YAMAMOTO BAIITSU:
HIS LIFE, LITERATI PURSUITS, AND RELATED PAINTINGS

by

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this dissertation is the artist Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783-1856), who belonged to the group of Japanese painters known either as Nanga (Southern School) or Bunjinga (Literati School). The numerous artists of this school, active during the Edo period (1615-1867), tended to be independent in spirit; most were intellectuals interested especially in Chinese learning and scholarly arts. Unlike other schools of painting which flourished simultaneously and catered to the tastes of particular social groups, artists of this school and their patrons were extremely diverse in their backgrounds. The "school" was really a loosely connected movement in which artists from different classes of society were bonded together by similar ideologies rather than by virtue of being born into the same social classes.

Baiitsu's emergence as a painter coincided with the flourishing of Nanga in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although active at the same time as numerous other Nanga artists, Baiitsu stands out as a particularly interesting artist to study. Born in Nagoya, the major city in Japan between Edo and Osaka, he associated freely with other painters and scholars not only of Nagoya but also of the Kansai and Kantō districts. Thus he maintained an unusual position as a member of artistic and intellectual circles of three of Japan's most thriving geographic centers. Yet, because of the large number of exquisite bird-and-flower paintings he turned out, Baiitsu is thought of today as primarily a professional painter working within the confines of the Nanga school. As such, his other paintings and his literati pursuits

have been largely ignored.

In actuality, Baiitsu's bird-and-flower works comprised only about half his total output. The subjects for the remainder of his paintings were more orthodox literati themes, mostly landscapes and depictions of literati plants, such as bamboo, pines, plums, and orchids. These literati paintings were more personal than his bird-and-flower works and frequently included poetry and other inscriptions by Baiitsu or his literati friends. As a result, they provide information about Baiitsu's artistic and philosophic attitudes, as well as revealing the nature and scope of his relationships with other contemporaries. Furthermore, these paintings especially warrant further investigation as they demonstrate the considerable depth of Baiitsu's understanding of the orthodox Chinese literati painting tradition and its culture, upon which many of the principles of the Nanga movement in Japan were based.

Like many of his literati friends, Baiitsu was a painter by vocation, but his interests were broad. He was considered a connoisseur of Chinese paintings, calligraphies, and antiquities. He was also a noted flute player, wrote poetry in Chinese (kanshi) and Japanese (waka), and was deeply engrossed in the study and practice of sencha (Chinese-style steeped tea). None of these interests have been thoroughly investigated by previous scholars, despite the facts that they contributed significantly to the creation of Baiitsu's personal style in his art, and that he was well known for these interests during

his lifetime.[1]

During his lifetime, Baiitsu was an active participant in the literati painting circles of his day. As such, illustrations by him were included in a number of printed books containing various artists' works.[2] It is in the backs of some of these books that the first recorded biographical accounts on Baiitsu are found. Meika gafu of 1814, the earliest anthology to which he contributed, lists nothing but several of his names; "Yamamoto Shinryō, Meikyō, and Baiitsu," and states that he was from Owari and his common name was Unekichi. In the 1852 printed book, Shoga ruisen, the biographical entry lists his names, "Baiitsu Yamamoto Sensei Ryō, and Meikyō," and states that "he was from Owari, was a professional painter skilled at depicting birds-and-flowers, was fond of sencha and ancient bronzes, and was born in the third year of the Temmei era." Other contemporary references to Baiitsu contain similarly scant information. The prolific writer and literatus, Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835), listed Baiitsu's name along with others who painted birds-and-flowers-- Nakabayashi Chikutō (1776-1853), Uragami Shunkin (1779-1846), Oda Kaisen (1785-1862), and Onishi Keisai (flourished ca.1820) --in his Chikuden sō shiyū garoku of

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[1]The only modern scholar to point out the value of these interests is Yamanouchi Chōzō, who titled the chapter on Baiitsu in his book on Nanga, "Yamamoto Baiitsu Who Had Various Hobbies." See: Yamanouchi Chōzō, Nihon nanga shi (Tokyo, 1981), pp. 377-387.

[2]See: C.H. Mitchell, The Illustrated Books of the Nanga, Maruyama, Shijō, and Other Related Schools of Japan, a Biobibliography (Los Angeles, 1972), p.12.

1833.[3] Apart from that he was silent about his opinion of Baiitsu.

Baiitsu's name also appeared in several editions of some of the "who's who" books of the Edo period. Heian jimbutsu shi included Baiitsu's name in the 1838 edition, listing only his place of residence in Kyoto.[4] In the 1852 edition of that book,[5] he was included in the Bunjinga category as a painter, and in the Bunge (elegant literary pastime) section as a flute player. The book, Anmi shinsen enjin meiroku of 1858, published two years after his death, listed him only as a painter from Owari.[6] In the 1892 Meiji period reprint of the 1818 edition of Honchō kokon shinzō shoga binran, a more extensive biography was written.[7] It gave his names as "Ryō, Meikyō, and Baiitsu," and stated that he was from Owari, went to Kyoto to live where he taught painting, was a painter by profession who excelled at birds-and-flowers, and in his old age, returned home to Owari where he died in the year Ansei 3.

Meiji period criticisms of Baiitsu show he was a highly respected Nanga painter at that time.[8] The printed book, Meika shoga zuroku, of 1891, included an illustration of flowers in a vase by Baiitsu which had

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[3]See: Taketani Chōjirō, Bunjin gaka Tanomura Chikuden (Tokyo, 1981), p.526.

[4]See: Mori Senzō and Nakajima Tadasu, editors, Kinsei jinmei rokushusei (Tokyo, 1976), vol.1 no. 558.

[5]Ibid., no. 713 and 759.

[6]Ibid., vol.3, no.750.

[7]Ibid., vol.4.

[8]For example, the great literatus, Tomioka Tessai (1836-1924), praised Baiitsu highly in colophons he attached to several of Baiitsu's bird-and-flower albums he was shown.

been shown at a public exhibition at Tōdai and which was praised for its delicacy. The biographical section of that book described Baiitsu as

> a painter from Owari who taught and lived in Kyoto. He was completely knowledgeable about Yuan and Ming painters [of China]. At the same time that he was active, Nakabayashi Chikutō was also famous as a painter. The two artists were competitors and were equally stubborn. Baiitsu excelled at painting landscapes and birds-and-flowers. His brushwork was unequalled in its intricacy.[9] For application of his colors, he did not use the horsetail brush. and his balanced brushwork accorded with the laws of nature.

Around the turn of the century, numerous books on Nanga began to be published in Japan. One large series published between 1909 and 1910, Nanga judaikashū by Tajima Shiichi, counted Baiitsu among the ten Nanga painters chosen for inclusion.[10] In 1910, Kanematsu Romon (1864-post 1911) published his book, Chikutō to Baiitsu, which has remained until now the only major study on Baiitsu's life.[11] Kanematsu was himself a literati painter and scholar, a pupil of Baiitsu's student, Nakano Suichiku (1808-1886).[12] Because of his direct inheritance of the Baiitsu school lineage, he had access to many now lost primary sources, such as letters and paintings, as well as first-hand acquaintance with people who actually knew Baiitsu. For these reasons, his book contains a wealth of information not available elsewhere. Kanematsu's book is the major source of reference material for this study. However, the

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[9]This probably refers to the fact that he did not do preliminary underdrawing prior to applying the final colors.

[10]The others were Yosa Buson, Ikeno Taiga, Tanomura Chikuden, Tani Buncho, Watanabe Kazan, Tsubaki Chinzan, Nakabayashi Chikutō, Okada Hankō, and Nukina Kaioku.

[11]Kanematsu Romon, Chikutō to Baiitsu (Tokyo, 1910).

[12]For biographical information on Kanematsu, see: Tabei Kintarō, Chūkyō gadan (Nagoya, 1911), pp. 188-189.

discussion of Baiitsu's painting styles in that book is so brief and the illustrations so few, that the book is of little help in analysis of Baiitsu's paintings.

Although Nanga painting was little understood or appreciated by many early Western scholars of Japanese art, some of these early writers in English did admire it and echoed the praises of the Meiji era scholars on Baiitsu. Henry P. Bowie counted Baiitsu among the great Nanga painters along with Taiga, Chikuden, and Katei.[13] Arthur Morrison wrote with greater insight, that

> The Western amateur entering on the study of the Nanjiu style might well begin with Yamamoto Bai-itsu. So firm and true is his hand, so naturalistic his view of his subjects, that many might hesitate to include him among painters of bunjin-gwa; yet the touch on his tree-trunks and mountain-sides is always of the Southern style, though always his own. He treated flowers and birds as well as landscapes, and he was a worker of great rapidity, painting in a composition of the utmost intricacy without preliminary planning or sketching. He was born in Nagoya in 1790, but most of his work was executed at Kyoto, where he lived for the greater part of his life. He died in 1857.[14]

Morrison's dates are inaccurate, but his original thoughts on Baiitsu's contribution to and position in the Nanga painting movement are still valid. Morrison praised Baiitsu highly by stating that one might begin the study of Nanga by examining Baiitsu's paintings. His comment that "some might hesitate to call his naturalistic approach Nanga" shows the kind of stereotyping of artistic lineages which was prevalent. Yet, Morrison recognized Baiitsu's adherence to the techniques of Chinese brushwork as well as his originality in approach and fine craftsmanship.

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[13]See: Henry P.Bowie, On the Laws of Japanese Painting (New York, 1952, reprint of 1911 edition), p. 18.

[14]Arthur Morrison, The Painters of Japan (London, 1911), vol.2, p.87.

Although Baiitsu's paintings have been frequently included in Japanese books and journals and there are many short articles about him, very little scholarship on Baiitsu has been produced since the Meiji era. The only major scholar of the mid twentieth century to study Baiitsu in any kind of depth was Mori Senzō, who chose to examine an individual aspect of Baiitsu's life, his relationship with the kanshi poet, Ōkubo Shibutsu (1767-1837), based mainly on Shibutsu's writings.[15] While Mori's article drew heavily on written sources, he did not have access to a number of relevant paintings which have recently come to light.

Two of the leading Nanga scholars in Japan today, Yoshizawa Chū and Yonezawa Yoshiho, write of Baiitsu that "the frequent appearance of sharp-lined details in Baiitsu's painting gives it a character that seems to preclude our calling it Nanga."[16] Yoshizawa and Yonezawa seem to be implying that Baiitsu's brushwork is unorthodox for Nanga and thus is somehow inferior to and outside the realm of orthodox Nanga painting. Morrison had hinted at similar originality of brushwork, but he did not imply any negative connotations. Strangely, Yoshizawa and Yonezawa group Baiitsu and his friend and rival, Chikutō, who were both born in Nagoya, with Nanga artists of Eastern Japan, despite the fact that both artists lived in Kyoto for the major portion of their careers, and as

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[15]See: Mori Senzō, "Baiitsu to Shibutsu," Gasetsu 32 (August 1939), pp.749-759, and a slightly expanded version of the article in: Mori Senzo, Chosakushu vol.4 (Tokyo, 1971), pp.230-243.

[16]This statement is included in the section, "Deterioration: the Nagoya Painters" (referring to Chikutō and Baiitsu) in Yoshizawa Chū and Yonezawa Yoshiho, Japanese Painting in the Literati Style (Betty Monroe translator) (New York, 1974), pp.113-114, which was based on the Japanese edition of that book published in 1968.

stated earlier, Baiitsu seems to have maintained an independent position by associating with Kantō and Kansai area literati. They further state that

> The Nanga of Eastern Japan--that is, the area extending eastward from Nagoya and centering in Edo--became so intermixed with other styles that it could no longer be called Nanga at all. The divergence is particularly evident in the lines of the painting, and, as we have noted earlier in this chapter, it is explained by the fact that the artists themselves were members of the shogunate officialdom.[17]

Whether or not Baiitsu's art actually fits this description is an important question and one which will be more thoroughly addressed in this study.

In 1972, James Cahill, a scholar of Chinese painting, organized an exhibition of Japanese Nanga in the United States. Professor Cahill apparently had a much higher regard for Baiitsu's worth as an artist than did Yoshizawa and Yonezawa. His fresh observations on Baiitsu's artistic position are stated in the following quote from the exhibition catalogue:

> He [Baiitsu] was one of the most accomplished of later Japanese artists, and perhaps can be said to have attained a better technical command of the Chinese-derived styles than any other Nanga master. Nevertheless, his reputation in Japan is not high, partly because, like Buncho, he painted many rather superficial pictures. At his best, however, he can be dazzlingly good. He handles brush and ink with a finesse that few others in Japan could match; he is another of the few whose works could be mistaken, at times, for Chinese paintings. This is in itself no recommendation, of course; the same could be said of the most slavish imitations, if they were faithful enough. But Baiitsu is by no means a simple imitator of Chinese styles; he is a painter of originality and feeling.[18]

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[17]Ibid., p.114.

[18]James Cahill, Scholar-Painters of Japan: The Nanga School (New York, 1972), p.120.

More recently in Japan, a reappraisal of Baiitsu's position has begun to take place. In 1981, the Nagoya City Museum hosted an exhibition of Nanga painters of Nagoya.[19] As Baiitsu is considered one of the four great Nanga painters of that city, he was one of the artists whose works were prominently featured. Over twenty paintings by Baiitsu were exhibited, many of which had not been published previously. Taken as a group, they revealed the scope of Baiitsu's oeuvre to be much broader than had previously been considered. Furthermore, the chapter on Baiitsu in Yamanouchi Chōzō's book, also of 1981,[20] examines briefly for the first time since Kanematsu's publication of 1910, some of the various aspects of Baiitsu's personal life which contributed to the formation of his unique style in art.

Although several recent publications begin to examine Baiitsu's art with new insights, except for Kanematsu's pioneering work and Mori's article, past studies really provide only a superficial view of his art and life. They generally tend to excerpt statements from Kanematsu's book verbatum. Furthermore, although Kanematsu presented a large amount of documentary material in his book, he did so without thoroughly analyzing and interpretating it. Thus, through analysis of documents introduced by Kanematsu and a number of previously unpublished materials (primarily letters, poems, and inscriptions on paintings), I have found that there is still a large corpus of material available for study about Baiitsu. In addition, his extant paintings number over four hundred,

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[19]See the exhibition catalogue of this show; Nagoyashi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaigashi--nanga (Nagoya, 1981).

[20]Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, pp.377-387.

and many new works are continually being uncovered. Clearly, one dissertation can not possibly explore all facets of his art. For this reason, the focus of this study shall be on examining Baiitsu's life and art within the context of his intellectual and Chinese-influenced literati interests, which shaped his painting styles most profoundly, yet which have not been adequately studied in the past. His professional bird-and-flower works will be discussed only with reference to his paintings produced in less decorative, more literati manners and to the extent that they reveal the nature of his personal style in art.

In this dissertation, I begin my analysis of Baiitsu with a chronological study of his life, utilizing materials presented in Kanematsu's book and evidence of his activities found in inscriptions on paintings, and discussed in the writings of Shibutsu or other poet-friends. Using letters and paintings with inscriptions as primary sources, Baiitsu's relationships with other of his contemporaries will be examined to help define the nature of his personal life. Baiitsu's relationships with his clients will also be explored in order to define the meaning of such relationships within Nanga circles.

Next, I will examine Baiitsu's wide-ranging literati pursuits within the context of their respective intellectual movements. Primary sources come from documents presented in Kanematsu's book, extant poems, publications to which Baiitsu contributed, and inscriptions on paintings. In this section I intend to present a more coherent picture of the diversity of Baiitsu's interests within a broader cultural context and indicate the effect these interests had on the directions he took in his art.

The analysis of Baiitsu's paintings in this study will focus primarily on his works with literati themes. For some artists, a straightforeward chronological approach to a discussion of their painting styles is meaningful. However, because of the diversity of style and subject-matter in Baiitsu's literati paintings, the works will be grouped thematically in this study, with each theme discussed chronologically.

As some of Baiitsu's paintings are diffucult to date by analysis of their painting styles alone, studies of Baiitsu's seals, the styles of his signatures, and the studio names he inscribed on his paintings will be employed in the analysis of Baiitsu's art. These points will be discussed within the text of this dissertation, while appendicies will also be included containing sample seals and signatures, and a list of the studio names and the dates during which each was used.

CHAPTER ONE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NANGA PAINTING IN NAGOYA

Nagoya's rise to importance began when Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Tokugawa shogunate and divided the nation's land into han (fiefs) which he parceled out among the daimyō (feudal lords). Daimyō power was measured by the revenue of the land in koku (4.96 bushels) of rice. The roughly 230 to 280 daimyō were separated into three categories by the government according to their relationship with the Tokugawa family. Tokugawa-related daimyō (or shimpan) domains were situated in positions of defense for the Tokugawa capitol of Edo. The three major shimpan, founded by three of Ieyasu's sons, could provide a shogunal heir if the main branch of the family produced none. The largest of these three han, Owari, was located in Nagoya.[1]

Nagoya's choice as one of the three major shimpan derived from its strategic position astride the Tōkaidō, the great roadway which linked Kyoto with Edo. It was a strategic position because any military threat from the west to the seat of the shōgunal power in Edo had to pass through Nagoya first. This position on the Tōkaidō also afforded Nagoya a great commercial advantage, helping to make it one of the wealthiest and most populous centers in the Tokugawa period.

With a population of 63,000, Nagoya ranked sixth for the entire country at the end of the seventeenth century behind Edo, Kyoto, Osaka,

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[1]John King Fairbank and Edwin O.Reischauer, East Asia: Tradition and Transformation (Boston, 1973), p.401.

Kanazawa, and Nagasaki.[2] By the eighteenth century, the population of Nagoya had risen to about 100,000, but this was still rather small in comparison to Edo's population of about a million inhabitants and Osaka and Kyoto's populations of 400,000 each.[3] Nevertheless, Nagoya was not a provincial community but a major commercial center and a seat of military power. Furthermore, due to Nagoya's location along the Tōkaidō, people from all parts of the country would frequently pass through the city on their way to and from Edo. Such an environment was naturally conducive to patronage of the arts and to the emergence of a group of local intellectuals.

Nagoya Castle was constructed between 1610 and 1615 for Tokugawa Ieyasu's ninth son, Yoshinao, and the first paintings of major importance in Nagoya were produced for the decoration of this castle.[4] Between 1610 and 1644, fusuma and byōbu were painted by artists of the Kanō school, which was regularly patronized by the samurai class and the Tokugawa family. Kanō school painters must have come to Nagoya specifically commissioned to produce works of art for the castle, for they left soon after. Nevertheless, they must have hired local assistants to help complete their assignments, for a number of pupils

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[2]George Sansom, A History of Japan 1615-1867 (Stanford,Ca., 1963),p.113.

[3]John Whitney Hall, Japan From Pre-history to Modern Times (N.Y.,1970),p.210.

[4]The following discussion on early Nanga painting in Nagoya is based largely on the essay, "Owari no Nanga," in the exhibition catalogue, Owari no kaigashi-nanga, publshed by the Nagoya shi hakubutsukan,pp.88-94; Yoshida Toshihide's article,"Niwa Kagen to Owari shoki nanga no jokyo," Nagoyashi hakubutsukan kenkyu kiyo, number 4, 1980, pp.1-22; and Tabei, Chukyo gadan, pp.134-150 from which source more extensive biographical information on the artists is derived.

of theirs remained in Nagoya. These pupils continued to receive commissions from Owari han; they painted for the vast castle and the numerous temples the samurai patronized. Their style of painting was dominant in Nagoya through the mid-eighteenth century.

Several other more independent painters appeared around this time, including the tea master Takada Ryōsai (1684-1763), pupil of Kanō Tsunenobu, and the Confucian scholar Miyazaki Impo (1717-1774). These artists however, do not seem to have exerted much influence on the subsequent development of Nanga painting in Nagoya.

Around the same time that Impo and Ryōsai were active, several other painters emerged who were precursors for Nanga painting in the Nagoya area. Sakaki Hyakusen (1697-1753), one of the major pioneers of the entire Nanga movement, was born in Nagoya, and people of that city acknowledge him as Nagoya's first Nanga painter. He left Nagoya at about the age of twenty and settled in Ise for a time where he became a poet. It was actually not until he was around thirty and living in Kyoto that he became well known.

Tsuda Ōkei (?-1780) was a retainer to the Owari han and painter of landscapes and birds-and-flowers in the Nagasaki style as popularized by Shen Nan-p'in.[5] However, it is not known where or when Ōkei studied this style of painting. Ōkei's bird-and-flower painting style (plate 1), derived from Shen Nan-p'in and his followers such as Sō Shiseki

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[5]Shen Nan-p'in (1682-ca.1760) was a Chinese Ch'ing dynasty professional painter who came to Nagasaki between 1731 and 1733 to teach painting. He specialized in naturalistic bird-and-flower and landscape paintings done in a richly detailed and beautifully colored manner. An extremely popular teacher, his style proliferated throughout Japan to the extent that it became the norm for most bird-and-flower paintings produced after his time.

(1712-1786) (plates 2-3), came to occupy the central position in the painting world of Nagoya in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The most influential early Nanga artist of Nagoya, Niwa Kagen (1742-1786), served as a retainer to the Owari han. He was a Confucian scholar, writer of essays and poetry, as well as a painter and calligrapher. Kagen was probably not directly affected by Hyakusen as the latter had died when Kagen was just twelve years old. He went to Kyoto to study literature around 1762 at the age of twenty. While there, Kagen was befriended by Ikeno Taiga (1723-1776) and other prominent literati of that city.

Kagen returned to Nagoya during the Meiwa era (1764-1772). His paintings shortly after his return are frequently sketches from life (shasei) (plate 4) and depictions of actual places (shinkeizu), especially Mount Fuji.[6] Kagen must have been inspired by Taiga, other Kyoto artists, and western style painters who commonly depicted those kinds of scenes. In 1776, Kagen retired to a Zen temple. After this, he began to study and copy Chinese paintings more intensely, and his painting style developed into one displaying more overt influence of the Chinese sources he emulated. During the Temmei period (from 1781 to his death in 1786), Kagen absorbed and assimilated the Chinese styles he studied, and developed his own individual style for landscape painting. His paintings of this last phase of his career are noted for their abbreviated brushstrokes, and clarity of color and composition. One such painting (plate 30) directly copies the composition of a painting

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[6]See: Yoshida Toshihide, "Niwa Kagen hitsu, Shinshū kikanzu, Nakabayashi Chikutō hitsu, Shinshū kikanzu," in Kokka 1032, pp.14-21.

by the late Ming painter, Lan Ying (1585-1657) (plate 29). However, in Kagen's looser, less meticulous brushwork his own style is revealed.

Kagen also designed illustrations for a printed book, Fukuzensai gafu, which he originally hand-colored. The first date of publication is uncertain, but a number of the illustrations are dated to 1781. A second edition of the book was published after his death in 1814.[7] This book must have made his painting style and his ideas on painting more accessible to the growing number of Nanga artists of Nagoya. While the publication of printed books by Nanga artists was to become increasingly popular, Kagen's book stands out as among the earliest.

Kagen emerged as the leader of a small group of artists and intellectuals who appreciated Nanga painting. Several notable elder members of this circle were Nishimura Seikyō (1727-1794), who painted haiga which display the influence of Yosa Buson (1716-1783) and his followers; and the merchant-patron, Kamiya Ten'yū (1710-1801), who was later to become Baiitsu's mentor.

Other Nanga painters in Nagoya, Yokoi Kinkoku (1761-1832) and the priest, Sō Gessen (1721-1809), remained somewhat apart from Kagen and his group. They chose instead to follow the styles of Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795), Yosa Buson, and Matsumura Goshun (1752-1811) among others. In addition, from around the 1780s many minor artists began painting in the naturalistic style of Ōkyo and his followers. It is apparent that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century there was a diversified and flourishing artistic movement in the city of Nagoya.

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[7]See: C.H. Mitchell, The Illustrated Books of the Nanga, Maruyama, Shijō, and Other Related Schools of Japan, pp.255-256.

A common method of making paintings available to prospective buyers was to participate in exhibitions, sponsored by the artists themselves, and the holding of exhibitions went hand in hand with the flourishing of Nanga painting in Japan. The earliest exhibitions seem to have taken place in the Kyoto- Osaka area, the center for the Nanga movement in its inception. In 1764, for example, there was a gathering of poets, writers, calligraphers, and painters, held in honor of some visiting Korean emissaries. The painters Ikeno Taiga, Kan Tenju, and the novelist Ueda Akinari (1734-1809) were among those participating.[8] Another painting exhibition which Taiga attended was held in Osaka at Ryusen-ji in 1770.[9]

Among the largest of such exhibitions were those organized by Minagawa Kien (1734-1807). Kien was a Nanga painter as well as a Confucian scholar active in Kansai literati circles. In his exhibitions, works by non-literati artists such as Nagasawa Rosetsu (1754-99) were also included. Participation in the exhibitions Kien sponsored was based on "quality and originality rather than pedigree, a truly epoch-making event."[10] Kien stated that he

> wanted to assemble calligraphies and paintings from Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. All calligraphers and painters were invited, every year, in spring and in autumn, to the "Higashiyama Exhibition of New Calligraphy and Painting." At each session, about three to four hundred works were brought. From Kansei 4 (1792) to Kansei 10 (1798), fourteen of these exhibitions were held. Their fame spread

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[8]Melinda Takeuchi, Visions of a Wanderer: The True View Paintings of Ike Taiga (1723-1776) (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Doctoral Dissertation, 1979),p.34; and Matsushita Hidemaro, Ikeno Taiga (Tokyo, 1967),pp.149-150.

[9]Takeuchi, Visions of a Wanderer, p.35; and Mori Senzō, "Ikeno Taiga kafu no kenkyu," in Bijutsu kenkyu 819 (March 1939), p.179.

[10]Robert Moes, Rosetsu (Denver Art Museum, 1973),p.116.

> to other countries beyond the sea, and even scribes from the Imperial Court were among the guests. The exhibitions prospered. Because of this, calligraphers and painters of Kyoto competed for novelty and uniqueness.[11]

In Nagoya, the earliest recorded painting and calligraphy exhibition, "Shunkyōyōji," took place in 1780 on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month. Niwa Kagen, Nishimura Seikyō, Yamakawa Bokko, and others displayed their works.[12] Patrons such as Kamiya Ten'yū must have been present also. This exhibition was so successful that the participants decided to hold subsequent gatherings on the twenty-fifth day of each month. It is unknown for how long this practice continued.

Kagen did not aspire to establish a school of followers, although he did exert great influence on painting and the direction of scholarly learning in Nagoya during his time. By the mid 1780s a number of other younger artists began painting in the Nanga style that Kagen had espoused, but with significant changes. Interest in the study of Chinese painting and depiction of _shinkeizu_ and _shasei_ were continued by the younger artists. However, Kagen's peculiarities of brushwork and application of colors were abandoned. Some of the younger artists also painted _haiga_ which were probably inspired by Nishimura Seikyō's works.

After Kagen's death, the new leader of this Nanga group was Yamada

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[11]Ibid., p.239,footnote 12; from _Kien bunshū_, vol.11.

[12]Tabei, _Chūkyō gadan_, p.148.

[13]Tabei, _Chūkyō gadan_, pp.149-150. Some sources indicate that Kyujo lived to be around seventy, dying in the middle of the Bunka era (1804-1817): Tabei, _Chukyo gadan_, pp.149-150; Ishimaru Shoun, _Omi no gajintachi_ (Tokyo, 1980), pp.64-65; but this must be a mistake. Accurate are sources that state he died in 1793. The head priest of the Choei-ji in Nagoya, where Kyujo's remains are buried, recorded that in 1796, the painter Cho Gessho (1772-1832) had a memorial tablet erected for Kyujo. On this tablet Kyujo's death on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of 1793, was inscribed. This inscription is recorded

Kyūjō (1747-1793).[13] He was a pupil of the Nagasaki bird-and-flower painter, Sō Shiseki (1712-1786). A painter of landscapes, and birds-and-flowers (plate 5), he was especially interested in Chinese paintings of the Yuan and Ming periods which he studied while he lived in Kyoto for ten years. He also excelled at copying old paintings. Another artist active in Kyūjō's circle was the patron and painter Yamakawa Bokko (1746-1800), who had been a friend of Kagen and Seikyō. He traveled to Nagasaki to study painting with the Chinese artist Fei Ch'ing-hu who had arrived in Japan in the mid 1780s. Sumi Raizan (1757-1821) was one more artist of this group. He originally studied painting with Kagen, and was also fond of composing haiku poetry.

Learning the styles of Ming and Ch'ing dynasty Chinese paintings became a major interest of the group of Nanga painters inspired by Kagen and Kyūjō. However, their followers eschewed emulating their leaders' styles and those of other more prominent Nanga artists of Kyoto such as Taiga and Buson. Instead, perhaps inspired by Kagen's investigations, they went directly back to Chinese sources, studying old paintings, and where possible, receiving instruction from contemporary Chinese painters or Japanese artists (such as Sō Shiseki) who closely adhered to the Chinese styles. In this respect, they may be counted among the forerunners of what was to become the major preoccupation of Nanga painters in Japan during the next century. It was in this artistic

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in "Hoshokushu, Edo jidai koki seiritsu," in Nagoya sōsho, vol.25, p.262. The Chō family records also note Kyūjō's death date as being 1793. The scholar Yoshida Toshihide of the Nagoya City Museum, pointed out this fact in personal correspondence. The account was written by Chō Gesshō's son and it has been handed down to modern-day family descendants.

milieu that Baiitsu began his early studies of Nanga painting in Nagoya.

CHAPTER TWO

BAIITSU'S BIOGRAPHY AND CAREER

Early Life in Nagoya (1783-1802)

Yamamoto Baiitsu was born in the third year of the Temmei era (1783) on the twentieth day of the tenth month. At birth, he was given the name Unekichi, after the cyclical year of the rabbit in which he was born. Other names he used early in his life were Meikyō (also pronounced Meikei), Shinryō, Shun'en and Kien.[1] An eldest son, Baiitsu had a younger brother who died young, as well as a younger sister. The family lived in Tendo machi of Nagoya (now Iida machi, Higashi-ku). Japanese sources record that Baiitsu's father, Tomouemon, was associated with the Owari clan, the Nagoya branch of the Tokugawas, as either a retainer or as a distant relative. He was employed by them as a sculptor, his major commissions being carvings for architectural ornamentation. Although he received a stipend for his work, it is thought that his salary was so low that it was necessary for him to take in outside business in order for his family to survive.[2]

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[1]Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p.152; Kanematsu Romon, Chikutō to Baiitsu, (Tokyo, 1910), p.173.

[2]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p. 173. Unlike many artists of his day, the facts about Baiitsu's early training as a painter have not been well recorded. Baiitsu did not leave any memoirs or critical writings on any subject. Therefore, the only scant biographical information available comes from the writings of Kanematsu Romon, who obtained his information from now lost letters and from conversations with Baiitsu's relatives and associates.

The earliest anecdote about Baiitsu's painting ability refers to an event which took place when he was about eleven or twelve years of age. Every day Baiitsu would bring his father's noon time meal to the temple where he was then employed. One day, the chief priest saw Baiitsu playfully drawing and he decided, as an experiment, to have him paint a design of old pine trees on four fusuma in the priests' quarters. The priest was very impressed with the results.[3]

Baiitsu spent his early childhood watching his father work, and Kanematsu reports that he copied designs his father executed. He loved sketching flowers, grasses, birds and animals by drawing them in the ground.[4] When he was twelve (by traditional Japanese age reckoning), Baiitsu's father died, and the task of raising him was left to his mother, who was an educated woman capable even of composing waka poetry. Although the family was impoverished, she did not neglect teaching him reading and writing. Baiitsu was naturally expected to follow his father's profession, but it was clear that he preferred drawing to carving. It is not known when he first began receiving painting instruction; the accounts vary.

The identity of Baiitsu's first painting teacher is not clear. It may have been Yamamoto Rantei, to whom he may have been apprenticed by his father. Rantei (dates unknown), was a minor Kanō school painter,

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[3]Ibid., p.174. Perhaps this is a slight exaggeration. It seems most unlikely that Baiitsu would be allowed to paint fusuma just because the priest liked his sketches.

[4]Ibid.

who later switched to the Ukiyo-e style.[5] Rantei began studying painting with Kanō Yūchiku and later became a disciple of Komashin, better known as Uchida Rancho (1747-1833). Rantei's paintings are quite rare, and so his significance to Baiitsu's painting style is difficult to discern. His connection with Baiitsu is only speculative but may be derived from his relationship with his own teacher, Uchida Rancho, who ultimately became one of Baiitsu's most helpful patrons.[6] Rancho may have been a traveling druggist who collected paintings and calligraphies,[7] and was a famous painter of bijin.[8] Baiitsu wrote two letters to Rancho in which he described paintings they traded, and of viewing some paintings that Rancho had sent him together with tea friends.[9]

It has also been suggested that Baiitsu, like his good friend Chikutō, first began his training under Yamada Kyūjō,[10] but since Baiitsu was only ten years old at the time of his death, Kyūjō could not have taught the young artist much, if anything at all. Since Kyūjō was

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[5]Yamanouchi Chōzō, Nihon nanga shi, p.378; Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.174 states that Rantei may have been Baiitsu's first painting teacher and makes no mention of Baiitsu's father being involved in that association.

[6]Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p.162.

[7]Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, p. 378.

[8]Yoshida Toshihide, "Yamamoto Baiitsu kenkyū josetsu," Nagoyashi hakubutsukan kenkyu kiyo, volume 2, 1979, p.18.

[9]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.208. Rancho was also a friend of the samurai-painter, Totoki Baigai, and a number of letters Baigai wrote him concerning paintings by the Chinese painter, I Fu-chiu are still extant. See: Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "A Study of Chinese Painters Who Came to Japan: I Fu-chiu and Li Yung-lin," in Bijutsu kenkyū 315, p.21; and Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Totoki Baigai's Letters Adressed to Uchida Rancho," in Kokka 1039, pp.42-48.

[10]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.174.

a central figure in the Nagoya literati circle of his day, this may be a later fabrication, intended to add prestige to Baiitsu's painting lineage. Nevertheless, Baiitsu certainly would have known of Kyūjō's works, because of his prominent position. Painters and scholars interested in Nanga were still a minority during the time Baiitsu was learning about painting in Nagoya. Thus, those interested in the subject, like Baiitsu, naturally sought to study the works of the foremost literati painters of previous days in Nagoya, Niwa Kagen and Yamada Kyūjō.

Yamamoto Rantei was apparently responsible for giving Baiitsu the surname he used throughout his life, and introducing him to his next teacher. Because Baiitsu's painting ability exceeded his own, Rantei felt that Baiitsu would do better to study under a more talented artist. Thus, he sent Baiitsu to study under the painter, Chō Gesshō (1770-1832).[11] Gesshō was a haiku poet as well as a painter in the Shijō style. He was born in Hikone to a family of painting mounters. As a youth, he was sent to Kyoto to study painting. Gesshō first studied under Ichikawa Kunkei (1736-1803), along with Maruyama Ōkyo, but soon became a pupil of Tanke Gessen, then of Matsumura Goshun.[12]

It is not clear when Baiitsu first became acquainted with Gesshō or when he actually began studying with him. Gesshō and Nagasawa Rosetsu (1755-1799) apparently made a journey together to Mino province and and Gesshō stayed on in Nagoya, while Rosetsu went elsewhere. Gesshō had

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[11]Ibid.

[12]Jack Hillier, The Uninhibited Brush, Japanese Art in the Shijō Style (London, 1974), pp.170-180.

heard of Yamada Kyūjō, and when he reached Nagoya, made contact with him.[13] Although Baiitsu nowhere acknowledges that he was actually a student of Gesshō's, an undated letter exists from Baiitsu to Gesshō. In it, Baiitsu refers to Gesshō as "sensei" (teacher, or a term of respect for an elder), and requests that an acquaintance of his from Wakayama be allowed to come study with him.[14] Furthermore, as examination of Baiitsu's paintings will show, some of his early works display unmistakable influence of Chō Gesshō.

Uchida Rancho, the teacher of Baiitsu's first teacher, Rantei, was a good friend of Kamiya Ten'yū (1710-1801), who became Baiitsu's most

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[13]Most sources postulate that this trip took place about the time Ōkyo died in 1798. One source states that as Gessho reached Nagoya after Kyujo had already died, he visited Kyujo's bereaved family, asking to borrow some of his sketches of Yuan and Ming paintings in order to copy them. See: Umezawa Seiichi, Nihon nanga shi (Tokyo, 1919), p.379-380. A second story states that since Kyujo lived to be about seventy, Gessho began studying with him when he came to Nagoya. See: Tabei, Chukyo gadan, pp.149-150. According to the modern scholar Yamanouchi Chozo, Gessho went to Nagoya around 1787 while on a trip east with Rosetsu, and he stayed in Nagoya because he had an introduction from the head priest of the Bansho temple. Cho Gessho published a book in 1817 called Fugyo gaso in which a Confucian scholar of Nagoya, Hata Kanae, wrote the preface. Kanae stated that Gessho came to Nagoya over thirty years before. Thus, Yamanouchi arrived at the date of 1787. He does caution that this date is only approximate, since the accuracy of Kanae's memory cannot be verified. Yamanouchi feels that since 1787 was the date of a devastating fire in Kyoto and also the year of the Temmei famine there, it would have been a good time for Gessho and Rosetsu to leave. Furthermore, his investigation showed that in 1798, when other scholars postulate the two traveled together, Rosetsu was known to have been in Kyoto. See: Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, p.380. According to a memorial tablet for Kyujo erected at the Choei-ji in the Maetsu district of Nagoya, Gessho had memorial services performed and a tombstone erected. See: "Hoshokushu," in Nagoya sosho, vol.25, p.262. Since this memorial tablet was erected for Kyujo by Gessho in 1796, we may safely assume that Gessho must have been in Nagoya by then. On the tablet is written that Kyujo gave to Gessho "the very best," implying that Kyujo did know Gessho directly. Thus we may infer that Gessho had arrived in Nagoya prior to Kyujo's death in 1793.

[14]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.210.

influential patron. Ten'yū was learned in scholarly pursuits. He was fond of antiques and collected Chinese paintings and calligraphies. Originally he owned a pawnshop, and later became a manufacturer of miso (soy bean paste) and soy sauce.[15] It is not known when Baiitsu first became associated with Ten'yū, but it is recorded that he was under the patronage of Ten'yū at the time he was studying with Chō Gessho.[16] One account states that, in 1790, when Nakabayashi Chikutō (1776- 1853) first came to study with Ten'yū, Baiitsu was already living in Ten'yū's home.[17] Although possible, this is somewhat difficult to believe as Baiitsu would only have been six years old at the time. Still another account indicates that Chikutō may have taught Baiitsu and may have been instrumental in introducing the young artist to Ten'yū.[18]

Kamiya Ten'yū, although not actually a painter himself, became the guiding force behind both Baiitsu and Chikutō. It was undoubtedly through Ten'yū's introductions that Baiitsu became heavily involved in the literati circles of Nagoya, and became acquainted with earlier generation Nanga masters of Nagoya. Ten'yū was thirty years Niwa Kagen's senior, and knew Kagen personally. In 1800, Ten'yū wrote a biographical preface to Shaan sanpitsu, three books of Kagen's

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[15]Ibid., p.3.

[16]Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p.152.

[17]Kanematsu., Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.4, and nempyō section, p.2. Chikutō, Baiitsu's closest friend throughout his life, was the son of a Nagoya physician, and, like Baiitsu, became a painter by profession. Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, gives the most complete information on Chikutō anywhere to be found.

[18]Ibid., p. 175.

paintings.[19]

When Ten'yū first met Baiitsu he is reported to have said that he liked Baiitsu's paintings, but felt that his calligraphy was deficient. When Baiitsu asked him how this could be improved, Ten'yū replied that "I have some excellent works in my collection, so please compare yours with these. By doing so, your technique will improve."[20] He also told Baiitsu the following:

> In teaching people to paint, the past styles continue to flow. In actuality, we are all apprentices of the same masters. However, a chicken's beak is better than an ox's buttocks.[21] Therefore you must not follow the restrictions of the people of old. If you follow a commonplace teacher, your whole life you will be an ox's buttocks. Thus you should not seek a teacher, but develop your own style. If your style is pure, you will become famous and your name will be recorded into eternity. In Chinese painting there are the northern and southern schools. The northern school served as the inspiration for the Kanō school of our country. The southern school, although difficult to understand, is famous in our own time. Yet, it is still not thoroughly understood. Thus far, our knowledge of this school has largely been limited to the Shen Nan-p'in and the priest K'ao Chuan branches. However, these are but distant branches of the southern school so knowledge of them alone is insufficient. Fortunately, I have in my possession, about ten southern school paintings. Therefore, you should study these to understand the main points of this school. Based on study of these works, the great way will open up for you.[22]

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[19]Yoshida, "Niwa Kagen to Owari shoki nanga no jōkyō," p. 13, note 3.

[20]Mori Senzō, "Baiitsu to Shibutsu," in: Chosakushū (Tokyo, 1971), p.238. Mori quotes an old book, Nanso meiga shōden, by Seimiya Hidekata (1809-1879).

[21]R.H.Mathews, Chinese-English Dictionary (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931 and 1943), p.56, defines this statement as "it is better to lead in a small position than to take the backseat under a greater leader."

[22]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu p.175; and Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p.152. Both books recount this story with similar, but slightly different details. Tabei's version fails to mention K'ao Chuan.

From then on, Baiitsu began studying and copying Chinese paintings of the Yuan and Ming dynasties.[23]

This statement by Ten'yū is very interesting since it must have been one of the earliest commentaries on Chinese painting by a Japanese literatus. At the time, the major literati theorists in Japan--among them, Noro Kaiseki (1747-1828), Kuwayama Gyokushū (1746-1799), Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835), and Nakabayashi Chikutō--had not yet published their ideas. Ten'yū's comment that "we are all apprentices of the same masters" may indicate his awareness of Chinese literati painting theory which emphasized the importance of following painting masters of the past. His curious statement about the "chicken's beak" being better than an "ox's buttocks" must also be based on Chinese painting theory which stressed the study of old paintings and through that, the development of an original style. Ten'yū also seems to be telling Baiitsu that it would be better for him to study good quality old paintings than to base his painting education on learning from mediocre teachers, perhaps a commentary on Baiitsu's own teachers of that time. Ten'yū's approach in this respect seems definitely more Chinese than Japanese. The Japanese system for learning painting was largely one of apprenticeship and copying one's teacher's style.

Ten'yū's mention of the northern and southern schools of Chinese painting proves that he was aware of this important division. His defining the Kanō school as inheritors of the northern tradition is accurate, but it is very strange that he equated the Shen Nan-p'in school of painting with one branch of the southern school. In

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[23]Ibid.

actuality, Shen Nan-p'in and his followers were professional, largely decorative bird-and-flower painters, clearly painters who belonged within the northern school classification. Since Shen Nan-p'in was one of the earliest Chinese painters to come to Japan, and one of the most influential, it is very interesting that Ten'yū places him in the southern school. Perhaps this helps to explain why, despite the fact that early Japanese Nanga painters professed to follow the southern style, they also emulated Shen Nan-p'in and his style of painting.[24]

Ten'yū's statement is quite a contrast to what Kuwayama Gyokushū said about Shen Nan-p'in. He stated that "Nan-p'in's work is the best of the painting imported from China, but it is in the northern style."[25] Gyokushū's statement is typical of the comments on Nan-p'in by Nanga artists of a younger generation, even though he must have written his statement not long after Ten'yū made his.

K'ao Chuan who was mentioned in connection with Shen Nan-p'in, was the Ōbaku priest known in Japanese as Ōbaku Kōsen (1633-1695). He was the fifth abbot of Manpuku-ji and was highly influential in his

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[24]This distinction between northern and southern schools of Chinese painting is vital to an understanding of Baiitsu's art. Because Baiitsu frequently painted meticulous bird-and-flower works he is often placed in the northern school category by critics. Ten'yū's definition of the two schools aids in our understanding of Baiitsu's motivations for producing such pictures, and shows that Baiitsu must not thought of himself as a northern school painter even though he painted decorative bird-and-flower works in the Shen Nan-p'in manner.

[25]Yoshizawa and Yonezawa, Japanese Painting in the Literati Style, p.163.

calligraphy, painting, and religious teachings.[26] It is interesting that Ten'yū singled out K'ao Chuan as the one Ōbaku monk-painter to mention. Perhaps it is due to Manpuku-ji's large growth and success under K'ao Chuan's leadership.

Kamiya Ten'yū is credited with bestowing the art names Chikutō and Baiitsu on the two young artists when he escorted them to the Banshō-ji in Nagoya, where they were shown Yuan dynasty Chinese paintings by Li K'an and Wang Mien (plates 25-26).[27] Because Baiitsu so admired the plum painting of Wang Mien, he was given the name of Baiitsu ("Plum Leisure") by Ten'yū, and Chikutō was so named "Bamboo Grotto" due to his affection for Li K'an's bamboo painting. Unfortunately, there is no proof for this, and Kanematsu feels Baiitsu began using this name at the age of twenty-two.[28] The modern scholar Yoshida Toshihide agrees with Kanematsu that the later date for his change of name is probably correct since after Baiitsu went to Kyoto in 1802 he experienced a number of major changes in his life, so it is logical for him to alter his name then and not before.[29]

The first major exhibition of painting in Nagoya, "Hōeishōkai," was held in 1795 at Nanatsu-dera. It was sponsored by Uchida Rancho, Kamiya Ten'yū, and Yamakawa Bokko. On this occasion, one hundred works by recent and contemporary artists were displayed, with numerous prominent

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[26]Stephen Addiss, Ōbaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy (Lawrence, Kansas, 1978), catalogue entries 21-23.

[27]The two paintings are now in the Imperial Household Collection, Japan.

[28]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.176.

[29]Yoshida, "Yamamoto Baiitsu kenkyū josetsu," p. 17.

figures in attendance. One of the most noteworthy was the Confucian scholar and Nanga painter, Totoki Baigai (1749-1804).[30] Although Baiitsu was still young at the time, it is likely that he too attended this gathering, as he was probably already under the tutelage of Ten'yū.

