kōrin and one on Kōrin's brother Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743), and Bunchō, Keibun and Kōyō published painting treatises.[200]

CALLIGRAPHY AND SEAL CARVING

Although in a certain sense one might say that 'everybody did calligraphy' (just as one could say that 'everybody did Chinese studies'), I found forty-three individuals in our network who had a special interest in this art, and, either professionally or as a private pastime practised calligraphy after their formative years. Apart from professional

[200] For Satake Yoshiatsu, see above, note 191. For Kuwayama Gyokushū, see, for instance, Yoshiho Yonezawa & Chu Yoshizawa, *Japanese painting in the literati style*, New York/Tokyo, 1974, 132-138; also Takeuchi, *Taiga's true views*, passim. For Sakai Hōitsu, see Honolulu Academy of Arts, *Exquisite visions. Rimpa paintings from Japan*, Honolulu 1980, 46-47. For Tani Bunchō, see Chance, 'In the studio of painting study', 69-77. For Keibun and Kōyō, see *KJJ*, s.v..

masters (including Chō Tōsai, Ike Taiga, Ichikawa Beian, Kameda Bōsai and his pupil Maki Ryōko, Hosoai Hansai, Nagata Kanga, Morikawa Chikusō, Okamoto Yasutaka and Sawada Tōkō) there were several non-professionals whose work was much appreciated, like Minagawa Kien, Ōkubo Shibutsu, Kikuchi Gozan and Murase Kōtei. Katō Chikage seems to me something of a special case in that his calligraphy was used for decorating pottery and textiles.

If we look at the geographical distribution, we, unsurprisingly, find 'calligraphy' more or less equally divided between Edo and the Kamigata region, with several people active in the provinces as well:

Edo (12)

- Inoue Kinga
- Kameda Bōsai
- Katō Chikage
- Maki Ryōko
- Murata Harumi
- Nakayama Kōyō
- Ōkubo Shibutsu
- Sakai Hōitsu
- Sawada Tōkō
- Takizawa Bakin
- Tegara no Okamochi
- Yashiro Hirokata

Edo/provinces (7)

- Ichikawa Beian
- Ichikawa Kansai
- Kikuchi Gozan
- Koga Seiri
- Masuyama Sessai
- Matsudaira Sadanobu
- Satake Yoshiatsu

Kyoto (10)

- Ban Kōkei
- Daiten
- Ike Gyokuran
- Ike Taiga
- Kō Fuyō
- Kō Raikin
- Minagawa Kien
- Nagata Kanga
- Okamoto Yasutaka
- Shinnin Shinnō

Kyoto/provinces (2)

- Murase Kōtei
- Takemoto Tōtōan

Osaka (5)

- Kimura Kenkadō
- Morikawa Chikusō
- Shinozaki Santō
- Takayasu Rooku
- Tsuga Teishō

Osaka/provinces (2)

- Rai Shunsui
- Totoki Baigai

Osaka/Kyoto (1)

- Hosoai Hansai

Osaka/Edo/Kyoto (1)

- Chō Tōsai

Provinces (3)

- Kan Tenju
- Rai Kyō
- Rai Shunpū

As far as social background is concerned figures are as follows:

- Commoner: 19
- Samurai/ronin: 12
- Retained scholar/physician: 2
- Other: 2
- Unknown/unclear: 8

The two individuals indicated as 'other' are Okamoto Yasutaka who was a Shinto priest and professional calligrapher (see below) and his pupil the prince Shinnin. The network contains seventeen individuals who practised seal carving; twelve of them also did calligraphy. Aoki Mokubei probably studied seal carving with Kō Fuyō but as this is not certain I have not included him here. In the table that follows the individuals who also practised calligraphy are marked with an asterisk:

Edo (3)

- Kudō Heisuke
- Nakayama Kōyō*
- Sawada Tōkō*

Edo/provinces (1)
- Tachi Ryūwan

Kyoto (5)
- Ike Taiga*
- Kō Fuyō*
- Matsumura Goshun
- Minagawa Kien*
- Ogino Gengai

Osaka (4)
- Katsu Shikin
- Kimura Kenkadō*
- Morikawa Chikusō*
- Tsuga Teishō*

Osaka/Kyoto (1)
- Hosoai Hansai*

Osaka/Edo/Kyoto (1)
- Chō Tōsai*

Osaka/provinces (1)
- Totoki Baigai*

Provinces (1)
- KanTenju

As far as our network is concerned seal carving was very much a Kamigata activity. Moreover, if we look at the social background of the seal carvers, seal carving does not seem to have been popular among samurai:

- Commoner: 11
- Retained scholar/physician: 1
- Unknown/unclear: 5

All of the individuals included under 'unknown/unclear' were probably of commoner descent. The group of calligraphers contains one individual who was the head (*iemoto* 家元) of an established 'school' of calligraphy. This is Okamoto Yasutaka, who was the head of the Daishi school, named after Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師) or Kūkai (空海, 774-835), the founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism whose calligraphic style this school is supposed to preserve and transmit. Although I have not tried to assess what style(s) our various calligraphers practised, I am under the impression that many developed their own distinctive styles and methods. Many were attracted to Chinese examples.

Among the other activities our intellectuals were involved in we find: epigraphy and the etymology of characters (Kō Fuyō), gardening (Hayashi Jussai, Kudō Heisuke), the incense ceremony (Eda Nagayasu), pottery (Aoki Mokubei, Okuda Eisen, Ueda Akinari), travel writing (Adachi Seiga, Tachibana Nankei, Takayama Hikokurō) and the study of popular culture (Santō Kyōden, Yashiro Hirokata).

The study of the popular culture of Edo was something Santō Kyōden became involved in in his final years.[201] He published two books on the subject. Yashiro Hirokata was a driving force behind the questionnaire known as the *Shokoku fūzoku toijo* (諸国風俗問答, "Questions on the customs of all provinces") that was circulated around 1813.[202] Guita Winkel in her discussion of Kyōden's and Hirokata's research states that "contemporary popular culture had become a common field of interest among scholars of Japan", in fact, it was one of the faces of Japanese studies.[203] It is no coincidence that popular culture should emerge as a field of interest at this particular time. The process of urbanization I mentioned in my introduction brought about great changes in landscape and society, as a result of which customs and 'superstitions' were disappearing. We find here a fascinating parallel with pre-modern Europe.[204]

The data provided by our prosopography to a certain extent confirm the *cliché* of Kyoto as the place for 'highbrow' activities, and Edo as the location for what was more lightweight and ephemeral. However, there is one important exception: Western medicine and various forms of Western studies. This was largely due to the presence in Edo of a number of exceptional scholars during the period under scrutiny, to the presence there of real-life representatives of the admired Western culture, and to the support of the national authorities and the domanial authorities centred on Edo. On the

[201] Guita Winkel describes him as a "trendsetter in the study of urban folk history", *Discovering different dimensions*, 314.
[202] Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 330-332.
[203] Winkel, *Discovering different dimensions*, 331.
[204] See for instance E. P. Thompson, *Customs in common*, London 1991, 1: The eighteenth century was the time when "customary usages were in decline ... The people were subject to pressures to 'reform' popular culture from above, literacy was displacing oral transmission, and enlightenment (it is supposed) was seeping down from the superior to the subordinate orders". A result of these developments was "the emergence of folklore, as ... observers in the upper ranks of society sent out exploring parties to inspect the 'Little Tradition' of the plebs, and to record their strange observances and rituals". The work by John Brand and Henry Ellis, *Observations on popular antiquities*, quoted by Thompson in this context, is from the same year (1813) as Hirokata's questionnaire (Brand's preface is from 1795), see *Customs in common*, 2. The first chapter ('The discovery of the people') of Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, London 1983, 3, is very much in the same vein: "It was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when traditional popular culture was just beginning to disappear, that the 'people' of the 'folk' became a subject of interest to European intellectuals" ; see also his chapter nine ('Popular culture and social change'), 244-286. Burke gives a list of early publications on the subject of popular culture (1760-1846) in an appendix, 287-288. See also (on a somewhat more philosophical level) Regina Bendix, *In search of authenticity. The formation of folklore studies*, Madison 1997, 27-67. The comparative aspect does not seem to have received much attention from the side of modern scholars of the Japanese 'nativist' tradition.

other hand, it is evident from our data that Edo was by no means the *only* place where high quality Western science and medicine could be found.

In fact, the prosopography shows no evidence whatsoever of the contention, that by this time in the Tokugawa period, Edo had taken over from Kyoto as the centre of culture and scholarship. As far as our network is concerned there was neither a specific centre for Chinese studies and related fields, nor for Japanese studies and related fields. However, we find that what happened in Kyoto was much valued by those involved in Japanese studies and various forms of Japanese poetry. The knowledge and work of representatives of the court traditions of Japanese literature, of historians of court customs, and of their pupils (more or less creative and original) was an important component in the shaping of the field of Japanese studies. The fact that many modern scholars of the 'nativist' tradition tend to focus on the genealogy of Keichū, Kada no Azumamaro, Kamo no Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane, leaves the importance of Kyoto for this tradition unnoted.[205] Kyoto was also, at the time, the centre of the so-called 'Bashō Revival Movement' in the study and composing of *haikai*. Edo clearly was the centre for popular fiction and *kyōka*, but as far as *sencha* and painting were concerned, Kyoto was of prime importance. The prosopography shows no real centre for fields like music or calligraphy, but it does indicate that seal carving was mainly a Kyoto activity.

An obvious but highly significant conclusion of this evaluation of activities must be that by this time commoners were an inextricable part of intellectual discourse. They often took the initiative and had the lead. Samurai and, for that matter, *kuge* and members of the imperial family were, of course, minorities within Japan's general population and also minorities within our network. Nevertheless, there had been times when socio-political and cultural elite were one and the same thing, and the prosopography clearly demonstrates that this was no longer the case.

Individuals with a samurai background are well-represented given the fact that they constituted only some six percent (be it a well-educated six percent) of the total population. Chinese studies was the basis of samurai education, and it is therefore not surprising that we find a number of our samurai/ronin among the individuals who did Chinese studies and/or *kanshi*. Taking part in elegant activities (thereby demonstrating that one knew what befitted a gentleman) was part of samurai behaviour. We therefore also find many individuals with a samurai background among those who practiced *waka*, painting or calligraphy, activities with a long history as elite pastimes. On the other hand, samurai were attracted to matters that were practical and applicable. The prosopography shows an interest in various fields of science, politico-economic and military studies, and 'Western' styles of painting among samurai/ronin. There can be

[205] For instance, in her discussion of Fujitani Mitsue in *Before the nation*, Susan Burns does not even mention Mitsue's *waka* teachers by name: "When he was twelve he began to study the orthodox tradition of waka composition with an aristocrat of the Dōjō school, which emphasized rigid adherence to the poetic conventions of the imperial anthology, the *Kokinwakashū*" (19). The aristocrat in question was Hirohashi Kanetane, who died the next year. Mitsue then moved on to another aristocrat, Hino Sukeki (who represented other traditions, see his biographical profile), with whom he studied until he was about twenty-five. Nosco, *Remembering paradise*, only mentions the imperial institution as an *object* of study and, of course, of loyalty.

little doubt that the samurai milieu engendered and favoured an interest in matters that could, directly or indirectly, be of benefit to domain and/or state.

Individuals from families of retained scholars and physicians in fact belonged to the same milieu (the official support many of the Western-style physicians received for their research fits the picture). Actually only seventeen individuals in our network (9.8 % of 173) were born in families of retained scholars or physicians; the reader must be aware that the data in the surveys above only concerns these individuals, and not the total number of retained scholars or physicians in the network. This percentage of 9.8 % includes Emura Hokkai, Hattori Rissai, Inoue Kinga, Katsuragawa Hoshū, Kikuchi Gozan, Kudō Heisuke, Morishima Chūryō, Nakagawa Jun'an, Ōta Kinjō, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Seida Tansō, Sugita Genpaku, Takebe Seian, Taki Rankei, Taki Renpu, Udagawa Genzui and Yoshida Kōton (individuals like Akamatsu Sōshū, Ema Ransai, Inamura Sanpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku were adopted). They were a minority, but (like the samurai), they were a cultivated minority and, as such, we find them in several of the surveys above. On the whole, however, it seems that the activities from which they derived their income (mainly Chinese studies and/or *kanshi*, and medicine) kept them thoroughly occupied.

An aspect that has not yet been touched upon is the fact that within all the different spheres of activity discussed above, there was free and unlimited interaction between the various social groups. Social status was apparently no criterion for inclusion for learned or poetic societies or first order contact zones. Let us look, for instance, at the individuals involved in the so-called Bashō Revival Movement. The background of the abbot Chōmu is unknown; Katō Kyōtai was the son of a retainer of the domain of Owari and served his domain for eleven years; Miura Chora's father was in the service of the domain of Toba in Shima province but the nature and status of his function in unknown; Takai Kitō was the son of a theatre musician turned *haikai* teacher; Miyake Shōzan conducted a pawnshop, and Yosa Buson was the son of a wealthy farmer. Among the four pupils of Uchiyama Chinken who were instrumental in the Edo *kyōka* craze of the 1770s and 1780s we find three samurai (Karagoromo Kisshū, Ōta Nanpo and Akera Kankō) and one shopkeeper (Hezutsu Tōsaku). Kimura Kenkadō, Masuyama Sessai, Rai Shunsui and Totoki Baigai all studied calligraphy with Chō Tōsai; Hosoai Hansai very likely did so. Most of these individuals were in contact with each other. Kimura Kenkadō was a brewer; Masuyama Sessai was daimyo of the domain of Nagashima in Ise province; the scholar Rai Shunsui was the son of a dyer from Takehara in Aki province; the scholar and painter Totoki Baigai was from an Osaka merchant family; the background of Hosoai Hansai, who conducted an academy for calligraphy and Chinese studies, is unclear. Tōsai himself probably was the son of a Chinese immigrant and a geisha from the pleasure quarters of Nagasaki.

The circle of the imperial prince and *monzeki* abbot Shinnin is the subject of a chapter in Munemasa Isoo's *Nihon kinsei bun'en no kenkyū* of 1977 and has been quite well researched.[206] The prince was a talented and intelligent person, who liked to surround himself with interesting people and their products. Unfortunately, he died in his thirty-seventh year. Munamasa Isoo singles out twelve contacts, individuals who

[206] Munemasa Isoo 宗政五十, *Nihon kinsei bun'en no kenkyū* 日本近世文苑の研究, 203-253.

represent a large variety of intellectual activity: Itō Tōsho, Minagawa Kien, Rikunyo, Murase Kōtei, Kayama Tekien, Umetsuji Shunshō, Ozawa Roan, Ban Kōkei, Maruyama Ōkyo, Gessen, Matsumura Goshun and Okamoto Yasutaka. Munemasa stresses the emancipatory importance of commoners' connections with the imperial court.[207] He also remarks that it is highly unlikely that the prince ever created an occasion where all members of his circle would have been together.[208] However, even without such an occasion many of the individuals in Shinnin's circle were in direct contact with each other. What were the backgrounds of these individuals allowed into the prince's august presence? Itō Tōsho conducted the Kogidō academy founded by his famous grandfather Itō Jinsai; the scholar and polymath Minagawa Kien was probably the son of a court physician (though other sources maintain that his father was an antiques dealer); the priest Rikunyo and the scholar Murase Kōtei were also sons of physicians; Kayama Tekien's background is unclear (he taught Chinese studies at the Myōhō-in, Shinnin's temple); Umetsuji Shunshō was the son of a Shinto priest; *waka* poet and scholar Ozawa Roan was the son of a ronin; Ban Kōkei, another *waka* poet and scholar, was from a wealthy merchant family; the painter Maruyama Ōkyo was the son of a farmer; priest/painter Gessen was the son of a miso merchant; Matsumura Goshun, painter and *haikai* poet, was the son of a high-ranking official of the Kyoto gold mint, and Okamoto Yasutaka was priest of the Kamo shrine, official in the service of a *kuge* and *iemoto* of the Daishi school of calligraphy.[209]

Other circuits and clusters of contacts show the same interaction between people from widely differing social backgrounds. Within the intellectual circles of this rapidly urbanizing society, traditional social boundaries were evidently breaking down fast.

To sum up, the majority of the individuals in our prosopography felt in no way obliged to limit themselves to either the discourses or the 'members' of any field, style or school of art or scholarship: the various circles our intellectuals belonged to *were not exclusive*. There were no large educational establishments that could nurture a sense of exclusivity, and, as I have said earlier, issues of professionalism versus amateurism, specialist versus layman or 'man of letters' versus 'scientist' were not of much consequence. We do find a number of pivotal figures with a large number of contacts (for instance Kimura Kenkadō, Katayama Hokkai, the Nakai brothers, the prince Shinnin, Minagawa Kien), but we find no individuals within this network of 173 intellectuals who 'pulled the intellectual strings'. People do not even seem to have a wished to make a choice between, for instance, the unsullied world of ancient Japan, the Western 'scientific gaze', or the model of the Chinese scholarly recluse. Through their various contacts they were aware of what was going on in circles they were not themselves directly concerned with. Much more than modern intellectuals in a situation of ever advancing specialization, these people were acquainted with and reacted to the latest trends, insights and discoveries in all kinds of fields.

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[207] Munemasa Isoo, *Nihon kinsei bun'en*, 226ff, 232, 234.
[208] Munemasa Isoo, *Nihon kinsei bun'en*, 229.
[209] Among his acquaintances the prince Shinnin seems to have been particularly fond of Ban Kōkei. For more information on the contact see Munemasa Isoo, *Nihon kinsei bun'en*, 229, and Murakami Mamoru 村上護, *Kinsei kijinden to sono jidai* 近世奇人伝とその時代, 46-48.

PART IV: A FRESH LOOK AT TOKUGAWA-PERIOD INTELLECTUAL LIFE

1: Intellectuals in the network

Even if attitudes are changing, the eighteenth century has long held relatively little attraction for students of the Tokugawa period. The seventeenth century had the glory of the consolidation of the Pax Tokugawa, culminating in the Genroku 元禄 era. The nineteenth century had the excitement of revolution. The first half of the eighteenth century was seen as showing the decline of the one and the second half as an overture to the other. The study of intellectual life in the late eighteenth century has particularly suffered under the effect of hindsight. We knew what was to come and went looking for 'the beginnings'. Hence the notion of the proliferation of alternative ideologies within a society in crisis. This model accommodated both the problems the Bakufu struggled with in the course of the eighteenth century and the enormous intellectual dynamism of the period. The fact that modern scholars perceived three main trajectories, the Chinese, the 'native' and the Western, neatly fitted in. In addition, there was the engaging circumstance that these perceived trajectories also seemed to offer explanations for Japan's spectacular modernization *after* the developments of the Bakumatsu period and the Meiji Resolution, as well as for the rise of Japanese nationalism and its tragic consequences.

My prosopographical investigation was an attempt to look at intellectual life in the last quarter of the eighteenth century on a basic level, departing from the supposition that the current image of the eighteenth-century intellectual did not fit their day-to-day reality, and the idea that the intellectual dynamism of the period was positive and real, and not a symptom of decline. Moreover, I felt there was a discrepancy between what people *did* and what they *said they did* and that modern scholars had not been sufficiently aware of this. This network of 173 intellectuals is only part of intellectual life; there were the limits in time and place, and there is the fact that lists of contacts and lists of activities may be incomplete (most lists of contacts certainly are). However, I feel we should prefer partial knowledge to complete ignorance; one does not have to know everything in order to know something. And besides, I do not think that an increase in the number of individuals, the inclusion of individuals from a large provincial city like Nagoya, or the adding of a name or a forgotten activity here and there would have led to significantly different conclusions.