Baiitsu was particularly silent on his relationship with his various teachers, so we may only speculate at the extent they influenced his style, who exactly he studied with, and for how long he remained a student. He is recorded to have commented though, on his elder contemporary from Nagoya, Tanaka Totsugen (1760-1823), saying that he learned about the application of colors from him, and that he admired Totsugen more than any other painter of Nagoya.[31]

Although the kinds of paintings that Baiitsu saw and studied during his primary years in Nagoya are largely unknown, there is one reference to his copying out in its entirety, the Chinese book, Chieh-tzu yuan hua-chuan (The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting).[32] A private collector in Nagoya owned this book and Baiitsu had permission to borrow it for one night. Baiitsu stayed up all night studying and copying it. Although this book had first been imported into Japan in the Genroku era (1688-1704) and the first Japanese printings were made in 1744 or 1748, in Baiitsu's time it was still a fairly rare and expensive book, at

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[30]Ibid.

[31]Totsugen was born in Nagoya, but moved to Kyoto where he studied painting first with Ishida Yūtei (1721-1786), Maruyama Ōkyo's teacher, and then with Tosa Mitsusada (1738-1806). Totsugen created a new style of painting, fukko yamato-e (yamato-e revival), which consciously returned to the old yamato-e style of painting during the nineteenth century. See: Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.197, and Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, p.238.

[32]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.152.

least in Nagoya. In 1797, Chikutō also copied this book.[33] Perhaps Baiitsu made his copy around the same time, and obtained it from the same source.

Baiitsu's teachers were not prominent figures in the Nanga painting movement in Japan. His most widely known possible teacher, Chō Gessho, was not very closely associated with Nanga. Thus, although important Nanga painters from Nagoya had emerged, by the time that Baiitsu was an aspiring student of painting, they had all died. The leaders of the Nagoya Nanga movement in Baiitsu's youth were Ten'yū and Rancho, and they were not, for the most part, painters themselves but rather patrons. Thus Baiitsu was forced to rely on the study of paintings rather than living teachers for his artistic instruction in Nanga painting techniques.

Years of Traveling (1802-1832)

In 1802, Baiitsu and Chikutō journeyed to Kyoto together.[34] Just that summer, Kamiya Ten'yū had died and their leaving Nagoya soon after their patron's death seems most understandable. The two went to Kyoto with the hope of making names for themselves as painters. When they first arrived, through the introduction of Kumagai Naotaka of the

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[33]Nagoya shi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaiga shi- Nanga, catalogue number 70.

[34]Chikutō gives this date in his Chikutō Garon of 1812; see Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p. 13; or Sakazaki Shizuka, Nihon garon taikan (Tokyo, 1927), p.164. Not all modern scholarship is in agreement on the date of their departure for Kyoto; dates range all the way from 1801 to 1804. Most of the errors have been by scholars writing in English and they are too frequent to enumerate here.

well-known Kyukyōdō shop in Kyoto, they were able to rent a house located at Kiyamachi-Nijō, where they did their own cooking.[35] They lived in that house for about a year. Chikutō was able to earn money by copying Chinese paintings he saw in Kyoto for his patron from Nagoya, Uchida Rancho.[36]

In their free time, both Chikutō and Baiitsu sought to improve their painting techniques. Baiitsu spent much time visiting various places in Kyoto and sketching what he saw, while Chikutō frequented temples, copying famous old Chinese paintings. Before long, Chikutō received word that his father was dying, so he was obligated to return to Nagoya to care for him. Although the exact date of Chikutō's departure for Nagoya is unknown, since his father died on the sixth day of the eighth month of Kyōwa 3 (1803), we know that he had lived in Kyoto for approximately one year. At the time Chikutō left, Baiitsu too departed from Kyoto. Baiitsu embarked on a journey along the old Sanyōdō, a route which stretched along the Inland Sea between Kyoto and the westernmost portion of Honshu. Along his way, Baiitsu made sketches of the famous places he passed through. Although a woodblock copy of the album which contained these sketches was made, it seems no longer to be extant. However, there is a record that he signed the album,"made in

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[35]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p. 186. The Kyukyōdō shop sold incense and artists' materials such as paper, brushes, and ink. See: Muramatsu Shōfu, Honchō gajinden (Tokyo, 1976), vol.3, p. 149.

[36]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.14. It is not clear whether or not Baiitsu also copied paintings for Rancho. One rather early account states Kamiya Ten'yu sent them clothing for several years because they did not make enough money to pay for it themselves, but since Ten'yū had already died by this time, this must be an error. See: Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4, p.242, from Nansō meiga shōden.

the tenth month of winter in the year Kyōwa 3 [1803], by Owari Shun'en Yamamoto Shinryō Meikyō shi." There were twenty leaves originally, and the following titles for each leaf are the places Baiitsu visited:[37]

Goshū [Shiga Prefecture], Nangō, Setagawa, Tohato mura
Nangō [Shiga Prefecture], Setagawa
Sesshu Ikuta, Sha [Osaka Prefecture]
Suma no ura [Hyogo Prefecture]
Banshu sekihoden
Murotsu
Seto, Ushimado [Bizen Prefecture]
Inushima
Sanshū hanzan [Shikoku Island]
Sutoku tennō kotoba [Shikoku Island)
Abuto Bandai-ji [Hiroshima Prefecture]
Onomichi [Hiroshima Prefecture]
Tatsumon, Seto
Gamagari, Seto
Itsukushima, Horaisaki
Itokijima [Yamaguchi Prefecture]
Suō Iwakuni Kintaikyō [the Kintai bridge of Iwakuni in Yamaguchi Prefecture]
Sanshū Takao san [Jingo-ji]
Miidera, Biwako o nozomu
Suribarimine, Biwako

Sometime after this trip, Baiitsu headed north-east to the Hokuriku district, passing through Sabae, Echizen, Etchu, Echigo, finally arriving in Kaga (Kanazawa) where he remained for an extended time. Around then, someone asked Baiitsu to paint a picture of the "Morning Star" playing the flute. Baiitsu became embarassed because he was not familiar with this ancient theme. Baiitsu's diligence in his study is emphasized here, as he vowed after that encounter to be exhaustive in his study of the ancient stories.[38]

A painting gathering was held while Baiitsu was in Kanazawa. Powerful samurai and the most well known painters were in attendance.

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[37]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.176.

[38]Ibid., p. 177.

The master of the inn where the event took place knew that although Baiitsu was young, he was extremely talented. Thus, he requested permission for Baiitsu to attend the gathering. At the meeting, Baiitsu was said to have been asked to paint before those present. It is reported that he "proudly grasped his brush and painted upside-down flying geese, complete within a landscape setting. In Baiitsu's presence, the lords praised his painting, and even the painting masters who saw it were said to be overwhelmed by his technical ability. From this time on, Baiitsu's name became well known, and many students flocked to study with him."[39]

This tale implies that Baiitsu remained relatively unknown as a painter until this event. How this increased his fame in Nagoya and whether or not he actually did begin to teach many students at this point is not clear. The actual date of this event is not known, but if he did go to Kanazawa soon after leaving Kyoto as Kanematsu states, it must have been between 1803 and about 1809. Baiitsu did eventually have a large number of pupils, many natives of the Nagoya area; however, very few of them were born prior to 1800. Thus it is unlikely that he began teaching pupils (other than children, and perhaps people not recorded as his pupils) at such an early date.

Presumably, after this trip, Baiitsu once again settled down in Nagoya and resumed the life of a studious young artist. In Nagoya, Baiitsu resided with his younger sister and her husband, Terai

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[39]Ibid., p.178. Kanematsu does not allude to the extent of Baiitsu's fame. It was probably confined largely to the Kanazawa and Nagoya areas.

Hanzaemon, in a detatched house on their property.[40] Baiitsu's sister made the following comments about his living habits:

> My elder brother does not take care of his clothes at all. When he is given a new kimono it soon gets ruined. His knees become visible and the hem is ripped. Even so, he does not repair it. Before retiring for the evening, he turns the bow of his obi to the front [for comfort] and in the morning when he awakens, he turns it back again. He does not mind if his clothes are stained with sweat, or if they are ripped. At times I felt kindly towards him, and tried to point out some of these things, but he replied that he did not think about these matters much and if I wished, I could make him some new clothes myself. He said that he was not concerned about appearances.[41]

While Baiitsu was staying with his sister, he married a woman named Ai. She became known to him through his friend, the samurai, Daidōji Uda.[42] Ai is said to have been a high class maid of Uda's house. Although she had a gentle personality, for some reason she and Baiitsu soon separated. She became a nun and died soon after.

After that, Terai hired a maidservant for Baiitsu named Tetsu. She did his cooking and housework, and ultimately became Baiitsu's second wife. Her personality was somewhat strange and she is recorded to have been quite selfish. For these reasons, she seems to have caused Baiitsu

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[40] Ibid., p.199. The sequence of events in Baiitsu's life from the time he left Kyoto in 1803 until about 1814 is largely speculation. Very few documents with dates have been preserved.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Uda (?-1886) was a painting pupil of Baiitsu's as well as a seal carver, swordsman, and musician who played the sho (a reed instrument). Nagoya shiyakusho, Nagoyashi-shi, gakugei hen, p.352 and 404. For Uda, Baiitsu painted a landscape of The Lan T'ing Gathering and a set of four Landscapes of the Four Seasons. This latter set, probably broken up today, was considered one of Baiitsu's masterpieces. See: Tabei, Chukyo gadan p.162.

some problems later in his life.[43] From Baiitsu's sister's description of her brother, and his choice of a person like Tetsu as a wife, it becomes evident that Baiitsu's personality was a bit unconventional, perhaps even anti-social at times.

During this period, the daimyō of Kanazawa, Maeda Narinaga, had Tani Buncho (1763-1840), one of the most prominent painters of Edo, come to paint fusuma of birds and flowers, and other wall paintings for his palace.[44] Baiitsu was requested to paint there also. Kanematsu suggests he was chosen for this commission because a woman from the Owari clan was married to the daimyō of Kanazawa and thus a prominent painter native to her home district was chosen for the commission.[45] From then on, Baiitsu and Buncho became friends.

The year Baiitsu and Buncho may have helped to paint the interior decoration for Kanazawa Castle was probably 1809.[46] On the fifteenth day of the first month of the previous year Bunka 5 (1808), Kanazawa Castle was burned and the daimyō soon after collected vast amounts of money from his fief in order to pay for the rebuilding. Kishi Ganku (1749/56-1838) and Kishi Gantai (1782-1865), natives of Kanazawa, were summoned from Kyoto to paint some of the rooms. Nevertheless, it is still somewhat unclear if Baiitsu and Buncho really did contribute work

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[43]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.201.

[44]Ibid., p.179.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Yoshida, "Yamamoto Baiitsu kenkyū josetsu," p.19.

at this particular time.[47]

During the next several years, Baiitsu's activities are unrecorded, but from 1814 on, more documents remain. Almost suddenly, from that year on, Baiitsu's name appears in conection with those of other prominent literati of Kyoto, Ise, and Edo. Thus, this year may be considered a turning point in Baitsu's life, a time at which he became accepted into the major literati circles. Sometime in 1814 he was in Kyoto where he attended a banquet honoring Uragami Gyokudō's seventieth birthday. He was among those guests who wrote poems and painted congratulatory pictures for a commemorative album.[48] In the summer of 1814, Baiitsu painted a landscape (plate 124) upon which the samurai

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[47]It seems fairly certain that the two artists met at some painting commission, and all Japanese sources I have encountered state they met in Kanazawa. Several recent books in English suggest that they may have met in some other city. See: Chinese University of Hong Kong. Institute of Chinese Studies, Literati Paintings from Japan (Hong Kong, 1974), p.118; and Penelope Mason, Japanese Literati Painters: The Third Generation (Brooklyn,N.Y.,1977),p.24 say they met in Kyoto. Henry Trubner and Mikami Tsugio, Treasures of Asian Art from the Idemitsu Collection (Seattle,1981),p.190 states they met when Buncho came to Nagoya to work on a painting commission. After consultation with William Rathbun, it was discovered that this error was based on a vaguely worded Japanese text he consulted for the Idemitsu catalogue. Perhaps the other errors are similar in nature.

[48]Mori Senzō, "Uragami Gyokudō no kenkyū," in Bijutsu kenkyū, 96, p.426. Others attending included Gyokudō's son, Shunkin (1779-1846), Chikutō, and the poetess and painter, Ema Saikō (1787-1861). The exact date of this event is unknown, but Gyokudō was away from Kyoto traveling in both the spring and the autumn, so perhaps the party took place in summer.

[49]Yoshiyuki (1743-1823), also known as Somon Sanjin, was a native of Kiso. In his youth, he went to Edo where he was an attendant in the palace. Later, he returned to his home and succeeded to his hereditary position as manager of his village. Soon after that, the daimyo of Owari appointed him governor of Ise, and granted him 3,000 koku of land. In 1798, at the age of fifty-seven, he became ill and resigned, devoting himself after that to writing. See: "Senkō sansuizu, Yamamoto Baiitsu hitsu," in: Kaiga soshi, 353 (1916),p.11.

Yamamura Yoshiyuki wrote an inscription.[49] Since it is known he lived in the Ise area at the time he inscribed Baiitsu's painting, it may be assumed Baiitsu visited him, perhaps during his trip to Kyoto.

Probably that autumn, Baiitsu went to Edo for the first time, accompanied by Tani Buncho.[50] After arriving, Baiitsu participated in a painting exhibition at Ukiyoko-ji, Yaozenro (The Tower of Eight Hundred Perfections).[51] While there, he watched Buncho paint. Buncho was using a broad,flat brush (hake) favored by Maruyama and Shijo school artists. Baiitsu reproachfully asked him about it. Buncho appeared embarassed and answered that he was using the hake because it was in the spirit of the times.[52] This conversation as reported is all the more extraordinary in the light of Buncho's exalted position in the painting world of his day, and Baiitsu's inferior position as a younger, not so famous artist.[53] Because this story is told by a follower of Baiitsu, it is related in a way to make Baiitsu appear as the more serious and pure Nanga painter of the two. Perhaps though, Baiitsu may indeed have posed such a question to Buncho as Nanga circles tended to promote honesty and candor more that other painting schools of the time.

Although the relationship of Baiitsu and Buncho seems only to have been tersely recorded, it is more definitely established that Baiitsu was friends with several other noted Edo literati through inscriptions

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[50]It will be explained below why Baiitsu must have been in Edo that year.

[51]Kanematsu, Chikuto to Baiitsu, p.179.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, p.383.

on his paintings as well as through published poems and essays. Among Baiitsu's associates in Edo were the daimyō Masuyama Sessai.[54] In 1815, a year Sessai was known to have been in Edo, Baiitsu painted Juniper and Flowers (plate 97) in honor of Sessai's sixty-first birthday.

In Edo, Baiitsu also became friends with three of the four great Chinese style poets of Edo. The first, Kikuchi Gozan (1772-1855), a well-known Confucian scholar for the daimyō of Takamatsu, and a writer, published a book about his life and travels called Gozandō shiwa. This book was published in numerous editions, being a best seller. The first sections appeared in 1807 and new sections were added with each subsequent publication. Two seven syllable poems by Baiitsu appeared in section nine which was first published in 1818; Baiitsu's poems having been written in the spring of 1815.[55] Elsewhere in the book, Gozan stated that he wrote a poem which he presented to Baiitsu, praising him with the following comments, "He has extraordinary ability in painting; his landscapes, and bird and flower subjects are especially

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[54]Sessai (1754-1820) was the daimyō from Ise, Nagashima. He was born in Edo and lived there until 1776 when he moved to Ise and traveled from there south to Nagasaki. He returned to Edo in 1801, and remained there until his death. Sessai was known as a Nagasaki style painter who studied the techniques of Shen Nan-p'in and Fei Ch'ing-hu (Chinese painters who visited Nagasaki). He was also adept at poetry and prose writing, and widely known among the literati of his day. See: Yamanouchi Chōzō, "Ise nagashima ni aru Sessai no sakuhin," in Kobijutsu 40, pp.77-78 and Dai jinmei jiten (Tokyo,1937-1942),vol.5, p.592.

[55]Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4, p.230. Mori postulates that Baiitsu went to Edo for the first time in 1814, and that he remained there until the summer, arriving at this conclusion because of the subjects for the two poems Baiitsu wrote for Gozan's Gozandō shiwa. One poem is about plums which bloom in the early springtime, and the second poem's subject is Shinobazu Pond, which is famous for lotus blossoms which bloom in the summer. These poems are translated in Chapter Three, p. 131.

remarkable."[56]

The second great Chinese style poet of Edo, Kashiwagi Jōtei (1763-1819), wrote colophons and inscriptions on several of Baiitsu's paintings. One is the opening title to an undated bird and flower album and another is a poem which appears on a landscape (plate 126) dated to mid-autumn of 1814 by Baiitsu. This painting, with Jōtei's inscription dated to late spring of 1815, also has an inscription dated to 1815 by Ōkubo Shibutsu.[57] While it is possible that Baiitsu brought this painting with him from Nagoya, perhaps to become part of the exhibition at Yaozenrō, it is equally possible that he painted it after reaching Edo. Thus, we may infer that there is a good possibility Baiitsu was in Edo during the autumn of 1814, at the time he painted this landscape.

By far the most detailed account of Baiitsu's life in his years prior to settling in Kyoto in 1832, come from the writings of the third Chinese style poet of Edo, Ōkubo Shibutsu (1767-1837), especially his Saiyū shisō of 1818, in which he recounts his travels of that year.

Mori Senzō has written at great length on Baiitsu's activities during these years, focusing especially on the relationship between Baiitsu and Ōkubo Shibutsu, based on Shibutsu's various published works.[58] Mori postulates that Baiitsu met Shibutsu for the first time

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[56]Ibid., p.240.

[57]These are translated in Chapter Five, pp.210-211.

[58]Mori's article, "Baiitsu to Shibutsu," appears in two places.It was first published in Gasetsu, vol.32,pp.749-759; and later in a slightly expanded version in his Chosakushū, vol.4,pp.230-243. All the references to this article here, are to the version in Chosakushū, vol.4, and the citation gives only the book title and volume.

in 1815,[59] and this is verified by Shibutsu's dated poem on Baiitsu's landscape of 1814. The second time that Baiitsu and Shibutsu met was in 1818. On his way to Kyoto from Edo, Shibutsu passed through Nagoya and called on Baiitsu at his home there. He found that Baiitsu was away, but, nevertheless, was invited to stay. In his Saiyū shisō, Shibutsu published the following poem about this visit:

I Visit Baiitsu's Home But He Is Absent,
So I Inscribe This Then Depart.

I have come from afar
But Baiitsu has gone away.
Just like the evening and morning stars,
Unable to meet face to face.
An aged woman comes out to greet me,
She welcomes me warmly and prepares refreshments
of chicken and rice.
Friends take turns asking me questions
And treat me like an intimate old friend.
I forget all the more the weariness of traveling,
And rest here for three days.
Outside the house, the shadows of the pines are dense,
The pines sway gracefully, sending forth a cool breeze
and dew-like dampness.
The surroundings are not different from my own hermitage
Where I am cleansed of the dust of the road.
I give thanks to my host
By leaving this poem.

訪梅逸不遇題此而去

客從遠方来
主人遠方去
恰如參與商
不得相面晤
老姥出相迎

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[59] Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4,p.426.

鷄 黍 慇 懃 貝
杜 友 迭 問 訊
慰 勞 如 舊 故
忘 却 客 路 疲
爲 之 三 日 留
檐 外 松 陰 密
娟 娟 含 風 露
不 異 歸 吾 廬
一 洗 行 塵 汚
欲 留 謝 主 人
臨 去 題 此 句

When Shibutsu reached Kyoto, he met Baiitsu the day after he arrived, on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of 1818. He wrote the following poem about that reunion:

> It has been three years since we met in Edo.
> Today we met at the Kamo River bank.
> We chose not to go to the bustling Gion quarter.
> Because we preferred solitude, we at once went to Nanzen-ji.[60]

江 頭 分 年 已 三 年
今 日 相 逢 鴨 水 邊
不 向 祇 園 喧 開 地
爰 閑 先 自 到 南 禪

[60] This poem also appears in Saiyū shisō.

Soon after that, they were joined by Chikutō, and all three were guided by a Mr. Uemura, who took them to Ishikawa Jōzan's retreat (Shisen-dō). Shibutsu wrote in his Saiyū shisō, that his legs became sore so he had to stop part-way there. He rested at a wine shop and drank too much. Shibutsu wrote another poem (also in Saiyū shisō), describing how he, Baiitsu and several other gentlemen went out drinking at a shop near the Shijō bridge in Kyoto. Among the others were Majima Shōnan (1791-1839), a Confucian scholar and calligrapher of Kyoto,[61] and Umetsuji Shunshō (1776-1857), a Confucian scholar from Omi who lived in Kyoto.[62]

Shibutsu was famous for his love of sake, and his friends also all loved to drink. When Shibutsu and Baiitsu first met, Baiitsu was a non-drinker, but under Shibutsu's influence, took to drinking himself. One day, the two were at a poetry gathering hosted by the lord of Arima. The lord took up a big cup and offered it to Baiitsu. Baiitsu earnestly refused it, saying he did not have a taste for sake and did not drink. Shibutsu, standing nearby, overheard the conversation and became extremely upset. Later, returning from the party, he admonished Baiitsu strongly. After that, Baiitsu again accompanied Shibutsu to a drinking party. This time, when he was offered sake, he received the cup and drank from it, managing to endure the bitter taste. This happened repeatedly, so that after awhile he forgot the bitterness and came to enjoy drinking. Years later, after Shibutsu's death, Baiitsu would fill

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[61] Daijinmei vol.5, p.582.

[62] Nagasawa Kikuya and Nagasawa Kōzō, Kambungakusha sōran (Tokyo,1979), p.48.

a cup for Shibutsu and toast to his memory whenever he drank.[63] This incident illustrates the influence Shibutsu had on Baiitsu and how much Baiitsu must have looked up to and admired the elder scholar.

Shibutsu and Baiitsu continued their journey together in 1818, next traveling to Osaka aboard a boat via the Yodo River. Gozan also wrote in his Gozandō shiwa that "during a boat trip along the Yodo River between Osaka and Kyoto Baiitsu painted a picture and Shibutsu praised it, then Shibutsu painted a picture and Baiitsu praised that. Both paintings were indeed exquisite."[64] On this part of their trip they were accompanied by Morikawa Chikusō (1763-1830), a Nanga painter of Osaka who specialized in painting bamboo; Takeuchi Kakusai (1770-1826), a Confucian scholar from Takefu;[65] and the prominent Kansai area literatus, Shinozaki Shōchiku (1781-1851).

When they reached Osaka, there was a welcome party for Shibutsu, hosted by the book publisher and editor, Akitaya Tauemon. While in Osaka, Baiitsu painted an ink-monochrome handscroll of flowers for Shibutsu (plates 85-90). Upon it he inscribed:

> In the ninth month of 1818, I visited Osaka, Kyoto, and have gotten as far as the pavilion over the water at Yoshibashi. The autumn rain has continued day after day. Sensei [Shibutsu] brought out some paper and requested that I paint something. Then, as we were drinking tea, getting drunk on sake, and generally laughing and enjoying ourselves, I took up my brush and painted this. At the time, I felt entirely comfortable with my surroundings, not like a traveler from afar, and not bothered by sad feelings of the autumn season. Sensei [Shibutsu] is very good at poetry, so I hope that someday he will write a poem upon my painting. How lucky my painting will be if he does !

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[63] Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.206.

[64] Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.207. This is most likely the same boat trip Shibutsu describes.

[65] Nagasawa, Kambungakusha sōran, p.182.

Shibutsu returned to Kyoto by rented boat on the 17th day of the ninth month, probably with Baiitsu in attendance.[66]

In Saiyū shisō, Shibutsu records that there was a farewell party for him at Choki-an prior to his departure east accompanied by Baiitsu. It was hosted by the monk-painter, Sō Geppō (1760-1839) and those attending included Chikutō and Uragami Shunkin. Shibutsu wrote several poems there including one to commemorate his being shown a painting of a flower basket by Yanagisawa Kien (1706-1752). A group picture was painted and then presented to the travelers.[67]

As Baiitsu and Shibutsu made their way east from Kyoto, they passed between Tsushiyama and Suzuka, whereupon the wind rose up and it began to snow. Shibutsu wrote a poem he later included in Saiyū shisō, to remember the occasion. It had the title, The Mountain Full of Red Leaves, the Sky Full of Snow; A Brocade Embroidery Piled High and Broken by Jade Flowers.[68] They reached Nagoya on the 28th day of the 10th month, whereupon Shibutsu wrote another poem. After Nagoya, Baiitsu continued accompanying Shibutsu, and they visited Mino. There, at a place south of the Tan River, Baiitsu must have been delighted for Shibutsu composed an inscription and three poems for the ink-monochrome handscroll of flowers that Baiitsu had painted for him while they were

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[66]Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4, p.232.

[67]Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4, pp.232-233.

[68]Ibid. p.233.

together in Osaka.[69] Shibutsu's inscription, which contains the three poems mentioned above, is dated to 1820, when he had the painting mounted.

Before long, Baiitsu separated from Shibutsu, but prior to taking his leave, he presented Shibutsu with a plum branch which Shibutsu then took with him on the road.[70] After Baiitsu left Shibutsu, he headed back towards Nagoya with his friend, the Confucian scholar, Hata Kanae (1761-1831).[71] Perhaps on their return, Baiitsu and Kanae visited Seto together where they made a clay inkstone in the shape of a monkey's head. Thirty years later, Kanae's son wrote an inscription on a cover he had made for the inkstone.[72] On the reverse of the inkstone, Kanae carved the following inscription with a bamboo spatula:

> In 1105, the people of the Owari district were ordered to present the emperor with inkstones in the shape of a monkey's head. I saw a reference to this in the book, Choyagunsai. Now, this autumn I have copied it.[73] Dated in accordance with 1818.

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[69]All of this is included in Saiyū shisō. See also: Ibid. The poems are translated in Chapter Four, p. 180.

[70]Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4, p.233.

[71]Kanae was a native of Mino, a Confucian scholar to the Owari clan, pupil of Hosoi Heishū (1728-1801), and scholar of Japanese classical literature; Nagoya shiyakusho, Nagoya shi shi, vol.5, pp.56-57; Sugimura Kendo, Jukai (Sendai, 1975),p.115.

[72]Kanae's son states that he obtained a piece of the balustrade of the fishing pond pavilion at the Byodō-in which was originally built by Fujiwara Yorimichi in 1105, and with this he fashioned the cover.

[73]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.224. Choyagunsai states that "at the order of the Minister of the Right, the Sabenkan (Left Controller's Office) orders the people of Owari to foreward ten monkey's head inkstones and ten vases to the capital immediately for use in court offices." See: Kokushi taikei, Choyagunsai (Tokyo, 1964) vol.29 part one, p.158.

During this period in Nagoya, Baiitsu must have generally earned his living selling paintings, probably through exhibitions of his works. The general state of painting exhibitions in the Nagoya area at this time was described in a letter written by Baiitsu's friend, Hata Kanae. He told how Magata Dairei (dates unknown), a pupil of Nakabayashi Chikutō, visited Edo and saw how successful painting exhibitions there were, so he wished to sponsor similar exhibitions in Nagoya. However, because in comparison to Edo, Nagoya was still the countryside, people who favored this idea were few. Thus, holding painting exhibitions in Nagoya was troublesome.[74]

Kanae also mentioned in his letter that the popularity of painting exhibitions in Nagoya was entirely due to the efforts of Kameda Bōsai (1752-1826) and Kikuchi Gozan, two leading literati figures of Edo, who helped move painting exhibitions there from the east. Because people of Nagoya originally had no idea about how to organize such exhibitions, prior to the efforts of these gentlemen, it was indeed a diffucult task. Bōsai and Gozan said that "In Kyoto and Osaka, in contrast, painting exhibitions were looked upon favorably. They were like shadows. If there is a big tree then the shadows are large."[75] Despite their efforts, literati gatherings in Nagoya were few and not heavily attended. Kanae commented that "the year before last there was a poetry gathering in Owari, but not many people came, so the practice was

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[74]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.185.

[75]Meaning that if good painters participate then the exhibitions are successful. Ibid., pp.184-185.

discontinued. However, now another such gathering is being planned."[76]

Of Baiitsu, Kanae stated that "he is having a painting exhibition at the end of the third month." In the next sentence of the letter, Kanae mentioned that [Kashiwagi] Jōtei appeared wearing a costume in a theater in Echigo [Niigata Prefecture].[77] Kanae's letter is undated, but because it mentions Jōtei, who died in 1819, it may be assumed that it was written prior to that date.

No more information on Baiitsu's life is available until 1824, when Shibutsu recorded in his book, Saibokuyū shisō that he visited Baiitsu on his return from the Hokuriku district in the eleventh month. He composed the following poem for Baiitsu to mark the occasion.

> We have met four times in the past ten years;
> Once every four years.
> This morning we made a date for four years from now,
> When you will cross the eastern barrier and visit
> this old man.[78]

一 十 年 間 凡 四 見
見 時 毎 隔 四 年 門
今 朝 相 約 四 年 後
君 訪 老 夫 東 度 関

When he met Shibutsu in 1824, Baiitsu must have just returned from

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[76] Ibid., p.185.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid., p.235. It is difficult to believe the accuracy of the dates in this poem, especially in the light of the dates of their meetings thus far discussed. Perhaps Shibutsu is taking some artistic license here.

traveling himself, as the diary of Rai Shunsui's wife, Baishi[79] indicates that he attended a party,[80] near the Suma River (by Kyoto) together with Uragami Shunkin, the physician and art patron, Koishi Genzui (1784-1849), Ema Saikō, the scholar-priest Unge (1780-1850), and others.[81]

While in Nagoya, Shibutsu, Baiitsu, and a number of other Nagoya literati attended a party at nearby Maetsu in a banquet hall called Suisetsurō. There, Shibutsu wrote the following Chinese poem,[82] while watching the snow fall.

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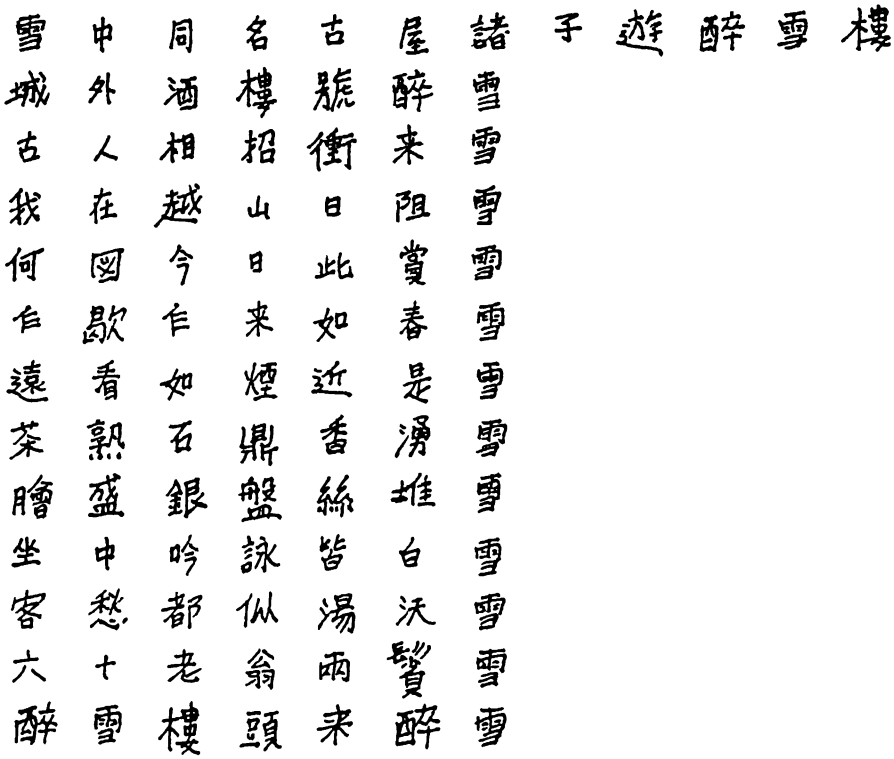
[79]Baishi (1759 or 1760-1843), the mother of the famous Confucian scholar and kanshi poet, Rai San'yo (1781-1832),was herself a poet and was well-known to have kept a diary. See: Takamune Itsue, Dainihon josei jinmei jisho (Tokyo, 1980), p.571.

[80]Mori, in Chosakushū, vol.4,p.235, gives the first day of the eleventh month as the date of this diary entry, while Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.207 states the entry was for a clear day in the tenth month. As the original diary has been unavailable for study, I cannot attest to the authenticity of either statement.

[81]Genzui came from a distinguished family of scholars. He lived in Osaka and studied Chinese literature with Shinozaki Santō (1737-1813), who had adopted Shōchiku. Later he traveled to Edo where he became a physician specializing in Western and Japanese medicine. Eventually, he returned to Kyoto where he practiced the family business (of medicine). Genzui was one of Rai San'yō's main patrons; when San'yō first came to Kyoto, he stayed in Genzui's home. See: Daijinmei jiten, vol.2, pp.570-571. Ema Saikō was originally from Owari Prefecture, but came to Kyoto where she studied poetry with Rai San'yō and painting successively with Shunkin, Chikutō, and Baiitsu. See: Sugihara Izan, Nihon shoga jinmei jiten (Tokyo, 1978-reprint from original edition of 1910),pp.315-317. Unge, also known as So Taigan, was a priest of the Higashi Hongan-ji of Kyoto. He was a prolific writer and published many books, and he was also good friends with Rai San'yō and Tanomura Chikuden.

[82]This poem appears in the printed book, Owari Meisho zue of 1844 accompanied by a wonderful picture of Suisetsuro. It also appears in Shibutsu's book, Saibokuyū shisō; see Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4, pp.235-236.

Outside the city at a banquet hall named Suisetsurō,
People gathered in former times when the highway
was blocked by snow.
At Echizen I was stranded for a day by the snow,
What picture can capture the beauty of today's snow ?
The snow is falling intermittently, like spring snow.
The distant view is smoky and nearby it is all snow.
Brewing tea in a stone kettle, the fragrance
mixes with the snow.
The silver platter full of meat resembles piles of snow.
Sitting and humming, everything is white with snow.
The guests are all melancholy like hot water easily
melted on snow.
At the old age of sixty, I have hair the color of snow.
At Suisetsuro, our heads are drunken in the snow.



Baiitsu also wrote a Chinese poem at this gathering, and it is included as the last poem in Shibutsu's Saibokuyū shisō.

At Suisetsurō we were delighted to see snow and flowers.
The plum blossoms were white like snow, and the snow
resembled flowers.
The teacher [Shibutsu] wrote a poem that grew like a flower.
Every verse of his poem was more beautiful and vivid
than a flower.
Even if today there is no one here who can understand
the meaning of flowers,
We can depend on the simple moth to appreciate the flowers.
Beautiful clear shadows climb up the plum flowers.

Sitting here, there is no need to cut the lantern's wick-flower.
A bottle of boiled water is brought and floating in
the tea are flowers.
Pouring the wine, it seems to outshine the flowers.
Tonight I am not merely drunk on the moon, but also drunk
on the flowers.
Today I am drunk with snow and flowers.[83]

醉雪樓頭賞雪花
梅花如雪如花
先生題詩筆生花
旬旬錦繡燦於花
縱今坐無解語花
賴有素蛾磨菱花
清影嬋娟上梅花
坐間何用剪燈花
一瓶瀹来茶浮花
百壺倒處酒過花
不啻醉月又醉花
今日樓頭醉雪花

Baiitsu must have intended his poem to be a companion piece to Shibutsu's. As Shibutsu ended each line with the character "snow," Baiitsu ended each of his lines with the character for "flower." Since some of Baiitsu's phrases seem rather contrived, perhaps it may be said that he was a bit less successful in this stylized form of poetry than was Shibutsu.

In the next year, 1825, Baiitsu was asked to make a design for a woodblock printed picture of Yōrō-zan, a famous mountain of Owari province (plate 172). It was made in commemoration of a banquet that

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[83]Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4, p.236 reproduces this poem.

was held there, which Baiitsu presumably attended. The print is rather unusual; it is about four feet in height, and folded in a small book. Along the bottom of the print are various inscriptions--one by the people who commissioned its manufacture, and next to that, a list of six stele which were set up in the vicinity of the mountain. The names of the six stele were recorded along with the names of those people whose calligraphy was carved upon them and those who made the selections. The home districts of all those mentioned were also included. Among those listed there were Ōkubo Shibutsu, Hata Kanae, Chiang Chia-p'u, another Chiang of Suchou (perhaps Chia-p'u's brother), and Niwa Bankanshi (1773-1841).[84] Interspersed among the landscape elements are three inscriptions, poetic selections from the steles, which equate the mountain with Mount Tien T'ai of China, a place noted as the abode of immortals. The inscriptions state that the mountain was considered sacred by these literati who felt that it was the home of a female immortal of the Peach Blossom Cave of Mount Tien T'ai.

We know almost nothing of Baiitsu's activities for the next several years. In 1827, he attended a gathering of scholars in Kyoto. The only record of that meeting is a photograph of a painting which includes

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[84]Bankanshi was a Confucian scholar and calligrapher from Nagoya in the service of the Owari clan. When just seven years old (1779), he began studying painting with Niwa Kagen, and became his adopted son. See Nagasawa, Kambungakusha soran, p.228; and Yoshida, "Niwa Kagen to Owari shoki nanga no jokyo," p.10 and 17. Bankanshi's distinctive meticulously neat calligraphy can be found on paintings by Baiitsu (plate 32, and Tabei, Chukyo gadan, p.24), Tanaka Totosugen (Tajima Shiichi, Shimbi taikan, vol. 20, plate XL), and Yokoi Kinkoku. He also collaborated with Hata Kanae on the writing of prefaces and closing notes to several printed books published in Nagoya; Fugyo gaso (1817) illustrated by Cho Gessho, and Sanji sansui shogajo (1821) illustrated by numerous artists including Tani Buncho, Tanaka Totsugen, Cho Gessho, Uragami Shunkin, Yamamoto Baiitsu, and Nakabayashi Chikuto.

inscriptions and small pictures by those participating. Those whose works were included in the scroll were the poet, Yanagawa Seigan (1789-1858), his wife, Kōran (1804-1879), Rai San'yō, Tanomura Chikuden, Shunkin, Chikutō, and Baiitsu.[85]

Baiitsu was back in Nagoya in 1830, where he had occasion to view a spotted leopard that was brought to Nagoya Castle. Baiitsu drew a sketch of the animal from life, and the daimyō, Tokugawa Nariharu, was so pleased with the sketch that he commissioned Baiitsu to do a large painting of the leopard. The painting, now in the collection fo the Nagoya City Art Museum, has a lengthy inscription on it by the Confucian scholar, Okuda Ōkoku (1760-1830).[86] Baiitsu's signature indicates he painted it during the fifth month of summer of 1830, six months prior to the death of Ōkoku. The painting (plate 6) is extremely detailed, with the animal appearing to leap out at the viewer. Ōkoku said in his inscription that with this painting, Baiitsu had created a new and unparalleled realism in animal paintings of his day. Perhaps, for the art world of Nagoya, his painting was startling, certainly Maruyama school artists of Kyoto would not have thought so. Ōkoku further praises Baiitsu's ability as a painter, and states that by this time,

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[85]The photo is illustrated in: Kyoto Bijutsu Kurabu, Mizoe Takanobushi iaihin nyūsatsu mokuroku (Tokyo, 1933 auction catalogue), plate 44.

[86]Ōkoku was from a family of doctors of Nagoya. He was a Confucian scholar in the service of the Owari clan, and a poet in the Chinese style. See: Seki Kiichiro, Kinsei kangakusha denki chosaku daijiten fukeifu nempyō (Tokyo, 1941), p.136.

Baiitsu was already quite well known.[87]

Baiitsu probably visited Edo again after 1830,[88] and possibly met with Shibutsu at that time. In 1831, he was in Nagoya, where a painting exhibition was held at Suisetsurō to honor Shibutsu who was visiting.[89] That same year, Baiitsu himself held a painting exhibition at Suisetsurō in order to raise money for moving to Kyoto. There were two hundred paintings in the exhibition, one dated 1817. Each person who attended paid a set fee for which he received a painting.[90]

It is not known if Baiitsu and Shibutsu met again prior to the latter's death in 1837.[91] However, in a book published around 1834, Shibutsu wrote that he presented a painting by Baiitsu to one of his pupils, Uno Ransen of Akita who was soon heading home. Its subject was a playfully painted handscroll of a calligraphy and painting exhibition done presumably when Baiitsu was in Edo. In the picture, all the figures were said to have long noses like tengu ("heavenly dogs").[92] Although this painting does not appear to have survived, a similarly playful handscroll of figures with long noses, dated 1840, is now in the

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[87]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.182.

[88]Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4,p.237.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.183.

[91]Several undated paintings by Baiitsu have inscriptions on them by Shibutsu (plates 69, 133, 168) and as will be shown later, they all seem to date stylistically between about 1818 and 1830.

[92]Mori, Chosakushū, vol.4,p.237. Another handscroll of tengu playing, done for Baiitsu's pupil, Aoki Hodō, is described in the article, "Yamamoto Baiitsu no jimbutsu ga" by Ikenoue Hidetoshi in Shoga sōdan, vol.2, number 3, pp.11-12.

Yabumoto Collection, Amagasaki, Japan (plate 7).

In this period of his life, Baiitsu grew into a mature and confident painter, holding painting exhibitions of his work, and receiving commissions from daimyō and other officials. He seems to have taken full advantage of the relative freedom afforded to scholars and artists in an otherwise restricted society, by frequently traveling around Japan. On his travels, he was able to meet illustrious scholars and associate with people sharing his literati interests. All this must have contributed to furthering his understanding of the literati ideal. Furthermore, through his friendship with Ōkubo Shibutsu, Baiitsu seems to have been inspired to compose Chinese style poetry. As Shibutsu and others wrote poetic inscriptions on Baiitsu's paintings, this must have strengthened for Baiitsu, the bond between painted and poetic imagery.

Life in Kyoto (1832-1854)

In 1832, at the age of forty-nine, Baiitsu set off for Kyoto.[93] The reasons for his decision to leave Nagoya are unrecorded, but perhaps he was motivated to further his career in a more cosmopolitan environment. As suggested by Kanae in his letter, Nagoya was not a good place for a serious artist. Although there were some Nagoya patrons of art, they were few, and thus selling one's work was difficult. After painting the leopard for the local daimyō, Baiitsu certainly could not receive any greater noteriety in his home city. Furthermore, if he had stayed in Nagoya, he may have been obliged to paint in styles not in accordance

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[93]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.182.

with his literati taste.

Around this time, some of Baiitsu's close companions and fellow literati enthusiasts in Nagoya died. Okuda Ōkoku died in 1830; Hata Kanae in 1831; Chō Gessho in the sixth month of 1832; and Uchida Rancho died the following year in 1833. Thus, Baiitsu's closest ties with Nagoya had been broken one by one and it seems to have been most appropriate for him at this time to seek a new life in another city. Since Baiitsu was already friends with a number of Kyoto literati, and since he had lived there himself and visited often, Kyoto was a most logical place to move.

Although the exact month Baiitsu left for Kyoto is unknown, he must have departed from Nagoya sometime in the early part of the year. In the spring of 1832, he painted two paintings, both inscribed with the studio name, "Shotai Sōdō;" one, a pair of screens of Arashiyama and Tatsuta Rivers (plates 188-189), was inscribed to the fourth month.[94] As those screens were large and elaborate, he must have received a generous stipend from a patron. Several extant landscape paintings dated to the summer of 1832 are inscribed with the studio, "Heian no Kakugū," (temporary residence in Kyoto).[95] Most likely, he first went to Kyoto alone to make arrangements for work and set up suitable living accomodations for himself and his wife. On the third day of the fifth month of an unspecified year, Baiitsu wrote his wife the following

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[94]Because this studio name appears only on paintings dated to the spring of 1832, Baiitsu may have brushed the works at a temporary residence soon after moving to Kyoto.

[95]One landscape is in fan format, now mounted on a screen along with works by other Nanga artists. It is part of the collection of the Idemitsu Museum in Tokyo.

letter which seems to date from this time as it discusses events pertaining to moving to Kyoto.

> I received your letter. Now it is approaching summer. I hope you are well. Nothing bad has happened to me here, so please do not feel alarm. It has been raining everyday and my legs hurt. Because of that, I have spent the past two or three days resting. Now I feel better. The previous place that I lived was dirty, so yesterday I moved to the Izumi Shikibu temple below Sanjo. This temple is also called Seishin-dera. The tombstone of Izumi Shikibu [a famous eleventh century poetess] is located here. Next to it is a famous plum tree.[96] In the vicinity are noodle shops and small theaters. It is indeed a bustling place. The chief abbot's quarters are spacious and relaxing. For study and teaching [?] it is convenient. There is a priest from Nagoya here, and he frequently brings out items to study. However, as I only recently moved here, I do not yet know if this place will be satisfactory. Yesterday I went with several friends, Mr.Odate [Takakado] and Mr.Ogura, to Yugen-in where we were shown some paintings.[97] Because it was too early in the season, very few people were there, and the place seemed lonely. However, for viewing paintings, it was very good.
>
> This place is sometimes cold and sometimes warm. It was so hot yesterday that I wore an unlined robe. Today it became so cool that I put on a robe with a lining. Because of this, please send me my lined robes.
>
> Around the middle of this month, I plan to visit some famous scenic spots between here and Seta [near Lake Biwa]. We plan to view fireflies at Ishiyama. The entire trip should last about six or seven days, since I have managed to make a lot of money. I plan to return to Kyoto via Sakamoto.
>
> Because this Izumi Shikibu temple is a famous spot, everyone knows its location, so I think it will be very convenient. Because it is in an open area, even when the weather is hot, there is a cool breeze. Therefore, please do not forget to send me the robes I requested, [signed on the] third day of the fifth month.

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[96] An illustration of this temple and the famous plum tree is included in the printed book, Miyako meisho zue, vol.1, published in 1781.