Many of the factors that are usually of influence in the formation of personal networks do not apply to this network of intellectuals: age, a common region of origin, a common teacher or matters of status and social background appear to have been of little influence. Family relationships and employment relationships did not play a significant role in the formation of the network, but were of importance for network dynamics.

Interaction between intellectuals *as intellectuals* was the only thing that mattered in the formation of this network.

We saw that, for a society where so much is supposed to have been 'fixed', there was actually plenty of movement and diversity. In spite of existing ideologies concerning geographic mobility and the 'hereditary system', it is evident that making use of one's talents for art, literature and/or learning was one way to improve one's circumstances, both materially and socially. Obviously, doing well in business was another way. We should be careful not to be too rigid about the 'hereditary system'.We may be sure that the individuals in the network knew very well what they could expect within its confines and set their aims and ambitions accordingly.[210] Adoption was part of their strategies. The son of a farmer, who conducted a succesful medical practice in the Capital, or the son of an artisan who became a domanial scholar or artist were social climbers. This is not primarily a matter of material advancement; in the Victorian novel the poor curate is always considered a gentleman and pre-modern Japan also knew such finer social distinctions.[211] Moreover, people *did* use their intellectual talents to improve their circumstances; among the attested careers we find some of the most obvious success stories of the Tokugawa period. Indeed, the very lack of opportunities such as the law or the bureaucracy, and the absence of large institutionalized educational establishments, might explain part of the dynamism of intellectual life at this time. One could object that, given the nature of my sources, many of the life histories discussed here have to be 'success stories'. This is true to a certain extent. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that these social movements took place, and are evidence of the fact that intellectual activities offered opportunities for upward social mobility, opportunities to gain wealth, respect or prestige, or all, and even to completely change the course of one's life.

Given the diversity in situations of succession, 'secession', resignation and adoption offered by our network, it is clear that the stereotype of the privileged eldest son and the frustrated younger one(s) is too simplistic. The happiness of the one and misfortune of the other was very much determined by individual circumstances and dispositions. The elder son may have been just as frustrated with having to succeed as

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[210] Compare Marius Jansen, 'Tokugawa and Modern Japan', in: J. W. Hall & M. B. Jansen, eds, *Studies in the institutional history of early modern Japan*, Princeton 1968, 317-330: "In fact there was a lot of ambition, a burning desire to bring honor to one's name, and a desire to excel. It is suggested by some that since status was inherited, it became all the more important to achieve success in one's proper status – whether farmer, merchant, samurai, high or low. Whatever the case, ambition was everywhere. The cult of commercial success permeates the novelists' tales of wealth and prudence. The most important folk-god of the times was neither Buddhist nor Shinto, but a curious figure ... usually identified as the God of Wealth. But *Shusse Daikokuten*, to give him his name, should be translated as the God of Success, and his votaries were numerous" (327). An interesting example about what form ambition may take is presented by Frank Chance in his chapter on Tani Bunchō in: Brenda G. Jordan & Victoria Weston, eds, *Copying the master and stealing his secrets. Talent and training in Japanese painting*, Honolulu 2003. Chance suggests Bunchō wished to establish a "multigenerational 'Tani school', along the lines of the Kano, Tosa, or other groups", a dream he never realized, see 79-81.

[211] Compare, for instance, the early case of Nakae Tōju (1608-1648), as described by Rubinger in his *Private academies of Tokugawa Japan*, 44-48.

the younger one with being left over; on the other hand, the younger one may have been delighted to be able to determine his own future. The (adopted) younger son might, in the end, have the better career. The prosopography shows that the clichés of the frustrated younger son and the embittered ronin should be handled with caution. The image of the intellectual world as a reservoir of redundants cherishing their resentment, very much belongs to the rhetoric of hindsight.

One of the most important conclusions to be drawn from this investigation is that commoners were very much part of the intellectual scene and they had come to stay: cultural elite and socio-political elite were no longer the same thing.[212] Within this intellectual network there was, moreover, free interaction between members of different status groups.

Despite their ubiquity, the best-educated group in society, the samurai, did in no way dominate intellectual life. This can partly be explained from their minority position, but there may be another factor that played a role here: the samurai's attitude toward 'culture' and 'the intellect' was, in fact, somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, self-cultivation befitted a person of his or her status, whereas knowledge of Chinese moral philosophy or Western science was seen as benificial to state and/or domain. But, on the other hand, the role of intellectual did not sit well on the samurai, who was, after all, supposed to be a warrior. In this discussion of *intellectual activities* we should not overlook the fact that many samurai took the military aspect of their position very seriously, and that there was a certain undercurrent of anti-intellectualism among samurai. As Robert Backus writes in his discussion of the educational viewpoints of Matsudaira Sadanobu, "for the samurai a little elegance went a long way". Directly quoting Sadanobu himself he adds that samurai were warned not to "imitate the elegance of literary men and poets and lose the honest, simple ways of the warrior".[213] No doubt many samurai shared Sadanobu's ideas. I would contend that the conspicuous presence of samurai in the more lowbrow genres of literature (*kyōka*, light fiction) results from this very attitude of anti-intellectualism.

Private academies and artists' studios were not breeding grounds for factionalism and did not nurture a sense of intellectual exclusivity. An important point for consideration in this context is that studying with a certain teacher is not in itself an indication of some kind of 'affiliation'. This is supported by the fact that many of the individuals in the network studied the *same* field or art with *several teachers*. Of the forty-three persons who were specialists of Chinese studies, for instance, twenty-seven

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[212] Summarizing Thomas Harper's contribution to *Eighteenth century Japan*, Gerstle states that the study of Japanese classical text by commoners amounted to the "radical claim that the past belonged to all, regardless of blood or class". He adds that non-*kuge* scholars "sought to alter the rules of discourse, to remove status as an attribute necessary for possession of the 'right of knowledge'", see Gerstle's introduction to *Eighteenth century Japan,* xiii, and compare Harper's article, *ibid.*, 106-123. For a comparison with pre-modern Europe, see John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination. English culture in the eighteenth century*, New York 1997, 510: "In setting up debating societies and lecture series, in publishing their proceedings in annuals and periodicals ... merchants, tradesmen and skilled artisans claimed it as their right to acquire and interpret literary and philosophical knowledge ... [they] directly challenged any presumption that only gentlemen could be cultured and refined ... [for them] cultural an moral refinement was a matter of knowledge and wisdom, not rank and fashion".

[213] Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 102.

did Chinese studies with more than one teacher. On the one hand we find individuals who studied with family members (like Itō Tōsho, Emura Hokkai and Seida Tansō, who all belonged to the Itō family); on the other, however, we have a case like Ōta Kinjō, who studied with Minagawa Kien and Yamamoto Hokuzan, was unhappy with both, and in the end gathered much of his knowledge by studying on his own. Neither a list of names, nor an estimate of the number of pupils a certain teacher may have had, can in themselves be indicators of impact.[214] Only a thorough study of biographies, *oeuvre* and (if possible) egodocuments of pupils and teacher can inform us about patterns of scholarly or artistic influence, or about the dynamics of an ongoing debate. I would contend that, in any case, the identification of 'schools' and 'movements' mostly leads to a distortion of what was actually going on. Historians should handle such characterizations with the utmost care. One might use a list to investigate, for instance, the social composition of a teacher's audience and the results will probably be interesting. But we do not know in how far the many townsmen and village worthies among Motoori Norinaga's pupils, as discussed by Susan Burns in *Before the nation*, set out to "imagine a community" or to discover their "private realm", let alone determine if, for them, this had any political significance, as Burns suggests.[215] I feel that the most profound cultural, social and even political impact of their being there, and the one that best reflects the *Zeitgeist*, is the fact that these people were studying *at all*.

In pre-modern Japan, as in the pre-modern West, people combined enterprises, functions, activities and projects, and made use of every one of their talents to supplement their income and realize their ambitions. I would argue that this diversity is characteristic of a pre-modern urbanizing society and should not be seen as an indication of economic downturn or an expression of the *bunjin* ideal of versatility.[216] This was simply the way the market worked, and this was how people knew it and dealt with it. Several of the career changes we find in people's lives were the result of financial necessity, but as such they are part of the same picture: in a society without social security, one had to fend for oneself if one could not or would not be dependent on one's relatives. Diversity and a lack of exclusivity were a characteristic of professional relationships, and what we might call the 'intellectual market'.

I would also like to draw attention to yet another characteristic of this intellectual market: the great importance of personal interaction. Apart from the 'pool' provided by retainers, there were few clear-cut occupational circuits, so it was in the end the personal *rapport*, the interest inspired by the other's approach to a certain field that brought people together, as colleagues, as 'brethren in trade', as patrons and clients, as employers and employees and as teachers and pupils. This was a world of reputation, recommendation and invitation, a market that operated on a direct and personal level.

The market knew its fads and fashions, such as the Edo *kyōka* craze of the 1770s and 1780s, the interest in the *haikai* style of the Genroku period, or the immense popularity of the work of Maruyama Ōkyo. We also see the development of Japanese

[214] The pupil's register of Minagawa Kien's academy, for instance, survives and contains 1310 names. It is a source that should be approached with care because, apparently, the register doubled as a kind of visitor's book. See Munemasa Isoo, 'Kyōtō no bunkashakai', 110ff.

[215] Burns, *Before the nation*, 98-99.

[216] Although Marceau, *Takebe Ayatari, a bunjin bohemian*, 285, speaks of Ayatari's career as "this dazzling array of occupations and proficiences", Ayatari was by no means exceptional.

studies and the growing interest in Western studies, phenomena that contributed to new discourses. The prosopography shows a vibrant intellectual community and personal interaction was both a characteristic of and a condition for its prosperity. There was no shift in prominence from Kyoto to Edo. Whether to travel to the one metropolis or the other simply depended on the mechanisms of the market: on what one wanted or had to offer, on reputation and recommendation, fads and fashions, and developments in intellectual life.

2: The Kansei Reforms

In the year 1786 the *rōjū* Tanuma Okitsugu was deprived of title and office. In 1787 Matsudaira Sadanobu, daimyo of the domain of Shirakawa, was appointed president of the council of *rōjū*. As I have put it in the biographical profile of Sadanobu: "his measures to rehabilitate shogunal authority and to extricate his country from economical problems are known as the Kansei reforms (*kansei no kaikaku*, 寛政の改革)". Many of Sadanobu's reform policies were especially directed at the intellectual community.[217] There is ample reason to investigate how the fall of Okitsugu and what followed affected the lives of the intellectuals in our network, because the Kansei Reforms became part of the picture of a society in crisis. They were seen as an attempt by a repressive government to get a grip on intellectual life.

When trying to calculate percentages we must take into account that eight individuals were born in or after 1770 and were therefore still young when the reform process began, and that twenty-one of them died in or before the year 1786. This entails that only 144 of the total of 173 could have been realistically affected by the shakeup in the wake of Okitsugu's dismissal and by Sadanobu's reform policies.

Before we look at the Kansei reforms proper, let us first have a look at the persons whose lives were immediately affected by Okitsugu's disgrace and the change of power. This concerns three individuals (2 % of 144). First of all there is Matsudaira Sadanobu himself and we might say that (even if his tenure was short and the task was momentous), his promotion to an immensely prestigious position when he was not even thirty years old, was a positive development. The other two individuals were negatively affected. Hezutsu Tōsaku (who had been personally acquainted with Okitsugu and had been on good terms with him) was implicated in the flight of one of Okitsugu's subordinates and severely reprimanded. He withdrew from *kyōka* and popular fiction. Tōsaku died in 1789 and developments ended there. Katō Chikage, a *yoriki* in the service of the Edo *machi bugyō*, resigned from his job in 1788 'for reasons of ill health'; an adopted son took over. *DJJ* states that Chikage was, in fact, accused of not having properly fulfilled his duties, had his income drastically reduced and was given a

[217] Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, 243: "Sadanobu ... was particularly intent on ways to tidy up the educational and intellectual scene", compare 244: "In retrospect it can be seen that the regime had become more rigid, less resilient, and less adventurous". Valuable sources of information are Herman Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat, a political biography of Matsudaira Sadanobu, 1758-1829*, Chicago/ London 1975, esp. 122-150, i.e. chapter 6 titled 'The politics of ideology', and Robert L. Backus' three articles on the subject.

hundred days of house arrest.[218] In that case, Chikage would be the only example in this network of the "vigorous purge" among Bakufu officials mentioned by Marius Jansen in his discussion of the Kansei reforms.[219] After his resignation Chikage devoted himself to poetry and scholarship, and in 1804 he was awarded ten silver pieces by the Bakufu for his merits. By that time the commotion around his person had apparently blown over. We also find, as a minor effect of Okitsugu's downfall, that the expedition to Hokkaido that Mogami Tokunai was participating in at the time, was suspended.

Within the network fourteen individuals (9.7 % of 144) were directly affected by measures taken in the context of the Kansei reforms, in that such measures had an immediate (and sometimes inescapable) impact on their daily lives and livelihoods. Six (4.1 % of 144) were positively affected and eight (5.5 % of 144) negatively:

positively affected:

- Bitō Nishū: became Shōheikō teacher in 1791
- Hattori Rissai: was awarded land and financial support to establish school in early 1790s[220]
- Hayashi Jussai: became principal of the Shōheikō in 1793[221]
- Okada Kansen: became Shōheikō teacher in 1789
- Shibano Ritsuzan: became Shōheikō teacher in 1788
- Taki Rankei: his Seijūkan became the Bakufu's official medical academy in 1790

negatively affected:

- Hayashi Nobutaka: principal of Shōheikō, was forced to comply with its reform
- Hayashi Shihei: put under house arrest after prohibition of his *Kaikoku heidan* (1793)
- Hirasawa Kyokuzan: dismissed as Shōheikō teacher in 1790
- Ichikawa Kansai: resigned as Shōheikō teacher in 1787[222]
- Koikawa Harumachi: censured and dismissed after the publication of satirical work (1789)
- Santō Kyōden: severely punished for satirical writings (1791)
- Seki Shōsō: dismissed as Shōheikō teacher in 1790
- Tegara no Okamochi: satirical work banned, stopped writing fiction on order of his domain (1789)

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[218] *DJJ* s.v. Katō Chikage.

[219] Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, 242.

[220] See also Backus, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 73 note 12. Rissai was a contact of Okada Kansen.

[221] Sansom, *The history of Japan, 1615-1867*, 200, points out that Hayashi Jussai was originally a Matsudaira and suggests this may have been of influence on his appointment. It may have played some part, but then, of course, Sadanobu was *not* originally a Matsudaira. Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 126, hints that, more importantly, the young man was malleable and "proved a willing pupil of Ritsuzan".

[222] As he was born in 1779, Kansai's son Beian is not included among those who could have been realistically affected by the reforms, but his father's dismissal, of course, indirectly affected him. Beian later studied with two teachers of the 'reformed' Shōheikō (Hayashi Jussai and Shibano Ritsuzan) and I have no evidence that what befell his father at the time of the Kansei reforms ever influenced his own career. Kansai himself found a new job at a regional academy in 1788 and was engaged by the domain of Toyama in 1791. It might be mentioned that Shibano Ritsuzan's pupil Kikuchi Gozan was a member of Kansai's poetry club, the Kōkoshisha.

I have not mentioned Koga Seiri here; he only became teacher at the reformed Shōheikō in 1796.[223]

Current scholarship generally describes Sadanobu's measures as reflecting his pursuit of ideological purity among Bakufu officials as well as his "paternalistic concern for the proper moral welfare of the population".[224] The data provided here support this characterization. It is interesting to find that Sadanobu's care for the ideological purity of his officials extended even to the official physicians.

I have included Hayashi Nobutaka, even if the reorganisation of the Shōheikō did not lead to anything like a dismissal (he only came to the job in 1787 to begin with). It is clear, however, that the interference of a staff that was forced upon him and the subsequent changes, made him thoroughly unhappy.[225] Hayashi Shihei and Koikawa Harumachi died shortly after their respective punishments. In both cases there were rumours of suicide, although this has not been proven in either case. Santō Kyōden and Tegara no Okamochi survived their ordeal and both turned to a different literary genre; Kyōden to *yomihon* and Okamochi to *kyōka* and *kyōbun*, presumably of a harmless kind. The affair did not, apparently, influence Okamochi's career as caretaker of the Edo residence of the domain of Akita.

The intolerance of the authorities towards aspects of popular culture probably inspired other authors to modify their literary style, concentrate on other subjects or give up certain genres altogether. Akera Kankō, for instance, assumed a more serious *kyōka* style. Morishima Chūryō (a contact of Hayashi Shihei) decided to abandon certain publication projects concerning books on foreign countries, although scholarly reasons may also have played a part in this decision.[226] Chūryō became Sadanobu's personal

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[223] Both Backus and Ooms suggest that Seiri was appointed as a replacement for Okada Kansen, who was given an administrative function in Hitachi province in 1794, but according to my sources, Kansen regularly taught at the Shōheikō after 1794, and was only discharged from his teaching duties in 1811. See Kansen's biographical profile; also Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 133, and 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 57, and Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat*, 137. Ooms writes: "In 1797/12 [sic], possibly because of an examination scandal involving his nephew, [Kansen] was given a post as daikan", compare Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 150.

[224] Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat*, 141. Ooms continues: "Hayashi Shihei's work, for example, was judged too alarming because it might spread unnecessary fears about national security". Compare Sansom, *The history of Japan, 1615-1867*, 200: "Sadanobu ... did not approve of disturbing statements. It was not wise to alarm the people"; Jansen, *The making of modern Japan*, 263: "Sadanobu ... wanted no open discussion or advice"; Totman, *Early modern Japan*, 472: "At the level of public morality [Sadanobu] was troubled by the lack of restraint that he perceived in popular culture ... [He] also saw popular fiction as harmful to public morality, especially when authors took ill-concealed potshots at the government". For censorship measures, see Kornicki, *The book in Japan*, 339ff.

[225] See for instance Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 116ff, and 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 67; also Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat*, 140. Hayashi Kimpō is Nobutaka.

[226] See his biographical profile. Chūryō was also active as an author of popular fiction and of *kyōka*. As Ekkehard May suggests, more samurai authors may have been affected in this respect by the Kansei reforms than we would know. He states: "Der Umriss der Gruppe der Samurai-Literaten, die gesaku verfassten, is heute nicht mehr eindeutig zu bestimmen, da vermutet werden muss, dass hinter

physician in 1792 and held this function until 1797. Interestingly, Chūryō's elder brother, Katsuragawa Hoshū, dismissed in 1786, was reinstated as shogunal physician in this same year 1792, and became a teacher at the Seijūkan in 1793.[227] However, I cannot show any patterns of cause and effect between these latter developments and the Kansei reforms. Ōta Nanpo completely withdrew from comic verse and light fiction and devoted himself to study. As a result of this move, his career underwent a considerable improvement from the mid 1790s.[228] By the late 1790s he was writing *kyōka* again.

The Kansei reforms in fact perfectly illustrate the workings of the intellectual market as I have described them above. Not only do we see the importance of personal interaction when reliable new scholars had to be found to replace a disgraced team; we also see that, as soon as an activity became 'suspect', people reconsidered their approach, changed their style or withdrew from it altogether in order not to endanger other activities that were more remunerative or offered more stability for oneself and one's family.