[97] Odate Takakado (1766-1839) was a friend of Baiitsu's from Owari. He was from a wealthy and powerful merchant family whose shops specializing in silk damask, even had a branch in Kyoto. Takakado was a learned scholar who studied Chinese paintings and enjoyed tea and collected antiques. In 1834, it is known that he was living in Kyoto. See: Tabei, Chukyo gadan, pp.177-178; and Nagoyashi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaiga shi- Nanga, catalogue number 135 in which his name and residence (Kyoto) are listed on an exhibition announcement.

P.S. Please send my regards to Mr.Rai who lives next door.[98]

Baiitsu may have returned to Nagoya in the autumn of 1832 to accompany his wife to Kyoto, after completing all the necessary preparations. At this time, as it was to be his "official" move, Baiitsu may have written the following farewell poem to the friends he would leave behind.[99] Although this poem is undated, the title implies that it was done on this occasion. In the poem, Baiitsu mentioned that the time was autumn.

Leaving My Old Home and Numerous Friends

Changing my residence, leaving my home, I go to study in Kyoto.
Because of my love for these familiar mountains and rivers,
When we part, I face my friends and can not speak.
Only recently, the white flowers were in bloom,
Now is the time of the autumn colors.

留別故国諸友人
攜家去国入京師
爲愛山川景色宜
臨別向人無別詩
先期花白葉紅時

In the poem, Baiitsu's sadness at leaving is apparent. He can say nothing to his friends to express his feelings. Although the mention of autumn colors is intended as a melancholy seasonal allusion, it merely sounds like a standardardized poetic device. Because of the farewell poem, it may be concluded that his final move to Kyoto was in the autumn of 1832, perhaps shortly after Chō Gesshō's death.

While in Kyoto, Baiitsu frequently moved from one location to another. In addition to two different addresses mentioned in the letter

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[98]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.186-187.

[99]Ibid., p.182.

to his wife, several others are recorded in Heian jimbutsushi. An entry for 1838 records Baiitsu's address for that year as being Koromodana Ōike kita. An undated letter by Nukina Kaioku to Baitsu also lists this address.[100] In 1852, Heian jimbutsushi gives the address, Tomi no koji rokkaku minami, as Baiitsu's residence.[101] Further evidence of his frequent moves comes from the various studio names that Baiitsu inscribed on his paintings dated to his years in Kyoto. From the twelfth month of 1832 to 1833, his studio was called "Ryuchi sho-oku." The studio name, "Heian no Kyo-oku,"appears on several paintings dated 1836 and 1837. Chikutō had previously used this latter studio name, when he wrote inscriptions in two of his books, Chikutō garon, of 1802, and kachō gafu, of 1812.[102] Perhaps Baiitsu painted these works at Chikutō's studio, or borrowed the name from him. Baiitsu's most frequently cited studio was called "Gyokuzen shitsu," or "Gyoku" and some variation on "shitsu" such as "sho-oku." He painted there from 1835 until he left Kyoto to return to Nagoya in 1854. Several other studio names appear on a few paintings of the 1840s and early 1850s.[103]

Baiitsu's daily life in Kyoto was not as well documented as the activities of his earlier years, especially those recorded by Ōkubo Shibutsu. It is known though that by 1835, he was already a highly

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[100]Ibid., p.205.

[101]For these two references to Heian jimbutsushi, see: Mori and Nakajima, Kinsei jinmei rokushusei, vol.1, number 558 (for 1838) and number 713 (for 1852).

[102]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.13.

[103]See the appendix of Baiitsu's studios in the back of this work for a complete list.

respected figure in the literati world of that city. In the twelfth month of that year, he hosted an important sencha tea ceremony.[104]

Baiitsu's circle of friends in Kyoto included many who were well known literati painters and calligraphers.[105] By far the closest friend Baiitsu had in Kyoto was Chikutō who had moved there permanently in 1815.[106] When Baiitsu returned to settle in Kyoto in 1832, Chikutō wrote the following light spirited poem (kyōka) to express his delight at being once again near his good friend, and presented it to Baiitsu.[107]

Kefu yori wa	From today
miyako no hana to	I see it as
mimoyasen	a flower of Kyoto--
waga furusato no	the plum of Yamamoto
Yamamoto no ume	from my old home.

Because the flowers of Kyoto were considered unsurpassed in their beauty, for Chikutō to equate Baiitsu with them was very high praise.

Chikutō and Baiitsu helped each other in many ways. Since Chikutō's father was a doctor, Chikutō must have been more knowledgable in medicinal practices than Baiitsu. Thus, on occasion, Baiitsu consulted with Chikutō about his health.[108] Chikutō was himself a painting teacher with many pupils, but he chose to entrust the painting education of his

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[104]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.117. This ceremony will be discussed further in a later chapter dealing with Baiitsu's interest in sencha.

[105]Ibid., pp.204-207.

[106]Ibid, nempyō section, p.5.

[107]Ibid., p.188.

[108]Ibid., p.203 quotes a letter in which Baiitsu asked Chikutō some health-related questions.

unruly son, Chikkei (1816-1867) to Baiitsu.[109]

Although Baiitsu was a versatile artist, capable of painting both landscapes and birds-and-flowers with equal dexterity, it is often said that his specialty was bird-and-flower painting while Chikutō's specialty was landscapes. This is most likely due to the fact that Baiitsu and Chikutō had made an arrangement concerning subjects to paint for commissions. Chikutō's daughter, Seishuku (1829-1912), claimed that whenever someone requested that Chikutō paint birds-and-flowers, he referred the person to Baiitsu. Conversely, when Baiitsu was asked by patrons to paint landscapes, he deferred to Chikutō.[110] One of Baiitsu's pupils, Takeda Kateki, wrote that at the time he first entered Baiitsu's studio, someone had requested a landscape album, but because that was Chikutō's specialty, he was referred to him.[111] In a similar manner, one of Chikutō's pupils reported in a letter that someone came to Chikutō with a request for a bird-and-flower painting, but that he was sent away.[112] Yamanouchi Chōzō points out that this agreement probably had nothing to do with the artists' abilities, but rather, was a business arrangement. It was a way, he suggests, for these two good friends, who

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[109]Ibid., pp.157-158 reproduces the letter Chikutō wrote to Baiitsu concerning this request.

[110]Ibid., p.12.

[111]Ibid., p.228.

[112]Ibid.

had studied together from their youth, to avoid competition.[113] It seems unlikely that this was an unbreakable rule however, for several paintings of landscapes by Baiitsu were unquestionably done for patrons. Perhaps it applied only to less important customers, and not to regular patrons.

Since both Chikutō and Baiitsu painted birds-and-flowers as well as landscapes effectively throughout their careers, the reason for their choice of subjects for paintings as commissions must have had to do with the differences in their personalities and attitudes towards their art. Chikutō, the recluse, scholar-intellectual, professed disdain for worldly affairs. In his later years, he lived in a secluded villa in the Higashiyama district of Kyoto. On ordinary days, he would keep his gate locked, admit no visitors, and spend his time reading and writing. Chikutō would not paint unless he was alone at home.[114] His austere and formal landscapes are reflective of his approach to literati ideals and harmonious with his quiet, retiring nature. Baiitsu, in contrast, was very skillful in associating with other people. He enjoyed painting in public, and did so quite well. His richly detailed and superbly colored bird-and-flower paintings are brushed with the spontaneity of a self-assured and worldly gentleman painter.[115] At times, Chikutō and Baiitsu collaborated on paintings, as was the custom for literati painters. Sometimes they worked together with other of their friends

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[113]Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, pp.381-382.

[114]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.228-230.

[115]Ibid.

to produce albums.[116] At other times, they painted sets of hanging scrolls,[117] or worked together on a single scroll.[118]

Apart from Chikutō, Baiitsu's closest friend in Kyoto was probably the literati painter, Uragami Shunkin. The two were acquainted from an early age, perhaps from 1814 when Baiitsu attended a party in honor of Shunkin's father, Gyokudō. They must have traveled in the same circles for they met again at a party in 1827, mentioned above. They were known to have been friendly prior to the time Baiitsu learned to appreciate sake from Shibutsu. In those early days, Shunkin was fond of drinking, while Baiitsu was not, so when Shunkin raised up his sake cup, Baiitsu would playfully paint pictures.[119] Shunkin and Baiitsu both enjoyed drinking tea on country outings. Once, Shunkin wrote a letter to Baiitsu asking to borrow Baiitsu's portable tea basket. The following letter gives a small glimpse into the personal lives of these two artists and shows their cordial but polite relationship.

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[116]See album leaves by Chikutō, Baiitsu, Shunkin, and Oda Kaisen published in Bijutsu kenkyu 37 (1935); and another unpublished album by these artists in the Yabumoto collection, Amagasaki, Japan. The latter album also has poems by Shinozaki Shochiku and a colophon by Yanagawa Seigan.

[117]The University of Berkeley Art museum owns a triptych by Chikutō and Baiitsu, the center painting by Chikutō of jurojin flanked by a pair of paintings of the Three Friends of Winter by Baiitsu. Chikutō's painting has an inscription on it by Nukina Kaioku. Another pair of paintings Chikutō and Baiitsu did is in a private collection. The subject is bamboo and plum; the plum by Baiitsu and the bamboo by Chikutō, dated 1842.

[118]In 1847, Baiitsu brushed the rocks and flowers in a painting for which Chikutō contributed a juniper tree. Above the painting are inscriptions by Nukina Kaioku, Yanagawa Seigan, and Umetsuji Shunshō. See: Hatta Heijirō, editor, Saitō shinshō (Tokyo, 1914), for a reproduction of this work.

[119]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiiitsu, p.204.

> I hope you are well. I have not heard from you in awhile. A neighbor has invited me to go to Fushimi tonight for sightseeing together with some guests of his from the Ryukyu Islands. Recently you brought over a tea basket. I saw how convenient it was, so, please, if you are not currently using it, may we borrow it ? It is very hard of me to ask this favor of you. Since teacups are easily broken and I have my own, there is no need for you to lend me the ones that belong with the basket. I only request the basket from you.[120]

Another of Baiitsu's good friends in Kyoto was the prominent literatus, Nukina Kaioku.[121] Kaioku had high regard for Baiitsu's painting ability and once wrote a letter to Baiitsu requesting that a pupil of his be allowed to come study under him.[122] Baiitsu visited Kaioku at his home in Kyoto and painted a picture there of Daimonji shinkeizu, dated 1833 (plate 176). In addition, Kaioku wrote poetic inscriptions on several of Baiitsu's paintings,[123] and he also wrote a

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[120]Ibid.

[121]Kaioku (1778-1863) was the son of a samurai in the service of the daimyo of Tokushima (on Shikoku island). When he was young, he was trained in the military arts, especially archery, but as he disliked it, be took up the study of literary arts instead. He studied painting and calligraphy, then, in his middle years went to Koya-san to study Buddhism. After that, he traveled around Japan; to Nagasaki to study Nanga painting with So Tetsuo (1791-1871), then to Edo where he associated with prominent literati. In his later years he lived in Kyoto where he was considered the best calligrapher of that city. See: Shodo zenshu, vol.23, pp.195-196.

[122]Kanematsu, Chikuto to Baiitsu, p.205.

[123]A painting of a Large Plum (plate 63), is inscribed by Kaioku and also has a box lid with Kaioku's inscription dated to 1853; Lotus Flowers, mentioned in the article, "Yamamoto Baiitsu hitsu, Tofuku-ji ganfuzu," by Narazaki Muneshige, in: Kokka 706, p. 69 also contains an inscription by Kaioku, as does the painting of Juniper and Rocks by Baiitsu and Chikuto, recently cited.

colophon to a painting by Baiitsu.[124] Baiitsu and Kaioku also shared an interest in collecting and studying Chinese paintings, so it is not surprising that Kaioku made a copy of one of Baiitsu's most treasured possessions, a landscape painting by the Ming artist, Yang Wen-tsung.[125]

Yanagawa Seigan[126] (1789-1858) occasionally collaborated with Baiitsu and others in the making of albums or scrolls, upon which he would inscribe his poems. He also inscribed a poem on Baiitsu's painting of the Large Plum upon which Kaioku too inscribed a poem (plate 63). In honor of Baiitsu's seventieth birthday, Seigan composed the following poem:

> By capturing the heavenly beauty of the spring wind or
> the winter's moon,
> The painter is like the ancient poet, Lin Pu
> Who planted three hundred plum trees to gain immortality.
> For each plum tree, one hundred years was granted.[127]

寫盡春風雪月天
画家有此小逋仙

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[124]Illustrated in Kokka 706. The painting is a shinkeizu of the Tsutenkyō at Tōfuku-ji in Kyoto.

[125]See Yoshizawa Chū, "Nukina Kaioku hitsu, Oshohu kizu; Nukina Kaioku hitsu, mo Yang Wen-ts'ung kōzan koteizu; Nukina Kaioku hitsu, bokutakezu," in Kokka 939, pp. 29-31.

[126]Seigan was a scholar, calligrapher and kanshi poet. He was born in Mino, lived for awhile in Edo, traveled frequently, and finally settled in Kyoto in 1846. He was well-known for his devotion to the Emperor, as were many of the intellectuals of that time. For further biographical information, see: Donald Keene, World Within Walls--Japanese Literature of the Premodern Era,1600-1867 (New York, 1976), pp.554-556.

[127]Lin Pu (Lin Ho-ch'ing) was a reclusive Sung dynasty poet. He was so fond of plums that he planted them in his garden. He also raised cranes. Considered a lofty and refined gentleman, he was held in high esteem by the Japanese who frequently depicted him in paintings surrounded by plum trees and accompanied by a crane. See: Yoshimura Katsuji, Yanagawa Seigan shi shusen taku (Gifu, 1944),pp.266-267.

梅花三百齊添壽
一樹梅花一百年

Baiitsu's friends in Kyoto also included members of Rai San'yō's circle and family. For the physician and scholar, Koishi Genzui, Baiitsu painted a hanging scroll of the Chinese sage of tea, Lu Yu in 1836.[128] In 1840, Baiitsu, Shunkin, and Rai San'yō's widow paid a New Year's day call on Genzui, and then on the twenty-sixth day of the first month of the same year, Genzui was presented with a painting by Baiitsu and one by Shunkin.[129] The following year, in 1841, Genzui attended a farewell party for the literatus, Rai Ritsusai (1803-1863),[130] where Baiitsu painted a shinkeizu of Higashiyama (plate 77). That same year, Genzui wrote a long inscription on another shinkeizu by Baiitsu, Arashiyama in Winter.[131]

Baiitsu was friends with a number of other scholars and artists in Kyoto. Among them, he occasionally collaborated as an artist with the

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[128]Illustrated in: Nihonga taisei vol.11 (Nanshūga III), plate 74.

[129]Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, pp.360-362.

[130]Ritsusai was a cousin of Rai San'yō. Like many others of his family, he was skilled at literature (both prose and poetry), and was also a well known seal carver. See: Shodo zenshū vol.23, pp.202-203.

[131]Illustrated in Kokka 309.

literatus Shinozaki Shōchiku,[132] and the painter, Oda Kaisen (1785-1862).[133] Baiitsu shared an interest in the connoisseurship of old Chinese paintings and the sencha tea ceremony with the literati painter and government official, Asano Baidō (1816-1880).[134] The Nanga painter Fujimoto Tesseki (1817-1863), and the scholar Ōshio Heihachirō[135] of Osaka, both political activists who died fighting, were also mentioned as his friends.

Although Baiitsu had moved to Kyoto, he did not lose ties with his remaining friends from Nagoya. Both he and Chikutō were good friends with Izuhara Makkoku (1778-1860). Makkoku was a fellow Nanga painter from Nagoya who moved to Kyoto in 1798, traveled to Nagasaki to study painting under the Chinese artists, Fei Ch'ing-hu and Fang Hsi-yuan (Fang Chi), and then returned to settle in Kyoto around 1808. He

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[132]While it is true that Baiitsu did know Shōchiku, it is not clear just how close their relationship was, as Shōchiku was such an eminent figure in Kansai literati circles.

[133]He collaborated with Baiitsu, Chikutō, and Shunkin on several albums of landscapes.

[134]Baidō was born in Edo, the son of a samurai. He was an official in Kyoto from 1842-1852. In addition, he was a painting student of Tsubaki Chinzan (1801-1854) and a collector of old paintings, calligraphy, and tea utensils. His collection was especially noted for its old Chinese paintings and calligraphy manuals. He was also a connoisseur of Chinese paintings and fond of sencha. As Baiitsu shared these interests, it is not surprising to find him listed as one of Baidō's friends. See: Wakimoto Sokuro, "Sōhōkaku shogaki to sono chosha Asano Baidō ni tsuite," in Bijutsu kenkyū, 35 (November 1934),p.31; and Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, p.385.

[135]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.207. Heihachirō (1791 or 1792-1837) was a scholar who held a post as a government magistrate. Nevertheless, he was sympathetic with the poor and sold his books in order to aid them. He died by committing suicide after a plot he instigated to overthrow the wealthy of Osaka failed. See: Sansom, A History of Japan 1615-1867, pp. 223-224.

returned again to live in Nagoya in 1828.[136] After that, he again visited the Kansai area where Chikutō and Baiitsu greeted him warmly. They were so delighted by his presence that they bestowed upon him the literary sobriquet of "Shōkoku" (Pine Valley). They thus considered themselves the "Three Friends," pine, plum, and bamboo.[137] Makkoku was not the equal of Baiitsu or Chikutō in originality of conception of his paintings. His extant works are few, but those which do remain show him to be a competent artist, closely adhering to the Chinese orthodox styles he must have studied in Nagasaki.[138]

Another of Baiitsu's friends from his youth in Nagoya was Watanabe Kiyoshi (1778-1861). Kiyoshi was a fukko yamato-e painter, a pupil of Tosa Mitsusada and Tanaka Totsugen. Although he was born in Nagoya, he went to Kyoto to live and study.[139] Kiyoshi once reportedly asked Baiitsu about the meaning of the passage "without ink and without brush" from the Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting. Baiitsu replied only that the phrase was exactly that seen in Makkoku's paintings.[140]

Baiitsu also remained friends with Aoki Jikan (dates unknown). Jikan owned a wine shop in Nagoya. He was fond of learning and often went to Kyoto for artistic pursuits. Baiitsu taught painting to Jikan's

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[136]Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, pp. 169-170.

[137]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp. 188-189.

[138]For examples of his works, see: Nagoyashi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaiga shi--nanga, plates 121-130.

[139]Muramatsu, Honcho gajinden, vol. 3, pp.185-188. Muromatsu gives the erroneous date of 1751 for Kiyoshi's birth.

[140]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p. 197.

younger brother, Aoki Hodō (1810-1872) and to Hodō's daughter, Kōgai.[141] In 1840, Baiitsu wrote Jikan a letter in which he described some paintings and other art objects he obtained for Jikan.[142] Thus, perhaps Baiitsu helped to support himself by acting as an art broker for some collectors in Nagoya.

Baiitsu continued to support and contribute to painting exhibitions held in Nagoya even after his move to Kyoto. Two exhibition announcements, one for 1834 and the other for 1837, list Baiitsu's name (in the first, he was an organizer).[143] Whether Baiitsu himself returned to Nagoya to participate is not known, but one extant painting of his dated 1835, The Three Friends of Winter (plate 80) is inscribed with the same studio name, "Kōhyō Teijo," as several paintings dated 1826 and one dated 1821, which were presumably done at a studio in Nagoya.[144]

The same year as the exhibition, 1834, Baiitsu's friend, Niwa Bankanshi, wrote out a long Chinese poem about plums on Baiitsu's painting, Plum and Bamboo Blossom Branches in a Vase (plate 32), which is a copy of a painting by the Chinese Ming Dynasty artist, Ch'en Hung-shou. Bankanshi's inscription is dated to the early autumn of 1834 and the exhibition that Baiitsu participated in that year in Nagoya was held in the eighth month. Perhaps this is one of Baiitsu's paintings

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[141]Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p. 163.

[142]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.214.

[143]One of these is illustrated in: Nagoya shi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaiga shi--nanga, p.59. Both were displayed at the exhibition for which this catalogue was produced. Others listed in the 1834 announcement included the poet, Odate Takakado (1766-1839), Watanabe Kiyoshi, and Baiitsu's pupil, Kojima Rotetsu (1793-1852).

[144]See the appendix of Baiitsu's studios at the back of this work.

which was exhibited at that time.

Baiitsu continued to receive painting commissions from patrons in Nagoya after he moved to Kyoto. In 1852, he was asked to paint a curtain for a festival float belonging to the Wakamiya Hachiman Shrine of Nagoya, because the original had become seriously damaged. A prominent person of the city, Kinoshita Seibei, sent a messenger to Baiitsu with a letter of request. Because Baiitsu had previously lived in the same section of Nagoya as the shrine, he patronized the shrine's deity, and thus received the letter with great interest. It is said the Baiitsu painted the work while the messenger waited. The painting was to be the underdrawing for an embroidery of waves and it was eventually made into a pair of screens (plate 8).

Along with the letter of request, the servant also respectfully handed Baiitsu a present of fifteen ryō in cash, tied in a bundle. At that time, Baiitsu was extremely popular as a painter and charged a very high painting fee. Nevertheless, as Baiitsu received the money, he humbly said that as this was a painting for an old friend, he would accept the fifteen ryō, but present the painting fee to the tutelary deity of the shrine.[145]

Another Nagoya patron, the Owari clan doctor, Fujinami Sentoku (dates unknown), asked a person named Denya, who was traveling to Kyoto to request from Baiitsu a pair of hanging scrolls of birds-and-flowers. Baiitsu took up his brush and painted the pair while the man sat before

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[145]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p. 192. In the account of this commission given in Kanematsu's book, the date for the painting is not stated. However, since the screens bear an inscription which states they were painted when Baiitsu was seventy, we know they were done in 1852.

him. Before Denya even left Kyoto, Baiitsu sent the paintings directly to Sentoku in Nagoya. Sentoku reported that he was pleased that the painting fee was not as high as he expected. Accompanying the paintings, Baiitsu sent Sentoku the following note:

> Respectful greetings. It has now become the pleasant season of spring here. I am delighted to hear of your good health through old man Denya who has recently arrived in Kyoto. I have now sent the paintings you requested by the fastest means, "flying legs" [express mail]. After you receive them, please send me the painting fee. I respectfully serve you and am much indebted to your kindness. Thank you very much for sending me the money. I am not sure which will arrive at your home first; the paintings or old man Denya. Please inquire about my personal situation from old man Denya. Your humble servant, Baiitsu.[146]

Baiitsu seems to have enjoyed his life in Kyoto. When he had time from his professional work, he visited temples in order to view old paintings. He also visited and sketched many famous places of the area. Although Baiitsu painted in order to earn his living, he also did it as a leisure activity. He was an incessant worker, sometimes painting for friends in honor of their birthdays,[147] other times sketching for his own amusement,[148] recording his travels,[149] or taking up the brush at parties.[150] One of his most delightful works is an album for a very unusual patron--a child (plate 174). Baiitsu wrote the following as

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[146]Ibid., pp.194-195.

[147]For example, his painting of 1815 of Juniper and Flowers (plate 97), for Masuyama Sessai.

[148]A number of unusual sketches of animals, trees, and objects remain which are attributed to Baiitsu.

[149]Baiitsu's shinkeizu will be discussed in a later chapter.

[150]See: Higashiyama shinkeizu (plate 177).

closing remarks to the album (plate 175).[151]

> A young child came to my desk, begging me to paint for him. Therefore I copied a design of the nine grasses onto a Chinese inkstick. Later, a small child asked me to paint a picture of little girls playing shuttlecock [played during New Year's festivities]. Without hesitation, I painted the picture because it was for a little child. The child was pleased and asked me to paint more, and even brought me some ink. Because I had some free time, I roughly drew several pictures. As I am old, I would like to forget about my advanced age, so I like to draw people's activities in the various months. I have collected a number of these pieces and titled them fuzoku shunshū, ["Scenes from Spring to Autumn"], and put them in a box. Old man Yamamoto has written this at the end of the second month of the second year of the Kae era [1849].

Although not painted for an important person, this album by Baiitsu is so full of life and charming details that it is no wonder the child kept asking him to paint more pictures. It is an excellent representation of a type of painting Baiitsu excelled at, but for which he was not noted.

Baiitsu was diligent in his profession, but was constantly behind in his work schedule, with silk always piled high on his desk.[152] So many people commissioned paintings from Baiitsu that he was not able to comply with all the requests. When their requests were declined, people presented Baiitsu large sums of money and again begged him to paint for them. Gradually, Baiitsu accumulated quite a lot of money, but was troubled about where he should keep it all. He consulted with his student, Ueda Tōitsu (?-1869) about this. Tōitsu went to town and returned with some stalks of thick green bamboo. He placed these under the floor of a closet, by the edge near the door. Thus, when Baiitsu

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[151]Mr. Yabumoto Soshirō kindly assisted with the transcription of this statement.

[152]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p. 188.

received money, he could toss it into the hollow stalks of the bamboo. After awhile, these stalks became full and Baiitsu had to purchase some more bamboo to put in the closet with the others.[153]

It was common for Nanga painters of both China and Japan to receive some services, goods, or lodging in exchange for painting pictures. Called bunjin bokkyaku, this practice was frequently adopted by poets too, who would often finance their travels by composing poetry for their hosts. Though Baiitsu was a professional, selling his paintings for a fee, he would still partake of this custom. For example, Baiitsu received services from doctors in exchange for paintings. He painted a Hawk in Snow (plate 110) in 1846. Then, according to the box inscription, in 1849 he became ill and consulted a Doctor Koishi of Kyoto, to whom he presented this painting as payment for his medical treatment.[154]

In another instance, Baiitsu's letter to a Doctor Itō is still extant (plate 9). It is now mounted on the reverse of a small painting of Grasses and Flowers (plate 10) in the collection of the National Diet Library of Japan. The painting bears two small seals, "Bai" and "Itsu," but is otherwise undated and unsigned. The text of the letter is as follows:

> I hope you are well. It is always a pleasure to hear from you. I have had a cold for the past four or five days and my nose is running. Fortunately, it is almost better. I am experiencing pain in my chest, under my arm. It is troubling me greatly. Please, can you examine me ? If it is difficult for you to leave your home at this time, I would like you to make me some medicine even if you

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[153]Ibid., p.196.

[154]Joan Stanley-Baker, Nanga, Idealist Painting of Japan (Victoria,1980), p.118. Doctor Koishi was probably Koishi Genzui or a relative of his.

> cannot get to it for several days. I am much bothered by phlegm in my throat. Even after warming my throat, the phlegm is still a problem. I wish to ask you about this also. Please examine me as soon as is possible. P.S. With this letter, I am also sending you a painting of grasses and flowers.

The letter is signed [first character unclear] En Yamamoto.[155]

In addition to the numerous people who occasionally requested paintings of Baiitsu, he had a number of regular patrons, some from Nagoya. One of his most devoted patrons appears to have been Shū Hōen (also known as Katano Minumon), to whom Baiitsu wrote the following letter (plate 166) which accompanied a painting of Mount Hōrai, dated 1854 (plates 164-165), that Baiitsu sent to him. From the contents of the letter, it may be ascertained that Shū Hōen was a patron of long standing.[156]

> I have received and read your letter. I finished the painting that you requested [several characters unclear] altogether it is pleasing. Everything at my studio here is satisfactory. My work takes up much time. Please excuse my tardiness in replying to you. I hope you have not been worried.
>
> Just today, I finished your landscape of Mount Hōrai, and I am immediately sending it to you in a box along with this letter. I had to twice ask the painting mounter, Hyōkichi, to quickly finish it before he complied. The screen that you also requested will be finished by the third of the next month, so please have no fears.
>
> After the recent earthquake, I visited my house and was relieved to find that nothing had been damaged. It was a great surprise. As to your son's request for a copybook [tehon], due to the earthquake, I have not yet completed it. However, I will send it to you shortly. The other landscape painting with a width of two shaku [about 60 cm.] has been completed. The pair of paintings of a pine and a crane [the next two characters are unclear] and the triptych of plums, will all be finished shortly. When I have finished all of your requests, I will send everything to you together. I am sorry for my poor handwriting, please excuse the sloppiness, for I have been very busy today.

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[155] This letter was transcribed for me by Mr. Yabumoto Soshirō.

[156] From the studio mentioned in the inscription on the painting of Mount Hōrai, we know that Baiitsu painted it after his return to Nagoya. Shu Hoen presumably lived in Kyoto, but attempts to identify him have been fruitless. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Mr. Yabumoto Soshirō in transcribing this letter.

Several days ago, I received the miso you sent. Thank you very much. I will keep the container for the time being, and return it to you the next time that you visit here.

In closing, please give everyone my best regards.

P.S. I am sorry that I have not answered each of the letters you sent.

During the time he lived in Kyoto, Baiitsu's fame as a painter increased every year. It reached the point that he was able to command a good commission even for painting on small sheets of paper.[157] Baiitsu's wife, Tetsu, was the business manager for the family, leaving Baiitsu totally free to devote himself to his art. Unfortunately, Tetsu offended a number of people. She came from a low-class family and may not have been exceptionally skillful at formal pleasantries.

Baiitsu's student, Tōitsu, recounts an incident in which Tetsu treated him badly. One morning, Tōitsu visited Baiitsu at home, but he was absent. Tōitsu was then asked by Tetsu to help prepare the noon meal by boiling some fish. At the meal, Baiitsu exclaimed, "who cooked the fish like this without first removing the scales"? Upon hearing that, Tetsu became angry and yelled at Tōitsu for not knowing how to prepare the fish properly. Tōitsu replied that he pressed the fish and boiled it, but did not know the proper procedure for removing the scales with a knife. Baiitsu's wife thereupon further cursed and insulted him. Baiitsu defended his pupil, saying that it was most natural for him to be ignorant in the way of cooking fish since he was a painting student and not a cook. He then admonished Tetsu not to have Tōitsu help with

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[157]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p. 190.

the cooking in the future.[158]

As mentioned previously, Baiitsu received a painting commission from someone in Nagoya to do an underdrawing for the festival float curtain of the Wakamiya Hachiman Shrine there. In another account of this transaction, Baiitsu's wife met the messenger at the door when he came to present his request. Baiitsu's wife felt that the messenger's greeting was not suitably humble, so she abruptly took the fifteen ryō in cash. The messenger was shocked by Tetsu's rude behavior, but he pretended not to be offended. He then inquired about the proper painting fee, at which point Baiitsu appeared from inside. Baiitsu said that from other people he received 100 kin for each painting. The messenger was surprised at the huge sum, as he did not have that much cash with him. He quickly sent someone to Nagoya to fetch more money, and subsequently received the finished painting. However, as pointed out by Kanematsu, this story was most likely slanderous gossip fabricated by someone out to hurt Baiitsu's reputation.[159]

There must have been some truth to the numerous stories about Baiitsu's wife, for even after their return to Nagoya in 1854, such unpleasant tales persisted. One night Baiitsu and some friends were gathered at Baiitsu's house composing haiku poetry. The painting mounter, Shōgetsudō, suddenly appeared brandishing a sword, demanding to speak with Tetsu. It seemed they had had a difference of opinion and

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[158]Ibid. p. 202. There is a similar story about how Rai San'yō admonished Murase Taiitsu for cooking fish without first removing the scales. See: Stephen Addiss, A Japanese Eccentric--The Three Arts of Murase Taiitsu (New Orleans, 1979), p.7.

[159]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp. 193-194.

he was demanding restitution. Baiitsu and his friends wrote the following poem to commemorate the event.[160]

ume ga ka ya	The aroma of plums--
mon ni sashikomu	Piercing the gate
matsu no tsuki	The moon in the pines.

In this poem, the "aroma of plums" referred to Tetsu or to Baiitsu's residence, while the "moon in the pines" derives from Shōgetsudō ("Pine Moon Hall"). Obviously Baiitsu was used to his wife's tirades, and accepted them with good humor.

At the time that Baiitsu had moved to Kyoto at the age of forty-nine, he was already well into middle age. Nevertheless, as is typical of many Chinese and Japanese painters, he was just reaching maturity as an artist. Moving to Kyoto was a turning point in Baiitsu's career, and he developed friendships with many people who shared his interests. He also became highly successful in his profession--attracting many patrons, receiving major commissions, and acquiring great wealth. Perhaps Baiitsu's success was due in part to his wife's role as business manager, and in part to his pragmatic arrangement with Chikutō over subjects to paint for commissions. Yet, the fact that Baiitsu was a talented artist totally devoted to his work--studying old paintings in his free time and sketching constantly--must not be overlooked as an important factor in his success.

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[160]Ibid., p.202.

Return to Nagoya (1854-1856)

Due to the large number of artists in Kyoto, heavy competition ensued among them. It was not uncommon for artists to play mean practical jokes in order to tarnish another's reputation.

There is one story of how Rai San'yō asked Kishi Ganku to paint him a fierce and proud tiger (Ganku's specialty). Rai San'yō had the painting made into a loincloth which he sent to a wrestler, who wore it into the wrestling arena. Ganku was embarassed and angry that a painting of his should be used in such a demeaning way that he swore to get even with San'yō. Thus, he asked Rai San'yō for some calligraphy which he planned to have made into a stage costume for an actor friend. When San'yō received the request, he knew immediately that it was in some way a tactic of revenge and brushed the characters for Amaterasu-Ōmikami (the Divine Shinto Sun Goddess). He made Ganku pay twice the amount for the calligraphy as he had paid for Ganku's painting of a tiger. Unfortunately for Ganku, the actor said he could not use the calligraphy as a costume because it would be sacreligious to the goddess.[161]

Baiitsu's great success led others to become jealous of his good fortune. His wife Tetsu apparently aggravated the situation by her rude conduct towards Baiitsu's associates. Perhaps for these reasons, some people plotted against Baiitsu just as San'yō and Ganku had tried to trick each other.

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[161]Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, p.385.

Baiitsu's reputation in Kyoto was finally ruined by an incident which began innocently enough. One day, a person commissioned a painting from Baiitsu for a very large sum of money. Baiitsu did not think anything of it and promptly painted a picture to give him. The person who requested the painting seemed delighted and left. Soon after that, he returned and invited Baiitsu to extravagant banquet at the Nakamura mansion in Kyoto's Gion quarter. At the party when everyone had become drunk, a geisha entertained them. As the girl danced, her sleeves fluttered and displayed her underclothes. To Baiitsu's astonishment, the pattern on the girl's underkimono was none other than the painting he had sold the host the previous day. The guests all laughed loudly at this cruel joke, and said insulting things to Baiitsu.

This story became so famous in Kyoto that Baiitsu's reputation was destroyed. There was no other recourse but for him to leave Kyoto and retire to his birthplace of Nagoya.[162] Baiitsu was now seventy-one years old, and perhaps he was tiring of the pressures of being a successful artist in Kyoto. Furthermore, his best friend, Chikutō, had died the previous year, and his own health may not have been too good. Perhaps this incident was just the excuse Baiitsu needed to retire to his old home, where he could devote himself entirely to painting without becoming involved in such trivial squabbles.

Upon returning to Nagoya after living for twenty-three years in Kyoto, Baiitsu was provided with a house by his pupil, Aoki Hodō, who had it constructed especially for his master. Later on Baiitsu had a detached room built which he used as his studio. This room was next to

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[162]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.190-191.

the storehouse, and must have been very dark. Upon entering, one immediately saw hanging on the wall, a painting of a small grotto filled with plum trees which transported one into a world of plums.

Despite his decline in popularity in the painting circles of Kyoto, Baiitsu's reputation in Nagoya remained intact. He was considered an important painting authority and received a very large annual income despite the fact that he painted little; only two paintings (plates 164 and 77) can be confidently ascribed to his Nagoya years. Baiitsu's fame was so great that the daimyō of Owari heard of him and conferred upon him the title of "Goeshi," or Painting Master. He was then given servants, raised to the samurai class, and was granted an audience with the daimyō. After that, he frequently appeared before the daimyō and was commissioned to paint the daimyō's treasures, as well as doors and standing screens for his castle.[163]

During the last year of his life, Baiitsu was not very healthy. A friend who was a priest visited Baiitsu when he was in his sickbed. Baiitsu was painting something on the mattress with his finger. The priest remarked that he was surprised to see Baiitsu painting while he was so sick, and that it must be very diffucult for him to quit. Baiitsu answered that in his next life he again wished to be reborn as a painter.[164]

Baiitsu died on the second day of the first month of Ansei 3 (1856). He was wearing a white kimono and was reading a passage from the Heart

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[163]Ibid., p.198.

[164]Ibid., p.235.

Sutra. His closest friends had been summoned to his bedside.[165] There was a tombstone erected for him at Tōsen-ji in the Iseyama machi district of Nagoya. It was said to have been designed by Baiitsu himself. His posthumous name given on the tombstone, is Gyokuzenin Tenka Baiitsu Kyoshi.[166]

Baiitsu's success as a painter had prompted many people to request permission to become his pupils. Kanematsu Romon lists no less than thirty-one pupils of Baiitsu.[167] The recent exhibition catalogue, Owari no kaigashi- nanga, lists thirty-five, and this figure does not include second and third generation followers. Baiitsu must have been a popular teacher, since his pupils outnumber those of his friend Chikutō by about two to one. Some of Baiitsu's students were relatives of his friends, such as Aoki Jikan's younger brother Hodō and Hodō's daughter, Kōgai. Baiitsu also taught other women, perhaps the most notable being Ema Saiko.

Because Baiitsu did not have any children of his own, he adopted a young man from Nagara, Mino province. However, he was soon disinherited because of poor behavior. Later on, Yamamoto Baioku began to study under Baiitsu, and he became Baiitsu's adopted son. However, for unexplained reasons, he left. Then, Yamamoto Baisho (1831-1872), from Gojō Echigo, entered Baiitsu's studio. Baiitsu still had no adopted heir, so he arranged a marriage between his wife's niece and Baisho, and

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[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid., pp.243-245.

adopted him.[168] Baisho was a good painter, but he wasn't fond of it. At the end of the Edo period he became involved with the Loyalist movement. Baisho was more interested in politics than in painting. From the winter of 1869 he began publishing a newspaper along with some of his friends. With the advent of a new era in Japan, Baisho became a modernist by cutting his hair and wearing western dress. He overworked himself so much that he died in 1872 at the age of forty-two.[169]

One of Baiitsu's most outstanding pupils was Nakabayashi Chikkei (1816-1867), the eldest son of his friend, Chikutō. Chikkei is most often considered a pupil of his father, but he did study with Baiitsu for a time because his father could not control his undisciplined behavior. His paintings are an interesting blend of Chikutō's and Baiitsu's styles, tempered by his own individualistic brushwork, use of colors, and compositional organization.

Baiitsu's pupils, active in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods continued his individualistic style without major innovation. They painted landscapes, bird-and-flower subjects (perhaps the most numerous), shinkeizu, sketches from life, uta-e, and "Four Gentlemen" subjects; in short, the full range of Baiitsu's oeuvre. However, some of them went beyond Baiitsu's teachings to absorb influences from other schools such as Ukiyo-e. Nevertheless, they never seemed able to surpass their teacher in technical mastery of the brush, harmonious application of colors, or creativity.

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[168] Ibid., p.236.

[169] Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p.167.

It would not be surprising if Baiitsu's pupils helped out on some of his paintings. In his later years, Baiitsu had such a large number of commissions that such assistance would be most natural, especially on larger pieces such as screens.[170]

Throughout his long career, and especially during his years in Kyoto, Baiitsu was a highly successful artist, always supported and assisted by his wife, Tetsu. The fact that Baiitsu was forced out of Kyoto by jealous competitors, but resumed his career in Nagoya where his reputation remained intact, is evidence that the attempt to discredit him had failed. Furthermore, although he had no children of his own to inherit the family lineage, through his adopted son, Baisho, and his numerous other pupils, the painting tradition Baiitsu established was carried on for several generations into the Meiji era.

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[170]One such screen of birds-and-flowers, formerly in the Brotherton collection, may be such a case. The signature and seals appear authentic, but the application of the colors and the brushwork in some areas is not as good as one would expect.

CHAPTER THREE

BAIITSU AS A LITERATUS

Throughout his life, Baiitsu pursued a wide variety of literati-related interests. In addition to painting, Baiitsu was known as a musician, a collector of bonsai plants, a sencha master, a collector and connoisseur of Chinese painting, calligraphy, and antiquities, as well as a poet. He was also outspoken about his ideas on painting, although he published no treatise on the subject.

Baiitsu's specialty in music was the transverse flute (fue) which he studied in his youth with Tōgi Ōminokami. Under Ōminokami's guidance, he acheived the highest rank and was permitted to play music reserved for those of the greatest abilities. Baiitsu often played the flute to the accompaniment of his friend, Daidōji Uda, who played the shō, a reed instrument.[1] Baiitsu's ability in music was so renowned that the Heian jimbutsushi for the year 1852, listed Baiitsu under the bunga (elegant literary pastimes) category as a musician who played the fue.[2] Baiitsu's fondness for the shō perhaps inspired him to depict it frequently as a motif in his paintings. In many of his landscapes, a person appears playing this instrument.[3]

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[1]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.213.

[2]See: Mori and Nakajima, Kinsei jinmei rokushūsei, volume 1, number 759.

[3]See for example Baiitsu's Landscape with Figure in a Boat dated 1814 (plate 126), Landscape with Ox dated 1845 (plate 147), and Autumn Landscape dated 1848 (plate 152).

Baiitsu had many bonsai plants at his house. He especially liked the sekishō (sweet flag or sweet rush), and was said to be skillful at bringing it to flower. Although it was a rare plant, Baiitsu had several pots of it. For most people, this sweet rush would only bloom in the summer months, but Baiitsu said, "I have succeeded in making this plant a winter friend. When the world loses its green foliage and all the trees wither, only this plant remains the same. Therefore I keep it at my side where it continually pleases me."[4] Of all the numerous paintings of flowers by Baiitsu, few depict bonsai. Perhaps in the rare examples which do, he depicted plants from his own garden.[5]

Baiitsu and Sencha

Baiitsu's most serious concern apart from painting was probably his involvement in a kind of tea ceremony utilizing sencha (steeped tea). This kind of tea was initially favored by intellectuals of the Tokugawa period not only for its refined flavor, but also for its association with Chinese learning and the arts. Gradually the custom of drinking sencha became so widespread in Japan that today it is the most commonly drunk beverage there, and is known simply as "Japanese green tea." Sencha and its temae, or method of presentation, differed markedly from that of the traditional matcha, (ground up and powdered tea) ceremony of Chanoyu. The tea that was drunk in sencha was composed of tea leaves which were steeped in boiled water, as opposed to the ground up leaves

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[4]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.224.

[5]See: Kokka 712, plate 8, for one such painting. Another is one leaf of an album (plate 109).

that were combined with water and whipped with a whisk and ingested in matcha. Also, the sencha ceremony was originally much more informal in nature. Instead of the conscious attempt at rusticity often seen in the wabi tea ceremony, an atmosphere of unaffected congeniality prevailed.

The aesthetics of the sencha and chanoyu ceremonies were quite different. Thus the utensils for this type of tea drinking were far from similar. For sencha, baskets and trays were often employed to hold the tea pot and cups. To create the proper literati atmosphere, various scholarly accoutrements were placed around the room where the tea was drunk. These included books and scrolls, inkstones, seals, small screens (for desk and floor), writing tables complete with utensils for calligraphy (inkstones, seals, brushes, ink, etc.), as well as decorative objects with scholarly allusions such as ju-i sceptres shaped like the fungus of immortality, Chinese Tai-hu type rocks, Chinese antiquities such as bronzes and porcelains which were used as flower holders, or Taoist-inspired feather wands (plate 11). Unlike the tea bowls which were used for drinking matcha, sencha tea cups and pots were extremely tiny. Each guest would drink from his own cup, rather than consecutively from a single bowl as was customary in some ceremonies for drinking matcha. Furthermore, many of the utensils used were of Ming and Ch'ing dynasty Chinese manufacture, or in styles imitating these later Chinese prototypes.[6]

Although sencha reached its zenith in popularity in the late Edo period, its roots in Japan predate the Tokugawa era. The Portuguese

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[6]For more general information about the history of sencha and sencha practice, see: Saionji Ayumi, Sencha no dogu (Tokyo, 1980).

Jesuit priest, John Rodriguez (1559-1633) noted in 1579 that the common Japanese people enjoyed a brew of boiled low-quality tea leaves, herbs, and spices known as senjicha.[7] A somewhat later contemporary observer noted that by 1659 there were over two hundred tea sellers in the city of Edo alone, and the drinking of this "peoples' tea" gradually spread from the new capital to Kyoto. The elite, however, continued to drink powdered tea at this time.[8]

The three men traditionally associated with the establishment of sencha in Japan are Ishikawa Jōzan, the Ōbaku priest Ingen, and Baisaō Kōyūgai. Ishikawa Jōzan (1583-1672) is often considered to have been the earliest Japanese scholar interested in sencha. Jōzan was born into a samurai family and later became a personal retainer to Tokugawa Ieyasu. He left this post after the latter's victory over the Toyotomi in 1615, from then on devoting himself to the study of Chinese classics. In 1641 he retired to Kyoto where he continued studying Chinese poetry, and also learned the art of garden design and practiced calligraphy.[9] The Sencha kigen published in Ansei 4 or 5 (1857 or 1858) and written by Togyū Baisaō,[10] attributed the founding of sencha in Japan to Jōzan. However, this connection is more legendary than factual, probably concocted by later generations of literati who admired the reclusive and

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[7]Ibid., p.185.

[8]Ibid.

[9]For information on Jōzan as a calligrapher of reishō (clerical script) see: Addiss, Uragami Gyokudō: The Complete Literati Artist, pp. 269-271.

[10]Saionji, Sencha no dōgu, p.186. Togyū Baisaō (1791-1879) was an important Sencha master and writer on sencha. See: Shufunotomo, editor, Gendai sencha no dōjiten (Tokyo, 1981), pp.824-837.

scholarly tendencies of Jōzan. What Jōzan drank may have been the boiled senjicha which he learned about from the common people in his neighborhood, rather than the steeped tea called sencha. Baiitsu, aware of Jōzan's uncontested importance as a pioneer of the literati movement in Japan, visited Jōzan's place of retirement in Kyoto (Shisen-dō) with Shibutsu in 1818.

Jōzan was already seventy-eight when construction began in Uji on the Ōbaku temple, Manpuku-ji. The Chinese priests who soon resided there brought with them a number of previously unknown foreign customs. The impact of these exotic customs on the fashion-minded Kyoto populace was formidable, and one which gained attention first among the Japanese literati was the Ming dynasty Chinese practice of drinking steeped tea.[11] Baisaō Kōyūgai (1675-1763), an orphan raised in an Ōbaku temple as Gekkai Gensho, did much to promote the popularity of sencha. From around 1735, Baisaō ("Old Tea Seller") earned his living selling sencha as a street vendor in Kyoto. Baisaō was also known as a calligrapher and a poet in the Chinese style. These interests, and the fact that he was an Ōbaku monk enabled him to become friends with the Japanese literati of his day, notably Ikeno Taiga, to whom Baisaō presented his charcoal brazier for making tea when he was near death.[12] Baisaō, as the patriarch of sencha in Japan, was frequently the subject of paintings by literati and other artists. Taiga painted Baisaō and Baiitsu at one time owned an old painting of Baisaō which he lent to his friend Uchida

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[11]The 1756 Seiwa chawan by Ueda Ryūho states that Ingen was the first to make sencha style tea in Japan. See: Saionji, Sencha no dōgu, p.187.

[12]Takeuchi, Visions of a Wanderer, p.55.

Rancho for several years.[13] Baiitsu himself painted a portrait (plate 12) of Baisaō, based on an earlier version by Sakaki Hyakusen.

Not long after Baisaō began selling tea, sencha as we know it today, was first cultivated by Nagatani Sōen in Uji in 1738.[14] This was the final development in the process of making sencha accessible--a process which had begun with the growing popularity of the native senjicha, coupled with the introduction of and preference for sencha by the Ōbaku monks, especially Baisaō. The foundation for a golden age of sencha had been laid, which not surprisingly, coincided with the emergence of a Japanese literati culture interested in all things Chinese.

The late eighteenth century was a time when interest in sencha reached an unparalled height among the intellectuals and connoisseurs of Chinese culture. Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800) was known to have painted portraits of Baisaō,[15] and the writer and Kokugaku ("national learning") scholar, Ueda Akinari (1734-1809), who was anti-Buddhist and anti-Confucian, was one of the leaders of the sencha movement. He published a book on the subject in 1794.

Along with this increased interest in sencha came a demand for Japanese utensils appropriate for use in sencha drinking gatherings. While authentic Chinese utensils were always fashionable, they were rare and increasing expensive; thus gradually they were superceded by wares

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[13]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.208.

[14]Saionji, Sencha no dōgu, p.191. Up to this time, the only tea cultivated in Japan from the thirteenth century on, was used specifically for the production of matcha (powdered tea). For an account of the history of Uji tea in English, see: Wakahara Eiji, Uji Tea and Its History," in Chanoyu Quarterly 17, pp.37-46.

[15]Ibid.

of local manufacture. Since the center for sencha's popularity was Kyoto, the Kyō-yaki kilns naturally came to furnish the wares. The first potter to produce pieces which catered specifically to sencha was Okuda Eisen (1753-1811), whose works were largely made of porcelain and inspired by Chinese Ming and Ch'ing dynasty styles. Thus they were in keeping with the Japanese literati preference for things Chinese. His pupil, Aoki Mokubei (1767-1833), continued to produce wares for sencha in Chinese styles while he created paintings in the literati style. Mokubei's fellow enthusiasts of sencha were many. Perhaps the literatus who most dominated the world of sencha during this next generation was Tanomura Chikuden who, among others, was befriended by Ueda Akinari when he first came to Kyoto.

Originally sencha as a cultural event interested only the intellectuals, but by the Bunsei period (1818-1829), ordinary townspeople began participating in their own sencha ceremonies. From that time on, and especially during the Tempō period (1830-1843), schools of sencha ceremonies developed much like the various schools of the matcha tea ceremony, with set rules for conduct. Even so, the literati continued to favor their own, more simplified version of the sencha ceremony.

In the mid 1830s, after the death of some of the major leaders of the Nanga movement such as Mokubei and Chikuden, Baiitsu became one of the new leaders of his generation. In the year Tempō 6 (1835) on the eleventh day of the twelfth month, Baiitsu was the host for a sencha ceremony which was held in Kyoto at Maruyama Shōami. This was a celebrated event in the history of sencha, attended by many famous

literati of the time. As keeping a record of the arrangement of tea utensils used in particular ceremonies is a long tradition among tea masters, Baiitsu followed this practice and wrote about the utensils he used on that occasion. They are arranged according to the materials from which they were made.[16] Baiitsu sent this record to his pupil Takeda Kateki in Nagoya, with the following comments:

> It is difficult to write down the arrangement of the utensils, but I will send some kind of record to you. As far as the ceremonies performed by others are concerned, I will make copies of their records and send them to you as I can. To others who are interested, please send my apologies [for not making them copies] and share with them this copy which I am sending to you.

Baiitsu was so concerned with all the details of this ceremony that he even created a special tea cake for the event. The recipe was included in the record of the tea ceremony he sent to Takeda Kateki, and is presented here:

> Shape some red yōkan [bean jelly] into dango [small balls], then place them on small skewers. Dip them briefly into boiling amber sugar. When removed from the boiling sugar, sprinkle poppy seeds on them. Next, remove the skewers and form the balls into the shape of natsugumi [silverberry] nuts. Serve the finished product on fresh silverberry leaves.[17]

In appearance, the tea cake was what one might expect from a color-conscious painter: the interior was red, the outside light brown, and for contrast with those colors was the dark green of the silverberry leaf. Because the color combination was so extraordinary, everyone attending the ceremony commented on it. As one bit into the cake, a different color would appear and that is what must have impressed the

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[16]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.218-220.

[17]Ibid., p.220.

guests.[18] In addition to this written record of the tea ceremony at Maruyama Shōami, a small standing screen (tsuitate) remains which is a pictorial record by Baiitsu of a tea ceremony which also took place in 1835 (plate 13), probably this celebrated event. The painting on this screen is really no more than a sketch of a tea room showing the furniture and tea utensils, as well as mats for guests. There are notes in various places, presumably remarks on each of the items shown in the picture.

Baiitsu's interest in sencha can be further observed in several paintings from around this time. In 1836, Baiitsu painted several figure-in-landscape paintings of the T'ang dynasty tea master, Lu Yu. One was painted in a rather detailed and consciously archaistic style (plate 14). On the other painting of Lu Yu, Baiitsu inscribed the following poem which had been written by Lu Yu himself. In the last line of the poem, Ching Ling, in addition to being the name of a city on the banks of the West River, is another of Lu Yu's names.[19]

I do not covet jars of yellow gold,
nor cups of white jade.
I do not covet going to court in the morning,
nor attending banquets in the evening.
Yet I greatly desire
the waters of the West River
which pass below Ching Ling's castle.

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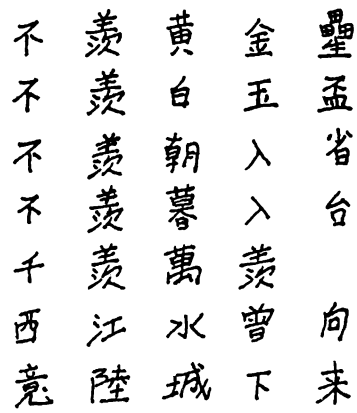
[18]Yamanouchi, Nihon nanga shi, p.384.

[19]The painting is illustrated in Nihonga taisei vol.11 (Nanshūga III), plate 74, and Maruyama Jungo, editor, Nanga-shu (Tokyo, 1910). Lu Yu was the author of the Ch'a Ching, the earliest surviving Chinese treatise on tea, written in the middle of the eighth century. Another English translation of this poem, slightly different from the one presented here can be found in Chanoyu Quarterly 18, p.6.



Lu Yu's sentiments as stated here indicate that he preferred solitude and a humble lifestyle to a life of wealth and public service. More than anything else, he wished to use the waters of the West River for making tea. These feelings were just those held in high esteem by the Japanese literati. For example, many literati who were samurai resigned from their positions, choosing instead a lifestyle in which their principles were not compromised. In addition to Baiitsu, other literati painters depicted Lu Yu in their paintings. This was probably in accordance with a Chinese custom of displaying paintings of Lu Yu at tea and poetry gatherings.

Baiitsu's involvement in sencha is expressed in several letters that he wrote from Kyoto to his friend in Nagoya, Aoki Jikan. In one letter, datable to 1840, Baiitsu wrote that:

> Last month on the eighteenth day, we held a tea ceremony at Mr. Shimomura's villa in Komatsu valley... There were five people attending the ceremony, and we all sat scattered about the garden and in the house. All the places were quite delightful. Mr. Uragami [Shunkin] sat in a quiet, secluded place.... His spot and mine were probably the best of the lot.... Please tell Mr. Hodo about this event, but please tell no one else. People who have no interest in this sort of thing would only call us fools and laugh.[20]

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[20]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.215.

The description of the ceremony indicates that it was of the informal type favored by the literati. It is interesting that Baiitsu was worried about others thinking him foolish for his participating in this kind of tea ceremony. It may have been that with the growing interest in sencha by the middle classes, Baiitsu's more purely Chinese style ceremony would have been considered out of fashion.

Baiitsu was close friends with the sencha master and Confucian scholar from Nagoya, Fukada Seiichi (1802-1855). They studied sencha deeply together[21] and Seiichi briefly mentioned Baiitsu in his book, Bokuseki kyo sencha ketsu of 1849. By that time, the popularization of sencha among the middle classes was so complete that Seiichi was forced to lament that there were too few remaining to keep the true spirit of sencha alive, and that Baiitsu who was then living in Kyoto was too far away from him. Elsewhere in his book, Seiichi defined the literati practice of sencha drinking as bunjincha, or "scholar's tea," and other people who drank sencha as drinkers of zokujincha, or "commoner's tea."[22] Baiitsu is recorded to have written an article or book on sencha along with Fukada Seiichi, or to have written something about sencha which resembled Seiichi's writings.[23]

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[21]Ibid., p.213.

[22]This information is also included in Saionji, Sencha no dōgu, p.204.

[23]The Japanese sentence is unclear on this gramatical distinction. Upon examination of Seiichi's book, Bokuseki kyo sencha ketsu, the only work he wrote on sencha, Baiitsu is nowhere mentioned as collaborator or assistant. Baiitsu's only known extant writing on sencha is his record of the tea ceremony he hosted in 1835. See: Ibid.; Tabei, Chukyō gadan, pp.162-163; and Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, Zuroku chadoshi, p.193.

One of Baiitsu's tea friends in Kyoto was Asano Baidō.[24] As a sencha master, Baidō followed an interpretation of the sencha ceremony which was quite scholarly, especially in comparison to the Ogawa school, founded by Ogawa Kashin, which flourished at that time. The Ogawa school was one of the schools of zokujincha scorned by the literati for its rules and invention of various tea utensils. Eventually, the ceremonialized tea ceremony of the Ogawa school ascended in popularity while the bunjincha declined.[25] Nevertheless, Baiitsu adhered to the literati style of sencha, which was less formal.

In a letter adressed to Jikan and Hodō, Baiitsu wrote that:

> Sencha has recently become quite popular. However, because an official announcement from Edo concerning this season's frugalities has been circulated, there will be no tea ceremonies allowed. The tea from the mountain tops of Uji has become increasingly scarce. Kōsetsu [a type of tea] has been so difficult to obtain that one can only buy two-thirds of the amount available in an average year. At Eguchi, because the business has changed owners, the tea there is no good. This season, there is no good tea at Fushimi either, but because the tea called Ushioen was grown with care, it is quite satisfactory. Beyond this, I have no other news. It is said that there is no money anywhere, and this terrible situation prevails all over. As this is not the sort of thing I wish to continue writing about, and since the bad news is not limited to this situation only, I will just end my letter here.[26]

From this letter, it is obvious that the economic situation of the time was not good, and it affected Baiitsu deeply. Baiitsu appears to have

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[24]Their association was probably between 1842 and 1852, when Baidō was in that city as a government official. See: Yamanouchi, Nihon nangashi, p.385.

[25]Saionji, Sencha no dōgu, p.204. According to Kanematsu Romon, the Ogawa school was defeated by Baidō's school. See: Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.213-214. In actuality, the reverse was true. Thus, Kanematsu's ideas must be regarded in part as propaganda for the literati tradition he admired.

[26]Ibid., pp.216-217.

been a connoisseur of the various types of tea suitable for use in sencha ceremonies.

Tea, as a basic necessity of the sencha ceremony, was so highly regarded that it was cultivated to produce a subtle and refined taste. Tea itself would sometimes become the focus of these sencha gatherings. On one occasion after Baiitsu returned to Nagoya in 1854, he hosted a tea gathering. When the guests sipped the tea, they found its taste to be quite extraordinary. Perplexed, they inquired as to the name of the tea. Baiitsu replied that the name of the tea was Hagoromo ("Feather Robe").[27] Then, as the guests wondered about how hagoromo could be a kind of tea, Baiitsu opened the tea pot to reveal the tea leaves which he had tied together with miniature yellow threads to resemble a feather robe. The guests were impressed with his wholehearted devotion to tea.[28]

Baiitsu's involvement in sencha was so complete that he had a special tea house where he drank tea with his friends. Tomioka Tessai, prompted by his own fondness for sencha and his high regard for Baiitsu, portrayed Baiitsu's teahouse in one of his sketchbooks.[29]

As an enthusiast of sencha in the literati spirit, Baiitsu collected tea utensils and other objects appropriate for display at tea

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[27]A feather robe was the garment worn by a legendary goddess in the Nō play, Hagoromo, by Seami. See: Arthur Waley, The No Plays of Japan (New York, 1920), pp.218-226.

[28]This story appears in several places: Takeda Shinken, "Yamamoto Baiitsu koto," in Kaiga soshi 130 (1897), pp.6-7; and Sugihara Izan, editor, Nihon shoga jinmei jiten, "Nihon meika shogadan, Yamamoto Baiitsu," p.716; but not in Kanematsu's book.

[29]Hayashiya, Zuroku chadōshi, p.193.

gatherings.[30] He also himself made some utensils and objects with sencha connotations. These items were not merely functional, but displayed a lighthearted side to Baiitsu's literati spirit.

In one instance, he made a mizusashi (clean water pot for the tea ceremony) out of lacquer. It was extremely beautiful, well crafted and meticulous in execution. Yet, it was startling to behold for from afar it resembled clay. This sort of craftsmanship made people full of admiration for his talents.[31] In a similar fashion, Baiitsu made a peach out of white clay and painted it to be naturalistic in appearance. He set it upon a real leaf which he put in a basket, and this he placed in a tokonoma in his home. At first glance it quite closely resembled the real thing. One day, Baiitsu's pupil, Kōgai, visited his house. He took the peach out of the basket and presented it to her. As she thought it was real, when she returned home, she attempted to eat it. Only then did she discover the joke.[32]

The drinking of sencha and all that accompanied it--the utensils, room furnishings, and above all, knowledge of Chinese literati taste--enabled the literati of the Tokugawa era to create a physical environment for the Sinified lifestyle to which they aspired. Sencha then was all-encompassing, bringing together numerous literati practices and preferences under one heading. One can imagine sencha gatherings as the setting for stimulating discussions on painting theory and as an

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[30]This is quoted in the same sources that recount Baiitsu's tea ceremony in Nagoya for which he used the tea called Hagoromo.

[31]Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p.163.

[32]Ibid.

opportunity to look closely in a relaxed atmosphere at paintings, objects of the Chinese scholars' study, and other antiques which were brought out for admiration. By the time Baiitsu became a leader in the sencha movement in the 1830s, it was already quickly becoming so popularized that its original intention was lost to the middle classes who so readily adopted it. Nevertheless, Baiitsu adhered to the original literati spirit of sencha, becoming one of its leaders in his lifetime. He was involved in all facets of the art: he hosted ceremonies, made and collected utensils, designed appropriate tea cakes, had his own tea house, created paintings of sencha subjects, was knowledgable in the varieties of teas, and, as will soon be discussed, composed poetry and painted works with sencha themes. Clearly, sencha was one of the major preoccupations of his life.

Baiitsu as a Connoisseur of Chinese Antiquities and Paintings

From his youth, Baiitsu was taught to appreciate the literati reverence for ancient objects. Thus he became exceedingly fond of old Chinese paintings and antiquities. In his later years, Baiitsu was well known as a connoisseur of Chinese art and was especially learned about tea-related vessels and utensils. In 1840, he sent his friend in Nagoya, Aoki Jikan, a letter authenticating a Ch'ing dynasty brazier which he had purchased for Jikan. An excerpt from this letter follows:

> I recently sent to you by special messenger a brazier which is inscribed by a person of the Ch'ing dynasty. I have heard that it reached you without delay, thus I am relieved. I have already received the money you sent for the brazier. Although you may think the price is quite exorbitant, because this is an exceptionally rare piece, it should be treasured. You should be very proud of it, and certainly have no fears concerning its

authenticity.[33]

In another example, at the time Baiitsu was living in Kyoto, he attended a tea ceremony where a rare old bronze flower vase was brought out. Soon after that, Baiitsu's pupil, Takeda Kateki, came to Kyoto. Baiitsu described the vase to Kateki, and then painted a picture of it. As soon as Kateki saw the picture, he exclaimed that his family owned one exactly like it, with even the same patterns and shape. Baiitsu thought this unlikely, and said that he thought there could be only one genuine flower vase like this. He then asked Kateki to lend his family's vase to him for one day so he could use it at a tea ceremony and surprise everyone. Kateki agreed, but when he returned home his father declined to permit the loan on such short notice. Kateki was ordered to refuse Baiitsu's request. As a result, Baiitsu became extremely irate and expelled Kateki from his studio. After this, they did not speak to each other at all. However, after Baiitsu returned to Nagoya in 1854, he encountered Kateki. By then, Kateki's father had passed away, and Kateki had become the head of the household. He thereupon offered to lend Baiitsu the vase. When Baiitsu saw it, he was so impressed that he kept it for a short while in order to use it. Before returning the vase to Kateki, he inscribed the following remarks on the interior of the box lid:

> This covered vessel for storing wine,
> There are but three or four others like it that I have seen.
> But of the others, one whose quality is this fine is unknown to me.
> This vessel's colors--blue and green, with reddish spots--
> Are like earth and flowers piled high.
> The ancient colors are exquisite in their beauty.
> This is a genuine Chinese vase in Kateki's collection,
> And I treasure it highly.

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[33]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.214.

[Dated in accordance with 1855] by Baiitsu old man Ryō.[34]

As an expert on Chinese painting and calligraphy, Baiitsu was frequently asked to look at and authenticate paintings owned by various private collectors. This gave him great opportunity to look at many paintings and, as will be shown, incorporate stylistic features of these works into his own paintings. There are extant today several Chinese paintings which Baiitsu saw, and for which he wrote comments on the box lids or on separate sheets of paper which have been kept with the paintings; Birds on a Pine Tree by Shen Nan-p'in (plate 15), which he saw in 1853; an ink-monochrome painting of an Orchid dated 1588, by the Suchou artist, Chou T'ien-ch'iu (1514-1595) (plate 16);[35] Birds on a Flowering Tree by the Ch'ing dynasty painter Chang Yu-chen (plate 17) which he saw in 1827 at Kobe;[36] and Landscape in the Blue and Green Style by the unidentified, but probable late Ming artist, ? Han (whose studio name was Ch'a-an Sou) (plate 18). Baiitsu also served as one of the connoisseurs for a two volume catalogue of reproductions of signatures, seals, and inscriptions on Chinese paintings and calligraphies. The others were Nukina Kaioku and Kōtō Shōin, a Confucian scholar from Gifu who lived in Osaka. This catalogue, Tenpyōsai shoga rakkanfu, published in the autumn of 1856, was comprised exclusively of works owned by Kawakami Shōtake (Tenpyō shujin) of Kita Echi, in the Hokuriku district. Various people wrote three prefaces and

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[34]Ibid., pp.221-222.

[35]This painting is listed in the catalogue, Dōge yokun, to be discussed below.

[36]For scant biographical information on Chang Yu-chen, see: Chung-kuo meishu chiajen tzutien (Shanghai, 1981), p.852.

several epilogues for the catalogue. Each of these describes something about the state of collecting old Chinese paintings in the Bakumatsu era.

According to the first preface, one day Mr.Kawakami brought ten works from his collection to Kyoto to show to his friends. They were impressed and wished to know what else he had in his collection. Mr. Kawakami was also afraid that after his death his works would be dispersed, so he commissioned this catalogue with the further intention of ensuring that a record of his collection would remain. In the second preface to the catalogue, the author lamented the fact that old paintings were quite scarce and the prices were continually rising. He stated that rich merchants bought up all that was for sale, even the forgeries. The author concluded with high praise for the paintings in Mr. Kawakami's collection. The third preface of the catalogue stated that a monk named Unge [Sō Taigan] had previously had a book of inscriptions, seals, and signatures from paintings and calligraphies carved in the same manner as this one.[37] The catalogue also contains an afterword by the seal carver, Rai Ritsusai.

We do not whether Baiitsu personally saw all the paintings whose inscriptions are reproduced in this catalogue, but since he is listed as "Connoisseur" it may be assumed that he probably did. This catalogue is organized chronologically, beginning with works of the Sung dynasty. Fascimile reproductions of seals, signatures, and inscriptions are reproduced for each work. There has been no attempt anywhere in the

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[37]The identity of Unge's book has not been determined. This monk Unge is the same person who attended the party near the Suma River outside of Kyoto, written about by Rai Baishi in 1824.

catalogue to identify the artists (other than in the inscriptions) or provide readings for the seals. No information on the artworks themselves, such as dimensions, medium, or format has been given. Many of the artists whose works are included in the catalogue are recorded, and are fairly well known. In all, there are ninty-three works, two Sung, one Yuan, twenty-two Ming, and sixty-seven Ch'ing. The more well known artists are listed below:

Sung:
Li T'ang (c.1050s-after 1130), Hsia Kuei (1180-1230).

Yuan:
Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322).

Ming:
Yao Shou (1423-1495), Mi Wan-chung (?-1628), Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559), Chu Yun-ming (1460-1526), Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), Huang-po I-jan [Ōbaku Itsunen] (1592-1688), Lin Liang (active second half of 16th century), Li Liu-fang (1575-1629), Chang Jui-t'u (active first half of 17th century), Huang-po Yin-yuan [Ōbaku Ingen] (1592-1673).

Ch'ing:
Chang Mu (seventeenth century), Tan Chung-kuang (1623-1692), Kao Ch'i-pei (1672-1734), Chang Yu (active ca.1800-1820), Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1704), Sun T'ung (active ca.1796-1850), Yu Sung (18th century), I Fu-chiu (in Japan 1720-1750), Chu Ang-chih (ca.1760-1840), Ch'en I-chou (in Japan between 1827 and 1850), Shen Nan-p'in (1682-ca.1760).

The names of the artists represented in this catalogue, with few exceptions, are those one would expect to find in Japanese literati collections of Chinese paintings. The presence in this catalogue of many paintings done late in the Ch'ing dynasty affirms the statement in one of the prefaces that works by older masters were difficult to find. Thus, works by later artists comprise the bulk of this collection. Of these, there were many by artists who actually came to Japan-- Shen Nan-p'in, I Fu-chiu, Ōbaku Itsunen, Ōbaku Ingen, Ch'en I-chou, and

probably some of the others who as yet remain unidentified.

Kawakami Shōtake seems to have had a large collection but he was not unique in that respect. There were many other Japanese literati enthusiasts who collected Chinese paintings, and some of these were more prominent figures in the literati world of their day. For example, there still exists a catalogue of the paintings once owned by the Edo scholar, Ichikawa Beian (1778-1857). This illustrated catalogue, Shōsanrindō shogabumbō zuroku, was first published in 1848.[38] Of the paintings in Beian's collection, thirty-one are now in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum.[39] Baiitsu's friend, Asano Baidō, also authored and illustrated a handwritten draft called Gampuku roku, which was a record of Chinese paintings and calligraphies he saw. It is now preserved in the Kanō collection of the Tohoku University library.

The importation of Chinese paintings into Japan during the Edo period was accomplished through the numerous trading ships which docked at Nagasaki. For example, imported in 1725 were "Ming and earlier paintings, works of ten to fifteen artists, seventy or eighty to one hundred paintings in all, some large hanging scrolls, some album leaves, five or six works for each artist... landscapes, figures, birds-and-flowers, plants-and-insects...about 70% or 80% in color, the

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[38]For further information see: Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Study of Chinese Painters Who Came to Japan in the Edo Period: Ts'ai Chien, Hsieh Shih-chung, and Wang Ku-shan," in Bijutsu kenkyū, 312, pp.1-11.

[39]These are reproduced in: Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku, Chūgoku kaigahen (Tokyo, 1979).

rest in ink monochrome."[40] As noted by James Cahill, it is difficult to discern which paintings were imported in this fashion. He does point out that "they came in quantity,...brought as trade goods. Two Japanese kara-e mekiki or `Chinese Painting Connnoisseurs'...set a base value on each painting imported; the paintings, like other objects of trade, were then auctioned to the group of Japanese merchants, known as kabu-nakama."

As discussed earlier, holding exhibitions was a fundamental aspect of the flourishing of Nanga painting in Japan. However, not only were there exhibitions for the purpose of selling Japanese Nanga painters' works; they were also held to make available Chinese paintings and calligraphies for viewing. At these exhibitions of Chinese paintings and calligraphies were displayed some older works which had long been the properties of Buddhist temples, and, more frequently, more recently imported works which were owned by the individuals involved in organizing the exhibitions. Exhibitions of paintings and calligraphies must have been fairly common, as they were the primary means for Japanese artists to become acquainted with actual Chinese works. For the most part, many were informal affairs held at the homes of private collectors, were part of sencha gatherings, or took place whenever Japanese artists visited temples to look at their collections of Chinese artworks. Occasionally though, a catalogue for an exhibition was

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[40]From: James Cahill, "Phases and Modes in the Transmission of Ming-Ch'ing Painting Styles to Edo Period Japan," draft of a paper delivered at a symposium in Hong Kong in November, 1979. Professor Cahill's notes indicate he obtained this information from: Nagasaki kijin in Tsūkō ichiran, 1853, chapter 227; reprint, Tokyo, 1912, vol.33, pp.20-21.

published.

Perhaps the earliest of such exhibitions with a catalogue still extant took place at Chōshunrō in Takamatsu (on Shikoku) on the third day of the third month of 1793. In this catalogue, the studio names of those contributing paintings to the exhibition are listed, followed by the names of the artists and artworks which were shown. Unfortunately, the full names of the collectors are not given, so it is difficult at times to discern their exact identity. However, one of the major Nanga artists to participate in this exhibition was Uragami Gyokudō, who brought three paintings and a calligraphy for display.[41] Another recorded exhibition was of Chinese and Japanese paintings in the collection of Tanomura Chikuden. These paintings were exhibited one year after his death on the fifteenth day of the third month of 1836, at a memorial service.[42]

Baiitsu, considered a connoisseur of Chinese painting and calligraphy, was naturally involved in such exhibitions. On the nineteenth day of the third month of 1852, a large exhibition of Chinese painting and calligraphy was held in Kyoto. The occasion for this event was the celebration of Baiitsu's seventieth birthday. A catalogue for the exhibition, Shokumoku rinrō, was published with Baiitsu's pupil, Aone Kai (Kyūkō) (1805-1854) as the author. Like the exhibition held in Takamatsu, the paintings are listed according to the collectors' names, but here only the surnames are given. However, for each painting

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[41]The contents of the catalogue is reproduced in: Yamanouchi, Nihon nangashi, pp.456-460.

[42]Kizaki Aikichi, Daifūryū Tanomura Chikuden (Tokyo, 1928), vol.2, pp.491 and 508-515.

or calligraphy, the artist, title, medium, format, and dimensions, as well as the full inscription on the work is copied out. Thus, from the information presented here, it is possible to identify the paintings which are extant or unknown but available in photographs.[43]

In this catalogue, the titles for one hundred and seventeen paintings and calligraphies are given, and fifty-one collectors names are listed. Below are the names of some of the more important Chinese artists to be included in this catalogue, together with the titles for their paintings, and the artists' dates:

Lu Chi (1488-1506), Flowers and Peacocks.
Liu Shih-ju (active first half of 16th century), Ink Plum.
Lu Tuan-chun (active second half of 16th century), Ink Bamboo.
Wen Cheng-ming (1470-1559), Seven Line Cursive Script Calligraphy.
Ch'iu Ying (active first half of 16th century), Brewing Tea.
Mi Wan-chung (?-1628), River in Spring.
Tsou I-kuei (1686-1772), Birds-and-Flowers in the Boneless Style.
Chu Ang-chih (ca.1760-1840), Strange Rock.
Chu Ang-chih, Landscape in the Blue and Green Style.
Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), Cursive Script Calligraphy.
Pien Wen-yu (active 1620-1670), Landscape in Light Colors, dated 1633.
Sun K'o-hung (1532-1610), Vase of Flowers.
Lan Ying (1585-after 1660), Landscape with Light Colors, dated 1633.
Yang Chin (1644-1728), Landscape with Light Colors, dated 1728.
Sun I (active mid 17th century), Peony and a Small Bird, dated 1645.
Wu Shan-t'ao (1624-1710), Seven Syllable, Five Line Cursive Script Calligraphy, dated 1691.
Wu Pin (1573-1620), Landscape, dated 1593.
Huang Tao-chou (1585-1646), Seven Syllable, Three Line Calligraphy, dated 1635.
Huang Tao-chou, Two Line, Cursive Script Calligraphy.

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[43]Those which I have seen or seen photos of, are marked by asterisks and will be discussed later. All but one of these was copied by Baiitsu. Determining the identity of these paintings is a long and tedious process, but one which would be most valuable to the study of Nanga painting in Japan. I have attempted to begin this study, but the magnitude is somewhat beyond the scope of this dissertation, and I will continue it at a later date.

Chang Jui-t'u (active first half of 17th century), Ink Landscape.
Chang Jui-t'u, Congratulatory Picture of the Star of Longevity (Shou-hsing).
Shen Nan-p'in (1682-ca.1760), Flowering Cassia Tree with Chickens.
Shen Nan-p'in, Eight Panel Screen of Deer.
Shen Nan-p'in, Autumn Stream with Monkeys, dated 1743.
I Fu-chiu (in Japan 1720-1750), Landscape with Light Colors.
Chang Ch'iu-ku (in Japan ca.mid 18th century to ca.1820), Ink Bamboo, dated 1783.

Apart from these artists, many of the works in this catalogue were by minor figures in the history of Chinese painting, who do not appear in painting dictionaries.

In addition to the artists and works noted above, a selection of paintings and calligraphies from Baiitsu's own collection was displayed. Baiitsu's name appears as the last collector in the catalogue under his studio name of Gyokuzendō. The paintings from Baiitsu's collection which were exhibited are listed below:

Sun T'ung (active ca. 1796-1850), Ink Landscape, dated 1802.
Fang I-chih (1611-1671), Ink Landscape.
Shen Chou (1427-1509), Pair of Ink Landscapes, dated 1493.
Shen Nan-p'in, Viewing a Waterfall, dated 1733.
Anonymous, Ink Bamboo.
Anonymous, Brewing Tea.
Liu Chu-an, Ink-monochrome Plum.
Hsi Kang (1746-1803), Landscape Handscroll in Light Colors, dated 1784.
*Yang Wen-tsung (1597-1645), Ink-monochrome Landscape, dated 1643.

Another exhibition of Chinese paintings and calligraphies held to honor Baiitsu took place on the nineteenth day of the third month of 1862 at Tōsen-ji in Nagoya, where Baiitsu was buried. It was held on the occasion of the seventh year memorial service for Baiitsu's death. In 1863, a catalogue of this exhibition, Dōge yokun, was published with an afterword by Baiitsu's pupil, Yamada Totsusai (1814-1873). This

catalogue is arranged in the same fashion as the previous one, listing the artist, painting title, format, medium, and painting dimensions after the collector's name. However, it only occasionally gives the inscriptions and dates which appear on the paintings. In this catalogue, one hundred and fifteen works are listed as belonging to thirty-seven different collections. Listed below first are the names of prominent artists and titles of their paintings from collections other than Baiitsu's.

Chao Po-chu (active 1120s), Landscape in the Blue and Green Style.
*Li K'an (1245-1320), Rock and Bamboo.
*Wang Mien (1335-1407), Plums.
Hsueh Chieh (Yuan Dynasty Ch'an monk), Manjusri.
Priest Chung-feng Ming-pen (1264-1325), Calligraphy.
Wang Chen-p'eng (active ca.1312-1320), Lion.
Lu Chi (1488-1506), three panels on silk, Phoenix, Pine, and Peacock.
Lin Liang (active second half of 16th century), Birds.
Yen Tuan, Calligraphy: Farewell Composition for Someone Returning To Japan, dated 1496.
Chen Hsien-chang (1428-1500), Five Syllable Grass Script Calligraphy.
T'ang Yin (1470-1524), Figure.
T'ang Yin, Ink Landscape.
Hsieh Shih-ch'en (1487-after 1567), Bodhidharma Crossing a River on a Reed.
Ho Liang-chun (1506-1573), Gold Lettered Grass Script Calligraphy.
*Chou T'ien-ch'iu (1514-1595), Ink-monochrome Orchid, dated 1588.
Huang Tao-chou (active first half of 17th century), Five Line Grass Script Calligraphy.
Chang Jui-t'u (active first half of 17th century), Five Line Grass Script Calligraphy.
Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), Ink-monochrome Orchid.
Ch'en Hung-shou (1599-1652), Figure.
*Lan Ying (1585-after 1660), Landscape with Light Colors.
Hsiang Sheng-mo (1597-1658), Beautiful Woman, dated 1640.
Chang Hsin (in Japan ca. mid 18th century to ca. 1820), Ink-monochrome Orchid in the Style of Shih T'ao, dated 1788.
Chang K'un (same person as Chang Hsin [?]), Ink-monochrome Orchid.
Fei Ch'ing-hu (arrived in Japan ca.1786), Ink-monochrome Landscape.
Ch'en I-chou (visited Japan numerous times between 1827 and 1850), Ink-monochrome Landscape.
Ch'en I-chou, Ink-monochrome Landscape.
*Chiang Chia-p'u (arrived in Japan in 1804), Handscroll of Mt. Tien T'ai, with three inscriptions dated 1802, 1809, and 1810.

In addition to these, paintings which had once been in Baiitsu's collection are listed in the catalogue Dōge yokun under his studio name, Gyokuzenin. They are as follows:

Liu Chu-an, Ink-monochrome Plum.
Priest Ch'u-shih Fan-chi (1297-1371), Poem for a Priest Returning to Japan.
Anonymous, Drinking Tea Under Pines.
Anonymous, Pai Miao Collating Texts.
Anonymous, T'ao Yuan Ming Returning Home.
Yu Ho (active ca. 1330-1360), Five Syllable Grass Script Calligraphy.
Anonymous, Travelers by a Pond Surrounded by Willows, colophons by: Sung Lien (1310-1381) and Yang Shih-chih.
Pien Wen-yu (active ca. 1620-1670), Mountain Torrent on a Solitary Mountain.
Ch'eng Chia-sui (1565-1643), Ink-monochrome Landscape.
*Yang Wen-tsung (1597-1645), Autumn Trees and an Empty Pavilion.
Fang I-chih (1611-1671), Returning Boat on an Autumn River.
Chiang Jo-yeh, Five Line Grass Script Calligraphy.
T'ang Chih-yin (active during the Ming dynasty), One Hundred Children in Golden Dresses.
K'o Shih-huang (active ca. 1580), A Vase of Cut Flowers.
Ch'en Yo (active end of 18th century [?]), Landscape in the Style of Ni Ts'an.
Ch'ien Kung (active ca. 1610), Birds Resting in an Old Tree.
Chou Ming, Two Poems of Seven Syllables Presented to a Monk.
Hsu Ch'uan, Lan T'ing Gathering Handscroll.
Hsiao Yun-tsung (1596-1673), Handscroll of Autumn Scenery in the Style of Huang Kung-wang.
Hsu Yuan, Birds, Flowers, and Insects Amidst Reeds.
Hsu Fang (1622-1694), Fungus, Orchid, and Dew on Roots.
Chu Chi-cho, Calligraphy.
Kuo Nan (active ca. 1736-1796), Rainy Landscape in the Mi Style.
Mi Wan-chung (?-1628), Seven Syllable Grass Script Colophon for a Painting.
Shen Chou (1427-1509), Bamboo Grotto Amidst Newly Clearing Sky.

The majority of paintings listed in both these catalogues, Shokumoku rinrō and Dōge yokun, date from the Ming and Ch'ing periods. Earlier paintings of high quality were difficult for these collectors of the mid-nineteenth century to obtain. Furthermore, although such early paintings were already in Japan--in older aristocratic or high class

samurai families' collections, or the property of temples--it would have been very difficult for organizers of these exhibitions to obtain permission to display them. Temples particularly have long had the policy of displaying their holdings only rarely. They would not have been too favorably inclined to lend their works to such exhibitions, where proper conditions for viewing them and their physical security might not be adequately guaranteed.

Of the later artists of prominence listed in these catalogues, a number of them came from Fukien or Nanking (Chang Jui-t'u, Wu Pin, Ch'en Yo, K'o Shih-huang, Huang Tao-chou, and Yang Wen-tsung), an area which traded with Japan. Other regions of Japan whose painters figure prominently in these catalogues were Anhwei (Sun I, Wu Shan-t'ao, Fang I-chih, Ch'eng Chia-sui, and Hsiao Yun-tsung) and the major center of literati painting in the Ming dynasty, Suchou (Pien Wen-yu, Chu Ang-chih, Shen Chou, Wen Cheng-ming, T'ang Yin, Chou T'ien-ch'iu, and Ho Liang-chun). As expected, a number of paintings by Chinese artists who traveled to Japan are represented (I Fu-chiu, Shen Nan-p'in, Chang K'un, Fei Ch'ing-hu, Ch'en I-chou, and Chiang Chia-p'u). It is also interesting to note that a large number of works in these catalogues were not paintings but calligraphies.

The number of Chinese artists who actually traveled to Japan during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was quite large. In his book, Genminshin shoga jinmeiroku, published in 1777, Sakaki Hyakusen listed one hundred and twenty three Chinese painters who came to Japan and other eighteenth century books included an additional eight, making

the total number 131.[44]

Although Baiitsu did not himself travel to Nagasaki to study painting with Chinese artists in residence there, based on the artists listed in the catalogues Tenpyōsai shoga rakkanfu, Shokumoku rinrō, and Dōge yokun, it is certain that he knew the works of a number of Chinese artists who were in Japan in his time.[45] Furthermore, some of Baiitsu's friends did go to Nagasaki to study painting, so he may have learned about the contemporary Chinese artists in Nagasaki through them, particularly Chang K'un, Fei Ch'ing-hu, Chiang Chia-p'u, and Ch'en I-chou. Some of these artists' styles appear to have had direct influence on Baiitsu's painting techniques.

Two of the Chinese artists who were mentioned in the catalogues discussed above, Chang Hsin and Chang K'un (Dōge yokun, pp.12A and B), were actually the same person who used different names at different times of his life. Tani Buncho was said to have studied with Chang K'un in Nagasaki, while Tsubaki Chinzan (1801-1854) took Chang Hsin as a model. From Chang, Buncho appears to have learned bird-and-flower painting in the style of Ch'en Shun (1483-1544), while Chinzan emulated Chang's more meticulous bird-and-flower style of Yun Shou-p'ing

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[44]Tsuruta, Takeyoshi, "Study of Chinese Painters Who Came to Japan in the Edo Period: Ts'ai Chien, Hsieh Shih-chung, and Wang Ku-shan," p.37.

[45]Although Dōge yokun was published after his death, it may be assumed that since the exhibition was held in Baiitsu's honor, he would have been familiar with most if not all of the works and artists included.

(1633-1690) (plates 19-20).[46]

One Chinese painter who taught many Japanese Nanga artists was Fei Ch'ing-hu.[47] Among his pupils were Haruki Nanko (1759-1839) who traveled to Nagasaki in 1788, Totoki Baigai who studied with Fei in 1790, Yamakawa Bokko, Izuhara Makkoku, and Masuyama Sessai. Baiitsu's relationship with four of these men has already been established, and two of them, Bokko and Makkoku, were among Baiitsu's closest companions from Nagoya. Fei Ch'ing-hu first came to Japan in the middle of the Anei era (1772-1781) and continued journeying to Japan almost every year between 1788 and 1796. According to information found in letters from Baigai to Baiitsu's friend and patron, Uchida Rancho, Fei must have died by 1801 or 1802.[48]

The painter and calligrapher Chiang Chia-p'u (also called Chiang Ta-lai) first arrived in Nagasaki in 1804. Among his Japanese pupils were Sō Tetsuō (1791-1871) and Sugai Baikan (1784-1844). On the first page of the catalogue Dōge yokun, a handscroll of Mount T'ien-t'ai by

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[46]See: Yonezawa and Yoshizawa, Japanese Painting in the Literati Style, pp.165-168 and Toda Teisuke, "On Chang Hsin and Chang K'un," in Kokka 891, pp.24-34. Chinese texts indicate the names were used by the same person during different times of his life. See: Chungkuo meishu chia jen ming tzu tien, p. 851. He went to Nagasaki in 1781 and returned to China in 1788. After his return, he changed his style but continued to send paintings to Japan for sale there, and these later works were what must have influenced Chinzan. Baiitsu's friend, Asano Baidō deeply studied the problem and concluded that they were different people, due to the great differences in the styles of the paintings inscribed with the two names.

[47]For more detailed information about him, see: Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Fei Han-yuan and Fei Ch'ing-hu, A Study of Artists Visiting Japan III," in Kokka 1036, pp.15-24.

[48]Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Totoki Baigai's Letters Addressed to Uchida Rancho," in Kokka 1039, pp.42-48.

Chiang Chia-p'u is listed (plate 21). Chiang brought this painting with him from China when he returned to Nagasaki for the second time in 1809. There, he presented it to a priest of the Jūfuku-ji of Higo Province (now part of Kumamoto Prefecture). Already by 1813 the painting had become so famous that Tanomura Chikuden mentioned it in his writings. In 1817, the painting was sent as a present to the daimyō of Owari. By this time, many people had already seen it. Eventually, in 1834, a large woodblock printed copy of it was made.[49] Baiitsu may have known this painting, since he was familiar with the Owari daimyō's collection.[50] Sometime after 1817, the painting became the property of Tōsen-ji, in which collection it is listed in Dōge yokun. This is the temple where Baiitsu's tombstone was erected and the place where the exhibition took place.

Another important Chinese painter who frequently traveled to Japan was Ch'en I-chou. His first visit was probably in 1827, and he returned at least eleven other times between then and 1850.[51] In Nagasaki he was known by the Nanga painters Sō Tetsuō and Kinoshita Itsuun

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[49]See: Etchū Yoshitada and Ōto Yoshihisa, Nagasaki and Yokohama (Edo jidai zushi, vol. 25) (Tokyo, 1976), plates 137 and 138 and comments on these plates in the back of the book.

[50]By 1825, Baiitsu certainly was familiar with Chiang Chia-p'u's name through Chiang's inscription on a stele near Yoro-zan, as his name appears on Baiitsu's print discussed previously. Perhaps there is some connection between Chiang's painting of Mount T'ien-t'ai and Baiitsu's large print of Yoro-zan as Yoro-zan was equated with Mount T'ien-t'ai and Chiang's painting was made into a woodblock print, not unlike Baiitsu's.

[51]Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Ch'en I-chou and Ch'en Tzu-i: A Study of Artists Visiting Japan IV," in Kokka 1044, pp.34-41.

(1799-1866).[52] Furthermore, one of his paintings is inscribed on the back by Tetsuō, and contains a box inscribed by Baiitsu's friends-- the box itself by Nukina Kaioku, and the lid by Yanagawa Seigan, the latter datable to 1855.[53] In 1848, Baiitsu painted an album of ten landscapes.[54] In an afterword to the album, someone named Chang Ch'ang wrote that he was shown the album by Ch'en I-chou who appears to have owned it. How or when Ch'en I-chou obtained Baiitsu's album is unknown, but it is interesting to speculate on what kind of influence this and other Japanese painters' works may have had on Chinese painters who came to Japan around that time.

As indicated by the list of his paintings in the two painting catalogues discussed above, Baiitsu managed to amass a small collection of Chinese paintings and calligraphies. He also owned a number of Chinese antiquities. Among these was a Chinese bronze vessel (hu) which had been used by someone named Kung Huang. Its value was said to have been one hundred kin.[55] Baiitsu took great care of his collection; all his treasured possessions were kept in his painting studio rolled up in four or five old carpets. The reason he gave for this practice was that since fires were frequent, he wished to keep his artworks safe from harm. He admonished others who collected antiquities not to forget even

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[52]Ibid., p.38.

[53]Ibid., figure 3 and p.39.

[54]Several leaves of the album are illustrated in: Nagoyashi Hakubutsukan, Owari no kaigashi--nanga, plate 112.