Although it was unusual for the authorities to meddle in the affairs of private schools, several may nevertheless have benefitted from official support (governmental or domanial) that could be connected to the Kansei reforms. Apart from Hattori Rissai's academy and Taki Rankei's Seijūkan mentioned above, we have Nakai Chikuzan's Kaitokudō in Osaka and possibly also Kan Chazan's academy, the Renjuku, in Kannabe.[229] Robert Backus draws the attention to something that would not have been immediately evident from the prosopography, namely, that Rissai, Chikuzan and Chazan were 'orthodox' scholars. The Kaitokudō burned down in 1792 and was rebuilt with financial support from the Bakufu. The reconstruction was completed in 1796. In this year the domain of Fukuyama deemed it expedient to raise Kan Chazan's Renjuku (significantly nicknamed the 'Kannabe gakumonsho', or 'the Shōheikō of Kannabe') to

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einer grossen Anzahl sorgfältig gehüteter Pseudonyme, besonders bei den delikaten sharebon, sich Vertreter des Samurai-Standes verbargen", see *Die Kommerzialisierung der japanischen Literatur*, 84.

[227] Totman, *Early modern Japan*, 471-472, states that Sadanobu designated the Seijūkan "an official institution with the task of providing instruction in Chinese medical techniques" and continues: "In the following decades the school's staff pursued the study of Chinese medicine with considerable energy". Hoshū's appointment suggests that the school also gave attention to Western methods. Compare Grant Goodman, *Japan: the Dutch experience*, London/Dover 1986, 134: "[in] 1793, the Bakufu ... officially recognized Western surgery by the appointment of Katsuragawa Hoshu as a teacher in the Igakkan (Official Medical School)".

[228] In 1794 Ōta Nanpo was a prizewinner in the new system of public examinations initiated in 1792. Two years later he was given a function with the Financial Magistrature (*kanjō bugyō*, 勘定奉行) and from that time on his career prospered, see also Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 145-146.

[229] Backus, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 73. Backus does not mention Taki Rankei's Seijūkan. He writes: "The distinction between government and private schools needs to be kept in mind, because whenever the bakufu or domain governments took measures to regulate the content of education, they did not extend them to private schools. There was, however, a gray area occupied by private schools which had accepted financial assistance from the bakufu or a domain. Such were the Hayashi School and the Kikkei Shoin ... of Hattori Rissai ... in Edo, and Nakai Chikuzan's Kaitoku-dō... in Osaka, all of which received assistance from the bakufu, as well as the Renjuku ... of Kan Chazan ... in the village of Kannabe in Bingo, which became heavily dependent on assistance from the domain of Fukuyama".

the status of official regional academy. Such preferential treatment would turn Nakai Chikuzan, Nakai Riken (his brother, fellow teacher and successor) and Kan Chazan into indirect (somewhat belated) beneficiaries of the Kansei reforms. It is significant that contacts between Matsudaira Sadanobu, members of the new Shōheikō staff and the principals of the schools mentioned here, are evident from my sources and also from all three of Backus' articles.

The network contains two of the specialists of Chinese studies known as the 'five demons' (*go ki*, 五鬼, a term used for five scholars deemed particularly 'heterodox'): Kameda Bōsai and Yamamoto Hokuzan.[230] There may have been a link between the promulgation of Sadanobu's ban on heterodoxy (*igaku no kin*, 異学の禁) of 1790 and the closure of Bōsai's academy seven years later, which would make Bōsai an indirect victim of the Kansei reforms. However, the fact that the other four 'demons' remained unscathed, makes me wonder if there might not have been other factors that played a role in the closure of Bōsai's school.[231] Bōsai's friend and fellow 'demon' Yamamoto Hokuzan continued to teach at his own school in Edo and, in 1793, was engaged as a teacher at the Edo academy of the domain of Akita. As for the other three 'demons': we find that the life of Toshima Hōshū (1737-1814) actually took a turn for the better in 1791. In this year he received official pardon for a former misdemeanour. Ichikawa Kakumei (1740-1795) became tutor to his lord's heir in 1791. Tsukada Taihō (1745-1832) had his own academy in Edo, was assistant teacher at the school of Hosoi Heishū (1728-1801), and served as personal tutor to the daimyo of Owari. Although Taihō was extremely critical of the ban, his career did not suffer.[232] In 1811 he was given the supervision of the domain's educational administration. Robert Backus traces the story of the closure of Bōsai's school back to a scholar who studied with Bōsai's son (one Yoshino Kinryō, 1802-1878) and suggests that Kinryō "must have heard this story as it was passed down in the Kameda family, highly embroidered in both the number of Bōsai's students who left him and in the dept of his [subsequent] poverty". Backus adds: "Nevertheless there must have been some truth to it". He detects a "raised enrollment in the government school" (the Shōheikō) and concludes that "part of that increase must represent a drain of real and prospective students from heterodox private schools".[233]

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[230] Concerning the term *go ki*, Backus writes ('The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan', 315 note 46): "The appellation crops up in secundary sources but not in any of the contemporary material I worked with. However, I have no reason to doubt its provenance in the Kansei period".

[231] Ooms writes: "Kameda Hōsai ... saw his alleged thousand students dwindle away because they were interested in employment security with the bakufu" (*Charismatic bureaucrat*, 144). Compare Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai,* 23.

[232] For Taihō's criticisms, see Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat*, 141ff, and Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan', 284, 324ff, and 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 125. The biographical information concerning the three 'demons' not included in the prosopography can be found in *KJJ* s.v.

[233] Backus, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 91-92. Backus speaks of "the only mention of disaster befalling a heterodox school in Edo which I have come across" (91). According to Backus, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 87, Yoshino Kinryō was later appointed to the Shōheikō.

Developments in the context of the Kansei reforms provoked written reactions from several individuals in our prosopography. Herman Ooms mentions that both Yamamoto Hokuzan and Kameda Bōsai protested in writing against the ban, and Stephen Addiss quotes critical poems about the changes in the Shōheikō staff by Bōsai and Ōta Kinjō (a contact of both Bōsai and Hokuzan).[234] Akamatsu Sōshū addressed a memorandum critical of the ban on heterodoxy to his friend Shibano Ritsuzan (Ooms writes: "Ritsuzan never answered – out of consideration for their friendship, it is said").[235] Nishiyama Sessai addressed both Ritsuzan and Sōshū (a contact of Sessai) in support of the ban.[236]

Let me recapitulate: of our 173 intellectuals, 144 could have been affected by the fall of Tanuma Okitsugu and the Kansei reforms. Fourteen individuals (9.7 % of 144) were directly affected by measures taken in the context of the Kansei reforms, six (4.1 % of 144) positively and eight (5.5 % of 144) negatively; 2 % were affected by the shakeup following Okitsugu's disgrace, one person positively (0.6 %) and two negatively (1.3 %). All in all, well over ten percent (11.8 % to be precise) of 144 were directly affected by the whole process. I find it impossible to evaluate the cases of persons otherwise involved. Koga Seiri was evidently positively affected, but the case of Kameda Bōsai is much more debatable, while Ōta Nanpo's stroke of initial bad luck turned out well.

One of the important conclusions from the percentages given above should be that people were *not only negatively but also positively affected* by the fall of Okitsugu and the Kansei reforms. This is, of course, a truism, but also something not often made explicit in the literature on this period. A second conclusion, inspired by the relatively high percentage of people who were directly affected, touches upon the nature of the network covered by my prosopography. So far we had little reason to doubt that the specific clod of intellectual soil we lifted with our prosopographical spade would be like the next one, but things are different here. Our network contains the initiator of the Kansei reforms, three members of the disgraced Shōheikō staff, and virtually every member of the new staff (including Koga Seiri and Hayashi Jussai). The network also includes the very few examples of actual persecution of 'subversive' authors in this period. Of the hundreds of Japanese intellectuals who could have been affected, many (if not all) of those who *actually were* are found in our network. This important consideration inevitably leads to the conclusion that the developments of 1787-1793, both the educational reforms and the measures taken for the improvement and protection of public morality, had *considerably less impact* on the whole of Japan's intellectual community than it had on this particular network. Many of them were not in any position to be affected because the reforms did not touch their field or occupation. For others, the measures produced nothing more than trouble and vexation like some meddlesome patron or employer might have done.

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[234] Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat*, 141, and Addiss, *The world of Kameda Bōsai,* New Orleans 1984, 22.
[235] Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat*, 142.
[236] For details, see Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan', 321ff, and idem, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 68-69.

In the opening lines of his 1974 article Robert Backus speaks of "a general effort to raise the *quality of the bureaucracy*". He adds that the "immediate purpose" of the educational reforms was "to improve *the character of the bakufu vassals*" (my italics).[237] In his second article of 1979 Backus writes: "It is somewhat surprising that *many domains resisted the temptation to impose an ideology* on their educational establishments" (my italics).[238] Like there were authors who changed style or genre, there were, as Backus points out, scholars who converted to the Cheng-zhu persuasion favoured by the authorities "to save their job".[239] Such cases are not evident from the prosopography, but, on the other hand, the network must contain quite a few scholars (both private and retained) who, by official standards, exerted a pernicious influence on the minds of commoners and samurai alike, but nevertheless continued in their function, as I have found no cases of dismissal or persecution. Moreover, the prosopography contains no examples of scholars being actually ostracized.

From data provided by several life histories in our prosopography and complementary information gained from other sources we must conclude that the educational reforms were mainly aimed *at the Bakufu itself* and were also most effective in *its own immediate circle*, even if in the long run they had some effect on Japan's intellectual climate. Herman Ooms suggests that "Sadanobu was unable or unwilling to apply pressure on the domains to observe the ban on heterodoxy" and mentions "the absence of any coercive power from the bakufu".[240] That the Bakufu was well able to exert coercive power is demonstrated by Robert Backus, who points at several early examples of the Bakufu's severe repression of certain ideas and ideologies (notably Christianity) and concludes: "What these early instances of repression demonstrate is that when the bakufu perceived a political threat in religious or intellectual expression, it acted ruthlessly. In the issue of Confucian heterodoxy, however, no such threat existed, nor was one perceived to exist".[241]

In the end, then, the Kansei reforms, so often integrated in the discourse of stasis and crisis as an attempt of the government to suppress the aspirations of the population

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[237] Backus, 'The relationship of Confucianism to the Tokugawa Bakufu', 97. Compare idem, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 55: "... the educational reform was undertaken to provide a standard Confucian education for bakufu retainers, in the expectation that it would improve the morale and performance of the bureaucracy by training the character and abilities of the men who were to staff it"; Jansen, *The Making of modern Japan*, 244: "Sadanobu's concern with orthodoxy was related to his desire for a more educated and responsible officialdom", and Cullen, *A history of Japan*, 126: "[The target of the ban] was simply the Hayashi academy, and an imposition of uniformity on a school which reflected the burgeoning eclecticism of the age. The decree was not particularly repressive".