[55]Mori, Chosakushū, p. 241, from Jukazatsudan by Hosono Yōsai (1816-1878).

for one day to take proper care of their treasures.[56]

Based on the artists and painting titles listed in Baiitsu's collection in Dōge yokun and Shokumoku rinrō, Baiitsu's taste in Chinese painting may be surmised. His appreciation of calligraphy is apparent. Of a total of twenty-nine different paintings and calligraphies which were in Baiitsu's collection, six were calligraphies (Yu Ho, Ch'u-shih Fan-chi, Chiang Jo-yeh, Chou Ming, Chu Chi-chou, Mi Wan-chung), and of these, two were by Yuan dynasty masters. There were three works by late Ming Anhwei school painters (Ch'eng Chia-sui, Fang I-chih, Hsiao Yun-tsung), and three by late Ming followers of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (Hsu Fang, Mi Wan-chung, and Pien Wen-yu). He owned several works by Nanking and Fukienese artists (Yang Wen-tsung, K'o Shih-huang, Ch'en Yo), and several by bird-and-flower painters (Shen Nan-p'in, Hsu Yuan, Ch'ien Kung, K'o Shih-huang). Paintings of standard literati subjects or in traditional or archaic styles were also in his collection (Kuo Nan's Landscape in the Mi Style; The Lan T'ing Gathering; T'ao Yuan-ming Returning Home; and Collating Texts done in the pai miao style). Thus, in Baiitsu's collection was a wide variety of paintings. Perhaps, due to the difficulty in obtaining old Chinese paintings, he was not able to discriminate as he wished, and purchased what was available that seemed to him of good quality or value, whether it was old or new (Hsi Kang for example, is still considered one of the most highly talented artists of his day). Yet, Baiitsu seems to have had a fondness for late Ming literati painters and calligraphers, as he owned more works by literati of that period than of any other.

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[56]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.226.

Perhaps the most prominent Chinese artist to be represented in Baiitsu's collection, and one whose name appears in inscriptions as the model for many Nanga paintings, was Shen Chou. However, there is no indication that Baiitsu revered his painting above the others. Hosono Yōsai, who was present at the painting exhibition in 1862 on which the catalogue Dōge yokun was based, wrote about it in his book, Kankyō manpitsu, published in 1862.[57] He stated that at the exhibition the three paintings which had been Baiitsu's most treasured possessions were hung together in a tokonoma in a separate room. One of these was the landscape painting by Yang Wen-tsung (plate 22).

This scroll was the most famous painting in Baiitsu's collection, and Baiitsu had acquired it when he was fairly young. At the time Baiitsu was living in Nagoya previous to his move to Kyoto in 1832, it was offered for sale. Baiitsu saw the painting and longed for it so much that he sold his various possessions in order to raise the large sum (fifty oku of gold) needed to purchase it. The painting became one of Baiitsu's most precious possessions. Rai San'yō heard about it and came to visit Baiitsu wearing formal samurai robes. When Baiitsu saw San'yō he thanked him deeply for showing such respect (by wearing formal dress). Thereupon San'yō laughed and stated that he was wearing ceremonial robes not to offer respect to Baiitsu, but in honor of the Yang Wen-tsung painting which he then inspected reverently. Afterwards, upon hearing the circumstances surrounding Baiitsu's purchase of the painting, he expressed his high regard for Baiitsu by composing a poem

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[57] Mori, Chosakushū, p.242.

which he presented to Baiitsu.[58] San'yō at that time also wrote an inscription dated in accordance with the third day of the ninth month of 1831, on the box lid of the Yang Wen-tsung painting.[59] Sometime later, Yanagawa Seigan heard that Baiitsu owned this painting and came to view it. Thereupon he too wrote a poem about it for Baiitsu.[60]

This landscape by Yang Wen-tsung had already been in Japan for quite some time when Baiitsu acquired it. Undoubtedly it was extremely famous. Sakaki Hyakusen had once copied it.[61] In Baiitsu's time, several of his friends also made copies of it: Nukina Kaioku in 1856 and Nakabayashi Chikutō.[62] Baiitsu himself copied this painting in 1848 (plate 23) but unfortunately the original painting's location is not known. From the photos of it which survive, Baiitsu's copy appears to be a rather accurate reproduction, complete with an imitation of Yang Wen-tsung's inscription and seals. One other copy of this painting is extant (plate 24), a miniature version now owned by the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City. This remarkable work is most likely a product of some unknown Japanese Nanga painter's hand. Like the original it is done on

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[58]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.225.

[59]San'yō's inscription on the box lid is included in Shokumoku rinrō's entry for the Yang Wen-tsung painting.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Hyakusen's copy is illustrated in: James Cahill, "The Styles of Sakaki Hyakusen" part 3, in Bijutsu shi 107, plate 4 (after a photo from the files of the Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties).

[62]The whereabouts of Chikutō's copy is not known, but its existence is mentioned in an article which reproduces Kaioku's copy in: Yoshizawa Chū, "Nukina Kaioku hitsu, ōshokukizu;" "Nukina Kaioku hitsu, mo Yang Wen-tsung kōzan koteizu;" "Nukina Kaioku hitsu, bokutakezu," Kokka 932, pps.29-31.

satin. Its likeness to the original is so accurate that when comparing a photo of the original with it, one is hard pressed to say they are not the same work.

These copies of Yang Wen-tsung's painting are by no means unique, for a common method of painters of both China and Japan to enrich their study of painting styles and techniques was to make copies of older Chinese paintings which they saw. These could be tracing copies or just freehand imitations. Many artists relied heavily on this method of study in their youth. As mentioned previously, Baiitsu and Chikutō had both copied the Chieh-tzu yuan hua-chuan while very young, and Chikutō had copied one hundred and twenty six Chinese paintings while he was in Kyoto in 1802-1803 for Uchida Rancho.

The paintings by Li K'an (plate 25) and Wang Mien (plate 26) that Chikutō and Baiitsu had viewed together with Kamiya Ten'yū at Banshō-ji in Nagoya served as models for paintings by the two young artists.[63] As expected, Baiitsu copied Wang Mien's painting (plate 27) while Chikutō copied Li Kan's (plate 28). Unfortunately, Chikutō's and Baiitsu's copies may no longer be extant, there are only small photographs available which make a detailed comparison with the originals difficult. However, the dark outlines for the rocks in the copies, especially in Chikutō's painting, display a hesitancy in the handling of the brush, and neither copy contains the lengthy inscriptions from the original paintings. Since the captions for these paintings indicate they were painted prior to the time Chikutō and Baiitsu journeyed to Kyoto together (presumably this information comes from the inscriptions

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[63]These two paintings are listed on page three of Dōge yokun.

written on the paintings by Baiitsu and Chikutō, but are unreadable in the small photos), perhaps the above-mentioned deviations from the originals are indications of Chikutō's and Baiitsu's youthful inexperience with this type of work.

Japanese Nanga painters would often continue to copy Chinese paintings they were shown throughout their careers, as a method of studying the work deeply, and to create a record for their own future reference. Patrons might also have requested such copies, and this may be the case with Baiitsu's copy of his own painting by Yang Wen-tsung which he dated to 1848.

Unfortunately, although many Nanga artists are recorded to have made copies of Chinese paintings, extant verifiable copies are relatively scarce for most artists, and for those which do exist, the original Chinese works are even fewer in number. Despite this fact, other than his copies of Yang Wen-tsung's Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan and Wang Mien's Plum Branch, at least six copies of Chinese paintings by Baiitsu are extant, although the originals from which his copies were produced are not all known.

In addition to the Wang Mien and Li K'an paintings owned by the Imperial Household Collection and the landscape by Yang Wen-tsung which were included in the Dōge yokun exhibition of 1862, a landscape by Lan Ying (plate 29) was also shown there,[64] which is known today only through photographs. This painting must have been in Nagoya for a long time by then, for as discussed earlier, it had been freely copied by Niwa Kagen (plate 30). In Kagen's copy the seals and inscriptions

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[64]See: Dōge yokun, p.7a.

present in the original were not included. Baiitsu also copied this painting (plate 31), but his version is much closer to the original. Baiitsu also wrote out the inscription and painted in the seals by hand, signing his name and adding his own seals after that.

Perhaps Baiitsu's fondness for Chinese antiquities prompted him to copy a painting by Ch'en Hung-shou, Bamboo and Plum Blossom Branches in a Vase (plate 32). This is one of the few paintings by Baiitsu of this subject matter. The Ch'en Hung-shou painting upon which Baiitsu based his copy is not known today.[65]

In 1837, Baiitsu painted a landscape (plate 33) which, as will be shown later, is distinctly different from his usual style for landscapes at that time. Although he does not acknowledge his indebtedness to any particular Chinese source, stylistic comparison with Chinese paintings indicate that it may indeed be a direct copy of some now lost painting. It is close compositionally to a number of late Ming paintings of a type whose compositional format is based on Yuan dynasty prototypes.[66] The

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[65]Professor James Cahill thinks it is after a good work of Ch'en's middle period, roughly the 1630s. A painting by Ch'en Hung-shou in the Morse collection contains a vase which could almost be the same vase as in Baiitsu's picture; this work has a middle-period signature. See: Roderick Whitfield, In Pursuit of Antiquity (Tokyo, 1969), plate 7. According to Professor Cahill, many people consider the Morse painting to be a forgery, but he thinks it may be a poor quality painting of Chen's middle period, for many of his works of that time are done in "this sort of popularizing, heavy-handed style that is hard to reconcile with his late works." Furthermore, he feels "it is just that kind of `low-class' Ch'en Hung-shou that is likely to have come to Japan." This opinion was obtained through personal correspondence with Professor Cahill.

[66]See for example, landscapes by Ni Yuan-lu and Fang I-chih in: Osvald Siren, Chinese Painting--Leading Masters and Principles (New York, 1956), volume 6, plate 302A for Ni Yuan-lu's painting and plate 368A for Fang I-chih's painting.

heavily accentuated dots on the foreground boulders, and the dots and angular build-up of the cliff formation are perhaps closest to Wen Cheng-ming's Landscape of the Red Cliff.[67] In 1842, the calligrapher Ichikawa Suian, the adopted son of Ichikawa Beian, inscribed a poem written in clerical script on Baiitsu's painting. As Beian was an important collector of Chinese paintings it may be that Baiitsu painted this for Beian's son who shared his fondness for Chinese paintings, or that Baiitsu based his painting on one in Beian's collection, which Baiitsu would certainly have known.

A Chinese painting that Baiitsu copied in 1847 is a now unknown Branch of Prunus, by Wang Mien (plate 34). Like several of his other copies, Baiitsu wrote out the inscriptions which appeared on the original and hand-painted the seals. Upon close examination, one can tell that this is a tracing copy of the original, for there are faint grey lines underneath some of the flower petals and along the edges of the branches. Baiitsu nevertheless managed to convey a sense of spontaneity in the brushwork while closely adhering to Wang Mien's original design. Unlike the composition of the painting by Wang Mien that Baiitsu had copied earlier in his life, in this scroll, a branch emerges from the top corner of the painting and extends down towards the central portion of the picture with a broad, sweeping movement. Although the original upon which Baiitsu based his version is not known at this time, it closely resembles one now in the Masaki Art Museum in

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[67]Richard Edwards, The Art of Wen Cheng-ming (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976), plate LXIV. This painting, although attributed to Wen Cheng-ming in Professor Edwards' catalogue, looks to some experts like a later forgery of Wen's style.

Osaka, Japan.[68] As will be shown in the following chapter, this painting by Baiitsu stands out as unique among his plum paintings; neither the composition nor distinctive brushwork seems to have interested Baiitsu much for they do not appear again.

Not all Baiitsu's copies of Chinese paintings emphasized strict fidelity to the original. In 1835 he painted a pair of landscapes (plates 35-36) which although not so inscribed, are undoubtedly copies of the pair of landscapes owned by the Kōtō-in of Daitoku-ji which have been attributed to the Sung dynasty artist, Li T'ang (plates 37-38). Baiitsu's versions have completely transformed the originals which had been dominated by axe-blade strokes and areas of wash. In Baiitsu's paintings, the angularity of the rocks is derived from line rather than wash, and the texture of the craggy forms comes from overlapping layers of brushwork and small scattered groupings of dots. The dramatic composition of the originals, which may have been parts of one large painting, is basically preserved intact, but Baiitsu added the summits of the peaks which had been cut off from view in the originals, and divided the mountain forms into small parts, adding a greater number of details. These changes have altered the basic mood felt in the original paintings. While the mountains in the originals were dramatic and monumental in scale, in Baiitsu's paintings there is greater stability and solidity to the forms, and the small figures seem less overwhelmed and threatened by the surrounding landscape. It is not certain that Baiitsu actually based his copies directly on the originals. He may

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[68]It is illustrated in: Kawakami Kei and Toda Teisuke, Tōrai kaiga (Nihon kaigakan volume 12) (Tokyo, 1971), plate 48.

have based his versions on a second-hand source, such as Tani Buncho's numerous versions of these landscapes.[69] However, Buncho's interpretations of these Koto-in paintings seem very different from Baiitsu's, more closely adhering to the originals in both brushwork and composition.

Baiitsu's friend Chikuto aspired so deeply to be like the Chinese literati painters that he inscribed on many of his works that they were after a particular Chinese literati painter of the past. By Chikuto's time, this had long been standard practice in China as well as among Nanga painters in Japan. Except for on his copies of Chinese paintings, Baiitsu almost never inscribed a Chinese painter's name. The one exception of this practice known to me is a landscape by Baiitsu dated 1848 (plate 39) which he inscribed as being after the "brush idea" of the painter Wang Chien-chang (active c.1625-1644), a late Ming artist from Fukien. Although Baiitsu's inscription stated he copied Wang's brush idea, he really copied more than that, for the exact painting he saw is still known (plate 40) and closely resembles Baiitsu's work in composition as well as brushwork. Baiitsu's painting was a free interpretation of Wang's. He added several boats on the water, changed the position of the houses in the right foreground, and placed several new structures in the left middleground. He also changed the rocks and shoreline around a bit, and altered the shape of the tall cliff on the right. However, for the cliff, he retained the dramatic light and dark

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[69]Some are illustrated in: Miyeko Murase, Japanese Art--Selections from the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection (New York, 1975), catalogue number 81; Tochigi kenritsu bijutsukan, Edo nanga no sosui--Tani Buncho (Tochigi, 1979), plates 95-97; and Kanagawa kenritsu hakubutsukan, Edo ha no kaiga: Tani Buncho no gagyo o saguru (Kanagawa, 1979), p.41.

contrasts of the original.

Baiitsu's literati education in Nagoya began at a time when Nanga painters there were seriously immersed in the study of Chinese painting. He must have realized that a deep understanding of Chinese painting was crucial to his development as a mature Nanga painter. Thus he became a dedicated Sinophile who collected Chinese paintings, calligraphies, and antiques. His study of Chinese antiquities and paintings was so deep that he became a well-known connoisseur asked to authenticate pieces brought to him. So renowned was he for this that his friends organized two exhibitions of Chinese paintings and calligraphies in his honor. Baiitsu furthered his knowledge of Chinese painting techniques by producing fairly accurate copies of Chinese works available for him to look at, and created some less than precise copies which showed his originality. Furthermore, Baiitsu must also have been aware of the painting styles of many of the Chinese painters who came to Japan during his lifetime and were teachers of his friends and other contemporaries.

Baiitsu's Poetry

Baiitsu's interests from childhood also included poetry. Although the only known haiku by Baiitsu was written together with some friends after his return to Nagoya in 1854, Baiitsu was known to have associated with some local haiku poets during his youth. One of Baiitsu's earliest paintings is a portrait (plate 41) of the haiku poet, Takeda Kiroku

(1736-1810),[70] the grandfather of one of Baiitsu's painting pupils, Takeda Kateki (1793-1868). Inscribed on the painting is a haiku by Inoue Shirō (1742-1812),[71] the leading haiku poet of Nagoya of that time.

When Baiitsu was young, he wrote poetry mainly in Chinese (kanshi),[72] despite the fact that he must have been familiar with other poetic forms such as haiku and waka. This indicates further that he had a strong devotion to the mastery of Chinese learning at that time. His teachers in Chinese poetry were the Confucian scholars of Nagoya, Hata Kanae and Okuda Ōkoku. Baiitsu's close friendship with Ōkubo Shibutsu and other Chinese style poets of Edo and Kyoto, must also have influenced him. Baiitsu did not frequently inscribe poems on his paintings. On one painting dated 1854, Baiitsu inscribed a poem by the

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[70]Kiroku was from a family of Seishū that owned a liquor shop. He was a patron of the haiku poet, Hisamura Gyodai, and after the latter's death, studied with the haiku poet, Inoue Shiro. See: Ichihashi Sanagi and Myōbe Tokujiro, Chukyo haijin kosetsu (Nagoya, 1977), p.49. Throughout his career, Baiitsu painted some figure paintings, but usually in a more relaxed and sketch-like style. The style of this portrait resembles closely a portrait of Yosa Buson by Cho Gessho (plate 42). Thus, it may be plausible to consider that Baiitsu's painting was done when he was studying under Gessho, or at a time when he was heavily influenced by him. Since the exact dates of their association are unknown, it is impossible to say for sure if Baiitsu painted it before or after his sojourn to Kyoto in 1802-1803. However, as Kiroku looks rather frail and elderly in the picture, perhaps it was completed around the time of his death in 1810.

[71]Shirō was a pupil of the poet, Hisamura Gyōdai, a friend of Yosa Buson. He also studied kokugaku ("national learning") with the famous scholar, Motoori Norinaga, who will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. See: Daijinmei jiten, volume 1, pp.340-341; and Tabei, Chukyo gadan, p.242.

[72]Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, from Hosono Yōsai's Juka zatsudan. As will be shown in the following discussion, the majority of Baiitsu's poetry in Chinese can be dated prior to about 1840.

T'ang dynasty Chinese poet, Tu Mu,[73] and on another already discussed, he wrote out a poem by the T'ang dynasty tea master Lu Yu. However, of nine or so kanshi known to me that Baiitsu wrote, only four are found on known paintings by Baiitsu, a miniscule fraction of his total output as a painter.

The Japanese have a long tradition of writing in Chinese. The periods in which it was most popular coincided with times of closest contacts with China, and the Tokugawa era is considered the last of these. During the Tokugawa era, Confucian studies were promoted by the shoguns in order to encourage public morality and social stability. National and regional schools of Confucian learning were established by the government, and eventually private schools were opened as well. Originally, writing poetry in Chinese was eschewed in favor of writing moralistic and philosophical Confucian essays. Gradually, this changed as Confucian scholars' interests broadened to include the study of Chinese literature and poetry.[74]

Kanshi of the Tokugawa era has been divided by Donald Keene into three periods. In the first period, from 1596 to 1687, very few poets were active, most scholars of Chinese were still strictly adhering to their Confucian studies. An exception was Ichikawa Jōzan, whose poetry

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[73]Chinese University of Hong Kong. Institute of Chinese Studies. Literati Paintings from Japan, plate 44.

[74]For more detailed information on the development of kanshi in Edo period Japan, see: Burton Watson, translator, Japanese Literature in Chinese, volume II (New York, 1976), pp.6-7.

was "the avocation of a hermit."[75] The second period, 1687-1771, was characterized by poets such as Gion Nankai (1677-1751), one of the founders of Nanga painting in Japan, who wrote elegant nature poems.[76] By the third period, 1771-1868, the number of poets had increased dramatically, and the best ones became professionals who earned their living as writers and not as Confucian scholars.[77] Collections of kanshi soon appeared and the popularity of poetry in Chinese grew to such an extent that it came to rival native verse forms in popular appeal.[78] Societies of kanshi poets were organized, and it may well have been at gatherings such as those he attended at Suisetsurō in Nagoya that Baiitsu first began to write Chinese poetry of his own.

Poetry in Chinese reached its height in popularity at around the same time as Nanga painting and sencha. These Chinese-inspired arts were practiced by the scholars and intellectuals of the time, and kanshi in particular became the means by which scholars loyal to the Emperor voiced their protest of the shoguns' rule. As expressed by Burton Watson, "kanshi, far from being a mere literary appendage, as in certain periods of the past, became one of the most potent and influential mediums of expression in the intellectual world of the time."[79]

Two of Baiitsu's friends, Rai San'yō and Yanagawa Seigan, were considered to be among the greatest of the kanshi poets of the age, and

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[75]Keene, World Within Walls, p.540.

[76]Ibid., pp.542-543.

[77]Ibid., p.544.

[78]Watson, Japanese Literature in Chinese, volume II, p.8.

[79]Ibid., p.12.

both these men occasionally wrote poems with strong Loyalist sentiments. Baiitsu's temperament was different, however, and his poems were apolitical in subject matter, escapist rather than rebellious. Baiitsu was by nature a romantic, who was concerned with art and lofty scholarly ideals. Management of business affairs he left to his wife, just as he kept out of contemporary political involvement. The subjects for his poems are derived from his personal interests. Therefore, it is natural that as illustrated by these following two poems, kanshi by Baiitsu had sencha as themes.[80]

I choose a stone and place there the polished pot.
Drawing water from the falls, I wipe the tea utensils.
In the forest we linger long,
laughing at the white clouds hurrying about in the sky.

選石安鼎鑠
汲泉拭旗槍
林中露座久
唉向白雲忙

The sound and smell of brewing tea linger in the dead of night.
In my small study, alone, I roll up my scrolls.
Through the gauze window, the moon's pale shadow starts to rise;
This is the time which this hermit loves the best.

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[80]They are included in: Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.212-213.

遅漏夜香聞熟茶
帷書捲独幽斎小
上初月淡影窓紗
時旬得人山是正

These two poems are personal and introspective. The latter poem is actually more concerned with the mood and atmosphere of the night than with sencha. In it, Baiitsu expressed his fondness for the hermit's way of life--solitariness, quietness, simple pleasures--and this theme is also expressed in the following poem which he wrote on a large landscape of his dated 1853 (plate 161). In the inscription on the painting, Baiitsu stated that he wrote the poem many years before.

Not a single visitor passes through my gate;
After rain, silken moss carpets the path.
Birdsongs permeate the stillness of spring,
While bamboo creates shadows in the setting sun.

盡口柴門無客過
雨餘苔經綠如羅
山禽呼眄春幽寂
滿院斜陽竹影多

Baiitsu seems not to be saddened by his solitude, for his poem vividly expresses his delight in the scenery of the natural world around him.

These last three poems are all rather short, and express Baiitsu's feelings in simple and direct terms. Baiitsu also wrote some poems in which the descriptive imagery was more elaborate. One of these is Baiitsu's poem about snow and flowers, published in Shibutsu's Saibokuyū shiso of 1824, and translated in Chapter Two, pp.51-52. In that poem, the descriptive style is closer to Shibutsu's as well. Following are two other poems of this type, which Baiitsu wrote in Edo in 1815 and

which were published in Kikuchi Gozan's Gozandō shiwa.[81]

Bokusui Visits Plum Villa

A forest pavilion dressed for spring, warm snow all piled up;
A boat moored near the house by the shore.
I am an old hermit who enjoys plum blossoms,
And takes endless delight in searching for poems in plum groves.

林荘春暖雪成堆
已有游般繋水隈
我是梅花舊遺逸
不妨探詩幾千回

Shinobazu Pond

Piercing the water's surface,
Emerging from the depth--lotuses--palaces of stems and pearls,
Flowers cover all the water in sight,
And their perfume drifts with the breeze
over pavilions and terraces.

界破瑠璃一経通
泥心湧出蘂珠宮
荷花十里如無水
香散樓臺面々風

The following poem is also among those by Baiitsu which utilized more ornate imagery. In the second line, the mention of the Liang Garden is a reference to a garden built by Emperor Liang Hsiao of the Han dynasty, and described later in a poem by the T'ang dynasty poet, Tu Fu. Baiitsu seems to be equating his garden with this famous Chinese garden of the distant past. This poem Baiitsu inscribed on his own

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[81]These poems are included in: Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, p.239, from Nanso meiga shoden.

undated painting of Plum Branch in the Snow (plate 56).

Jade-like fragment of ice vie with the white flowers;
At dawn, the colors in the Liang Garden fill the heart with praise.
Scenery of the distant mountains rivals scenery of a solitary peak;
Like snowflakes mingling with plum blossoms.
Their charms compete--the victor is not yet determined;
Envious of the fragrant plums,
the snow conceals but cannot overwhelm them.
Old age closes in, last night I held rituals
For the two treasures--
preserving the spirit and attaining longevity.

玉 屑 氷 姿 戰 白 華
梁 園 曉 色 賞 心 加
群 山 景 併 孤 山 景
六 出 花 交 五 出 花
爭 艷 品 評 猶 未 決
妒 香 埋 沒 竟 難 遮
老 促 昨 夜 爲 持 呪
雙 璧 精 神 保 得 嘉

In quite another spirit is Baiitsu's brief poem about sake which he inscribed on his own haiga style painting of a gourd (plate 43), done in 1848.[82]

Sake is better than any medicine;
Sake and I are the best of friends.

百 藥 不 如 酒
酒 觚 與 我 親

In addition to writing poetry in Chinese, Baiitsu was fond of composing waka. He had first been exposed to waka during his childhood, as his mother was capable in the art, but he was especially good at it

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[82]This poem was translated for me by John Stevens.

in his later years.[83] Baiitsu's surviving kanshi are few, but there are numerous examples of his waka still extant. This must be indicative of Baiitsu's strong affinity for certain Japanese sensibilities which are best expressed in this native form of poetry.

Waka, literally "poetry in Japanese," was among the earliest forms of poetry in Japan. Sometimes called tanka ("short song") or uta ("song"), it contains five lines with a total of thirty-one syllables. The first and third lines each have five syllables, the others, seven. The lyric and elegant quality of waka is often considered an embodiment of pure Japanese sentiments. The great Japanese poetry anthologies from the tenth century on utilize this form, and often they are arranged by themes such as the seasons (from spring to winter), love, travels through Japan, or lamentation.[84]

The first statement of the ideals of poetry was written in 905 by Ki no Tsurayuki in the preface to the anthology, Kokin waka shū. There, he enumerated the circumstances under which men wrote poetry, as for example:

> When they looked at the scattered cherry blossoms of a spring morning; when they listened on an autumn evening to the falling of the leaves; when they sighed over the snow and waves reflected with each passing year by their looking-glasses; when they were startled into thoughts on the brevity of their lives by seeing the dew on the grass or the foam on the water; or when yesterday, all proud and splendid, they have fallen from fortune into loneliness; or

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[83]Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, p.241, from Hosono Yōsai's Juka zatsudan.

[84]John M. Rosenfield, Fumiko E. Cranston, and Edwin A. Cranston, The Courtly Tradition in Japanese Art and Literature (Harvard University, 1973), p.138.

[85]From: Donald Keene, "Feminine Sensibility in the Heian Era," in Landscapes and Portraits, Appreciations of Japanese Culture (Tokyo, 1971), p.29.

when having been dearly loved, they are neglected.[85]

In these instances, focus on a specific time or event is set in contrast with the timeless changes of the universe. To the Japanese, these changes are melancholy, for they accentuate the evanescence of life. Thus, the beauty of a given moment is rendered more profound precisely because it does not last forever. The Japanese call this beauty mono no aware, and it is this sentiment which imparts to waka its expressive vitality.

The waka, a courtly form of poetry, was by the Edo period rather old-fashioned, especially in contrast with haiku poetry which attracted the best poets of the age. Nevertheless, its popularity was "justified in terms of devotion to sacred Japanese ideals."[86]

Especially during the early Edo period, many waka poets were associated with kokugaku, or "national learning," in contrast with Buddhist or Confucian studies.[87] The birth of kokugaku is often ascribed to Kada no Azumamaro (1669-1736), who was born into a family which had for generations been Shinto priests and scholars of Shinto traditions.[88]

In 1728, Azumamaro failed in his attempt to establish a School of National Learning, whose purpose would have been to preserve the heritage of Japan. Sixty years later, the school was established, and soon after that, in 1795 the preface to the first published book of

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[86]Keene, World Within Walls, p.303.

[87]Ibid., p.301.

[88]Ibid., p.310.

Azumamaro's waka was written by Ueda Akinari.[89]

After Azumamaro, the most important and influential kokugaku scholar of the second half of the eighteenth century was Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801). He wrote voluminously on Shinto thought, philology, and native Japanese literature, contributing greatly to the revival of interest in all these areas. Born in Matsuzaka near Ise, he studied medicine in Kyoto, then returned home to devote himself entirely to his studies. Norinaga wrote critical commentaries on The Tale of Genji, expounding the necessity for others to read it as it "cultivated one's sensitivity to mono no aware, and beyond that, the Way."[90] He also composed waka, eschewing other forms of poetry because they had grown out of waka, and one should return to the "core."[91]

Norinaga's emphasis on the study of the Japanese past, especially that which was associated with times of Imperial supremacy, fostered the call for the Restoration of Imperial power. Because of his influence, the study of kokugaku and the composition of poetry in the waka form, became a means by which those sympathetic with the Loyalist cause could express their feelings without overtly offending the Shogunate. Furthermore, Norinaga's idealization of the past was embraced by artists such as Tanaka Totsugen, Baiitsu's friend from Nagoya, who was a founder of the fukko yamato-e movement in painting, and other fukko yamato-e artists, Okada Tamechika (1823-1864) and Ukita Ikkei (1795-1859) who were all strong Loyalists.

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[89]Ibid., p.312.

[90]Ibid., p.327.

[91]Ibid., pp.320-330.

The study of kokugaku was embraced by Confucian scholars as well. Baiitsu's teacher, Hata Kanae, was a kokugaku scholar, and it is thought that Rai San'yō's studies of Japanese history prompted him to become a Loyalist.[92] One of Motoori Norinaga's pupils was Baiitsu's patron and friend, Uchida Rancho.[93] There is also a tradition that Baiitsu himself studied with Norinaga.[94] Yet, according to the daughter of Baiitsu's adopted son, Baisho, since Norinaga had died when Baiitsu was just nineteen, his teacher was probably Ōdate Takakado (1766-1839)[95] or Uematsu Yūshin (1754-1813).[96] However, as pupils were frequently apprenticed at a young age, and Baiitsu's mother was interested in educating her son, Baiitsu's association with Norinaga is not implausible, especially in light of the connection between Norinaga and Rancho. That Baiitsu knew and admired Norinaga is evident. One of Baiitsu's paintings, A Shrine Garden, shows a grove of Cypress trees. In the upper right-hand portion of the painting, a large square of paper has been pasted in place, and it contains a waka written by Motoori

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[92]Ibid., p.551.

[93]Tsuruta, "Totoki Baigai's Letters Addressed to Uchida Rancho," in Kokka 1039, p.42.

[94]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.210.

[95]Takakado, originally from Nagoya, was a kokugaku scholar and a waka poet, who, by 1834 had moved to Kyoto. See: the exhibition announcement for 1834 in Nagoyashi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaigashi--nanga, plate 135: and Ueda Mannen, Kokugakuha denki shūsei (Tokyo, 1934), volume 2, p.1042. He was from a wealthy family whose shops in Nagoya and Kyoto sold silk damask. Takakado was also a painter, was fond of sencha, and collected Chinese paintings and antiquities. See: Tabei, Chukyo gadan, pp.177-178.

[96]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.210-211. Yūshin was a kokugaku scholar and waka poet of Nagoya who was a disciple of Motoori Norinaga. See: Ueda Mannen, Kokugakusha denki shusei, volume 1, p.784.

Norinaga.[97] Several of Baiitsu's waka contain allusions to Heian period literature, and from other evidence, we know that Baiitsu had been interested in the study of the Japanese past. However, most of his waka and other writings remain free from overt references to kokugaku studies. Thus, Norinaga's influence on Baiitsu is diffucult to document.

A major waka poet of the early nineteenth century, and the central figure in Kyoto poetry circles was Kagawa Kageki (1768-1843). He admonished waka poets to write about their own lives and experiences and not to dwell on descriptions of famous places and events they had never known. Furthermore, he felt poets should utilize the language of their own time instead of the antiquated phrases of the poets of the past.[98] One of the chief archaisims Kageki abhored was the makura kotoba or "pillow word." This was a "kind of fixed epithet standing generally at the head of a poem and modifying place names, features of the landscape, etc. Many had become unintelligible and were used mainly to impart dignity to a poem."[99] There is no documentation linking Baiitsu with Kageki, but because of Kageki's prominence, Baiitsu must surely have been aware of him. Furthermore, Kageki was known to be an associate of Baiitsu's good friend, Ōkubo Shibutsu, and Shibutsu even wrote a poem

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[97]See: Nihonga taisei vol.11 (Nanshūga III), plate 73.

[98]Keene, World Within Walls, p.491.

[99]Ibid., p.576.

for Kageki which he included in his 1818 Saiyū shiso.[100] Baiitsu's poems were most frequently written in the straightforeward language favored by Kageki, though occasionally he inserted makura kotoba or other obscure references. Baiitsu's waka may be found included in some poetry anthologies,[101] included in Kanematsu's book,[102] and written out on his own uta-e (pictures accompanying waka poetry). Baiitsu painted a number of uta-e, some with waka by himself inscribed upon them, and some inscribed with poems by other people. In general Baiitsu's paintings of this type are quite simple; they contain a minimal amount of brushwork and are small in format--fans or narrow hanging scrolls (plates 44-47).

Most of the subjects for Baiitsu's waka are derived from the natural world around him; flowers, birds, and other seasonal imagery such as snow and autumn foliage. Often incorporated into his poems are references to places Baiitsu visited such as Omi on Lake Biwa, and Katsura Mountain in Nara Prefecture. These places are mentioned in the

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[100]See: Mori, Chosakushū, vol. 4, p.233.

[101]One anthology was Kamogawa saburō shū, edited by Nagasawa Tomoo (1808-1859), a pupil of Motoori Norinaga's adopted son, Motoori Taihei, and a member of the Wakayama branch of the Tokugawa family. This book was published in 1851, and was one of Tomoo's most important works. See: Daijinmei jiten, volume 4, page 529. Several other anthologies which contained Baiitsu's poems were Shiro shū; Goro shū; and Meisho kashū, edited by Kajio Mitsuhisa and published in Wakayama in 1851 and 1854. That these anthologies, as well as others not specified, contain poems by Baiitsu is discussed in: Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, p.242.

[102]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.211-212 includes nineteen poems but does not state if any of them had been published previously, and only two are verified as having once been in accompaniment to paintings.

two poems below.[103]

Plovers on the Lake

iku tabika	Many many times
kaeri nakuran	coming and going,crying out
afumi no ya	on the lake at Omi
yaso no minato o	or hovering by the docks,
meguru chidori no	plovers circling around.

Early Spring Nightingale

uchinabiku	Flowing grasses abound,
haru wa kururashi	spring seems to have come.
aoyagi no	Amidst the green willows
Katsuragi yama ni	of Katsura Mountain,
uguisu no naku	the cry of the nightingale.

These two poems are direct in their meaning, although uchinabiku is a makura kotoba. Both poems, through mention of birds, make reference to the season of spring.

Autumn and winter respectively are the subjects for the following poems by Baiitsu. Baiitsu painted a fan (plate 44) with a sketch of a scarecrow and accompanied it with the following poem.

ayaniku ni	How unfortunate that
yamada no sohozu	even I,
onore sae	the scarecrow in the field
sabishisa sohetsu	add to the loneliness
aki no yube no	of the autumn evening.

Wild Insects

aki no no no	In the autumn field,
hagi no nishiki o	a brocade of bush clover--
hitafuru ni	ceaselessly chirping,
hataori mushi no	the grasshopper
onokato zo naku	claims it for his own.

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[103]Ibid., p.211.

The above poem is inscribed upon an uta-e fan painting by Baiitsu (plate 45) and it is also included in Kanematsu's book.[104]

When I See the Autumn Foliage I Understand

momijiba o koku mo usuku somemu to ya haremi kumorimi uchishigurekemu

The maple leaves whose colors
range from dark to light,
seem dyed by the
sometime clear and sometime cloudy sky,
drenched by autumn showers.

This poem is written on a hanging scroll without the accompaniment of a painting.[105]

This next poem is included in the poetry anthology, Meisho kashū. In the 1854 edition, it is found in the third volume, in the back of the twenty-fifth section.

Snow

atataka ni mienu mono yue shiranui no Tsukushi no wata ni nitaru yuki kana

Not seeming to be
warm, yet resembling
the floss-silk of Tsukushi
the snow !

This poem was based on the following one from the Man'yō-shū, volume III number 336:[106]

shiranui Tsukushi no wata wa mi ni tsukete imada wa kinedo atatakeku miyu

Keeping it with me,
I have yet to put it on.
But it looks warm,
This floss-silk from Tsukushi.

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[104]Ibid., p.212.

[105]See: Okayama-shi Tenmanya Okayama-ten bijutsubu, Shumi dai ni no kai chakake ten, undated auction catalogue.

[106]Translated by Ian Hideo Levy in The Ten Thousand Leaves (Princeton, 1981), p.186.

Tsukushi was a place in Kyushu, famous for its production of floss-silk. In both Baiitsu's poem and the one from the Man'yōshū, "shiranui" is a makura kotoba referring to Tsukushi.[107]

In these last two waka the words are skillfully manipulated to create striking imagery. In the poem about autumn foliage, there is the image of maple leaves dyed like cloth by the autumn showers, and in the snow poem, the subject of snow, not introduced until the last line, is contrasted with the warmth of the floss-silk of Tsukushi.

Baiitsu's fondness for sencha also influenced his choice of subjects for waka. He painted two versions (one dated 1850) of a kyūsu or teapot for sencha (plates 46-47), and accompanied both these paintings with the same poem which follows.

chihaya hito	The vigorous
uji no konome o	tea leaves of Uji,
niru nabe ni	in the boiling water,
izayo nami no	make a sound
otosae zo suru	like waves.

The first line of the poem is a makura kotoba. It associates the place, Uji, with the word "clan," also Uji, and has the meaning "strength" or "vitality," because a clan is very powerful. Baiitsu's description of the water bubbling like waves is probably derived from a remark made by Lu Yu in his Ch'a Ching.[108] It is uncertain which painting was done first, as only one is dated. They are very different in feeling; the one dated 1850 is rather detailed while the other is a much

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[107] Shiranui has the meaning of a "sea fire" and came to be associated with Tsukushi because mysterious flames could be seen off the coast of Tsukushi in the evening.

[108] See: Lu Yu, The Classic of Tea, translated by Francis Ross Carpenter (Boston, 1974), p.107.

smaller-scale work conveying greater intimacy.[109] Baiitsu must have been very fond of this poem to have included it on two of his paintings.

One of Baiitsu's most favored subjects for painting was the bamboo plant, one of the "Three Friends of Winter," and Baiitsu sometimes depicted it blowing in the wind. Although such depictions are standard, since Baiitsu was a keen observer of nature and fond of sketching from life, it is not unlikely that his representations of bamboo blowing in the wind, which will be discussed in the following chapter, were at least in part derived from his first-hand observations. The following poem supports this assumption.[110]

mado chikaku	Near my window,
isasa mura take	a small bamboo grove;
ueshi yori	ever since planting it,
otozure taenu	it is visited ceaselessly
kaze zo ureshiki	by delightful breezes.

Like many waka poets, Baiitsu occasionally took images from the past, especially historical references to the Heian period, as themes for his poems. One poem he wrote on the occasion of the six hundred and fiftieth year memorial service for the poet-priest Saigyō (1118-1190). It was held at Hōrin-ji, a place whose cherry trees Saigyō had found so beautiful that he wrote a poem about them. Since Saigyō's time the cherry trees there were called "Saigyōzakura." While Baiitsu was at the

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[109]The teapot in this latter painting resembles in form one in an uta-e by Matsumura Goshun which is accompanied by waka written by Ueda Akinari. See: Matsuda Osamu, Ueda Akinari (Nihon no koten vol. 17) (Tokyo, 1981), plate 7.

[110]This poem is included in Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.212. Baiitsu wrote a short poem in Chinese also about bamboo outside his window, on a painting he did of bamboo blowing in the wind (plate 66). However, that poem expresses feelings quite different from those described here. It is translated in Chapter Four, p.165.

temple, he noticed that the cherry blossoms were just beginning to bloom, and thus he wrote the following poem.[111]

inishihe o	When I ask about
tohamu to sureba	the olden times,
oiki naru	on the ancient tree,
hana no kuchibiru	flowers
hiraki sometsutsu	begin to bloom.

The Tale of Genji was a popular source of inspiration to waka poets, and the following poem may refer to one of its characters, Yugao, "Evening Flower," a woman with whom Genji fell in love, and with whom he had a secret love affair. The fourth line of the poem has the double meaning of "to hide from someone," or "to be in love."[112]

Evening Glories Near the Bamboo Blind

yufugao no	Evening glories blooming
noki o hedatsuru	by the eaves,
shino sudare	behind the bamboo blinds,
tare ni shinobu	as if hiding from view,
kakaru naruran	they hang down.

These last two poems with historical subject matter may have been influenced by Norinaga's emphasis on kokugaku studies. Despite his strong interest in Chinese learning and arts, Baiitsu did not overlook studying the history of his own country. In addition to his interest in waka, he read historical documents, and as mentioned previously, made an inkstone in 1818 together with his friend Hata Kanae in imitation of one presented to an emperor of the Heian period.

While Baiitsu may have first been introduced to the waka form of poetry by Norinaga, Takakado, or Yūshin, his poems are typical of those

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[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid., p.211.

written during the late Edo period in that:

> The Tokugawa poets, whether they wrote of cherry blossoms or of mice, rarely suggest the intensity of the distillation of a powerful experience. A touch of freshness or a suggestion of anger or disappointment is all the individuality we can hope for.
> In part, the severe censorship may have been to blame... but with a few exceptions the waka poets were not politically or socially involved, whether because of fear of the censor or simply out of indifference.[113]

Baiitsu understood well the functional differences between the two forms of poetry, kanshi and waka, which he composed. In his kanshi, Baiitsu expressed affinity with the Chinese literati tradition. Often written in flowery Chinese verse, his poems contain scholarly references to Chinese places and historical figures. They also frequently include descriptions of and allusions to the scholar-recluse's lifestyle; his hobbies (ie. sencha), his untrammeled spirit (ie. love of sake), and his lofty ideals (ie. identification with plums).

Unlike his kanshi which tended to be fuller descriptions of Chinese scholarly values, his waka were terse and expressed purely Japanese sentiments. Baiitsu described Japanese places and historical figures, and displayed his knowledge of ancient poetry anthologies through allusions, use of makura kotoba, and seasonal references. He closely observed and commented on the evanescent natural world. In general, Baiitsu's waka were more descriptive of the external world around him while his kanshi revealed more about his personality and inner feelings. Nevertheless, in both these forms of poetry, Baiitsu remains preoccupied with his own quiet interests and does not directly touch upon the political and social problems which plagued his country at that time.

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[113]Keene, World Within Walls, p.478.

Clearly his poems are reflective of a romantic personality. Perhaps this attitude was his reaction to the harsh social and political climate in which he was forced to live during the closing years of the Tokugawa reign.

Baiitsu's Thoughts on Painting, His Materials and Techniques

Baiitsu was a prolific painter, but he wrote less about his ideas on painting than many of his contemporaries. When only twenty-six (in 1809) he wrote the preface to Chikutō's book, Chikutō Gakō, in which he analyzed Chikutō's painting and personality with the following comments:

> My friend Chikutō has studied Kamiya Ten'yū's paintings and learned how to paint landscapes. His paintings have high rhythm and antique spirit and his brushwork is very old [embodies the ancient heritage]. Finally, he is very outstanding in his own style. Chikuto often mentioned to me that he wanted to study the paintings of the Yuan, but he couldn't find them easily. That's why he selected some paintings of the Ming which are the best among Ming painters and studied them. Now he has [had] carved here his painting manual. Chikutō has copied these masterpieces of the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Although they were carved by [artist's name] these woodblock prints are just like the original paintings, with mountains and streams and the atmosphere of clouds and mist covering the whole album leaf. The trees are green and dense and fill the eye. This we can really call the rarest treasure of landscape. Chikuto's personality is very quiet, pure, and unassuming. He doesn't care about the vulgar life. In his house there is nothing; it is like the sound of hitting a ch'ing [set of Han bells]. That's why his paintings and brushwork are without any vulgar quality. Whatever he copied from old paintings is also very lofty and outstanding. Those people who have good eyes, when the look at his paintings, will be moved.[114]

Baiitsu here expressed his indebtedness to the principles of literati landscape painting as outlined by the great Chinese theoreticians. His

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[114]Andrea Gendler, The Hidden Orchid: The Bunjin Theoretician and Painter Nakabayashi Chikuto (University of Michigan Masters Thesis, 1973),pp.43-44.

reference to Chikutō's painting containing "high rhythm" refers to the Chinese concept of ch'i-yun sheng-tung ("animation through spirit resonance"), which placed spirituality in a painting above mere surface resemblance.[115] Baiitsu also mentioned that Chikutō's brushwork was "very old." This shows his awareness of the importance Chinese literati placed on ku-i ("Chinese classicism" or "the spirit of antiquity"). This became most crucial to literati theory of painting from the time of the Yuan dynasty.[116] Baiitsu added in the next sentence that Chikutō's paintings in his own style achieved excellence, and this may refer to the Chinese Ming dynasty theoretician Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's theory of pien ("transformation"). Tung advocated following the styles of selected old masters, but not without introducing changes. Tung explained that "those who study the work of the masters of the past and cannot transform them are as if they were fenced or walled in. They are far removed from the works of the old masters because they imitate them too closely."[117] That Chikutō expressed a desire to study Yuan dynasty paintings points out his indebtedness to the Ming literati he chose to emulate. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang for example, who synthesized many of the ideas on painting which predominated during the Ming dynasty, had

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[115]For further explanation of these principles see: Osvald Siren, The Chinese on the Art of Painting, (New York, 1963), pp.18-23; and Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, The Art and Architecture of China, (Baltimore, 1971), pp.132-133.

[116]Chao Meng-fu first introduced the concept of ku-i. See: Chu-tsing Li, The Autumn Colors on the Ch'iao and Hua Mountains (Switzerland, 1965), p.70. This idea was amplified by another Yuan critic, T'ang Hou. See: Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971), p.125.

[117]James Cahill, ed., The Restless Landscape: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Period (Berleley, 1971), p.23.

praised Yuan painting above that of other periods[118] and Chikutō often painted in the manner of Huang Kung-wang, whom Tung singled out for special praise above all other painters.[119] Furthermore, the choices of literary names by both Chikutō and Baiitsu were inspired by the names of Yuan dynasty painters.

Equating an artist's personality with his paintings is a concept expressed succinctly by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, but one which had its origins in the words of earlier writers. To Tung, literati were sincere, devoted to nature, and free of low ambitions and sentimentality. They did not need to startle or impress the viewer, so their paintings were free of sweetness and vulgarity.[120] These concepts describe precisely the type of person Chikutō was, as reported by Baiitsu. Chikutō's preference for landscape painting over other subjects was influenced by Chinese literati who, in the words of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, felt that it was a "vehicle for the cultivated man to express his spiritual worth and his apperception of the operating principle of nature."[121]

Baiitsu never seems to have published any statements besides this preface to Chikutō's book which showed his knowledge of Chinese painting theory. However, he is recorded to have had a discussion on this subject with his friend the poet, Wada Tansai, who visited his studio in Nagoya. At first, the two friends just talked, but after drinking

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[118]Siren, The Chinese on the Art of Painting, p.139.

[119]Ibid., pp.136-139. One of Chikutō's earliest works is a Huang Kung-wang style landscape dated 1808, now in the Keigensai collection, Berkeley.

[120]Sickman and Soper, The Art and Architecture of China, p.333.

[121]Ibid.

a suitable amount of sake, they came to discuss painting theory. Baiitsu said:

> People nowadays who study painting place importance on useless refinement and do not work diligently at real tasks. In doing this, for example, there are people who often delude themselves by using wooden swords and cloth helmets instead of real ones. This tendency is not limited to only one type of painter. It is regrettable, but at this time probably the people who sympathize with the followers of Taiga and Buson, or, those who favor the styles of Chinese artists who came to Japan all do not place importance on real things. They make rough and splashy paintings. However, if their paintings in this manner are done with a positive spirit, there is refinement. Not a few delude the world by following the wrong path. I must admonish the world about this. Painters should do their own studies from life, and, moreover, transform them into their own sha-i ["sketches of ideas"]. Painters should first work hard to acheive true images, then later add refinement.[122]

By criticizing the followers of Taiga and Buson as well as painters who followed the styles of Chinese artists who came to Japan, Baiitsu here has criticized a wide variety of Nanga painters active in his time. His view seems based on the fact that all these painters took inspiration from other painters rather than from nature directly. In the time of Baiitsu's maturity as a painter, the styles of Taiga and Buson had largely lost favor. His comments seem not to be a harsh judgement on the works of Taiga and Buson, but rather an admonishment of the weaknesses of their styles as seen in their followers. As for the painters who favored the styles of Chinese artists who came to Japan, the same sort of criticism would apply.

Baiitsu's statement that a painter should do studies from life and transform them into sha-i seems only distantly based on a number of important Chinese literati concepts. It is somewhat related to the Yuan

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[122]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.226-227.

dynasty critic T'ang Hou's views on the subject,[123] and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, for example, recognized the importance of nature as a source of inspiration, and beyond that, acknowledged the individual artist's subjective interpretation of nature.[124]

On another occasion, Baiitsu clarified his viewpoint with the following comments:

> Those who study painting must not concentrate on shapes. They should concentrate first on brushwork. Those people who emphasize form-likeness will produce sick and dead brushwork. Then the paintings which are produced will be comprised of only sick and dead brushwork. It is like following a government ruled by a group of blind people. To be dependent on the forms only and disregard the brush methods, painters cannot attain the inspired brushwork of the ancient Northern and Southern masters, and their work will become like the brocade Tokyo pictures [Ukiyo-e prints] which appeared in the time of Tan'yu and later. The ancients said that true painting is not only the copying of colors, or imitating forms. If painters follow these guidelines, then the true nature of the mountains, rivers, grasses, trees, people, fowl, animals and birds will appear. If painters understand these concepts and brush methods, and base the picture's forms and images on their own nature, they can at once draw vigorously and freely all that they wish to depict. If their ideas are based on other people's paintings, the forms are limited and the results will suffer.[125]

Baiitsu's comments, loosely based on Chinese literati theory, are largely his own ideas. However, Baiitsu's emphasis on brushwork over form-likeness seems close to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang who pointed out more lucidly than earlier writers that "painting has no chance in competition with nature; the value of the painter's creation depends on the brushwork and on his faculty of transmitting the inner meaning of what

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[123]Bush, The Chinese Literati on Painting, p.126.

[124]Cahill, The Restless Landscape, p.20 quotes Tung's statement that "all truth exists only in the mind so that to learn from nature is to learn from one's mind; to return to the past is to return to one's mind."

[125]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, pp.227-228.

he paints, and those who consider pictures as representations of outward forms are like children."[126] Unlike Tung though, Baiitsu's highest emphasis was on transformation of nature, while Tung Ch'i-ch'ang stressed the importance of learning from the ancient models. In practice though, Baiitsu did not totally overlook Tung's point, for he did study Chinese paintings so deeply that, as discussed earlier, he copied a number of Chinese paintings. Baiitsu's independent point of view is obvious for he expressed an admiration for the inspired brushwork of both the Northern and Southern school masters, something to which no orthodox Chinese literati painter would have admitted. He also painted a large number of "professional," colored bird-and-flower paintings.

Overall, Baiitsu's approach seems to be less philosophical and more straightforeward than that of the Chinese literati. In general, his ideas seem to be partially his own and partially a synthesis of various Chinese concepts, but in no way was what he said a mere echo of what past Chinese theoreticians espoused. Certainly, his lack of desire to be remembered as a theorist is evident from the paucity of documents he wrote on the subject. When we turn to a discussion of Baiitsu's paintings, it will be shown that they are in accordance with his ideas, for the most part emphasizing strength of brushwork and freedom from useless refinement. In short, they are well constructed, yet vigorous no matter what the subject matter. His paintings are not outright

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[126]Siren, The Chinese on the Art of Painting, p.138. Equating those who consider pictures as representations of outward forms with children was a concept originally expressed by the Northern Sung dynasty literatus Su Shih.

copies of any particular Chinese painter's style, although at times certain stylistic lineages are recognizable. Furthermore, other than on his copies of Chinese paintings, the absence of acknowledgements of stylistic debts to specific Chinese painters in inscriptions is conspicuous. This absence makes it difficult to determine what precisely were his sources of influence, and gives the impression that he wished not to be associated with the styles of any particular masters of the past.

Baiitsu's paintings were especially noted for their lucid brushwork. His brush never hesitated and he did not use willow charcoal to sketch the design prior to painting with a brush, as did many of his contemporaries.[127] His pupil, Ueda Tōitsu, reports that Baiitsu's painting studio was plain and unadorned. Under his work in progress he laid out an old rug (mōsen). The weave of this rug is visible in some of Baiitsu's paintings (plate 157). Every evening before retiring, Baiitsu would roll up his brushes and inkstone in the rug. In the morning he again unrolled it and proceeded to paint. The rug was forever covered with dust, and the brushes and inkstone were extremely dirty as a result. Tōitsu was astonished that out of such mess could be produced paintings so beautiful.

Tōitsu further noted that in contrast to Baiitsu's attitude towards the care of his painting materials, his teacher, Chō Gesshō, would clean his room very early every morning, open the windows, and wash his brushes, inkstone and painting tools. When this was accomplished, he would feel purified and would thus calmly begin to paint. However, his

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[127]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.229.

method of painting was very sloppy and dirty.[128]

The writing brushes Baiitsu favored were quite modest. He kept them in a spotted bamboo box without any partitions. When he wished to find a particular brush, he searched for it by rattling the brushes around in the box.[129] The brushes Baiitsu used during his later years were inscribed with the name "Taizandō," and were inexpensive, costing only sixteen mon at the time. They were coarse brushes, with points that were thin and short. He used them to paint everything.[130] Perhaps Baiitsu's characteristic sharp, scratchy brushwork was enhanced as a result of using this type of brush.

Baiitsu was well known as a colorist of great subtlety. However, after he returned to Nagoya towards the end of his life, the red pigments he used became weaker, no longer as beautiful as when he had been living in Kyoto. Furthermore, the water in Nagoya was defective in some way, so that the varieties in ink tones could not be produced as skillfully as before.[131] A rather undistinguished painting by Baiitsu in light colors, of birds-and-flowers (plate 48) dated 1854, displays the shortcomings mentioned here, and was probably done after his return to Nagoya.

Baiitsu was very particular about the material on which he painted. When Baiitsu painted on paper, he apparently did not use Chinese paper

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[128]Ibid., p.220. This perhaps is an overexaggeration. In contrast to Baiitsu's refined and elegant paintings, though, Gessho's do seem more rough and splashy.

[129]Ibid.

[130]Ibid., p.233.

[131]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.233.

like other artists. Instead, he favored painting on washi ("Japanese paper").[132] In 1832, soon after Baiitsu arrived in Kyoto, he discovered that Chikutō was using a special silk he had designed (plate 49). Chikutō felt that the painting silk of his day was too weak, and when colors and ink were applied, they did not stand out. Therefore, he asked his friend, the proprietor of the Kyukyōdō shop, to have special heavier silk woven for him, in a "two shuttle weave" at Nishijin in Kyoto. This silk later on came to be called "Chikutō Ginu," or Chikutō silk. Baiitsu was delighted with this silk, and also requested to have special silk woven for him. Baiitsu's silk resembled Chikutō's quite closely, being woven in the same two shuttle system. However, Baiitsu's cloth was a bit more soft and pliable. This is now called "Baiitsu Ginu," or Baiitsu silk.[133] Of the many examples of paintings by Baiitsu on Baiitsu Ginu that survive, the earliest are dated 1833. They are Birds and Magnolias and Lotus and Birds, both in the Yabumoto collection, Amagasaki, Japan. From extant examples available for me to examine, Baiitsu favored the use of this silk for his bird-and-flower and "Four Gentlemen" paintings. When examining it closely, the ink does indeed stand out upon the surface of the cloth as described (plate 74). The ink skips along the ridges of the threads that are on top, leaving slight blank areas of silk, similar to the effect which would be produced by painting on satin, though not as pronounced. The edges of the strokes appear jagged as a result.

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[132] Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, p.239.

[133] Tabei, Chūkyō gadan, p.163.

Baiitsu studied Chinese paintings and antiques so thoroughly that he was a renowned connoisseur in his lifetime. He was also accomplished in the art of writing kanshi and a master of the Chinese-style sencha tea ceremony. Nevertheless, Baiitsu's literati hobbies were not all Chinese-inspired. His adherence to the tradition of uta-e, his composition of waka, and through that, the study of kokugaku, indicate that he did not overlook his Japanese heritage. Rather, he was able to temper his Chinese literati interests with his native Japanese sensibilities. His painting techniques and choice of materials display further his devotion to his craft, and his individualistic temperament. It was rare for an artist to not do underdrawing first. Furthermore, the facts that he used inexpensive brushes and painted in a dishevelled studio (despite his wealth), point out that he cared little for the pretentiousness of a fancy studio, or of surrounding himself with expensive scholarly paraphernalia. Baiitsu's practice of painting on Japanese as opposed to Chinese paper, and his commission of special silk show his eagerness to utilize Japanese crafts in the making of his decidedly Chinese-style paintings. In these ways, Baiitsu was able to stand out as an individual among the large number of Sinophile Nanga painters and scholars of his time who strove unceasingly to be more and more Chinese.

CHAPTER FOUR

BAIITSU'S PAINTINGS OF PLANTS, TREES, AND BIRDS-AND-FLOWERS

Throughout his career, Baiitsu was noted as a painter of literati plant subjects. Originating in China, certain plants came to be associated with the literati for their symbolic meaning, and because the process of painting them only in monochrome ink was often quite close to the scholar's art of calligraphy. The major plants of this type were the plum, pine, bamboo, chrysanthemum, orchid, and narcissus. These plants could be painted separately or in combination. Each of the various combinations of these plants were given their own special names. Thus for example, pine, plum, and bamboo were called "The Three Friends of Winter;" bamboo, chrysanthemum, plum, and orchid, "The Four Gentlemen;" pine, bamboo, plum, orchid, and rock, "The Five Purities;" plum, narcissus, and bamboo, "The Three Purities;" pine and rock, "Perennial Youth and Long Life;" and there were numerous other combinations.[1] Baiitsu painted these and other literati plants in some of the groupings described above as well as others. For clarity in the following discussion, each plant will be discussed separately, for Baiitsu established certain consistent stylistic characteristics for the portrayal of these various plants. The most well-known paintings of Baiitsu's prolific output were birds-and-flowers. Since Baiitsu would often incorporate depictions of literati plants into his paintings of these subjects, this more decorative subject matter will be discussed

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[1]For a list of many of these literati plant combinations and their names, see: Shufunotomo, editor, Sencha zensho (Tokyo, 1973), pp.66-68.

in the latter part of this chapter.

Baiitsu's Paintings of Plums

Baiitsu's paintings of plums, his namesake, are more numerous than his depictions of other literati flowers. Plums were also the subject for the earliest datable literati plant paintings by Baiitsu which are still extant. Perhaps the earliest of Baiitsu's paintings of plums is his copy of the painting by Wang Mien now in the Imperial Household Collection, Japan (plate 27). The major compositional feature of this painting is the dramatic s-curve of the main branch of the plum tree. This is a composition which Baiitsu would return to later in his life. Baiitsu took this fine quality Chinese painting as a model for his earliest known plum painting instead of a painting by some Japanese Nanga artist, thus indicating that from very early in his training, he was emulating original Chinese sources. With few exceptions, he continued to depend on Chinese paintings as models throughout his career. Another extremely early plum painting by Baiitsu (plate 50) was painted as part of a triptych; the two other paintings were a bamboo by an unknown artist named Shushin, and a pine tree by Chō Gessho.[2] According to the auction catalogue in which the paintings were illustrated, the fitted box for the three paintings is dated to Bunka 9 (1812), thus Baiitsu's painting must date from that year or earlier. This painting must have been done at a time when Baiitsu was under the

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[2]See: Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, auction catalogue for November 19, 1982, number 52, for reproductions of Gessho's and Shushin's paintings.

influence of Chō Gesshō, for in addition to the fact that one of the accompanying paintings was brushed by Gesshō, Baiitsu's work is done in the Shijō style that Gesshō employed. The branches are composed of ink wash rather than line, and there is very little of the layered texturing of ink found in many Nanga paintings of this subject matter. The painting's relationship to the Shijō school can be seen by comparing it to Matsumura Goshun's masterful screens, Blossoming Plum Trees.[3] In Baiitsu's painting, a youthful hand is observed in the tentative strokes of the brush and the limply curving branches.

From the few remaining examples of Baiitsu's paintings done prior to 1814, it seems certain that he was influenced by the work of other Japanese artists, rather than by Chinese models for the first decade of the nineteenth century. Perhaps this is accounted for by the fact that his mentor, Kamiya Ten'yū, had died and his access to Chinese originals became more limited.

In 1814, a small design of Narcissus and a Branch of Blossoming Red Plums by Baiitsu was published in the woodblock book, Meika Gafu (plate 51). Baiitsu inked the plums in grey wash to represent red plum blossoms. The narcissus was painted in the traditional Chinese pai miao (outlined) style. In a similar undated painting, Plum and Outlined Bamboo (plate 52), which was most likely a product of the 1820s, Baiitsu again painted red plums in the grey wash technique, and depicted the bamboo in the outlined style. In both these paintings, the plum branches are rendered with a very dark application of ink, and the plum

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[3]These are illustrated in: Saint Louis Art Museum and Seattle Art Museum, Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School of Japanese Painting (Saint Louis, 1980), plate 54.

flowers are grouped in dense clusters. Baiitsu's close friend Chikutō painted red plum blossoms in a similar style around the same time.[4] Baiitsu did not frequently depict red plums in this manner, yet he continued to paint literati plants in this outlined style so often that it may be considered one of his specialities. The verticality of the plum branch in Plum and Outlined Bamboo was a standard compositional format for plums which, as will be shown, Baiitsu utilized often.

Baiitsu particularly favored this vertical composition for his paintings of plums done from the late 1820s through the 1830s. One such painting, Plum Blossoms, dated 1832 (plate 53) shows a slight variation on this format. The plum tree fills the composition and the branches are cut off at the sides as well as the bottom of the frame. This sort of dramatic highlighting of one segment of a tree seems to be a peculiarly Japanese approach, and one which Baiitsu utilizes quite effectively. The shapes of the branches in this painting resemble those in his early painting of plums (plate 50) done in the Shijō style. However, here there are a far greater number of branches, all of which seem to be pointing upward, not arching back towards the earth as in the earlier work. Also, the brushwork is not the smooth wash of the earlier painting, but contains a greater amount of texture strokes and use of "flying white," a technique in which, with one stroke of the brush, the center of the stroke has been left void of ink.

During the 1830s, Baiitsu's paintings of plums as well as other subjects displayed a wide variety of styles and compositions. He seemed

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[4]For an example of Chikutō's plum paintings of this type, see: Nagoya shi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaiga shi--nanga, plate 176.

to be experimenting at that point in his life, trying out new techniques and formats, combining and synthesizing that which he studied earlier. In 1834, Baiitsu painted White Prunus (plate 54). The painting is a variation on the composition of the painting by Wang Mien (plate 26) which he had copied during his youth. Although the same basic composition is present here, there is a greater sense of three-dimensionality in Baiitsu's painting of 1834, and the introduction of several new elements. Now the plum has been skillfully integrated into a more naturalized setting which contains a diverse selection of literati subjects; bamboo, fungus of immortality, rocks and grasses. Yet without question, the plum remains the dominant element in the composition.

Several years later, in a painting of A Branch of Plums (plate 55) dated 1836, Baiitsu returned to the basic vertical composition he had utilized earlier. Here, the hanging scroll is wider, thereby creating a composition more monumental in scale than before, with greater span to the tree limbs. Yet, in its austerity--a plum tree is singled out from nature and silhouetted against a blank background--the painting lacks the power and dynamism present in his 1834 White Prunus. While the exact prototype for this painting cannot be precisely determined, a Chinese painting by the Ming artist Ch'en Lu, dated to 1446, closely resembles Baiitsu's painting in composition.[5] This work may have been known to Baiitsu, as it was formerly in the collection of the prominent literatus Ichikawa Beian.

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[5]See: Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku, Chugoku kaigahen, plate 47.

Similar to the 1836 painting in composition and angularity of the tree limbs is an undated painting by Baiitsu of a Plum Branch in Snow (plate 56) which also probably was brushed in the mid 1830s. The poem about plum and snow, which Baiitsu inscribed on this painting, was translated in Chapter Three, p. 132. The composition and brushwork of this latter painting seem slightly different from the other plum paintings by Baiitsu previously discussed. The plum enters the picture plane from the left side of the painting and stretches upwards towards the right. Unlike many other of Baiitsu's plum paintings, the branch tips remain within the frame of the picture. In this work, the strong diagonal composition, plum branches depicted with sharp, sword-like flicks of the brush, and pronounced dark-light contrasts of the snow on the branches, create a simple yet dramatic composition. In the previously discussed exhibition catalogue, Shokumoku rinrō, a painting of a plum in snow by the Ming artist Liu Shih-ju was included. It is not known which particular painting by Liu this was, nor is it known when Baiitsu may have first seen a painting by Liu. However, when comparing this painting of a Plum Branch in Snow with standard examples of Liu Shih-ju's winter plums, there seems to be some similarity.[6] Like Baiitsu's painting, branches enter the picture from one side and stretch outwards. Also, both artists place great emphasis on the empty space surrounding the branch. This must not have been a favored type of representation of plums for Baiitsu, for to my knowledge, he did not

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[6]For examples of paintings by Liu, see: Osaka Municipal Art Museum, Min-Shin no bijutsu (Chūgoku bijutsu series 5), number 4-23, left of the pair; and Harada Kinjirō, The Pageant of Chinese Painting (Tokyo, 1936), plate 629.

repeat this theme of a branch of plum in winter in any other of his paintings, although some of his best paintings of birds-and-flowers did depict bamboo and other flowering plants in the snow.

Another variation of the composition found in Baiitsu's White Prunus of 1834 (plate 54) is visible in a painting of The Four Gentlemen (plate 57) dated 1839. However, the movement of the branches of the plum tree resembles more the composition of the plum tree in Baiitsu's 1836 Branch of Plums. This painting is even further removed from the original Wang Mien (plate 26) than the 1834 work. Baiitsu's own style and original sense of composition have become much more clearly developed. The painting of plums and a rock is here creatively embellished with chrysanthemums, orchids, and bamboo. The latter two plants are now depicted in Baiitsu's mature and confident outlined style. This large scale hanging scroll appears filled to all the borders with a profusion of plants, with the placement of each carefully orchestrated. Although done entirely in ink, the subtle gradations in the ink tones create the illusion of a rich palette of colors. Clearly this is one of Baiitsu's finest examples of the Four Gentlemen theme in which he achieved a careful integration and balance of the elements.

By the mid 1840s, Baiitsu's repertoire of compositions for paintings of plums had become well established. However, in these paintings of his mature years, the brushwork has become more refined and lucid. In his 1845 Plum Branch (plate 58), the composition is almost exactly the same as in his 1836 Branch of Plums (plate 55). Yet, in this later painting, the arch to the main tree limb no longer dominates the composition. A large number of secondary branches have been added to

create greater stability and balance, and the branches themselves are less angular, now more natural in appearance.

Another undated painting of plums which must be from Baiitsu's mature period in the late 1840s, is one of a pair of screen paintings. The left screen contains plum and bamboo (plates 59 and 60), and the right, pine and bamboo (plates 61 and 62). The plum branch dominates the composition of the left screen. The large sweeping branches seem to be a culmination of the compositional type Baiitsu utilized in his 1836 and 1845 paintings, a traditional Japanese treatment in which the subject is divorced from any background and is cut off at the top and bottom. The central portion of the tree is thus highlighted and a dramatic effect is achieved. Baiitsu's composition is effectively adapted to a screen format, as the folds of the individual panels create a sense of liveliness and movement to the composition, something which would have been impossible on a flat surface. In this screen, there is a heightened dramatic use of empty space in the two panels on the far right which contain one branch of the plum tree reaching out into the distance. In a close examination of one segment of the screen (plate 60), Baiitsu's extraordinary facility for clearly representing individual elements with a multitude of ink tones in a complex overlapping of forms is demonstrated. The plum blossoms, bamboo leaves, and tree branches are all rendered skilfully. Yet the brushwork is free and vigorous, imbued with Baiitsu's typical sharp, angular strokes and use of "flying white." The jagged edges of the brushstrokes enhance the sense of spontaneity and virtuosity of his brush technique. This is definitely one of the most impressive and masterful of Baiitsu's screen

paintings.

A plum painting which may have been among those brushed at the very end of Baiitsu's life is an undated hanging scroll of A Large Plum (plate 63). It is inscribed with two poems by Baiitsu's friends, one by Yanagawa Seigan and the other by Nukina Kaioku. An approximate date for the painting may be postulated from the fact that Kaioku inscribed the box in 1853. The plum branch is depicted in an exaggerated s-curve composition, seeming to be pressed in by the constraints of the painting's borders. The composition of this painting, like that of several other previously mentioned works, may be ultimately derived from the s-curve composition of the painting by Wang Mien in the Imperial Household Collection, Japan. However, in this work the two identically curving branches seem so exaggerated and artificial in their movements that the final composition must have been one imagined by Baiitsu and not based directly on Wang Mien's more natural representations of plums. Although the shapes of the branches here are contrived, the brushwork seems surprisingly free, an indication of a late date for this painting's execution. The brush style is unusually rough and splashy. The ink is quite dark and there is much use of "flying white." Baiitsu seems to have been striving for originality and dynamism. The total effect is one of abstraction from nature and technical virtuosity rather than a portrayal of a plum tree which could be seen in real life.

Baiitsu's numerous paintings of plums, from his earliest depictions to those done in his old age, display a progression from standardized compositions and tentative, imitative brushwork, to a distinctive brush style and originality of composition. These were tendencies

demonstrated by Baiitsu in all the different types of paintings he produced. Precisely how and when these changes in his style gradually occurred will become clearer as more of his paintings are discussed in this and the following chapter.

Baiitsu's Paintings of Bamboo and Rocks

Many species of bamboo in standard compositions had long been painted by Chinese and Japanese artists by Baiitsu's time. The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting for example, includes a number of these. Therefore it is impossible to pinpoint with accuracy the direct sources of influence for Baiitsu's choice of styles for his paintings of bamboo, as he himself did not elucidate them. This is true for most of Baiitsu's other paintings as well, as he had a wide range of prototypes available for study and he rarely indicated on his paintings specific sources. Nevertheless, among his bamboo paintings, several distinct variations can be found in his early works, and these are based on rather specific types of bamboo paintings from China. Representations of bamboo are frequently accompanied by rocks which serve to balance the composition. Thus, in the ensuing discussion of Baiitsu's bamboo paintings, his paintings of rocks will also be discussed.

Baiitsu's earliest known dated painting of bamboo, Bamboo in the Wind was brushed in 1827 (plate 64). Its subject is a windblown clump of bamboo by a rock. The bamboo leaves and stalks are depicted in two basic ink tones; dark for those in front and light for those in the background. This is a rather simplistic method for indicating depth. The rock is similarly depicted with a somewhat sketchy, broken outline

composed of overlapping layers of several ink tones. This device seems to be more decorative than descriptive of the solidity and roundness of the rock. Bamboo in the wind was one distinct type for painting bamboo in China, originating with Yuan dynasty painters such as Li K'an. It was popular especially from the Ming dynasty when it was brushed with strongly contrasting ink tones by Che school artists. One such Che school painter who depicted bamboo in the wind was Lu Tuan-chun, and it is certain that Baiitsu was familiar with Lu's paintings of this sort (plate 65) as a painting by him had been included in the previously discussed catalogue, Shokumoku rinrō. Baiitsu's work is clearly not an exact copy of Lu's, but the prominent dark and light contrasts of the ink tones are found in both Lu's and Baiitsu's paintings, and the basic composition is also the same. In both, there is only shallow foreground space indicated, but Baiitsu's rock is depicted in looser, less angular brushwork. The shape of the rock in Baiitsu's painting is a precursor to the bulging rock form which was to become for him and Chikutō a standard type used for mountains as well as rocks.

Similar to the above painting by Baiitsu is another smaller scale work by him, Bamboo and Rock (plate 66), also depicting bamboo blowing in the wind. Although undated, because of its similarity in the rendering of ink tones for the leaves, and the shape and texturing of the rock, it must have been brushed at the same time; the mid to late 1820s. On this painting is the following short poem by Baiitsu whose subject is bamboo outside his window.

> Below the half-open study window,
> The bamboo creates elegance.
> If one wishes to banish vulgarity,
> How could he succeed without these gentlemen ?

下也
俗者
雅則
醫何
書又
窗君
半人
竹欲
有若
一非

The poem suggests that Baiitsu may have taken the actual bamboo grove outside his window as a model for the painting.

During the 1820s, Baiitsu must have been experimenting with a number of styles, for although elements common to all of his works are present, there is great diversity as well. In 1828, Baiitsu painted Bamboo, Orchid, and Rock (plate 67). While the brushwork used to represent the rock resembles that found in the small painting just discussed, the bamboo is depicted in a totally different style. Instead of a tangled mass of blowing, downward turned leaves, the bamboo leaves in this painting are raised upright in clear, symmetrical, v-shaped clusters. Baiitsu has obviously based this painting on a different model. The arrangement of the bamboo leaves is not unlike that found in Li K'an's Rock and Bamboo (plate 25), which Baiitsu had first seen some thirty years before.

In addition to the windy and upright types of bamboo leaves, Baiitsu also tried another technique in the 1820s and early 1830s. The earliest dated painting to depict this new type was done in 1835 (plate 68). While the basic two tone ink contrast has been retained, the relative darkness to lightness of the ink tones has been increased, creating greater contrast. The leaves are painted with straighter, sharper, drier strokes. For Baiitsu, this composition is fairly unusual in comparison with his other paintings of bamboo. The long and narrow

hanging scroll format is entirely filled with the stalks of the bamboo plant which disappear beyond the frame of the picture. Although this could have become a crowded and unpleasant composition, the sparsely spaced leaves done in contrasting dark and light tones of ink are carefully placed to indicate three dimensionality so that the painting seems to be bursting forth from the flat surface. Chinese prototypes for this style of painting bamboo remain obscure; perhaps this is a style Baiitsu did not learn directly from Chinese models, but one which he developed on his own. As is typical of Baiitsu's works of the 1830s, a personal style seems to be emerging.

This style of bamboo leaves is also visible in an undated painting by Baiitsu of Bamboo, Rock, and Fungus of Immortality (plate 69). On the upper portion of this painting is a poetic inscription composed by Ōkubo Shibutsu. As I mentioned previously in Chapter Two, Baiitsu's last known contact with Shibutsu took place around 1830. Thus, this painting most likely dates from 1830 or earlier. Although comparative dated visual material for Baiitsu's work in the 1820s is scant, the rock in this painting is flat and heavily outlined, with little texture modeling on the interior portions, like Baiitsu's rocks in the three bamboo paintings just discussed. Typologically however, this rock is of an entirely different kind. It is based on a type commonly seen in Chinese paintings and woodblock manuals such as the Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting and the Shih-chu-chai shu-hua p'u (The Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Painting and Calligraphy). In 1833, Baiitsu painted a handscroll (plate 70) in which he depicted a number of differently shaped rocks using a variety of brush techniques. Comparing this

handscroll with the individual rocks found in the above mentioned Chinese painting manuals suggests a close similarity but no exact duplication. Although a direct source is unknown, it seems certain that like other paintings of the 1830s, Baiitsu has based his work on a Chinese prototype, but freely altered the original. The shapes for some of the rocks, the application of shading, and the graceful movement of the clumps of grasses dotting the foreground, all seem related to the style of paintings by Chang Ch'iu-ku (plates 19 and 20) whose works were included in the Chinese painting catalogues Baiitsu was involved with, and was one of the most influential Chinese painters on Nanga artists in Baiitsu's day.

When comparing the rock in the painting of bamboo (plate 69) with the Shibutsu inscription to a rock of the same type (the central rock of the three) found in the 1833 Handscroll of Rocks, the rock in the latter work appears more carefully constructed. There is a greater sense of roundness to the form, and the outlines, though still heavy, appear to be more well controlled. To the foreground of the rocks in the handscroll, the ground plane is more subtly and fully defined. There is no sharp diagonal line marking the ground plane, and the grasses and other plants are better constructed. Because of these differences, the hanging scroll of Bamboo, Rock, and Fungus of Immortality must be an earlier painting. When comparing the bamboo leaves in that work to those of the 1835 bamboo, although they are of the same general shape, the subtlety in the handling of the ink tones and the greater relaxation in the use of the brush in the 1835 painting, also indicate that it must be dated later than the other. Furthermore,

as will be shown in a comparison with some paintings of birds-and-flowers which contain similarly depicted rocks, this painting must date no later than the mid 1820s.

Particularly in the 1830s and early 1840s, Baiitsu frequently painted these Chinese-style rocks. In an undated painting of a Narcissus and a Rock (plate 71), the shape of the rock, the shading which indicates its volume, and the variation in the grasses which make up the foreground, show that this painting must date from around the same time as the 1833 Handscroll of Rocks. During the mid 1830s, Baiitsu developed more subtlety in the use of shading on rock forms. As he acquired a greater skill in manipulating the ink, his gradations in ink tones became richer in appearance, culminating in the brocade of textures and tones which distinguish his paintings of the 1840s and 1850s. The year after painting the 1833 Handscroll of Rocks, a gradual progression towards this tendency can be seen in his painting of a White Prunus dated 1834 (plate 54). The rock in this painting has become more three dimensionally defined with many layers of brushwork. Yet, the various layers of ink still stand distinctly apart from one another, creating clearly defined contrasting ink tones.

By the late 1830s, Baiitsu's mature style for the depiction of bamboo, rocks, and plum trees was beginning to be more clearly apparent. In a painting of Plum, Bamboo, Orchid, and a Rock, dated 1838 (plate 72), the composition is a standard one. However, the depiction of the bamboo leaves is something of a departure from what came before. The basic shapes of the leaves and their arrangement follows the upright variety already discussed, yet some changes have been introduced. The

clusters of leaves are denser in this painting, and the ink tones are more gradual in their gradation. Part of this effect must be accounted for by the fact that this is a painting on satin, a medium which tends to soften and merge the ink tones. Although the rock is basically the same Chinese-style type Baiitsu introduced in his earlier paintings, the shading in it seems more subtle and refined. Only the depiction of the foreground grasses and flowers remains relatively the same, but even here the curving lines which depict the ground's outline are a naturalized expansion of an earlier, more simplistic device. These lines are an attempt to create a fuller spatial setting.

This same tendency towards a more subtle use of shading is evident in Baiitsu's painting of the Four Gentlemen (plate 57) dated 1839, which has already been discussed in connection with the depiction of plums. Although there is great sophistication in the treatment of the range of ink tones in both the 1838 and 1839 paintings, there is also a meticulous and controlled quality to the manipulation of the brush. This is indicative of Baiitsu's method of painting at that time; every stroke was carefully placed and each outline was clearly defined.

Dated paintings of bamboo alone by Baiitsu done during the 1840s are extremely rare, but he did sometimes depict bamboo in conjunction with other plants. One such painting is a Four Gentlemen (plate 73) done on "Baiitsu Ginu" in light colors and dated to 1840. The composition is not too different from the 1838 painting of Plum, Bamboo, Orchid, and a Rock just discussed, but the main plum branches twist contortedly. The bamboo leaves resemble those of the windy type which Baiitsu painted first in the 1820s. Yet, in this painting, the gradations of the ink

tones for the leaves display greater range than in the earlier paintings of this type, more like that found in his paintings of the 1830s. Furthermore, the pointed shapes of the leaves seem closer to those found in his 1835 painting of bamboo. New to this painting is the density of the tangled mass of bamboo leaves. This trait in particular is a distinctive feature of Baiitsu's painting style for bamboo from this time on.

One of the major tendencies in Baiitsu's paintings of the 1840s and 1850s was an increasing sense of freedom and spontaneity of the brushwork. Baiitsu used the technique of overlapping layers of ink to create impressionistic paintings which nevertheless suggested the appearance of solidity and vivacity. In the undated pair of screen paintings previously discussed in connection with their depiction of plums in the left screen, Baiitsu also painted bamboo in both screens (plates 59-61). The bamboo here resembles that found in his 1840 painting of Four Gentlemen (plate 73). In the screen paintings, however, the brushwork is much rougher and freer, and the leaf groupings more tangled and complex. Baiitsu managed to effectively capture on paper the turbulent energy of the natural world. This is especially true for the bamboo in the left screen where it is a dominant image, and the movement of the bamboo plants blowing in the wind is echoed by the wildly twisting branches of the plum tree which entwines them.

During Baiitsu's final years as a painter in the early 1850s, his bamboo paintings continued to be free and lively. Even more than before, his paintings appeared relaxed, with softer tones of ink predominating. In his 1851 Bamboo, Cliff, and Stream (plate 75), these

traits are apparent. Here, the landscape plays a more dominant role than in his earlier paintings of bamboo. Baiitsu has neatly fit the bamboo into a natural setting. The rapidly running water of the stream complements the scattered, breezy stalks of bamboo growing from the stream's banks. As will be discussed later in terms of his landscapes, Baiitsu's paintings of this time in general tend to have a fuller, more coherent three-dimensional presence. It has already been shown in his paintings of literati plants that this trend had been developing from the early 1840s when the foreground space became visibly expanded. A painting which superbly exemplifies the result of this tendency is his 1853 Bamboo by a Stream (plate 76). The misty atmosphere which permeates this painting melts the background away into emptiness and causes all but the bamboo plants in the direct foreground to be rendered in pale tones of ink. The slender, elegant bamboo leaves, softly rounded rocks with occasional dark dots floating along their edges, and the composition of bamboo growing by the side of a stream are all characteristics of the style of the early Ming dynasty painter of bamboo, Hsia Ch'ang (1388-1470). Baiitsu has personalized this Hsia Ch'ang style by brushing the forms in his own distinctive manner. The rough texturing of the shading on the rocks, inclusion of fine detailing of the bamboo plants and grasses in the foreground, and the arrangements of the clusters of bamboo leaves are all characteristics of Baiitsu's personal style. Indeed, this painting may be counted as one of his masterpieces.

Paintings dated to Baiitsu's final year of life (1855) are almost completely unknown. Since he was ill at the time, he probably did not

paint very frequently. Nevertheless, in a small painting of Bamboo (plate 77) dated to 1855, it is apparent that his talent as a painter had not waned. The dry and sharply pointed bamboo leaves that had been his forte during the 1840s and early 1850s are clearly visible. Perhaps the casualness of the composition--blowing masses of bamboo leaves and stalks all tangled together--is indicative of his self-confidence as a painter. However, out of the confusion is a coherency and sense of versimilitude to nature that only a practiced master could capture. It is an humble, yet noble scroll--a culmination of Baiitsu's talents and a fitting painting to stand as his latest dated work.

Early in his life, Baiitsu had begun painting bamboo based on several specific types: windblown with twisting leaves; upright with symmetrical clusters; and slender, elongated. Distinctions in these three types gradually disappeared as Baiitsu matured as a painter and developed his own style. At the same time, his representations of rocks progressed from rather flat surfaces to three-dimensional forms defined by richly interwoven layers of ink.

Baiitsu's Paintings of Pine Trees

Besides plum and bamboo, Baiitsu was extremely fond of painting pine trees. In fact, the earliest recorded painting by Baiitsu was the set of pine fusuma he brushed for a temple in Nagoya when he was but twelve years old. Another relatively early set of fusuma of a pine tree (plates 78 and 79) contains the basic composition he favored for the depiction of pine trees throughout his life. This painting, done on silk in light colors, shows but a fraction of the entire tree. The

lower portion of the trunk has been omitted from view, and the summit of the tree is cut off as well. This composition is nothing new--Chinese artists such as Wen Cheng-ming in his painting of The Seven Junipers of Ch'ang-shu dated 1532 had also utilized it.[7] Closer to Baiitsu's time, the composition was more dramatically exploited by Maruyama Ōkyo in his famous pair of screens, Pine Trees in the Snow.[8] Although undated, due to the style of the signature,[9] the brushwork representing the trunk of the tree, and the method for depicting the pine needles, Baiitsu's fusuma may be considered a product of the 1820s or early 1830s. Different from subsequent paintings of pine trees is his technique for rendering the tree trunk (plate 79). In this painting, there is dark shading towards the outer edges of the tree trunk, but towards the center the ink tones become markedly lighter. In addition, the brushstrokes appear as short, stubby lines and are not subtle in their gradation. The effect is more that of a flat surface pattern than a round form. It is a contrived method for representing volumetric form, lacking the sensitivity in the handling of the ink tones which distinguish so many of Baiitsu's paintings of other literati plants already discussed. This peculiar type of shading, with the center of the form left almost bare of ink, was common to artists of the Nagasaki school such as Sō Shiseki (plates 2 and 3). Such painters had been highly influential in Nagoya from the time of Tsuda Ōkei through

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[7]See: Edwards, The Art of Wen Cheng-ming, plate XXX.

[8]Illustrated in: Saint Louis Art Museum and Seattle Art Museum, Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School of Japanese Painting, plate 21.

[9]See the appendix on signatures at the back of this work.

Baiitsu's formative years.

In the pine fusuma the clear delineation of each individual pine needle with sharp, almost brittle, strokes of the brush arranged in pairs (plate 79), is a technique he used most frequently during his early years as a painter. It shows his meticulousness in drawing carefully and distinctly each element in the painting. The fact that this characteristic appears in his paintings of literati plants of the 1830s has already been noted. However, in comparison to another painting of pines by Baiitsu, The Three Friends of Winter (plate 80), dated 1835, the pine needles in this dated work seem slightly softer. Perhaps this is indicative that this scroll was done later than his fusuma. Behind the pine needles in the 1835 painting is a blur of shading, an effective method of depicting a dense mass of pine needles, and a technique which Baiitsu would improve upon in his later paintings of pine trees.

One quite distinctive style for painting pine trees makes its appearance in the early 1840s. The most famous painting to depict this tree in Baiitsu's own slender and elegant format, with repetitions of fan-shaped branches, is dated 1841 (plate 81). In this painting, a light green wash has been applied to the area surrounding the pine needles, and brown is used for the tree trunks. These colors enhance the naturalism yet also create a more decorative appearance than his paintings of pines rendered in monochrome ink alone. By this time, Baiitsu's distinctive dry, scratchy brushwork is clearly apparent. The pine needles in this scroll almost seem as if they are not quite in focus; the pale green ink wash appears as if it had been rubbed onto the

painting in spots rather than applied with a brush. This creates a rough texture to the surface of the painting, one of the features of Baiitsu's mature style. The dramatic composition, in which only the tops of the trees are visible, is not too different from the composition of his earlier fusuma of pine trees, nor is it too far removed from the composition of some of his paintings of plum trees in which only the top portions of those trees were visible. Baiitsu's fondness for this slender, elongated pine tree is obvious, for when we turn to a discussion of his landscapes, we will find that this type appears in those paintings more often than in his paintings of individual pine trees.

From the mid 1840s until the end of his life, Baiitsu's paintings of pines, like his bamboo and plum paintings, became progressively freer and sketchier in appearance, while still retaining the basic stylistic types he had previously developed. In his pair of screens of Plum and Bamboo and Pine and Bamboo (plates 59-62), which we have already identified as being a product of the mid to late 1840s, the pine tree's composition is much like that found in his earlier fusuma of a pine tree. The pine needles are still painted with pairs of brush strokes, but here there is a much lighter touch. The softness of the pine needles, like that found in his 1841 scroll of Pine Trees (plate 81), has been emphasized instead of a literal depiction of each branch, twig, and needle. This is especially evident in the portions of the painting in which there are overlapping branches, and places where dots have been scattered to represent pine cones or new growth (plate 62).

Two other undated paintings of pines stylistically belong to the latest phase of Baiitsu's career. They are Pine, Bamboo, Fungus, and Ants (plate 82) and Pine, Bamboo, and Rock (plate 84). In both of these paintings, the pine and the bamboo have been depicted, but not the plum. It is not farfetched to suppose that Baiitsu intended these paintings to be depictions of the "Three Friends of Winter," for if one counts his signature containing the character for plum, as part of the painting, the group would be complete. In both of these paintings, the pine needles are rendered even more freely than in the previously mentioned screen painting. They have become a mass of sharply pointed, feather-like brushstrokes. For the tree trunks, the brushwork has become similarly diffuse. The layers of ink have been applied with such dexterity that close to the surface, the trunk dissolves into a maze of light and shadow. This is similar to the effect achieved in his slightly earlier screen of Pine and Bamboo (plate 61), but in these two paintings, the effect is more pronounced. In his painting of Pine, Bamboo, Fungus, and Ants, the treatment of the pine tree is all the more extraordinary in relation to the meticulous depiction of the ants which can be clearly seen climbing all over the surface of the tree (plate 83).

From these paintings of pine trees, it is evident that although Baiitsu's compositions for paintings of pines remained fairly consistent throughout his life, he was continually changing and improving his brush technique. He was not content to produce paintings which were duplicates of those he had brushed earlier. Though the changes in style in Baiitsu's paintings, especially after the 1830s, are subtle, they are

clearly perceptible when one examines the gradual transition away from a meticulous rendering of forms towards a relaxation in brush technique and increasing depth to the varied tones of ink.

Baiitsu's Handscrolls of Literati Plants, Fruits, and Vegetables

In addition to his hanging scrolls and fusuma of the various literati plants, Baiitsu occasionally painted handscrolls. These were probably done for his own enjoyment or for friends, rather than for some commission, as they are quite casual in conception. Often, the handscrolls lack even a carefully conceived, unified composition.

The earliest dated painting of this type is his 1818 monochrome ink Handscroll of Literati Plants and Flowers (plates 85-90), which Baiitsu painted in Osaka while traveling with Ōkubo Shibutsu. As stated in the inscription which was quoted in Chapter Two, p.45, it was brushed at an informal gathering of friends. The apparently random scattering of plants throughout the entire length of the scroll is loosely organized into small groupings. The flowers are largely brushed in the so-called boneless manner (mokkotsu), which, in Baiitsu's case, meant that no outlines were used to create borders around the edges of the forms. The flowers and leaves were delineated with very broad wet brushstrokes, or with solid areas of wash. Although in general the forms were depicted in the boneless manner, at times Baiitsu added swirling lines to define the veins of leaves, or dots around their perimeters to help distinguish the boundaries of the forms (plates 85 and 86). In sections where he did adhere to the purely boneless technique, as in his representation of a peony (plate 87), his youthful inexperience with the subtleties of

the technique is evident. The individual petals of the peony are almost too clearly delineated; the technique is better suited to a more diffuse handling of the ink. The petals appear awkwardly placed beside each other with little change in the ink tones except for an exaggerated darkening close to the center of the flower. Here, as in other early paintings of literati plants by Baiitsu, there are no gradual changes in ink tones, and the individual parts of each form represented are rendered with meticulous accuracy. In this handscroll, some other mannerisms of the brush technique indicate it to be a product of a youthful painter, one who has not yet mastered completely the control of the brush. In the section depicting narcissus plants, a sprig of pine, and a branch of red plums (plate 88), the outlines of the leaves of the narcissus plant vary considerably in width. This creates a somewhat awkward and choppy effect. This same wiggly type of line may be seen in the orchid leaves to the right of the peony (plate 87). There, Baiitsu seems to have been struggling to create an effect of twisting leaves, yet the result does not appear natural.

Although there are a number of technical faults in this handscroll, the painting is a remarkable achievement for such a young painter (Baiitsu was thirty-five at the time). This fact was not overlooked by Baiitsu's friend, Shibutsu, who wrote the following three poems for the painting.[10]

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[10]These were mentioned in Chapter Two as being included in Shibutsu's Saiyū shiso of 1818 (vol.2, p.18 and 18b) and attached to the handscroll in 1820 when the painting was mounted (plate 90).

One should not wait until old to paint in the boneless
manner from life,
The natural brilliance [of the flowers] is rendered in the
painter's own style.
Both light and dark are painted with one brush filled with ink,
The painter creates freely all the myriad
kinds of flowers.