[238] Backus, 'The motivation of Confucian orthodoxy in Tokugawa Japan', 337-338. His first article of the same year, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', describes the effect of the educational reforms "on Confucian education outside the bakufu", 59. He concludes (105): " [The] advance [of Cheng-zhu] did not eventuate in monopoly, however, either intellectually or territorially; for Ch'eng-Chu had already proved itself intellectually unequal to the task of refuting heterodoxy, and limiting conditions on its spread in the domains were imposed by the political authorities on whom it depended for support".

[239] Backus, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 85. He gives no examples.

[240] Ooms, *Charismatic bureaucrat*, 146.

[241] Backus, 'The Kansei prohibition of heterodoxy', 72 note 14.

to culturally and intellectually assert itself, may have been little more than a thorough cleaning up of itself and its immediate surroundings (including the 'moral climate' of the city of Edo). In view of all that has been said so far about urbanization, increasing education, social mobility, cultural dynamism and intellectual curiosity (not to forget the exuberance of the popular culture of the period), we could ask ourselves whether Matsudaira Sadanobu was perhaps unwilling to take on society at large, because he knew himself unable to contain the social and cultural changes taking place. He did not even try to resist a tide that could no longer be turned.

3: Intellectuals in society

Judging from our network, intellectual life in the late Tokugawa period seems to have been far from 'factional'. But then where did the notion of factionality come from? In the introductory part of this monograph I brought forward two factors that were of crucial importance to the development of this idea of rivalling ideologies within a society in crisis: the fragmented state of *modern* scholarship (that made us fit Tokugawa intellectuals into *our* disciplines and specialisms), and the issue of self-representation.

Matters of self-representation were, first of all, part of the mechanisms of the intellectual market. Fierce competition induced people to present themselves as more extreme or more specialized than they actually were, or to leave out nuances so as not to confuse potential clients.[242] An excellent environment for image-building was the preface to a publication, which authors wrote themselves or entrusted to an intellectual friend. I have already mentioned, for example, that in his preface to Ueda Akinari's *Seifūsagen*, Murase Kōtei took a much firmer anti-*chanoyu* stance than Akinari himself, which, given the target group of the booklet, was very likely seen as an advertisement. Another example of the presentation of a distinct image can be found the preface Yosa Buson wrote in 1774 for Akinari's Yasaishō (也哉抄, completed 1773, published 1787). Here Buson describes Akinari as "a scholar/recluse" (居士, the Chinese *jushi*), who "refuses to see visitors" (*kyaku wo shashite*, 客を謝して) and "does not mingle with the common herd" (*zokuryū ni majirazu*, 俗流に交じらず). The image is certainly exaggerated, but its advertisement value is in the fact that it joined Akinari to the idiom of the work of Buson.[243] Many modern scholars unquestioningly accepted these images. Self-representation in a market context eluded them, as they were not used to the idea of intellectual activity as a private economic enterprise; many were probably not aware of the problem of self-representation in the first place. Once an image was established, every new bit of related fallacious description would be embraced as a confirmation.

Secondly and perhaps more importantly there was the aspect of 'play-acting' that I mentioned in my discussion of the *bunjin* phenomenon. Taking part in intellectual activities involved demonstrating one's understanding of and empathy with the subject or theme at hand and/or the whole ambiance of the activity. This ability to empathize lies at the heart of most of the activities that were the subject of this investigation. Modern scholars (each from the viewpoint of their own specialization!) have almost

[242] See above, note 131.

[243] *Ueda Akinari Zenshū*, Tokyo 1969, vol. 1, 449. For more information on *Yasaishō*, see Young, *Ueda Akinari*, 40-42. For the preface to *Seifūsagen*, see above, p. 253.

exclusively concentrated on the *output* of Tokugawa intellectuals; texts and artifacts *of which identification with one's 'role' was an integral part*. Because in their approach the wider social context was neglected, they did not fully recognize aspects of self-representation and missed many of the instances where an actor could have been unmasked.

This is not to say that intellectual life in the late Tokugawa period was only make-believe or market. Of course there were sincere debates going on, but these have all too often been interpreted as expressions of a contest between rivalling ideologies. However, the intellectuals of the late Tokugawa period were not mere minds floating about in ideological plasma. In order to evaluate an individual's stance within a certain discourse, looking at what he/she wrote or painted in what scholarly, literary or artistic context is not enough. This investigation demonstrates that we cannot do without a wider *social* context.

We do not associate Ueda Akinari with Chinese classical texts, Shibano Ritsuzan with the study of the ancient imperial court nor Sugita Genpaku with *waka* and *haikai*, but, in fact, the prosopography abounds in individuals who combine activities that we have come to think of as ill-matched if not incompatible. The majority of the individuals under scrutiny did not limit themselves to specific circuits, neither in their activities nor in their contacts. In this way the network challenges the labels, classifications and boundaries we use to describe the intellectual discourse of the Tokugawa period. The ambiguous position of the Shen Nanpin-style ('Chinese' and 'Western' at the same time) sets us thinking about how the individuals under scrutiny would *themselves* have represented the essence and purpose of a certain style or even an activity. All this raises questions about what modern scholarship has come to see as frameworks of motivation for and appraisal of what people undertook. But if current assumptions have to be reassessed, what alternatives could be presented?

Individual talents and tastes and the workings of the intellectual market were not the only things that mattered for the choices people made and the way in which they communicated. There were also larger issues that ran up and down the whole gamut of interests, fields and circuits. Modern Japanese specialists of cultural life in the Tokugawa period, for instance, like to stress the aspect of self-cultivation and the challenge of balancing concepts such as *ga* (雅, 'that which is refined') and *zoku* (俗, 'that which is vulgar'), or giving shape in one's personal life to *iki* and *sui* (terms, written with various characters, that stand for taste and a sense of good measure). These concepts span *the whole range* of literary and artistic pastimes, making choices like the one between *kan* (漢) and *koku* (国) irrelevant.[244]

There is another aspect that pervades the whole network but is, perhaps, most visible in the conscious rejection of *chanoyu* by the *sencha* devotees, or the turning away from existing schools by the painters: the aspect of 'modernity'. The network amply demonstrates people's aspirations to take part in cutting edge research; to tackle

[244] See for instance Takahashi Hiromi, *Kyōto geien no nettowâku*, and Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Jūhasseki no Edo bungei*, passim. The following quotation may serve as an illustration: when Yosa Buson was asked if there was a shortcut to *haikai* he answered: "Immerse yourself in Chinese poetry! ... in painting, the way to avoid the banal [*zoku*] is to put aside the brush and read many things. This is also true for haiku, which are, after all, not so far from Chinese poetry", as quoted in Yonezawa & Yoshizawa, *Japanese painting in the literati style*, New York/Tokyo 1974, 70-71.

new (or recently rediscovered) ways of dealing with texts of all kinds; to do away with the 'presumptious' and 'empty' pastimes associated with old elites; to find new artistic idioms and new ways of expression, or to give new forms to old ones. It is important to realize that in this process the 'Western', the 'Chinese' and the 'native' operated on exactly the same level.

The growth of urban centres, increase in networks of communication, increase in literacy, the ever-growing availability of goods and services, the commercialization of culture, and the gradual disappearance of rural isolation were processes that affected everybody in both positive and negative ways. They transformed the landscape, broke down social barriers and steadily undermined exisiting political, economic and cultural structures. Not exactly a society in a situation of stasis. The pressures of urban life may have favoured a climate that promoted the idolization of rural solitude and individualistic behaviour. This, and *not* a sense of economic downturn, political stagnation or ideological wear might explain an interest in activities that involved elements of the imagery surrounding the scholarly recluse (*wenren*/*bunjin*).[245] However, the *wenren*/*bunjin* imagery was not the exclusive territory of a supposed 'sinophile circuit'. It belonged just as much to the world of classical Japanese literature; we might think of Kamo no Chōmei (ca. 1155-1216, author of *Hōjōki* 方丈記) or Yoshishige no Yasutane (ca. 931-1002, author of *Chiteiki* 池亭記). A group of *kanshi* poets on their outing to the countryside 'playing at *wenren*' and a company of *waka* enthusiasts on their picknick 'playing at Heian court poets' were both equally indebted to, for instance, the legendary gathering at the Orchid Pavilion in the year 353, *and were aware of the fact*.[246]

In the same vein, my discussion of the study of popular culture introduced a "discovery of the people" (to use Peter Burke's words), comparable to what was

[245] In Europe at this time, comparable developments led to a rediscovery of the ancient Roman concept of *otium*, the intellectual cultivation of rural solitude. However, scholars are usually quick to point out that in many cases this was no more that fashionable posturing reflected in ostentatious idolization of life in the country and, for instance, in the grottoes and hermitages we find in eighteenth-century gardens. Amanda Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter. Women's lives in Georgian England*, New Haven/London 1998, 282-283, states: "By far the most overworked dualism drawn on in discussion of leisure and culture was that of fashionable worldliness versus philosophical retirement, a 'hurry' versus peace, the gaudy town versus the rural glade". In a particularly amusing set of quotations from private correspondence she demonstrates how "urban ennui found expression in a self-conscious cult of rural retreat": the more captivating the diversions of the city, the more people profess their delight in rural solitude. The aspect of fashionable posturing should not be neglected in an exploration of Japanese 'ruralism'. For more on 'ruralism', landscape and taste in eighteenth-century Britain, see Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination*, chapter 16: 'Culture, Nature and Nation'.

[246] This meeting (which included the writing of poetry while wine cups floated down a stream) took place at a pleasant spot some ten miles southwest of modern Shaoxing. The poems produced during the meeting are lost, but the preface to the collection, written by the official and calligrapher Wang Xizhi (303-361), survived and became immensely famous also in Japan. In the notes to his translation of the preface in: Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia anthology of traditional Chinese literature*, New York 1994, 565-567, Richard Strassberg writes: "Despite its brevity, few examples of Chinese prose have had such widespread influence on subsequent literati culture ... The image of the gathering generated a veritable cult of the Orchid Pavilion celebrated in poetry, painting, and the decorative arts while the area of the original event became a literary shrine" (566).

happening in Europe around the same time. In fact, the great changes in society and environment, and not so much a distrust of alien cultures, may have been at the background of many elements in the 'nativist' discourse, including its idolization of what was artless, unpolished, unclassical, instinctive and irrational.[247] But again, artlessness and irrationality are also elements of the *wenren*/*bunjin* ethos. It is unusual to connect the 'nativist' and the *bunjin* discourse in this way, but it is my contention that they have much more in common then we are aware of. In any case, the *bunjin* as a discernible, recognizable social phenomenon did not exist; the concept and its various *topoi* should be reexamined, both as an *ethos* of long standing and great complexity, and as an essential part of the practice of autobiography and self-representation.

[247] Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, 9-10. In his final book (an exploration of the Enlightenment notions of body, soul and self) Roy Porter also draws our attention to the fact that British authors and poets around this same time "looked back to earlier mentalities for the peaks of poetry", because they saw a "loss of poetic voice or soul", a loss of the "primitive responses to Nature [that] had also involved the immediacy of the imagination which fired the finest poetry and epics" brought about by the advent of 'civilization', see *Flesh in the age of reason, the modern foundations of body and soul*, New York & London 2003, 342-343.

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Appendix

Table I: Sources of income

Table II: Activities

Table I: Sources of income

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Adachi Seiga	▲	▲																											▲		
Akamatsu Sōshū	▲																						▲								
Akera Kankō					▲													▲						▲							
Akutagawa Tankyū	▲																														
Aōdō Denzen									▲	▲	▲										▲										
Aoki Mokubei									▲						▲																
Aoki Shukuya									▲																						
Azuma Tōyō									▲																						
Ban Kōkei			▲	▲																▲											
Bitō Nishū	▲																														
Chō Tōsai									▲			▲	▲							?										▲	
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Chōmu																														▲	
Daiten Kenjō																														▲	
Eda Nagayasu																				▲											
Ema Ransai							▲																								
Emura Hokkai	▲																						▲								
Fujitani Mitsue			▲	▲																			▲								
Fujitani Nariakira			▲																				▲								
Fushimatsu Kaka					▲																										
Gamō Kunpei			▲																												
Geppō									▲																					▲	
Gessen									▲																					▲	
Hanawa Hokiichi			▲																												
Haruki Nanko									▲																						
Hattori Rissai	▲																														
Hayashi Jussai	▲																							▲							
Hayashi Nobutaka	▲																							▲							
Hayashi Shihei								?																							

Table I: Sources of income

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Hezutsu Tōsaku																		▲		▲											
Hino Sukeki				▲																							▲				
Hiraga Gennai								▲	▲									▲													
Hirasawa Kyokuzan	▲						▲																								
Hosoai Hansai	▲											▲																			
Ichikawa Beian	▲											▲																			
Ichikawa Kansai	▲	▲																					▲								
Iioka Gisai	▲																														
Ike Gyokuran									▲			▲																			
Ike Taiga									▲			▲	▲																		
Imei																														▲	
Inamura Sanpaku							▲	▲																							
Inoue Kinga	▲																									▲					
Irie Masayoshi																				▲											
Itō Jakuchū									▲											▲											
Itō Tōsho	▲																														
Iwagaki Ryōkei	▲																										▲				
Kagawa Gen'etsu							▲									▲				▲											
Kagawa Kageki				▲												▲												▲			
Kagawa Kagemoto				▲																								▲			
Kakizaki Hakyō																							▲								
Kakutei Jōkō									▲																					▲	
Kameda Bōsai	▲								▲			▲																			
Kan Chazan	▲																				▲										
Kan Tenju																				▲											
Karagoromo Kisshū					▲																		▲								
Kashiwagi Jotei		▲							▲															▲							
Katakura Kakuryō							▲																								
Katayama Hokkai	▲	▲																													
Katō Chikage			▲	▲								▲												▲							

Table I: Sources of income

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Katō Kyōtai						▲																	▲								
Katō Umaki			▲																				▲	▲							
Katsu Shikin							▲																								
Katsuragawa Hoshū							▲	▲																							
Kayama Tekien	▲																														
Ki Baitei									▲																						
Kikuchi Gozan		▲																													
Kimura Kenkadō																			▲		▲										
Kitao Masayoshi									▲	▲	▲																				
Kō Fuyō													▲										▲								
Kō Raikin																						▲									
Koga Seiri	▲																						▲								
Koikawa Harumachi										▲								▲					▲								
Koishi Genshun							▲																								
Kojima Baigai																				▲											
Komai Genki									▲																						
Kudō Heisuke							▲	▲															▲								
Kuwayama Gyokushū																				▲											
Maeno Ryōtaku							▲																								
Maki Ryōko												▲																			
Maruyama Ōkyo									▲																						
Maruyama Ōzui									▲																						
Masuyama Sessai																							▲								
Matsudaira Sadanobu																							▲	▲							
Matsumura Goshun									▲															▲							
Matsumura Keibun									▲																	▲					
Matsura Seizan																							▲								
Miguma Katen									▲	▲																					
Minagawa Kien	▲																														
Minagawa Kōsai	▲																														

Table I: Sources of income

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Miura Chora						▲			▲																						
Miyake Shōzan																		▲		▲											
Mogami Tokunai																						?		▲							
Momozawa Mutaku				▲																					▲						
Mori Sosen									▲																						
Mori Tessan									▲																						
Morikawa Chikusō												▲																			
Morishima Chūryō							▲											▲													
Motoori Norinaga			▲				▲																								
Murase Kōtei	▲																						▲								
Murata Harumi			▲	▲																▲											
Nagasawa Rosetsu									▲														**?**								
Nagata Kanga												▲																			
Nakagawa Jun'an							▲																								
Nakai Chikuzan	▲																														
Nakai Riken	▲																														
Nakayama Kōyō									▲											▲											
Nawa Rodō	▲																														
Nishiyama Sessai	▲																														
Nishiyori Seisai	▲																														
Noro Kaiseki									▲														▲								
Odano Naotake									▲	▲																					
Ogino Gengai							▲																								
Okada Beisanjin									▲											▲			▲								
Okada Kansen	▲																							▲							
Okamoto Toyohiko									▲																						
Okamoto Yasutaka												▲																▲			▲
Ōkubo Shibutsu	▲	▲																													
Okuda Eisen															▲					▲											
Ono Ranzan																	▲														

Table I: Sources of income

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Ōta Kinjō	▲																														
Ōta Nanpo																		▲						▲							
Ōtsuki Gentaku							▲	▲																							
Ozawa Roan				▲																			▲					▲			
Rai Kōō																					▲										
Rai Kyōhei	▲																						▲								
Rai Shunpū							▲																								
Rai Shunsui	▲																														
Rikunyo																														▲	
Sakai Hōitsu									▲																					▲	
Santō Kyōden										▲								▲		▲											
Sasaki Roan							▲																								
Satake Yoshiatsu																							▲								
Sawada Tōkō												▲	▲					▲													
Seida Tansō	▲																														
Seki Shōsō	▲																														
Shiba Kōkan								?	▲	▲	▲																				
Shibano Ritsuzan	▲																														
Shibayama Mochitoyo																											▲				
Shinnin Shinnō																														▲	
Shinozaki Santō	▲																			▲											
Sō Shiseki									▲	▲																					
Sugita Genpaku							▲																								
Suzuki Fuyō									▲																						
Tachi Ryūwan		▲																						▲							
Tachibana Nankei							▲																								
Takahashi Munenao			▲																								▲				
Takai Kitō						▲																									
Takayasu Rooku												▲								▲											
Takebe Seian							▲																								

Table I: Sources of income

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Takemoto Hokurin	▲																								▲						
Takemoto Tōtōan																									▲						
Taki Rankei							▲							▲																	
Taki Renpu							▲																								
Takizawa Bakin												▲						▲		▲		▲	▲								
Tanaka Meimon																					▲										
Tani Bunchō									▲														▲								
Tegara no Okamochi																		▲					▲								
Totoki Baigai	▲																														
Tsuga Teishō							▲											▲													
Uchiyama Chinken	▲		▲	▲	▲																										
Udagawa Genzui							▲																								
Udagawa Shinsai							▲	▲																							
Ueda Akinari			▲				▲											▲		▲											
Umetsuji Shunshō																															▲
Uragami Gyokudō									▲					▲									▲								
Yamamoto Hokuzan	▲																														
Yashiro Hirokata			▲									▲												▲							
Yosa Buson						▲			▲																						
Yoshida Kōton	▲						▲																								
Yunoki Taijun							▲																								

Key to the categories: 1 Chinese studies; 2 *kanshi*; 3 Japanese studies; 4 *waka*; 5 *kyōka*; 6 *haikai*; 7 medicine; 8 Western studies; 9 painting; 10 book illustration; 11 print making; 12 calligraphy; 13 seal carving; 14 music; 15 pottery; 16 therapy; 17 botany; 18 popular fiction; 19 publishing; 20 commerce; 21 manufacture; 22 domestic service; 23 administration/officialdom in domanial service; 24 *idem*, in the service of the Bakufu; 25 *idem*, in the rural administration; 26 *idem*, in the service of a temple (*not* including the priesthood); 27 *idem*, in the service of the imperial court; 28 *idem*, in the service of a (family of) *kuge*; 29 priesthood (*shugenja*); 30 priesthood (Buddhist); 31 priesthood (Shinto).