没骨寫生休等差
天真爛熳自成家
淡濃一種毫端墨
放出人間各各花

When I look at this painting, I smell the fragrance of the flowers,
Ink tones are sufficient, there is no need to add purples or reds.
The simple petals and central corollas are defined
with great ability,
Created by ink-play with one stroke of the brush.

看来便覺起香風
五采何須施紫紅
單瓣重葩化工力
総歸墨戲一揮中

Fluttering around the guests, a fragrant breeze--the sleeves of the
dancing deity sweeping down;
A beautiful woman descending to a banquet for humble people.
The billowing cloud-shape of her coiffure, shiny like lacquer,
resembles something quite familiar;
But no, in reality an immortal fairy is surrounded by green flowers.

拂席香風舞袖斜
佳人開宴降羊家
鬟雲如漆看依舊
便是神仙蔦綠華

These poems provide valuable insight into Baiitsu's paintings of this type. In the first poem, Shibutsu mentioned that the flowers were brushed in the mokkotsu manner. It was traditionally said that this technique was ideally suited to older, more experienced painters who could effortlessly produce forms with the freedom and spontaneity the

technique demanded. Nevertheless, Shibutsu asserted that one should not wait until old to try it. In the same poem, Shibutsu also proclaimed that Baiitsu's painting was done from life (shasei). Ordinarily, one does not think of Nanga painters as producing shasei of literati plants. Rather, the term usually implies sketches of plants, animals, or insects which were most commonly depicted by painters of the Maruyama or Shijō schools. It may also be true that the modern meaning of the term has a narrower implication than its connotations in Baiitsu's time. As previously mentioned, Baiitsu himself stated that he sketched bamboo which grew outside his window, and from his youth he was known to have been fond of sketching from life. Around this time, the Nanga artists who did produce shasei were mostly those who came from the Kanto area, such as Baiitsu's friend, Tani Buncho. As Baiitsu spent time in Edo during the 1810s and closely associated with Nanga artists and other literati of that city, it is logical that his early paintings would display some of the characteristics common to those painters' works.

Baiitsu continued to paint flowers and literati plants in this boneless manner throughout his life using monochrome ink as well as colors. By the time he painted another handscroll of literati plants in 1837 (plates 91-92), he had become quite accomplished at the technique. In this scroll, also done in monochrome ink, his depiction of a peony (plate 91) shows how subtly he could now manipulate the ink tones. In comparison with the peony of the 1818 handscroll (plate 87), the ink tones here show very gradual progression from light around the edges to dark towards the center of the flower. Furthermore, the shape of the flower appears more natural. The individual petals look real,

not like an artificial arrangement of strokes of the brush. There is also greater depth to the appearance of the flower. Perhaps this effect may be accounted for because the flower is better integrated into its surroundings. The stalk which supports it is gracefully arched and has a convincing relationship to the flower. In comparison, the stalk of the peony in the 1818 scroll is not coherent in its relationship to the flower and also seems too insubstantial to support the flower's weight.

Baiitsu's 1837 handscroll displays both his improved brush technique and a better sense of compositional unity among the various elements. In both the 1818 handscroll (plate 88) and the one done in 1837 (plate 92) are sections which portray narcissus. In the earlier painting, the composition is rather crowded and the flowers are half hidden behind the leaves. In that section, no individual element serves as the main subject of focus for the group, and the viewer's eye moves distractedly from one element to another. In the 1837 handscroll, the narcissus has been set apart from the other subjects in the scroll. There is a slender branch of a red plum which enters the view from the right, but this only serves to move the viewer's eye towards the narcissus, and does not distract from it. Furthermore, in the depiction of the narcissus itself, the arrangement of the leaves and flowers is much more pleasing. The cut off bases of the plants in the earlier scroll obscure their spatial arrangement, while the fully drawn bulbs of the latter narcissus clarify their relationships and make them appear to be resting naturally, though the background/foreground space is undifferentiated. The empty space in the later painting becomes a positive element, not merely space to be filled. The differences in the brush techniques also

help to create a different mood in the two paintings. In the earlier painting, the self-conscious twisting of the leaves and the fact that their outlines varied in thickness created a choppy, forced effect. In the 1837 handscroll, the graceful curves of the leaves imbue the painting with a quieter, more gentle rhythm.

In both these handscrolls, there are also sections which depict red plums (plates 88 and 92). In the earlier painting, the plum petals are dark and crowded. This is similar to the method seen in Baiitsu's drawing which appeared in the printed book, Meika Gafu (plate 51) of 1814, as well as his undated hanging scroll of Plum and Outlined Bamboo (plate 52). By the time Baiitsu depicted red plums in his 1837 handscroll, his conception of them had changed somewhat. The plums have become sparser in their groupings, and the major branch with smaller branches fanning out from it depicts the flowers clearly yet concisely; again with more attention to creating a pleasing composition. In this same section, the bamboo resembles that found in other similarly dated paintings, particularly his Four Gentlemen of 1840 (plate 73). The bamboo leaves are dense and appear to wave in a breeze. Yet they are arranged to carefully balance the movement of other plants which surround them. In general, this handscroll dated 1837 is obviously a work of a much more mature painter than the handscroll of 1818.

Although not exactly considered literati plant subjects, depictions of fruits, vegetables, and gourds were often painted by literati artists of China and Japan. Perhaps these were inspired by a fondness for the idyllic country life enjoyed by the traditional scholar-recluse; fruits, vegetables, and gourds were all quite humble subjects. In Japan, these

subjects were also depicted by painters of the Maruyama and Shijō schools such as Matsumura Goshun, whose pair of hanging scrolls, Chestnut, Persimmon, and Citron; Grapes and Apples,[11] are superb examples of his Shijō style. In Nanga painting, Baiitsu's famous predecessor from Nagoya, Niwa Kagen, had painted a small hanging scroll of various kinds of mushrooms (plate 4) in a sketch-like style, and some vegetables were also included in one volume of a printed book of his paintings, Fukuzensai gafu. It is likely that these were shasei, as paintings of these subjects were most frequently sketches from life.

Fruits, vegetables, and gourds were often arranged in tokonoma or on shelves of a cabinet for view during sencha ceremonies (plate 11) instead of more formal flower arrangements. As Baiitsu's and other literati painters' depictions of these subjects were done in still-life format, perhaps they served as inspiration for such flower arrangements, both having been inspired by the Chinese paintings of this type.

Baiitsu's paintings of this type are all handscrolls, albums, or fans--small formats which were more intimate and thus literati in spirit than larger, more elaborate hanging scrolls or screens. These paintings of Baiitsu's were done in a style which, although it employed light colors, was more relaxed and spontaneous than the bird-and-flower works which he painted for profit. His handscroll dated 1839 (plates 93-95) is a typical example of this type of work. The forms are depicted in light colors, sometimes outlined and occasionally defined in the boneless manner. The smooth, rapid lines which delineate the edges of

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[11]Illustrated in: Saint Louis Art Museum and Seattle Art Museum, Ōkyo and the Maruyama-Shijō School of Japanese Painting, plate 57.

the forms, and the muted shades of the colored washes, are indications of Baiitsu's accomplished brush technique. In the section containing a lotus root resting on a leaf (plate 93), the latter is brushed with green ink in the boneless manner. The modulation of the ink is sufficient to suggest a three dimensional presence to the form. The broad areas of wash for the lotus root, pomegranates, and lotus pod, are modulated just enough to imbue the forms with solidity. For the depictions of some of the leaves, Baiitsu added small rows of dots around their perimeters (plate 94), just as he had in his handscroll of literati plants done in 1818 (plate 86). In this later handscroll though, the dots do not form as regular a line. It is likely that for Baiitsu's paintings of these themes, he was inspired by the album shaped leaves which comprised the Chinese printed books, The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting and The Ten Bamboo Studio Album of Painting and Calligraphy, among others. For example, the last section of Baiitsu's 1839 handscroll depicts a plant called Buddha's Hand and a representation of the fungus of immortality (plate 95). Both of these plants are frequently found in the Chinese printed books mentioned above. In addition, pomegranates and peaches like those Baiitsu brushed can also be found in these books.[12] Baiitsu painted Buddha's Hand accompanied by peaches (both are auspicious symbols) in a fan painting dated to 1852 (plate 96). In this later work, the delicate shading of the red peaches seems even more subtle in appearance than that found in his 1839 handscroll. Baiitsu's excellence in this genre is further

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[12]Peaches and Buddha's Hand are also found in Niwa Kagen's printed book, Fukuzensai gafu.

affirmed through examples of this type of painting produced by his followers.[13]

These casually conceived, rapidly brushed handscrolls are valuable evidence of Baiitsu's most personal style. In these scrolls, Baiitsu displays his facility for spontaneous brush-play without any lapse in the quality of his technique. As he continually painted such works from his youth up into his old age, his facility for quickly rendering forms improved. Although his handscrolls of literati plants and flowers were brushed in ink-monochrome and his handscrolls of fruits and vegetables employed light colors, some of the same brush techniques can be observed in both genre, particularly his employment of the boneless manner.

Baiitsu's Paintings of Birds-and-Flowers

Baiitsu was equally skilled at painting landscapes, literati plant and tree subjects, and birds-and-flowers, but today he is best known as a bird-and-flower painter. Baiitsu's friend, Shunkin, once expressed his admiration for Baiitsu's bird-and-flower paintings by sighing and declaring that they were unequalled under heaven.[14] Indeed, Shunkin's bird-and-flower paintings often seem to emulate Baiitsu's so much that

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[13]See for example the handscroll of Flowers and Grasses of the Four Seasons by Yamada Totsusai, dated 1862, and illustrated in: Nagoyashi hakubutsukan, Owari no kaigashi--nanga, plate 175.

[14]Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, p.238, from Seimiya Hidekata's nansō meiga shōden.

stylistically they are difficult to tell apart at first glance.[15]

According to Seimiya Hidekata, up to Baiitsu's time most artists practiced the Shen Nan-p'in style for bird-and-flower paintings. Baiitsu however, did not particularly favor that style, so although he was influenced by it somewhat, he followed his own direction, and was especially impressed with the Suchou bird-and-flower painters Chou Chih-mien (active ca.1580-1610) and Wang Wu (1632-1690).[16] However, nowhere in his scant writings nor in inscriptions on paintings does Baiitsu acknowledge his indebtedness to Chou or Wu. Thus, although one may perceive general similarities between Baiitsu's bird-and-flower paintings and those by these artists, their influence on him remains speculation. Since Chou Chih-mien was the most well-known bird-and-flower painter of Suchou in his day, his fame was widespread. Thus, even in Japan, he was a popular artist to emulate.

Because of his independent position concerning which masters a literatus should follow, Baiitsu was scorned by Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841), one of the prominent Nanga painters of Edo. Tsubaki Chinzan (1801-1854), a bird-and-flower painting specialist and pupil of Kazan, once asked his teacher to explain about the two schools of bird-and-flower painting in China which had been founded by the tenth century artists Huang Ch'uan and Hsu Hsi. Kazan expounded in great detail on the history of these schools, basing his observations on that of the Chinese theoreticians Shen Kua (1030-1093), Wang Yu-yang (active

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[15]See for example, Shunkin's painting of a peony and a rock illustrated in: Suntory Art Museum, Nanga to Shaseiga (Tokyo, 1981), plate 18.

[16]Mori, Chosakushū, volume 4, p.238, from Nanso meiga shōden.

ca.1700), and Fang Hsun (1736-1801). Like these Chinese writers, Kazan felt that the style Huang Ch'uan developed was characterized by use of fine brushwork, descriptive application of colors, and realistic rendering of forms. Hsu Hsi's lineage he considered more spontaneous and spiritual, using only a very light application of colors and free brushwork. Furthermore, Kazan identified shasei with Huang Ch'uan's tradition and sha-i with Hsu Hsi's. He commented that in his own day, Huang Ch'uan's style had been inherited by Chinzan, while Baiitsu's style was mixed, but basically a continuation of Hsu Hsi's lineage. In his concluding remark, he admonished Chinzan to be wary of painters like Baiitsu because Baiitsu's paintings were unclear in their lineage. He equated Baiitsu's paintings with the effect which occurs when one adds cold water to already boiling water.[17]

From what has already been discussed concerning Baiitsu's attitude towards Chinese painting theory, his avoidance of clearly following either Hsu Hsi's or Huang Ch'uan's tradition is probably precisely what Baiitsu intended. His paintings were most likely considerd inconsistent by Kazan and other critics, for his use of colors was most delicate and subtle, yet he frequently combined the mokkotsu manner, the outlined technique, and spontaneous sketchy images in a single picture. Furthermore, perhaps because his bird-and-flower paintings lacked the bland quality favored by literati taste, he was thought to condescend to popular fashion.

Since few of their paintings survive, Huang Ch'uan and Hsu Hsi's styles remain unclear. Nevertheless, their names have come to be

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[17]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.231.

associated with two divergent traditions in the history of bird-and-flower painting in China. Hsu Hsi's painting style was appreciated by the literati artists due to his use of bold calligraphic outlines, filled in with color. His style was thought to be highly expressive. Huang Ch'uan developed a hidden outline technique in which faint outlines were covered over by color. Originally it was probably highly realistic in appearance, and thus was considered more professional. This technique was later thought to develop into the mokkotsu manner, and was thought to have been invented by Hsu Hsi's grandson, Hsu Ch'ung-ssu, who chose to imitate Huang Ch'uan's style rather than his grandfather's because Huang's was in favor at the court.

Despite Kazan's discourse to Chinzan, his interpretation of the history of these two styles for bird-and-flower painting remains far from clear. For this study, it is sufficient to state that by linking Baiitsu's name with that of Hsu Hsi's, Kazan was attempting to denigrate Baiitsu, perhaps for implying that his paintings were somehow less naturalistic (more sha-i than shasei). In fact, as pointed out in chapter three of this study, Baiitsu had stated that "painters should do their own studies from life (shasei) and transform them into their own conception (sha-i)." One would imagine that Kazan would like to be considered an inheritor of the Chinese literati painting tradition and thus align himself with Hsu Hsi. Perhaps though, due to Kazan's interest in western-style painting, he preferred the more realistic approach associated with Huang Ch'uan's lineage. It is unfortunate that Kazan could not see the merits of a painter like Baiitsu who combined elements of both the Huang Ch'uan and Hsu Hsi traditions to form a style

uniquely his own.

The earliest known dated painting by Baiitsu which may be considered of the bird-and-flower genre, is his Juniper and Flowers, which was painted in 1815 for Masuyama Sessai's sixty-first birthday (plate 97). The subject, an old juniper tree, is an auspicious symbol among the literati of China and Japan, and thus was a fitting subject for a birthday painting. Light colors are used to define the forms; pink for the flowers, brown for the tree trunk, and green for the foliage. On the trunk of the tree, the texture of the surface is delineated with hemp-fiber strokes reminiscent of that used by the Ming painter Wen Cheng-ming and his followers.[18] The dotting technique also seems to be an emulation of Wen Cheng-ming's style. However, the richness of texture which distinguish Wen's paintings is absent here. The dots in this painting are all rather dark and clearly separated from one another. The overall effect is quite flat and decorative. The technique for both the dotting and the outlines reveals a tentative handling of the brush. Baiitsu is working hard at achieving a desired effect and as a result, the brushwork lacks the smooth-flowing rhythm found in his later paintings. In general, the outlines for the forms and the depiction of the flowers resemble those in Baiitsu's 1818 ink-monochrome handscroll of flowers (plates 87-88). In both paintings, the relative dark to light contrasts have been exaggerated in the use of shading, the outlines waver and vary in thickness, and the shapes of the flowers appear rather unnatural.

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[18]See for comparison Wen's Seven Junipers of Ch'ang-shu dated 1532, illustrated in: Edwards, The Art of Wen Cheng-ming, plate XXX.

Another bird-and-flower work which was probably done quite close in time to the preceeding one is an album brushed in ink and light colors, of birds-and-flowers (plates 98-101). Although it is undated, the opening inscription is by Kashiwagi Jōtei, who died in 1819. Thus, the album must pre-date his death. Since we know that Baiitsu probably met Jōtei in the spring of 1815, the album probably dates between then and 1819. In this album, some of the leaves portray literati plant subjects, while others are purely decorative representations of birds-and-flowers. For the leaves which represent literati plant subjects, birds and other flowers are frequently included, and this increases the decorative effect. The style is somewhat reminiscent of Wang Wu's, particularly his album of plant subjects dated 1676 and now in the Osaka Municipal Museum.[19]

Particular leaves of this album exhibit characteristics similar to other of his works dating from the 1810s. In the leaf, Outlined Bamboo, Flowers, and a Bird (plate 98), the depiction of the outlines for the bamboo resembles those found in his 1815 Juniper Tree and Flowers. In another, Narcissus, Rock, and Bird (plate 99), the style is like that in his 1818 handscroll (plate 88), although that scroll was brushed exclusively in ink, and color is used here. In both works, the leaves of the plant are twisted at sharp angles and do not have a smooth and graceful flow. Here, the rock shape may be considered a precursor to the squared-off, bulging form at which Baiitsu and Chikutō both excelled later. The form appears flat, with insufficient utilization of texture

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[19]See: Osaka Municipal Museum of Fine Art, editor, Chinese Paintings in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art (Tokyo, 1975), plate 148.

strokes and dotting to convey substance. The treatment of the bird exhibits similar tendencies. It is brushed exclusively in ink-monochrome. Like the flowers in Baiitsu's 1818 handscroll, the ink tones here are either very dark or quite light and each stroke is carefully delineated. The ink appears to have been dabbed onto the paper with many tiny brushstrokes, creating a rough texture and disjointed effect. Nevertheless, the bird seems to be imbued with a lively spirit as he ruffles his feathers and rests on the ground quite naturally with feet firmly planted. It is remarkable that Baiitsu's birds, even those painted at this early a date, exhibit such naturalistic tendencies. This must be derived from direct observation, rather than from copying other artists' works.

The album leaf, Peonies and a Bird (plate 100) clearly shows Baiitsu's early style for birds-and-flowers. The bird here, like that in the previous leaf discussed, is composed of contrasting dark and light ink tones. He is naturalistically posed, tenaciously clutching a branch. The boneless manner is used to depict the leaves, and, as in the 1818 handscroll, the leaf shapes appear awkward--flat rather than volumetric. This is due to the lack of variation in the application of the colors. The peony flowers are brushed in just two shades of pink, similar to the color application for the flowers in Baiitsu's 1815 Juniper Tree and Flowers. In both these works, the colors for the flowers are markedly darker at the edges of the forms. The meticulous delineation of each vein in the flowers creates a striped effect which further intensifies the flatness and decorative appeal.

In another leaf, A Bird on a Rock (plate 101), the large form of the rock dominates the composition. Yet, despite its predominance, the articulation of the rock's surface is quite simple, and as a result the form appears flat. The rock's delineation, with heavy outlines interspersed with large dabs of ink at the corners, is reminiscent of Baiitsu's undated Bamboo, Rock, and Fungus of Immortality (plate 69). Thus, the latter painting probably was brushed around the same time as the album, or perhaps slightly later.

Dated paintings of birds-and-flowers by Baiitsu done in the 1820s are extremely rare. Nevertheless, in an undated pair of hanging scrolls, Birds, Flowers, and Rocks (plates 102-103), Baiitsu's style for the latter part of this decade is exhibited. In the left scroll (plate 102), the shape of the rock is similar to that in the previously discussed album leaf, A Bird on a Rock (plate 101). In both works, the appearance of the rocks is flat due to little contour modeling. However, the rock in this hanging scroll displays a greater three-dimensional presence, partly as a result of the irregularity of the shape. The outlines of the rock are still angular, but the large dabs of ink which were visible at the corners of the rock in the former album are absent. Thus, this scroll must have been painted later than the album. The shape of the rock in this hanging scroll resembles more closely the rock in Baiitsu's undated Bamboo and Rock (plate 66) which was previously discussed as being a product of the mid to late 1820s. The flowers retain a meticulous delineation of veins on the petals. Yet, the shapes of the flowers and leaves of the narcissus plants in the foreground display more grace of movement than those found in the

earlier bird-and-flower album. These factors also point to an 1820s date for the painting.

The right scroll of this pair (plate 103) contains a Chinese-style rock similar to the middle rock of the three in Baiitsu's 1833 Handscroll of Rocks (plate 70). The shape of this rock is obviously much more complex in conception than that in his earlier Bamboo, Rock, and Fungus of Immortality (plate 69). Nevertheless, particularly in the dotting technique used for the delineation of the grasses in the foreground of this pair of hanging scrolls, there is closer affinity to the painting of Bamboo, Rock, and Fungus of Immortality than there is to the Handscroll of Rocks dated 1833. Also similar to the former painting is the style for depicting the bamboo leaves. The slender, elongated strokes seem more confident yet perhaps less so than in Baiitsu's 1835 Bamboo (plate 68) which also depicts bamboo leaves in the same style. Based on the relationship of this pair of hanging scrolls with the various other paintings by Baiitsu discussed above, this pair seems to date from the mid to late 1820s. Other features of Baiitsu's style of this time which are present include the style of the brushwork used to define the tree trunk in the right scroll (heavy outlines with little interior modeling), the use of strongly contrasting tones of ink for representing the flowers, and the meticulous execution of the birds.

By the time Baiitsu arrived in Kyoto in 1832, his bird-and-flower style was already quite developed. Thus it is not unusual that in his business arrangement with Chikutō he agreed to accept commissions for birds-and-flowers and deferred to Chikutō in landscapes. Baiitsu must have indeed received more commissions for bird-and-flower paintings from

this time on. Of his works remaining today or available for study through photographs, paintings of birds-and-flowers dated 1833 and after are much more numerous than those with earlier dates.

A superb example of Baiitsu's bird-and-flower style from the time he first moved to Kyoto is his 1833 Flowers, Butterflies, and Wasps (plates 104-105). In comparison to his earlier undated pair of hanging scrolls, Birds, Flowers, and Rocks, particularly the right scroll of the pair (plate 103), this scroll contains more spatial depth. The rock contours are more fully modeled with contrasting areas of light and shade; the foreground land mass has been expanded to include a greater number of elements, with the land itself rendered with muted areas of wash; and the plants growing from behind the rock are drawn with extreme clarity, appearing to emerge from behind the rock, not above its summit. Baiitsu also used greater care in his application of colors and definition of the shapes of the flowers. Although still meticulously accurate in detailing the flowers, an increased sense of naturalism has been achieved. From a detail of the painting (plate 105), this effect may also be seen in the flowers, wasps, and long, slender, twisted leaves of the foreground. Baiitsu captured the intricacies of nature well; all the myriad living things are entwined in a dense spatial setting rich with detail. Quite similar to this painting in spatial conception and use of shading is Baiitsu's White Prunus (plate 54) of 1834. Although the latter scroll is brushed with ink alone, it creates a similar feeling of richness and elegance. Perhaps in this hanging scroll of Flowers, Butterflies, and Wasps, Baiitsu was influenced by the paintings of the Chinese artist, Chang Ch'iu-ku (plate 19) whose

luxurious style seems remarkably close to this work. In Chang's painting, like in Baiitsu's, great attention is paid to definition of the foreground land mass; there are long grasses, flowering plants, rocks, and a carpet of soft earth. The twisting of the leaves of the lily in Chang's painting is similar to the treatment of the same flower in Baiitsu's scroll. The conception of the rocks is also alike-- dark shading creates a three-dimensional effect. In general however, Chang's brushwork is more restrained and subdued than Baiitsu's. This is evident when examining the outlines of the rocks and bamboo, and the veins of the leaves. Baiitsu's outlines vary in thickness, creating an interesting contrast in an otherwise meticulous and refined picture.

Baiitsu's style for birds-and-flowers changed little after this time. However, like in his paintings of literati plants, as he matured Baiitsu became more relaxed and self-confident in his brush techniques, and his application of ink tones became more subtle. These tendencies are clearly visible in his 1845 Album of Birds-and-Flowers (plates 106-109). Of the twenty leaves which comprise this album, some contain light colors while others are brushed purely in tones of ink. The subjects range from rather standard depictions of birds on flowering branches or flowers alone, to literati subjects of orchids, bamboo, and narcissus. The leaves are brushed in various techniques, from boneless to outlined. In one leaf (plate 106), Baiitsu chose to depict a group of orchids by a rock in ink-monochrome, but added pale blue dots of ink to the foreground. The soft grey ink tones of the flowers and the delicately curving leaves give this album leaf a quiet charm. The rock has been articulated with similar ease of execution. Although its shape

is like that in some of his earlier representations, there are no angles protruding from the edges; instead they are gently curved and harmonize with the flowers. Similar in feeling to this leaf is another which depicts an uprooted narcissus plant and a twig from a flowering plum tree, (plate 107). In this leaf there is an increased use of lightly colored washes. Again, the brushwork is soft and rounded. This depiction of narcissus seems quite different in appearance from that found in Baiitsu's earlier bird-and-flower album (plate 99), but quite close to that of his 1837 Handscroll of Literati Plants (plate 92), despite the fact that the latter is rendered exclusively in ink.

A leaf of this 1845 album containing peonies (plate 108) is quite extraordinary. The flowers are depicted in the boneless manner; the main one in pale shades of pink, and the others in yellow. Green is used for the leaves, while the veins of the leaves are delineated by dark swirls of ink, a marked change from the tight, linear representation of veins in his earlier flower paintings. Stylistically, the main flower is like the peony in the aforementioned ink-monochrome Handscroll of Literati Plants dated 1837 (plate 91). However, the incredible delicacy in the application of the colors in this album leaf creates an even more exquisite beauty.

This same sensitivity is extended to the representation of birds in this album. One leaf displays a sparrow perched on the edge of a shallow, potted plant (plate 109). The simple arrangement of the elements and the liveliness of the bird's pose creates a charming composition balanced perfectly by the softly flowing calligraphy. Stylistically, the brushwork depicting the dish resembles that found in

Baiitsu's 1850 uta-e of a teapot (plate 46), and unlike the other leaves of this album signed with the name "Baiitsu," he has here inscribed "Ryō," the name he used on all his uta-e works. No doubt, the intimacy of the imagery in this album is at least partially derived from the nature of the format. Nevertheless, even among mature-style bird-and-flower albums by Baiitsu, this one stands out as a unique example of the closeness between his style for depicting literati plants and that of birds-and-flowers.

Baiitsu's talent as a painter derives from his versatility as well as from his masterful brush technique. One of his most impressive bird-and-flower works done exclusively in ink-monochrome, is his 1846 Hawk in Snow (plate 110) which he presented to a Doctor Koishi in 1849 in exchange for treatment. The mood of this painting is entirely different from the bird-and-flower album just discussed, which had been brushed but one year earlier. Dominating the picture is the brooding figure of a hawk huddled on a bare, twisted branch seemingly suspended in midair. The snow covered branch provides a fitting perch for the bird and amplifies the intensity of the mood. The dynamic composition, with the branch emerging from one side of the scroll has been seen before in some of Baiitsu's paintings of plum trees. Most similar in effect is his earlier Plum Branch in Snow (plate 56). However, this scroll of a Hawk in Snow by Baiitsu is a much more powerful image. Baiitsu displayed great skill in defining the snow with bare areas of

silk edged with jagged layers of varying tones of ink.[20] The wash for the background is applied with greater finesse around the edges of the branches, and the sharp, ragged shapes for the branch tips are much stronger. Clusters of bamboo emerge from the cliff. The quick, choppy rhythm of the brushwork delineating the bamboo leaves is not unlike that of the bamboo leaves in his screen of Pine and Bamboo (plate 61). Paintings of hawks and other birds in snowy settings were frequent subjects for Japanese artists beginning in the Muromachi period. Nanga artists, too, often portrayed birds in the snow. Baiitsu's friend, Chikutō, painted several versions of birds on snow-ladden branches in similar compositions,[21] and Baiitsu painted a number of other related works, most datable to the late 1840s and early 1850s.

His 1847 pair of screens of Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons (plates 111-112) is more typical of Baiitsu's professional bird-and-flower painting style. Not unlike his previously discussed pair of screens of Plum and Bamboo and Pine and Bamboo (plates 59-62), the plum and pine trees are again the main elements. However, the austerity and simplicity of the other screens are completely absent here, as there is much use of color, and the composition is rich and full of detail. In the right screen (plate 112), a small waterfall flows rapidly into the foreground and turns into a stream along whose banks grow a myriad assortment of plants and from which rises a towering

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[20]For further discussion of this painting, and excellent photographs, see: Joan Stanley-Baker, Nanga, Idealist Painting of Japan (Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1980), catalogue number 29.

[21]One dated 1838 is illustrated in: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Literati Paintings from Japan, catalogue number 40.

cliff. As one's view shifts to the left screen (plate 111), the stream broadens and fades away into a misty background. Along the left foreground bank grows a group of tall pines and chrysanthemums, and farther up the slope, bamboo. Amidst all of this, a variety of birds may be seen resting on the tree limbs or swooping through the air. In this pair of screens, Baiitsu has combined a number of brush techniques--careful delineation of the flowers and birds, rough textured dabs of ink for the tree trunks, and many varieties of washes. Baiitsu even employs tarashikomi on some of the foreground rocks. In this technique, popular among Rimpa school artists, pigments are dropped onto an already painted surface which is still wet, causing an uneven distribution of the ink.

Another painting which combined literati plants and trees with more formal bird-and-flower subjects is his 1849 Sparrows on a Plum Tree (plate 113). Unlike his pure literati paintings of plum trees in which the branches grow in organic and wild profusion, the branches here appear much more artifically arranged. A pictorially pleasing, decorative composition has been achieved. In contrast to the trees in his 1845 Plum Branch (plate 58), or his very late undated Large Plum (plate 63), the plum tree in this scroll is more carefully conceived. However, in contrast to his earlier bird-and-flower paintings such as the right scroll of his early undated pair of hanging scrolls of Birds, Flowers, and Rocks (plate 103), the ink tones here are much softer in appearance. Definition of the rock and the tree trunk is accomplished less through strokes of the brush and more through subtle use of washes. Even the dots of ink which define the foreground land mass in this 1849

painting are wetter and rounder in appearance than those of the much earlier work. The birds, too, seem more graceful in appearance. Altogether, the painting presents a much smoother, more harmonious image.

Although Baiitsu did not often depict cherry trees, his conception of them, compositionally and stylistically, was close to his portrayal of plum trees. An undated triptych showing three varieties of cherry trees (plates 114-117s)--weeping cherry on the right, double cherry in the center, and the standard variety on the left--must be considered one of the masterpieces among flower subjects produced during his mature years. Like the tree trunk in the 1849 Sparrow on a Plum Tree, the tree trunks in this triptych are portrayed with similar use of modulated washes, but the edges of the trees bleed into the background. Unlike the 1849 work, there are no outlines to any of the forms. In these scrolls, Baiitsu's careful observation of the different varieties of cherry trees is apparent. Yet, this is not just a technically accurate rendering, for the paintings are imbued with an unmistakably gentle, dream-like quality. Faint grey washes permeate the sky, and in the central scroll, the pale light of a full moon is visible through layers of haze. Colors are applied with remarkable sensitivity; there are light greenish-blue dabs and washes of ink on the trunks to represent moss, pink buds, white fully-blossoming flower petals, and greenish-red leaves etched with red veins. The flower petals of the double cherry tree in particular are captivating in their beauty (plate 117). Faint white pigment has been applied to represent lower layers of petals, while for those petals on the top, the color is deeper. As a result,

the flowers appear almost translucent. Tiny dots of green ink define the central portions of the flowers, and aid in bringing the image into focus. In this triptych, Baiitsu's gift as a painter is clear. He has shown remarkable ability to capture, with a variety of techniques, not just the exterior forms of the subjects portrayed, but to infuse these forms with a lyrical and poetic sensibility.

Baiitsu's reliance on wash as a primary brush technique in his paintings increased in his later years. His Pine Tree and Magpies (plates 118-119), although undated, must be among those works he produced towards the very end of his life. The diagonal composition, with only the midsection of the tree visible and no indication of background, has been seen many times before in Baiitsu's paintings. However, the application of the ink has reached new heights in freedom and luminosity. The washes on the tree trunk are applied to indicate volume by leaving random sections of silk blank, or exposing very light tones of ink alongside darker ones (plate 119). The effect must have been derived from the Nagasaki School style, but unlike painters of that school who used more actual brushstrokes to delineate forms, Baiitsu relied strictly on broad layers of wash. In 1853, Baiitsu was shown a painting of Birds on a Pine Tree (plate 15) by Shen Nan-p'in. Although the composition of that painting is not exactly the same, it is close enough to suggest that it may have served as a model for this hanging scroll by Baiitsu. Certainly, the brush technique is different, but the conception of the pine needles and groupings of birds, is similar. Baiitsu's wash technique is much less meticulous than that seen in the pine trees of the two pairs of screens just discussed (plates 59-62,

111-112). Similar divergence from earlier brush practice is evident in the delineation of the pine needles. In this scroll, dark, sharply pointed masses of needles have a density so great that the branches from which they emerge have been completely obliterated. They are arranged in seemingly uncontrolled, yet lucid clusters. This is much different than the pine needles in the previously mentioned screen of Pine and Bamboo (plate 62) whose sparsely spaced needles allow the paper and branches beneath them to shine through. Contrasting this free, diffuse brushwork are the standard, carefully delineated magpies.

Baiitsu's ability to capture a specific mood is felt in his 1854 Geese and Reeds (plate 120). Paintings like this one, of geese drawn exclusively in ink-monochrome, were one of Baiitsu's specialties, and many versions of this theme remain. In this picture, the tall grasses, reeds swaying in the breeze, and the geese huddled together, with one of them crying out, convey a sense of desolation at the coming of autumn. The lack of colors, sensitivity in the brushwork, and skillful depiction of the geese in the mokkotsu manner, enhance the somber mood. There is much use of atmospheric wash to dissolve the background into nothingness, much like the trenchant atmosphere which pervades his 1851 Bamboo, Cliff, and Stream (plate 75) and 1853 Bamboo by a Stream (plate 76). The tangled masses of reeds brushed with Baiitsu's characteristic rough, sharp strokes are much like the bamboo in his paintings of that subject of the 1850s, particularly his 1851 Bamboo, Cliff, and Stream (plate 75).

From the selected examples of Baiitsu's bird-and-flower paintings prsented in this chapter, great diversity of subject-matter and

technique have been observed. Although clearly a professional, turning out large quantities of bird-and-flower paintings for sale, Baiitsu did not compromise quality for quantity, and in fact his technique improved considerably over time. Furthermore, he was able to individualize his pictures by continually maintaining high standards of excellence.

Baiitsu's Painting Style as Seen in His Paintings of Plants, Trees, and Birds-and-Flowers

Many of the same brush techniques, compositional devices, and subject-matter are evident in Baiitsu's paintings of literati plant and tree subjects as well as in his bird-and-flower paintings. Thus, all these paintings exhibit parallel trends in stylistic development. It was shown that in his early paintings, roughly dating between 1810 and 1820, evidence of a youthful hand was exhibited. Shapes were not coherently defined and objects often appeared flat, despite a meticulously accurate portrayal of each element. Outlines of forms varied in thickness and were not well-controlled, often with large dabs of ink at corners of the rocks and unnatural angularity in the twisting of plant leaves. There were strong dark-light contrasts in both washes and texture strokes.

In the 1820s, Baiitsu's style gradually matured. This was a time of experimentation with various brush techniques, compositions, and subject-matter. His forms still retained strong dark-light contrasting ink tones and careful delineation of details. His rock shapes continued to be somewhat flat, but there was increasing use of brushwork to model the interiors of the forms. Outlines for plant leaves, rocks, and trees

no longer appeared as choppy. Although some of the earlier predilection towards angularity was retained, the large dabs of ink at the ends of the strokes were eliminated, thus making the brushwork more graceful in appearance. In general, forms became more well-defined and complex, and the brushwork began to exhibit signs of increasing confidence.

The 1830s was still a time of experimentation, but by now Baiitsu's characteristic brushwork and reportoire of styles was almost completely formed. His paintings of this decade are characterized by an increased sense of depth, particularly noticeable in an expansion of the foreground space. Accompanying this were more fully modeled contours for rocks defined with increased subtlety in shading. The great care Baiitsu now took in the application of colors and the definition of shapes helped create increased coherency in the relationship of elements within each painting. Baiitsu's paintings still contained meticulously accurate delineation of the elements, but now the total effect was richer and more elegant, with a heightened sense of naturalism.

The 1840s was a time of great activity for Baiitsu. He had reached his maturity as a painter and his distinctive style was now completely formed, and quite popular. His brush technique became more relaxed and confident; the application of ink tones and colors was more subtle, and brushwork was softer and less angular. Although still concerned with presenting an accurate rendering of the subjects he painted, there was now less emphasis on meticulous delineation of forms and more on capturing the spirit of what he portrayed. Individual paintings became imbued with their own particular moods. This was often achieved through a wider variety of brush techniques being present in a single painting.

In the 1850s, Baiitsu's style resembled closely that of the 1840s. However, some of these paintings suggest even greater spatial depth through an increased sense of misty atmosphere. Often these paintings relied heavily on various kinds of wash as a primary brush technique, and forms frequently became defined through the use of the boneless manner. This preference for wash over actual brushstrokes has led some critics of Baiitsu's style to link him with Maruyama and Shijō school painters. However, in works by artists of those schools, the manipulation of the ink washes produces a far different, much more simplified effect from that observed in Baiitsu's paintings. Baiitsu's brushwork in these latest of his works became unparalleled in its freedom and vigor. To the end, Baiitsu's painting technique remained strong and confident.

CHAPTER FIVE

LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS BY BAIITSU

Japanese Nanga artists of Baiitsu's time strove unceasingly to become the inheritors of the orthodox Chinese literati painting tradition. As a Nanga painter, Baiitsu logically chose often to paint landscapes, a traditional Chinese subject for the expression of literati taste. In China, scenes from nature were considered the most noble subject matter for paintings. Nature was thought of as divine and pure; through the painting of landscapes, a literatus could express his upright character, which was free of worldly ambitions and sentimentality. Later Chinese artists considered landscapes by artists of the amateur Southern school the proper models to follow. This largely held true for Japanese Nanga painters, yet the Japanese artists did not always strictly adhere to this as a rule. Some artists chose instead to incorporate elements of the professional Northern school into their works, as well as elements derived from painting traditions of their own country. Thus, they were able to achieve a more independent style. Although learning painting techniques from teachers was always important, many conservative Nanga artists of the generation prior to Baiitsu began to eschew following the work of earlier Japanese Nanga painters. They wished to become more like the proper Chinese literatus

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[1]As several excellent dissertations on Nanga artists of generations prior to Baiitsu's have already been completed, it is not necessary to elaborate further on background material. For a pithy summary of Nanga painting up to Baiitsu's time, see: Addiss, Uragami Gyokudo: The Complete Literati Artist, pp. 320-328.

by painting pictures which were based more directly on Chinese models.[1] As a result, compositions and art historical models varied little from painter to painter, although artists did tend to specialize in particular motifs, compositions, and brush mannerisms. Thus, Baiitsu's landscape paintings will be treated in this chapter with specific reference to the Chinese painting traditions by which he was inspired, and with emphasis upon establishing his range of stylistic types within a chronological development.

Baiitsu's Landscapes up to 1832

As a young artist in Nagoya, Baiitsu studied the relatively few Chinese paintings and printed books which were available to him through his mentor, Kamiya Ten'yū. However, perhaps because of the scarcity of these Chinese materials, he also took as models paintings by local Nanga artists.

Perhaps the earliest surviving landscape by Baiitsu is his Spring Landscape (plate 121), signed "Shun'en," a name he utilized during his early life in Nagoya. The painting is undated, but because of the name with which he signed it, we can speculate that he brushed it prior to 1809. Although it is not known precisely when he abandoned the use of the name "Shun'en," the earliest reference to his use of the name "Baiitsu" occurred in 1809, in his inscription to Chikutō's book, Chikutō gakō. Presumably, Baiitsu had already stopped using the name "Shun'en" as a signature by then, but he did continue to use the name on his seals. In this painting, there is very deep foreground space, with an upwardly tilting land area receding into a large area of water

in the middleground and a screen of mountains beyond. The general style exhibits similarities with that which was popular in the 1790s; for example, Kuwayama Gyokushū's Landscape (plate 122) dated 1798, and a Landscape (plate 123) by the Confucian scholar and Nanga painter of Nagoya, Nakano Ryūden (1756-1811). Both these paintings contain areas of land which tip up unnaturally, and, like Baiitsu's landscape, are highlighted by shades of light pink and blue. In Ryūden's landscape, the influence of Ikeno Taiga may be seen in his use of wiggly, rounded outlines, light smatterings of dots, and careful arrangement of patterns for foliage. These features are seen in Baiitsu's painting also. Furthermore, Baiitsu's dependence on Chinese models is already evident in this landscape. He represents forms by the use of standardized types which appear in the pages of the Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting. This is particularly noticeable in the tall, dark trees of the middleground, the foliage of which is largely defined through horizontal dabs and lines of ink. The large leaning tree near the water was also a favorite motif of Chinese painters, especially those since the time of Wen Cheng-ming.

The earliest known dated landscape by Baiitsu is his Landscape brushed in the summer of 1814 (plate 124), which contains a poetic inscription by the Confucian scholar, Yamamura Yoshiyuki. In comparison with the earlier landscape, the composition is slightly more complex, comprised of a greater number of elements whose shapes display less regularity. It is a more stable composition as well--the ground plane is not tipped up obliquely and the tree sizes are in better proportion to the surrounding land. In this scroll, foliage on the trees and

mountains is arranged in neat, rounded clumps, not unlike that seen in Chikutō's book, Chikutō gakō (plate 125) which had been published in 1812. The natural forms of the mountains and cliff are generally defined through outlining and small dense clusters of dots arbitrarilty placed at irregular intervals over the edges. There are very few actual texture strokes to delineate contours and create a more solidly structured three-dimensional presence.

Several months after painting the landscape done in the summer of 1814, Baiitsu brushed a Landscape with Figure in a Boat (plates 126-127) in the mid autumn of 1814. Baiitsu may have been in Edo at the time he painted this, and if not, he had certainly arrived there with this painting in hand, by the spring of the following year when two poets living in Edo at that time, Ōkubo Shibutsu and Kashiwagi Jōtei respectively, inscribed the following poems on the painting:[2]

> Sometimes resembling fog, sometimes smoke, sometimes rain,
> The vague sheets of mist blend together.
> A breeze arises and quickly passes,
> In front of the mountains, a girdle of clouds form.
> Written by Old Man Shibutsu for Ki Hyakunen.[3]

似霧似煙還似雨
靄々漠々更紛々
須臾風起吹將去
去作前山一帶雲

> The cry of spring birds linger, but spring cannot be retained.
> Countless fallen blossoms are scattered in the mountain stream.

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[2]Both poems were translated with the assistance of John Stevens.

[3]This poem also appears on a landscape by Tani Buncho dated 1833. See: BSN Niigata Bijutsukan, Nihon bunjingaten, Tani Buncho (Niigata, 1978), number 44. Judging from the contents of the poem in comparison with the scene portrayed, Shibutsu's poem appears to be a much better description of Baiitsu's landscape than of Buncho's. Thus, it was probably written specifically for Baiitsu's picture.

A fisherman mourns the passing of the spring wind,
As he anchors his boat in the twilight beneath
the green cliffs.
Written by Jōtei Sanjin for Hyakunen in the late
spring of [1815].

啼鳥留春春不留
落紅無數過溪流
漁人更惜東風別
絲艖崖邊獨駐舟

The imagery of both these poems beautifully complements the landscape brushed by Baiitsu. It must have been high honor for such a young artist to have two such eminent poets write verses specifically for his painting. This is undoubtedly the finest landscape by Baiitsu discussed thus far. Compositionally it retains the deep foreground space and wide expanse of water which were present in Baiitsu's earliest landscape (plate 121). However, the mountains which form the background do not terminate in an abrupt screen as in the earlier work. Instead, there is a break in the slope to the left where a misty valley leads the eye farther back into the distance where washes define a more distant range of peaks. Like his landscape painted in the summer of 1814, Baiitsu defines the foliage with dense, rounded clusters of dots and dabs of ink. In the immediate foreground of this painting, a tree gently arches over the figure in the boat, to form a point of focus for the viewer. This compositional device has already been seen in Baiitsu's Spring Landscape as well as in his Landscape dated to the summer of 1814. It is a motif which Baiitsu would favor throughout his career. The most distinct differences between this painting and other early landscapes by Baiitsu are the increased complexity and unity of the elements in the composition, combined with more refined and varied brush techniques.

There are several distinct types of trees depicted, in numerous sizes and shapes. The mountains and rocks are for the first time defined by a smoothly rounded overlapping of hemp-fiber texture strokes, washes, and tiny dark dots (plate 127). This results in the appearance of crevices and ridges on the surface of the mountain. Brushwork like this originated in Sung Dynasty China with the artists Tung Yuan and Chu-jan becoming a chief method by which literati artists would define mountain forms.

An undated landscape, Maple Viewing (plates 128-129) must also belong to the late 1810s. Like the landscape brushed in the summer of 1814, the mountains and rock forms are mostly angular, the foliage is arranged in neat patterns, and the composition is clearly divided diagonally into a foreground and background, with the background mountains forming a solid barrier to a more distant view. In this picture however, there is more of an attempt to define the contours of the mountains with vertical and horizontal strokes of the brush (plate 129). It is not unlike the brushwork found in Shunkin's Landscape dated 1818 (plates 130-131). Overall however, Shunkin's brushwork is lighter and more feathery than Baiitsu's. This distinctive horizontal application of layers of ink, darkest and densest at the folds of the mountains, appears to have been derived from a stylistic device employed by the Chinese painter in residence in Nagasaki, Chiang Chia-p'u. Chiang's Handscroll of Mount T'ien -t'ai (plate 21) which was brought to Nagoya in 1817, has already been discussed in Chapter Three of this study, and this work may be the model for certain brush mannerisms of Baiitsu and Shunkin.