Table II: Activities

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Adachi Seiga	▲	▲								▲															▲
Akamatsu Sōshū	▲	▲																							
Akera Kankō					▲	▲		▲																	▲
Akutagawa Tankyū	▲	▲	▲																						
Aōdō Denzen																				▲	▲				
Aoki Mokubei														▲						▲					▲
Aoki Shukuya																				▲					
Azuma Tōyō																				▲					
Ban Kōkei				▲	▲																	▲			
Bitō Nishū	▲	▲																							
Chō Tōsai									▲											▲		▲	▲		
Chōgetsu					▲				▲																
Chōmu							▲		▲																
Daiten Kenjō		▲							▲					▲								▲			
Eda Nagayasu	▲			▲	▲								▲		▲										▲
Ema Ransai																▲									
Emura Hokkai	▲	▲																							
Fujitani Mitsue				▲	▲								▲												
Fujitani Nariakira		▲		▲	▲								▲						▲						
Fushimatsu Kaka					▲	▲																			
Gamō Kunpei	▲			▲																					
Geppō									▲					▲						▲					
Gessen									▲											▲					
Hanawa Hokiichi				▲	▲	▲				▲															
Haruki Nanko		▲				▲	▲													▲					
Hattori Rissai	▲																								
Hayashi Jussai	▲	▲											▲												▲
Hayashi Nobutaka	▲																								
Hayashi Shihei											▲	▲					▲								▲
Hezutsu Tōsaku						▲		▲				▲													
Hino Sukeki				▲	▲																				

Table II: Activities

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Hiraga Gennai								▲									▲	▲		▲					
Hirasawa Kyokuzan	▲	▲							▲							▲									
Hosoai Hansai	▲	▲																				▲	▲		
Ichikawa Beian	▲	▲													▲							▲			
Ichikawa Kansai	▲	▲																				▲			
Iioka Gisai	▲																								
Ike Gyokuran					▲								▲							▲		▲			
Ike Taiga		▲			▲								▲					▲		▲		▲	▲		
Imei									▲											▲					
Inamura Sanpaku																▲	▲								
Inoue Kinga	▲	▲																		▲		▲			
Irie Masayoshi				▲																					
Itō Jakuchū									▲											▲					
Itō Tōsho	▲	▲																							
Iwagaki Ryōkei	▲																								
Kagawa Gen'etsu																▲									
Kagawa Kageki					▲																				
Kagawa Kagemoto					▲																				
Kakizaki Hakyō																				▲					
Kakutei Jōkō									▲											▲					
Kameda Bōsai	▲	▲											▲							▲		▲			
Kan Chazan	▲	▲																							
Kan Tenju															▲					▲		▲	▲		
Karagoromo Kisshū		▲			▲	▲																			
Kashiwagi Jotei		▲																		▲					
Katakura Kakuryō																▲									
Katayama Hokkai	▲	▲																							
Katō Chikage				▲	▲	▲														▲		▲			
Katō Kyōtai							▲																		
Katō Umaki				▲																					
Katsu Shikin		▲											▲			▲							▲		

Table II: Activities

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Katsuragawa Hoshū												▲	▲		▲	▲	▲								
Kayama Tekien	▲	▲																							
Ki Baitei							▲													▲					
Kikuchi Gozan		▲																				▲			
Kimura Kenkadō		▲												▲	▲			▲		▲		▲	▲		
Kitao Masayoshi						▲														▲	▲				
Kō Fuyō	▲	▲		▲											▲					▲		▲	▲		▲
Kō Raikin		▲																		▲		▲			
Koga Seiri	▲	▲																				▲			
Koikawa Harumachi						▲		▲												▲	▲				
Koishi Genshun	▲															▲									
Kojima Baigai		▲					▲																		
Komai Genki																				▲					
Kudō Heisuke																▲	▲						▲		▲
Kuwayama Gyokushū																				▲				▲	
Maeno Ryōtaku													▲			▲	▲		▲						
Maki Ryōko		▲																				▲			
Maruyama Ōkyo																				▲					
Maruyama Ōzui																				▲					
Masuyama Sessai		▲												▲				▲		▲		▲			
Matsudaira Sadanobu					▲								▲									▲			▲
Matsumura Goshun							▲						▲							▲			▲		
Matsumura Keibun																				▲				▲	
Matsura Seizan	▲			▲	▲						▲		▲		▲		▲								▲
Miguma Katen					▲															▲	▲				
Minagawa Kien	▲	▲											▲		▲					▲		▲	▲		
Minagawa Kōsai	▲																								
Miura Chora							▲													▲					
Miyake Shōzan		▲	▲				▲	▲																	
Mogami Tokunai																	▲								
Momozawa Mutaku					▲																				

Table II: Activities

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Mori Sosen																				▲					
Mori Tessan																				▲					
Morikawa Chikusō																				▲		▲	▲		
Morishima Chūryō			▲			▲		▲				▲				▲	▲								
Motoori Norinaga				▲	▲					▲						▲									▲
Murase Kōtei	▲	▲												▲						▲		▲			
Murata Harumi				▲	▲								▲									▲			
Nagasawa Rosetsu																				▲					
Nagata Kanga		▲			▲				▲						▲					▲		▲			
Nakagawa Jun'an																▲	▲	▲							
Nakai Chikuzan	▲	▲																							▲
Nakai Riken	▲	▲			▲											▲			▲	▲					
Nakayama Kōyō		▲																		▲		▲	▲	▲	
Nawa Rodō	▲																								
Nishiyama Sessai	▲	▲			▲										▲										
Nishiyori Seisai	▲	▲																							
Noro Kaiseki																				▲					
Odano Naotake																				▲	▲				
Ogino Gengai																▲							▲		
Okada Beisanjin		▲													▲					▲					
Okada Kansen	▲										▲					▲									
Okamoto Toyohiko																				▲					
Okamoto Yasutaka					▲					▲												▲			
Ōkubo Shibutsu	▲	▲												▲						▲		▲			
Okuda Eisen																									▲
Ono Ranzan																			▲						
Ōta Kinjō	▲	▲																							
Ōta Nanpo	▲	▲				▲		▲																	▲
Ōtsuki Gentaku											▲	▲				▲	▲								
Ozawa Roan	▲			▲	▲								▲												
Rai Baishi		▲			▲																				

Table II: Activities

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Rai Kōō	▲				▲																				
Rai Kyōhei	▲	▲			▲																	▲			
Rai Shunpū		▲														▲						▲			
Rai Shunsui	▲	▲																				▲			
Rikunyo		▲							▲																
Sakai Hōitsu					▲	▲	▲		▲											▲		▲		▲	▲
Santō Kyōden						▲		▲												▲	▲				▲
Sasaki Roan	▲	▲														▲									
Satake Yoshiatsu		▲			▲															▲		▲		▲	
Sawada Tōkō	▲							▲							▲							▲	▲		
Seida Tansō	▲	▲	▲																						
Seki Shōsō	▲	▲																							
Shiba Kōkan																	▲		▲	▲	▲				
Shibano Ritsuzan	▲	▲		▲																					
Shibayama Mochitoyo					▲																				
Shinnin Shinnō					▲				▲					▲								▲			
Shinozaki Santō	▲														▲				▲			▲			▲
Sō Shiseki																				▲	▲				
Sugita Genpaku		▲			▲		▲									▲									▲
Suzuki Fuyō																				▲					
Tachi Ryūwan		▲			▲																		▲		
Tachibana Nankei		▲			▲											▲									▲
Takahashi Munenao				▲	▲					▲															
Takai Kitō		▲					▲																		
Takayama Hikokurō					▲																				▲
Takayasu Rooku																						▲			
Takebe Seian																▲									
Takemoto Hokurin	▲																								▲
Takemoto Tōtōan	▲	▲															▲					▲			
Taki Rankei													▲			▲									
Taki Renpu																▲									

Table II: Activities

Name	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Takizawa Bakin						▲	▲	▲														▲			
Tanaka Meimon		▲																							
Tani Bunchō																				▲	▲			▲	
Tani Kankan																				▲					
Tegara no Okamochi						▲	▲	▲														▲			
Totoki Baigai	▲																			▲		▲	▲		
Tsuga Teishō			▲					▲						▲		▲						▲	▲		▲
Uchiyama Chinken	▲	▲		▲	▲	▲																			
Udagawa Genzui																▲									
Udagawa Shinsai																▲	▲								
Ueda Akinari			▲	▲	▲		▲	▲						▲		▲									▲
Umetsuji Shunshō	▲	▲			▲					▲															
Uragami Gyokudō	▲	▲											▲							▲					
Yamamoto Hokuzan	▲	▲							▲		▲								▲						▲
Yashiro Hirokata				▲	▲										▲							▲			▲
Yosa Buson		▲					▲													▲					
Yoshida Kōton	▲														▲	▲									▲
Yunoki Taijun																▲									

Key to the categories: 1 Chinese studies; 2 *kanshi*; 3 vernacular Chinese; 4 Japanese studies; 5 *waka*; 6 *kyōka*; 7 *haikai*; 8 popular fiction; 9 Buddhist studies; 10 Shinto studies; 11 military studies; 12 ethnography; 13 music/ dance; 14 s*encha*; 15 collecting; 16 medicine; 17 Western studies; 18 botany; 19 astronomy/calendrical sciences; 20 painting; 21 illustration/print making; 22 calligraphy; 23 seal carving; 24 theory of art; 25 other (comprises agricultural studies, c*hanoyu*, connoisseurship, *ekigaku*, epigraphy/*kanji* etymology, gardening, *kōdō,* mechanics, political/economic studies, pottery, *renga*, *senryū*, study of popular culture, travel writing, *zuihitsu* – all of these with less than five individuals partaking in them).