One distinct style for landscape painting was based on a type attributed to the literatus, Mi Fu (1051-1107), of Sung Dynasty China. Held in highest esteem by the Chinese and later Japanese Nanga artists, the most distinctive feature of this style is that the mountains and trees are built up of overlapping layers of horizontal, oval-shaped dots. Because of the subtle variations in ink tones with which these "Mi dots" could be applied, the mountains would often appear drenched in mist. Of course, by Baiitsu's time this Mi style had become codified and was quite far removed from its true origins. The Mi style was distinctive because by painting in this style, one overtly displayed affinity with and knowledge of an important tradition within the scope of Chinese literati painting. It was especially favored because Mi Fu, considered the originator of the style, was thought of as the epitome of the classical Chinese scholar-gentleman. The Mi style was not a method by which to depict charming pictures. Paintings in the Mi manner would usually be brushed exclusively in ink and thus appear rather austere to the eye of the uninitiated. Baiitsu's friend, Chikutō, favored the Mi style highly, despite the fact that his teacher, Yamada Kyūjō, admonished him to avoid it because it would not be understood by viewers.[4] Baiitsu also painted in this style throughout his career.

The earliest extant painting by Baiitsu brushed in the Mi style is his undated Landscape in the Style of Mi Fu (plate 132). This painting may be roughly dated to between 1809 and 1813, based on the painting style and the characters with which he signed his name. Baiitsu signed this work "Baiitsu" (梅佚) using a character for "itsu" which he

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[4]Kanematsu, Chikutō to Baiitsu, p.94.

abandoned fairly early.[5] The composition of this landscape, with the deep foreground space which upwardly tilts towards the tall screen of mountains in the distance, is not unlike that in Baiitsu's Spring Landscape (plate 121). In this painting, the Mi dots are more like horizontal lines than oval dots, close in style to, but not as well developed as the texture strokes on the mountains in Baiitsu's undated Maple Viewing (plates 128-129).

A second early undated Mi Style Landscape (plate 133) forms part of a set of three hanging scrolls along with two calligraphic poem scrolls by Ōkubo Shibutsu. Because Baiitsu did not meet Shibutsu until 1815, the painting probably dates from that year or later. Although difficult to date precisely, the simplicity of the composition, strong contrasts among the ink tones, and large patches of blank areas of paper are indications of a relatively early date (ca. 1815-1820). This painting

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[5]In addition to this painting, there are only two known instances of Baiitsu's use of this character. The first is in his signature to his Portrait of the Haiku Poet Takeda Kiroku (plate 41). Since Kiroku died in 1809 and Inoue Shiro, who wrote the accompanying poem died in 1812, this portrait must date to 1812 or earlier. The second instance of Baiitsu's use of this variant form of the "itsu" character is in the signature of his preface to Chikutō's book, Chikutō gakō, which he dated in accordance with 1809. Although it is not known when Baiitsu began signing his works with the name "Baiitsu," we known that on the album he made of his trip along the Sanyodō in 1803, he was still using the names "Shun'en," "Shinryo," and "Meikyo." However, by 1814, he was using the character "itsu" (逸) on all his paintings, and it is also used in a short biography published that year in the printed book, Meika gafu. According to Kanematsu Romon in his book, Chikutō to Baiitsu (page 176), Kamiya Ten'yū may have bestowed the name "Baiitsu" on the young artist around the time he was twenty, or he acquired the name by the time he was twenty-two. Kanematsu indicates he does not know exactly when Baiitsu changed the "itsu" character of his name, but said he had been shown a painting by Baiitsu dated to 1813 which still used the earlier form of the character (page 180). Thus, from Kanematsu's statement and extant visual materials, it may be assumed that Baiitsu changed the character for his name in 1813. This painting then, must date no later than that year.

is unusual in comparison with other Mi style landscapes by Baiitsu, for in addition to a pervasive mist, sheets of rain can be seen falling diagonally in the lower half of the scroll. This effect has been achieved through an increased application of washes, a brush technique utilized by Baiitsu's contemporary and fellow Nanga painter, Okada Hankō (1782-1846), but one more associated with artists of the Shijō school than Nanga. Baiitsu apparently abandoned the purity of the Mi manner for a more eclectic approach, and by doing so began to display stylistic tendencies which distinguish his later landscape painting styles.

A third early undated landscape, Landscape in the Mi Style with a Waterfall (plate 134), exhibits similarities with the work just discussed. Particularly similar are the large areas of blank paper representing mist, the simple repetitive shapes of the sharply contrasting ink tones in the Mi dots, and the use of only three different ink tones throughout the picture. Different however are the expansion and complexity of the composition. Instead of receding vertically in a relatively straight line as in the former work, the main mountain has been broken into several distinct layers separated by mist. The mountain's form is animated through an s-curve recession into space which begins in the immediate right foreground of the picture and extends with an unbroken rhythm to the top of the farthest peak. Like the earliest Landscape in the Style of Mi Fu known by Baiitsu (plate 132), this painting contains a very deep foreground space. Yet, unlike that early work, there is no abrupt change in the angle of the perspective between the middleground and the background. Baiitsu has also introduced, for the first time in his Mi landscapes, outlines for

the mountains and foreground land areas. This use of outlines, and the highlighting of the mountains in certain areas with dense clusters of Mi dots, closely resemble techniques practiced by Tani Buncho in his Mi Style Landscape (plate 135) dated 1820. It is quite conceivable that Baiitsu's scroll dates from around the same time, or perhaps slightly later, for during the early 1820s, Baiitsu seemed to have associated with Kanto literati as much as with literati from the Kansai.

By the mid 1820s, Baiitsu had already developed quite a different style for his landscapes. In his Landscape dated 1826 (plate 136) the brushwork is more varied in type, the composition appears even more structurally sound than in his Landscape in the Mi Style with a Waterfall (plate 134), and there is an increased diversity in the representation of individual elements, with greater attention to details. Baiitsu's composition still retains the deep foreground space seen in many of his earlier landscapes, but he relies less on blank areas of mist and water to unify the composition, and more on forms defined by subtle gradations in ink tones. This is a richer painting in appearance.

In the same year, Baiitsu also painted a Winter Landscape (plate 137). Like Mi style landscapes, paintings of winter scenes form a special genre within the category of literati landscape painting. Winter landscapes became especially popular subjects from the time of the Wu school in the sixteenth century in China. Baiitsu's picture is quite competently brushed, capturing the crystalline quality of the barren trees and ice encrusted peaks. However, it is not an exciting or original creation. The composition, in fact, is practically

identical to that of his Landscape of 1826; but the shapes for the outlines of the mountains, the pervasive quality of the mist, and the brushwork have been altered. Like those of many other contemporary literati painters, these two landscapes by Baiitsu are distinct from each other more for their variations in brushwork than for their originality of composition. With little change, Baiitsu would continue to depict landscapes in this basic composition throughout his career, refining and transforming it through ever-changing brush techniques.

By 1830, Baiitsu had begun to expand his reportoire of compositional types for landscapes. He painted a Pair of Landscapes (plates 138-139) in the summer of 1830, basing his brush styles for the individual scrolls on two traditions of literati brush techniques from China.[6] The right scroll of the pair (plate 139) is brushed in the Mi manner. In this scroll, the monumental mountain of the background has been reduced to a series of small, rounded peaks separated by mist. The foreground and middleground have been embellished with gently swaying trees, bushes, and architecture. Because of the profusion of details, subtleties of brushwork, and reduction in scale of the mountain form, the mood of this work is far removed from that of Baiitsu's earlier Mi style landscapes. However, the foliage patterns and the willow tree curving to frame the figure on the bridge in the foreground are echoes of earlier conventions. In the left scroll (plate 138), Baiitsu has again returned to the brushwork of the Tung-Chu tradition, which relies on layers of hemp-fiber strokes to define forms. Unlike his earlier

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[6]Judging from the placement of the signatures on these two scrolls, this pair probably formed part of a set of four scrolls depicting landscapes in the four seasons.

Landscape with Figure in a Boat of 1814 (plate 126), in which he also utilized brushwork derived from the Tung-Chu tradition, the outlines of the forms are not as prominent, and the transition in which the mountains disappear into the mist of the middleground is handled with greater subtlety. The composition too seems more original. The steeply sloping contours of the land mass in the foreground has not been present in other of his paintings, nor have we seen the looming verticality of the distant peaks divided by such a deep valley. While not startling, the painting is interesting in that it shows a direction Baiitsu's landscape style will take as he moves into a new phase of his career.

Baiitsu's landscapes prior to his move to Kyoto in 1832 are indicative of his growth and development as an artist with an emerging individualistic style. He must have begun by emulating elder Japanese contemporaries of Nagoya, but by the mid 1810s, when he was frequently traveling to Edo, Kanazawa, Kyoto, and elsewhere, his paintings took on the appearance of being produced by an artist who was better acquainted with a wider variety of models. He began to utilize Chinese brush techniques such as Mi dots and hemp-fiber strokes. However, his brushwork was often imitative rather than expressive. It was organized into neat patterns for foliage and textures for mountains, based closely on copybook models or on original paintings. His inexperience in manipulating the brush may be seen in the restricted use of varying tones of ink and in the abrupt transitions from mist-ladden areas to surrounding land masses. Baiitsu's compositions up to the early 1820s are similarly simplistic in appearance. He particularly favored

dividing the composition into a foreground land area, middleground rendered invisible by mist, and a single large mountain marking the distance. The deep, upwardly tilting foreground space, especially prominent in his earlier landscapes, caused for unnatural juxtaposition of the foreground and background. By the early to mid 1820s, Baiitsu achieved a smoother transition into the distance for these compositions, and his brush techniques began to be more varied in type within a single picture. Eclecticism in his style from this time on is evident, as he occasionally adopted some of the brush mannerisms favored by artists of the Shijō school and those practiced by Tani Buncho. As Baiitsu's brushwork became more varied in type, he began to represent an increased number of individual elements in his pictures, with greater attention to details. His compositions gradually developed complexity; the single mountain peak of the distance gave way to a multiplicity of smaller forms. By the time he moved to Kyoto, Baiitsu had become a technically accomplished artist who was capable of producing landscape compositions whose parts were organized into coherent spatial relationships. Although quite a competent artist, Baiitsu's landscape paintings up to 1832 lacked the dynamism and originality which would become the distinguishing features of his landscape style of the next quarter century, and for which he is best known today.

Baiitsu's Landscapes: 1832-1854

As with his paintings of literati plants, in his landscapes of the 1830s Baiitsu became increasingly concerned with originality of composition and the careful definition of forms, while still adhering

to Chinese models. Among the earliest dated works which Baiitsu produced in Kyoto was his Early Summer Landscape (plate 140) dated to the twelfth month of 1832. While displaying many affinities with his earlier landscapes, it already contains some characteristics which foreshadow new directions. The basic composition of a foreground area of land with a grove of trees by the side of a lake, a distant group of buildings, and towering mountains beyond, had become standard for Baiitsu. It can be observed in his 1826 Landscape (plate 136) and his 1830 Pair of Landscapes (plates 138-139). Like the 1826 Landscape, Baiitsu superimposed dry, horizontal dabs of ink in varying tones over mountains defined by grey washes. Unlike the 1826 Landscape though, Baiitsu added another layer of dry, sketchy vertical strokes, as though he was combining the use of Mi dots with hemp fiber strokes. The mountain shapes of this scene are not the rounded peaks which typically inhabit Mi style landscapes such as the right scroll of the 1830 Pair of Landscapes (plate 139), nor are they the towering forms of his landscapes in the Tung-Chu tradition, such as the left scroll in the 1830 Pair of Landscapes. They seem to be based on a type first seen in his Maple Viewing (plate 128), but here the structure is much more coherently represented. The summits of the mountains have begun to take on a rectilinear appearance, raised towards the center. This mountain shape was a favorite of Chikutō (plates 141-142), who perhaps inspired Baiitsu to try it. Baiitsu continued to paint mountains of this type, making them his forte in the 1840s.

While in Kyoto, Baiitsu must have begun to study Chinese paintings more deeply, as shown by improvement in his brush technique and clarity

of composition. However, although Baiitsu, like other Nanga painters of his generation, became more and more concerned with fidelity to Chinese models for his landscapes, he did not allow the weight of past Chinese painting traditions to subdue his creative vigor as a painter. At times, probably for study, he copied Chinese paintings rather accurately, and in other instances, he produced paintings more loosely based on Chinese originals. Of the latter type are a Pair of Landscapes (plates 35-36), dated 1835 based on original Chinese works attributed to Li T'ang (plates 37-38), which we already introduced in Chapter Three. That Baiitsu felt that his paintings were considerably different from the originals is evident, for he did not acknowledge an indebtedness to any particular Chinese painter or paintings in his inscriptions.[7] Indeed, when comparing the originals with Baiitsu's version, it is clear that they are not only quite different in brushwork but that the composition has been altered as well. Thus, the mood created by the paintings is not at all the same. In Baiitsu's pair, he transformed the axe-blade strokes into his own unique brush technique for rendering shading and texture. In the left scroll (plate 35), the rocks and contours of the mountain are large and square, similar to the rock shapes in the original. Baiitsu even retained the convention of leaving the centers of the forms blank to increase the three-dimensional

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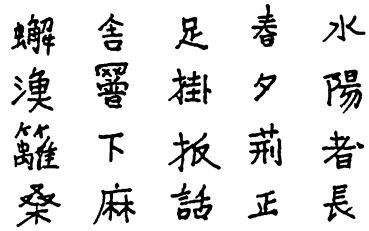
[7]He probably did not associate the scrolls with Li T'ang, for this attribution has only been assigned in the twentieth century. Tani Buncho, for example, attributed the scrolls to the T'ang Dynasty painter Wu Tao-tzu (active mid-eighth century) in his book, Shuko jisshu. Furthermore, there is no evidence that Baiitsu knew the original Chinese works first-hand. It has already been pointed out in Chapter Three that Tani Buncho copied these paintings many times, so Baiitsu's versions may be based on copies rather than the originals.

effect. He also attempted an approximation of axe-blade strokes in his method of applying the layers of washes. In the right scroll of the pair (plate 36), there are numerous squared-off boulders comprising the foreground land area. However, the sense of monumentality felt in the large, jagged contours of the rocks in the original has not been approximated at all. In addition, the background mountains of the original have been transformed from smooth planes defined by washes into mountains containing numerous ridges, folds, and bumps, through the use of hemp-fiber and other texture strokes. The brushwork of this right scroll of the pair appears more consistent with Baiitsu's own style than that of the left scroll. It resembles the left scroll of the 1830 Pair of Landscapes (plate 138), but defines the misty areas and mountain contours with greater sensitivity to their natural appearance. The brushwork and forms also resemble those in Baiitsu's Early Summer Landscape of 1832 (plate 140), particularly in the application of vertical rows of small horizontal texture strokes, the square shapes of the boulders, and the inclusion of small plateaus midway up the mountains.

His Landscape of 1837 (plate 33), which has already been discussed as being a possible copy of a Chinese painting, is another example of a painting which must be based on a Chinese original. The poem inscribed on the scroll by Ichikawa Suian conjures up images of a Chinese scholar's idyllic vision of the humble peasants' way of life:

> A humble cottage surrounded by water in spring,
> Fishnets hanging in the setting sun.
> Woodcutters gather at the bamboo fence,
> By the mulberry trees and hemp plants, their simple talk
> goes on and on.



In the same year and month that Baiitsu painted this scroll, he also brushed Pines and Cranes (plates 143-144). However, although the composition is basically the same, the brushwork and shapes for the mountains in the two scrolls are entirely different. In the former work, the mountains and rocks are constructed of many small boulders whose contours are defined by short, dry hemp fiber strokes and clusters of dark dots. These are techniques which relate to Chikutō's meticulous definition of forms in his 1835 Landscape (plates 141-142). In the Pines and Cranes scroll, Baiitsu has returned to his more standard rectilinear shaped mountains, like those found in his Early Summer Landscape of 1832, but has completely transformed the brushwork, which in this scroll more closely resembles his 1841 Pine Trees (plate 81). Not only are the slender shapes of the pine trees similar, but the application of colors and rough, rubbed-on, heterodox quality of the brushwork are related as well. This painting displays clearly for the first time Baiitsu's assimilation and synthesis of techniques seen individually in various earlier scrolls, and his new innovations in brushwork. The result is a richly interwoven fabric of details within an unusually clear sense of order and three-dimensionality.

In yet another painting dated 1837, Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan (plate 145), Baiitsu displayed his knowledge of the Ni Tsan iconography: barren trees and a solitary hut in the foreground, a wide

expanse of water in the middleground, and low mountains in the distance. However, although Ni Tsan himself strove to represent purity and austerity in his paintings, Baiitsu's landscape completely avoids the solemnity of Ni Tsan's original intentions. Baiitsu has created a charming, delicate picture by the addition of light colors and details such as rows of short grasses and a small grove of bamboo in the foreground. Baiitsu has not based his scroll on Ni Tsan's works directly, but on later Chinese artists' interpretations of the Ni Tsan style, particularly those found in seventeenth and eighteenth century albums done in the manner of great masters of the past. These later Chinese Ni style paintings typically represent only the outward forms of the Ni composition and motifs, but lacks the austere, eccentric spirit of the original. The brushwork and the shapes of the rocks in this small hanging scroll resemble those found in a painting by Baiitsu brushed several years later, in 1839 (plate 146). In this 1839 work, there is greater detail, but the general impression is similar. The mountains are comprised of squared-off boulders punctuated by small, dark dots whose interiors are defined by short, grey strokes. This technique resembles that found in Chikutō's 1835 Landscape (plates 141-142), and even the composition is similar. However, as always, Chikutō's painting appears more consciously patterned. The shapes are repetitive, and the brushwork used to model the forms is more methodical. When comparing the 1839 Landscape by Baiitsu with his dated landscapes of 1837, a relaxation in the brushwork coupled with an increase in the predominance of washes and lighter ink tones may be perceived. These changes contribute to a heightened sense of naturalism

and spontaneity in the painting, characteristics of Baiitsu's works of the 1840s and 1850s.

Like Baiitsu's paintings of other subjects, his landscapes of the 1840s and 1850s are considered products of his mature style. Unlike his bird-and-flower and literati plant subjects though, there is very little perceivable change in his landscape style during this time. This may be due to the fact that Baiitsu painted landscapes based on a number of different Chinese models in any given year. Thus, the following discussion will mainly present the range of stylistic types Baiitsu favored in his landscapes of his mature years and point out the brush techniques at which he excelled.

In 1845, Baiitsu brushed Landscape with Ox (plate 147) which is more typical of the style of paintings he produced at this time. The deep, level spaciousness of the foreground is compositionally similar to that found in his 1814 Landscape with Figure in a Boat (plate 126), but the proportions have been altered. The foreground elements are not as close to the picture plane. There is greater separation between the viewer and the painting, yet spatial transitions have been more successfully achieved through the diagonal movement of the reeds which weave their way into the depth of the foreground. The misty area of the middleground has been softened to highlights the tall trees and low mountains beyond. Aspects of the work which are typical for Baiitsu's compositions of this sort of the mid to late 1840s include the large, blank areas of the foreground and middleground which impart a sense of substantiality to the atmospheric mist, the diagonal movement from the fore to the middleground of some unifying element--trees, reeds,

etc.--and the placement of tall pines or bare, spindly trees along the summits of the distant mountains. These features may also be seen in paintings by other Kansai area Nanga artists of the time, such as Nukina Kaioku.[8]

Many of Baiitsu's landscapes of 1846 utilized same general composition. His Plum Landscape of 1846 (plate 148) is one of the best examples of the type. Painted on satin in extremely pale tones of ink and shades of pink, Baiitsu managed to suggest visually the delicate fragrance of a grove of blossoming plum trees. This painting has great emotional appeal, which may be partially accounted for by the effect of the ink merging with the satin. The sensitive rendering of atmospheric mist expresses the mutability of nature. Furthermore, the plum trees are invigorated by a tangled mass of sharp, quick strokes. In this Plum Landscape, the plum trees are similar in form to those seen in his 1837 Pines and Cranes (plate 144), yet the dense configurations of the branches in the later scroll add to the vitality of the trees. Baiitsu's friend, Chikutō, brushed a landscape with the same theme (plate 149), in a very similar composition. However, his approach is significantly different from Baiitsu's. Chikutō's methodical and intellectual process of constructing the mountain out of repeated geometrical shapes imparts an air of cool rationality to the painting. His plums, delineated by light, dry brushwork, produce a mood of loftiness and restraint. This is much different in spirit from Baiitsu's less calculated brushwork, which creates a heightened sense

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[8]For an example of one of Kaioku's paintings with this composition, see: Rai San'yō (Bunjinga suihen vol. 18), plate 76.

of excitement.

Baiitsu had been studying Chinese paintings throughout his life, but during the late 1840s and early 1850s a dependency on Chinese models became increasingly evident in his paintings. This trend is apparent in the works of many Nanga artists active in these decades, particularly those of the Kansai area. Evidence for this resurgence of interest in Chinese paintings is to be found in the increase in the number of catalogues of Chinese paintings published from the late 1840s on, which have already been discussed in Chapter Three. It must not be a coincidence that many of the known copies of Chinese paintings by Baiitsu date from this time--his 1847 copy of the plum branch by Wang Mien (plate 34), his 1848 copy of Yang Wen-tsung's landscape (plate 23), and his 1848 landscape based on one by Wang Chien-ch'ang (plate 39) are examples. His undated copy of Lan Ying's landscape (plate 31) seems also to have been brushed during this era, as it closely resembles several other works by Baiitsu which can be dated to 1848 and 1849 and which will be discussed below.

Baiitsu's set of four hanging scrolls, Landscapes of the Four Seasons (plates 150-153) dated to 1848 is a superb example of his ability to work within the stylistic and typological range of orthodox Chinese painting and yet still maintain a personal style. In the Spring Landscape (plate 150) of the set, Baiitsu returned to depicting the lush, fertile feeling of the season in the Mi style. However, as an example of Baiitsu's mature Mi style, this painting is very different in mood from his earlier landscapes of this manner, such as his undated Landscape in the Mi Style with a Waterfall (plate 134) and his Mi Style

Landscape (plate 133), which were both brushed around the late 1810s to early 1820s. In this 1848 Mi style landscape, empty space is treated as a positive element in the composition, as in the 1846 Plum Landscape (plate 148). The transition from blank areas of silk representing mist and water to the land and mountains defined by subtle gradations of ink tones is sensitively handled and creates a quiet, gentle rhythm. In this scroll, the rounded Mi dots which dominated the earlier works in that style have been transformed into brush patterns which are more characteristic of Baiitsu's late style--quick, dry, horizontal, irregularly shaped lines--without losing the sense that the work is related to the Mi tradition. The inclusion of details such as a boat, houses, and a willow tree aid in further removing this work from the pure Mi style. As a continuance of his earlier stylistic preferences, it is interesting to note that the willow tree gracefully arching over the water frames the house in the foreground in much the same way as this device was used to highlight figures in some of Baiitsu's earliest landscapes. Thus, although many differences between this painting and Baiitsu's early landscapes are visible, certain conventions have been retained.

The Summer Landscape of the four seasons set (plate 151) is also brushed in a standard Chinese style, though one not as old and venerated as the Mi tradition. It seems to be following the style of the late Ming painter, Lan Ying, whom many Nanga artists were fond of emulating. The composition is almost the mirror image of Lan Ying's landscape that Baiitsu had copied (plate 31), but with a slightly expanded composition and the inclusion of more details. The construction of the cliff, with

small, irregular groupings of boulders and clusters of foliage is reminiscent of Lan Ying's style. However, in this Summer Landscape, there is far greater use of wash techniques to create the illusion of mist surrounding the bubbling waterfall and to define the background mountains. Furthermore, although the general shapes of the forms resemble those favored by Lan Ying, Baiitsu's own style is apparent in the dramatic shading of the rocks forming the left cliff and the choppy rhythm of the brushwork delineating the contours of the forms.

The Autumn Landscape (plate 152) of the set of four is different in conception from the others of the set, as Baiitsu seemed not to have followed any special Chinese-derived landscape style, but rather was portraying autumn's evening tranquility with his familiar stylistic and compositional devices. Poetic allusions within the painting are emphasized by the inclusion of the flute player in the foreground and the cloud-encircled full moon. The painting is a variation on Baiitsu's 1845 Landscape with Ox (plate 147). However, the darker tones of ink and increased use of washes in this later scroll help to create a more somber mood.

The last scroll of this 1848 set, a Winter Landscape (plate 153), is derivative of the type of winter scenes Baiitsu had brushed as early as 1826 (plate 137). Baiitsu's maturation as a painter may be observed in the differences in the brushwork of the two scrolls. The mountains and rocks of the 1826 picture are all defined by dark outlines and a single layer of grey wash dabbed on in spots to represent contours. The shapes for these rocks and mountain cliffs are carefully constructed rectilinear forms lined up alongside each other. In the 1848 Winter

Landscape, the outlines have become lighter for the background mountains and darker for the rocks of the foreground. The clarity of the foreground images dissolves into a more diffuse rendering of distant trees and peaks. The shapes of the forms are still geometrical, but less regular in appearance due to the variations in rhythm of the outlining brushstrokes. While still keeping the brushwork of the interior contours of the forms to a minimum, Baiitsu replaces the smooth washes of the earlier scroll with drier, scratchier, multiple layers of washes and faint, broken outlines. These subtle changes in style are indications that Baiitsu had become more than a merely competent painter of landscapes. The earlier scroll is a collection of stock motifs used to fill a flat surface, while the easy, natural quality of the brushwork in the 1848 scroll imparts a life-like, spirited quality to the subject matter.

In 1849, the year after completing the set of landscapes of the four seasons, Baiitsu brushed another Winter Landscape (plate 154). The basic composition resembles that of his 1848 Winter Landscape (plate 153). A bridge in the foreground is surrounded by large groupings of boulders beyond which the open vista of a body of water is visible. There are towering cliffs on the left side of the scroll, and a screen of mountains in the distance. However, Baiitsu has transformed the tranquility of the winter scene in the 1848 work into something much more powerful and slightly disturbing. The difference is largely due to the alteration in the shapes of the mountains and the adoption of different brush techniques. The mountains' forms are no longer the solid, stable, squared-off masses of the earlier scroll; they are

comprised of organic, multi-faceted surfaces which are balanced precariously upon one another. The tallest peak in the left side in the scroll and the large mass of rocks in the right foreground appear to be closing in on each other, threatening to crush the rider and his servant who are crossing the bridge. The addition of large clusters of black dots with opaque white ink added to the centers, and Baiitsu's distinctive dark, bristling brushwork to delineate barren trees, increases the disquieting effect. Baiitsu must have based his painting on a different Chinese model than that which served as inspiration for his other winter landscapes. The shapes of the mountain peaks and the crowded, dynamic composition are features of the Landscape in the Blue and Green Style by the Chinese artist, Ch'a-an Sou (? Han) (plate 18) which Baiitsu is known to have seen. Furthermore, Winter Landscape may have been at least partially inspired by some of Lan Ying's winter landscape scenes; Lan excelled at winter scenes of this type and frequently employed the white-on-black dotting technique which Baiitsu had used, although Lan's paintings rarely possess the threatening, emotional qualities created in Baiitsu's painting.

Baiitsu painted another landscape with a similarly ponderous mountain form in an undated work Frosted Forest with a Clearing Evening Sky (plate 155). Like the mountains of the 1849 Winter Landscape (plate 154), the cliff is constructed of numerous small boulders. The composition appears to be a variation of the landscape by Lan Ying that Baiitsu had copied (plate 31). He retained Lan Ying's basic rock form and profusion of clusters of vegetation, but increased the use of washes, and changed Lan's softly rounded brushstrokes into his own

darker, more dynamic lines. This predilection for borrowing elements from specific Chinese paintings and incorporating them into an original design must have been fairly commonplace for Baiitsu.[9]

The numerous surviving landscapes of Baiitsu's dating to the 1850s indicate he continued to maintain high standards of quality. At the same time, he attempted to explore in greater depth certain Chinese-inspired literati painting manners and techniques which he then developed in original directions. One of his most impressive late landscapes is his Pine Landscape (plate 156-157) of 1851. Baiitsu's characteristic pine trees are in abundance here, inhabiting an elegant and serene landscape. The small figures of the scholars and servant in the foreground beautifully complement the scenery (plate 157). Baiitsu's vision of nature in this scroll is not based upon any particular Chinese model, but must instead be considered his own invention. Nevertheless, the well-constructed three-dimensionality of the spatial setting and the intricacy of the brush techniques could only have been acquired through the study of Chinese paintings. A landscape quite close in conception to this scroll is Baiitsu's undated pair of screens of Willow and Pine Trees with Figures (plates 158-160), now owned by the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C. In the Freer screens, the large figures (plate 160)--scholars drinking sencha and enjoying music--invoke immediate response from the viewer. However, it is the atmosphere of the lyrical landscape setting which infuses into these

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[9]For example, an undated landscape incorporates motifs and brush techniques found in the copies Baiitsu made of landscapes by Lan Ying (the cliff formation) and Wang Chien-ch'ang (the tall, slender pine tree of the foreground) together in one work. See: Nihonga taisei vol. 11 (Nanshuga III), plate 66.

screens a sense of the grandeur of nature, and compels viewers to leisurely and enviously gaze at such an idyllic scene. Like Baiitsu's 1854 Geese and Reeds (plate 120), the brushwork has become softer and the misty atmosphere deeper than before. This is especially true for the definition of the pine needles, willow leaves, and texturing on the rocks and tree trunks. The pine trees are similar to those in his hanging scroll of Pine, Bamboo, and Rock (plate 84), while the diffusion of the willow tree's branches is comparable to the feathery tips of the tall autumn plants in his 1854 Geese and Reeds (plate 120). Both the 1851 Pine Landscape and the Freer Screens convey a sense of communion with nature to an extent not apparent in Baiitsu's earlier landscapes.

Similar in conception to the works just discussed is the 1853 Landscape (plates 161-162) upon which Baiitsu inscribed a kanshi poem translated in Chapter Three, p. 130. The composition and brushwork of this painting are related to those which Baiitsu had been employing from as early as 1826 (plate 136). In comparison with his 1832 Early Summer Landscape (plate 140), which was brushed in a similar manner, this later work displays increased confidence and variations of brushwork, less geometrical abstraction of natural forms, and a greater lucidity of the spatial conception. From a detail (plate 162), it can be observed that the layers of ink have been applied less sparingly and with less regularity than in the earlier scroll. The lines of the brushwork are free and loose, expressive to an extent not apparent before. This produces an extremely rich surface texture, and yet the clarity of formal resemblance has not been superceded by abstract brush-play. Trees, vines, waterfalls, rocks--all the natural forms--are still quite

vividly represented. As in the 1851 Pine Landscape and Freer Screens, the highlighting of the atmosphere surrounding the forms infuses a sense of liveliness to the picture. Unlike those scrolls in which nature is perceived of as tranquil and hospitable to man, dark, dense ink tones delineating the mountains help to create a more somber vision of nature.

Of the various Chinese manners of painting Baiitsu had tried earlier, one which he returned to again in his last few years of life was the style of Ni Tsan (plate 163). In the discussion of Baiitsu's small 1837 Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan (plate 145), it was observed that although iconographically correct, the painting did not capture the spirit of the Yuan master, nor did it significantly transform the Ni Tsan style into an original means of expression. Although fifty-four years old at the time he painted it, Baiitsu had not yet achieved full maturation as a painter. Thus, his painting was lacking the vision of an artist who had found his own direction. The nature of the Ni Tsan style is rooted in purity, simplicity, and spontaneity of expression--qualities best expressed after a lifetime of practice and discipline. It is doubtful that Baiitsu knew any authentic Ni Tsan paintings first hand. However, the most famous painting in Baiitsu's own collection, the landscape by Yang Wen-tsung (plate 22), was brushed in the Ni Tsan manner.[10] Although Baiitsu owned Yang Wen-tsung's scroll from as early as 1831, he seldom took the painting's Ni Tsan iconography as a model for his own paintings. Perhaps, as proven by his 1837 Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan, Baiitsu understood

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[10]Although visually a painting in the style of Ni Tsan, in his inscription, Yang Wen-tsung states he is basing his work on a painting by the Ming artist, Shen Chou, who was following Ni Tsan.

that this was a style which, although outwardly easy to emulate, was extremely difficult to understand on a deeper level. Baiitsu painted several versions of Ni Tsan style landscapes in 1854.[11] In the horizontal format hanging scroll illustrated here (plate 163), it is obvious that a major transformation had taken place in Baiitsu's Ni Tsan style in the years between 1837 and 1854. Although the same iconographic elements are present in both the 1837 and 1854 scrolls, the brush techniques employed in the later work reveal the hand of an artist whose prolonged familiarity with painting had enabled him to spontaneously represent the images in his own style. Throughout the painting, Baiitsu employed a light, sensitive touch with his brush. The outlines of the mountains and rocks, and the horizontal dots which float gently, clinging to the edges of the forms, are rendered with Baiitsu's characteristic dry, crumbly line. The brushwork and shapes of the trees and mountains in no way resemble the forms in Yang Wen-tsung's Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan (plate 22), nor do they resemble those forms in the 1837 scroll. The mountains and rock shapes are Baiitsu's standard squared-off boulders and the pine trees, are the tall, slender type found in his 1845 Landscape with Ox (plate 147). Nevertheless, in this scroll, as Baiitsu's brushwork is more austere and sketch-like, he reveals his understanding of the Ni Tsan style as more than just a formula for a composition. He has fused the Ni Tsan manner with his own, and the result is quite successful.

The latest known landscape that Baiitsu brushed is his 1854 Mount Hōrai (plates 164-165), for which the accompanying letter to his patron

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[11] One is illustrated in: Kokka 894, plate 6.

(plate 166) has been translated in Chapter Two, pp. 75-76. The theme of this scroll, Mount Hōrai (Peng-lai in Chinese), is one of the fabled Isles of the Immortals of Taoist legend. Thus, auspicious symbols of longevity--cranes and pines--are depicted. Mount Hōrai was probably the theme of Baiitsu's 1837 Pines and Cranes (plate 143) as well. Both paintings are brushed with great emphasis on the application of colors; particularly greens and blues. In general, paintings with narrative themes of ancient Chinese stories or Taoist tales would often be rendered in a more archaistic manner, enhanced by meticulous and stylized portrayal of the elements and prominence of a blue and green color scheme. The 1837 Pines and Cranes employed a paler color scheme than the 1854 Mount Hōrai, so it is not truly a painting in the Blue and Green style as is the later work. Yet the composition of the 1854 scroll, with the central unstable mass of piled-up rocks crowned by a huge pine tree, may be viewed as an outgrowth of the cliff and pines in the lower left of the 1837 scroll (plate 144). Although the two are similar in conception, a detailed examination of the individual elements reveals many differences between them. The repetitive rectangle forms of the rocks comprising the cliff are in the earlier scroll smaller and more numerous than the broad planes of boulders in the later painting. In both scrolls, the interiors of the rocks appear rather flat, but in the 1837 painting, there is heavier application of light, scratchy texture strokes applied over a layer of grey wash (plate 144). In the 1854 Mount Hōrai, a close-up of that scroll (plate 165) shows that the outlines of the rocks are more prominent than the interior modeling. There is heavier shading at the contours of the rocks, and variations

in color rather than texture strokes largely account for the illusion of the forms overlapping in space. In some respects, there is greater clarity in the portrayal of individual elements of the composition in the later scroll. For example, the grove of bamboo beyond the pine trees in the 1837 scroll is rendered with flagrant disregard for spatial relationships, while in the bamboo grove of the 1854 painting, each stalk of bamboo is defined individually within a dense, yet coherent arrangement. Even the plum tree in the foreground of the earlier work appears to be a flat, abstract silhouette of a tree, while its counterpart in the later scroll is defined with greater attention to naturalism--angles are less abrupt and artificial and the branches overlap more convincingly. In general, the dynamic composition of the later painting, combined with the reduction in the number of elements and freer brushwork, produce a far more intense image. Baiitsu's preference for this sort of ponderous, impossibly balanced land mass dominating the composition has already been observed in several other of his late landscapes, most noticeably in his Winter Landscape of 1849 (plate 154).

As in his paintings of literati plant themes and birds-and-flowers, by the time Baiitsu moved to Kyoto in 1832, he had already developed a considerable repertoire of set compositions and brush techniques for his landscape paintings. Yet, moving to Kyoto affected his style greatly. His brushwork and range of compositions broadened further, due to better access to original Chinese paintings and a wider circle of literati and other painters with whom to associate. Baiitsu's brushwork of the 1830s

gradually became more personal and relaxed, indicative of increased self-confidence. His distinctive quick, dry, sharply pointed strokes for outlines and definition of forms as well as his rough, impressionistic application of texture strokes were for the first time apparent.

It was not until after the 1830s though that Baiitsu's brushwork and range of compositions reached full maturity. During the 1840s, Baiitsu turned out a staggering number of technically exquisite landscapes of which most were variations on each other, and variations on Chinese prototypes. He especially favored compositions with deep, level foreground space, or those with looming vertical mountains on one or both sides of the foreground. However, Baiitsu's mature style for landscapes of the 1840s is distinguished by the appearance of more than mere technical virtuosity of brushwork. He displayed great originality in synthesizing various Chinese manners with his own.

From the late 1840s until his death, Baiitsu continued to maintain high standards of quality for his landscapes. His brushwork became even more expressive and was applied with unparalleled freedom. Yet the forms were not reduced to abstraction. In fact, in these latest of his landscapes, Baiitsu exhibited increased sensitivity towards definition of natural forms and rendering of atmospheric effects. These paintings best display his personal communion with nature. He imbued each painting with its own special flavor, capturing visually the vicissitudes and moods of nature while concurrently revealing traces of his personality in his art.

CHAPTER SIX

BAIITSU'S SHINKEIZU

There are many precedents prior to Baiitsu's time, in both China and Japan, for the depiction of actual places as themes for paintings.[1] However, representations of real places in eighteenth century Japan took on a new meaning; often artists would paint, in addition to the standard meisho (famous places) of old Yamato, scenery of contemporary Japan which had not been represented pictorially before. In fact, Nanga artists were among the first to portray places which were not revered for their historical or literary associations.[2] These scenes of actual places had, from the inception of the Nanga movement, been an integral part of most artists' reportoires. In the late eighteenth century, Ikeno Taiga's disciple, Kuwayama Gyokushū coined the phrase "shinkeizu" in his Kaji higen.[3] This term implied a more literal and personal representation of specific landscape scenes than the old word, "meisho-e" (pictures of famous places), which had the connotation of pictures of places so eminent that an artist's own view was superceded by one which had long been considered ideal for the location. During the first half of the nineteenth century, when the term shinkeizu first

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[1]For an excellent summation of these Japanese precedents as well as of the Chinese literati attitude towards paintings of real places, see: Takeuchi, Visions of a Wanderer, pp. 75-83.

[2]Ibid., p.80.

[3]Ibid., p.82. Shogakukan, editor, Nihon kokugo daijiten, vol. 11, p.150 cites Gyokushū's treatise as the origin of the word. Professor Takeuchi graciously provided this reference.

became applied to specific paintings (by appearing in their inscriptions), it was clear that the word was interpreted differently by individual artists. Although originally applicable only to Nanga landscapes, paintings in the western style as well as Ukiyo-e landscape prints[4] soon became inscribed with the term. As the word had associations with the concept of realism, it is understandable that paintings with western perspective and those works done with more graphic and map-like delineation of specific details would be identified as shinkeizu. Indeed, many of Gyokushū's own shinkeizu incorporated western influences, especially in his presentation of the compositions. However, it is not clear why artists such as Hiroshige singled out certain prints from a series of meisho-e and called them shinkeizu. Probably the older term meisho-e connoted a more traditional handling of the subject-matter, while shinkeizu implied a direct and more personal interpretation of the view of some specific place; whether or not it was a meisho was irrelevant. Within Nanga painting, a number of artists, especially those from the Kantō area whose styles were generally more eclectic than Nanga artists elsewhere, developed special manners for their shinkeizu, thus setting these shinkeizu apart from the main body of their literati work. Nanga artists from the Kansai area such as Taiga, Mokubei, and Kaioku tended to represent specific locales in their standard personal styles.

As an independent artist who freely associated with Nanga artists and literati of both the Kansai and Kantō areas, Baiitsu was exposed to

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[4]For example Andō Hiroshige's print of station 31 of his Hōeidō Tōkaidō series, Maizaka, was titled "Imagire shinkei."

the varieties of techniques and approaches employed for the depiction of shinkeizu. In addition, it was natural that his predilection for sketching and his love of travel should become inspirations for his representations of places which he visited.

Although Baiitsu painted shinkeizu throughout his life, of the forty or so examples which are known today, a clear stylistic progression from his early to late works is not easily discernable, nor is it the most interesting aspect of his paintings of this type. Examining the different styles, various views he chose to portray for a given location, and his choice of subject-matter serve as better means of understanding Baiitsu's shinkeizu.

Baiitsu's shinkeizu were generally depictions of places he visited, many of which were famous from ancient times and considered meisho. He did not paint shinkeizu of the neighborhoods where he lived, but chose instead to portray places he visited on some special occasions. The earliest of Baiitsu's extant shinkeizu is a View of Lake Biwa (plate 167) dated 1816. Lake Biwa, near Ōtsu, was a place Baiitsu must have passed by often, as it was on the route between Kyoto and Nagoya. Stylistically, this painting is not unlike other landscapes he was producing around that time. The brushwork is largely comprised of Mi dots, with the addition of linear brushstrokes for rendering narrative details and outlining mountains. The effect is quite similar to his Landscape in the Mi Style with a Waterfall (plate 134). However, the deep space occupying the middle of the composition resembles more that found in earlier Landscape in the Style of Mi Fu (plate 132). Yet the land does not tip up so sharply in the View of Lake Biwa; the coherent

gradual recession into the distance, particularly the smooth transition from the level plane of the lake to the mountains of the background, are indicative of a more sophisticated artistic perception than that found in the Landscape in the Style of Mi Fu. The differences between the two works may be accounted for partly by the fact that as one was a shinkeizu, Baiitsu was trying harder to achieve a sense of realism in that painting. If so, his definition of realism at that time meant the inclusion of some identifiable details--sailboats, a long bridge, an expanse of a lake--and the clarity of depth defined by a low horizon. This last characteristic most likely indicates slight western influence, a trait which we have already identified as being one peculiarity of shinkeizu in general.

Several years later, Baiitsu again took the scenery of the Ōtsu area as inspiration for his shinkeizu. Although undated, his View from Ishiyama-dera (plate 168) was probably produced in the autumn of 1818 when Baiitsu traveled around that area with Ōkubo Shibutsu. The following poem, which Shibutsu inscribed on the painting, also appears in his Saiyū shisō of 1818.[5] Thus we know the painting must have been brushed during that journey.

> Light purples and dark reds of autumn fill the eyes,
> Below Ishiyama glides a lonely boat.
> In the clear blue river, the brocade is reflected,
> I wish to cleanse my spirit but my poetic feelings
> cannot be freed.

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[5]It appears in volume 2, p.11b.

秋眼満紅濃紫淡
舟孤棹下山山石
錦遡倒碧澄江一
由自不腸詩洗欲

It is clear that Shibutsu's poem and Baiitsu's painting were originally meant to complement each other. Both contain the imagery of a lone boat being poled along the water. The style Baiitsu has chosen for this work is far sketchier than that of his View of Lake Biwa. The brushwork seems related to the Mi dot technique, but it is quicker and rougher in appearance. Baiitsu has reduced the landscape elements to their essentials for conveying the identity of the place. In comparison with a photograph (plate 169) of the river from the same spot Baiitsu painted, it is interesting to observe how Baiitsu took artistic license in altering the scene. Baiitsu's painting compresses the proportions and brings the entire landscape closer to the viewer, making it more intimate. This intimacy is further enhanced by the very personal, sketch-like brushwork. Although overt western influence is absent, the low horizon and gradual recession into the distance, perceivable in the diminishing size of the trees, are indications of Baiitsu's attempt to represent space in more realistic terms. Yet he does not abandon the traditional "bird's eye perspective" used for meisho scenes entirely. The compositional devices and application of brushwork seen here are standard for Baiitsu's most personal shinkeizu style for scenes of lakeshores and riverbanks from this time on.

Although most of Baiitsu's surviving shinkeizu had as their locations places of the Kansai area, he did occasionally represent

places of his native region of Owari. One of Owari's most famous scenic spots was Yōrō-zan and its waterfall in Mino Prefecture. Yōrō Falls has long been associated with an ancient folktale in which its waters reputedly possessed powers of rejuvination, a property explioted by a filial son who nourished his aged father with them. The Emperor Yuryaku heard of the medicinal qualities of the water and dispatched a messenger to discover the place. Up to Baiitsu's time, illustrations of Yōrō Falls included the figures from the folktale; the messenger of the emperor was portrayed encountering the son and his aged father by the side of the waterfall.[6] Baiitsu chose to completely disregard the historical associations though in his representation of Yōrō Falls (plate 170) dated 1818, which he painted while on his sojourn with Ōkubo Shibutsu. The painting captures the powerful verticality of the descending stream of water visible in a photograph of the falls today (plate 171). Furthermore, Shibutsu and Baiitsu respectively composed the following poems about the falls which they inscribed above the painting.[7]

> Flowing foam looking like mist, fragmenting the purity of the water,
> In frigid majesty I suddenly perceive the closeness of
> a divine spirit.
> No need of seeking water from the West River
> For instilling the poet with clear insights of eternity.

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[6]For example, see Tanaka Totsugen's version illustrated in: Kokka 683 or Tajima, Shimbi Taikan vol. 12, plate XXXVI; and a fan painting by Kano Tanshin Morimasa (1653-1718) in: Tokyo National Museum, Painting of the Kano School (Tokyo,1979), plate 138.

[7]Shibutsu's poem appears in his Saiyū shisō, vol.2, p.16b. In the book, Shibutsu states he visited Yoro-zan on the twelfth day of the eleventh month.

流 沫 如 煙 碎 水 精
寒 威 忽 覺 逼 肌 生
何 須 更 覓 西 江 水
一 洗 詩 人 腸 胃 清

Brushing green moss off a rock to make sencha,
Facing the rocky peaks, wishing to capture the true scenery.
A divine spring cleanses the heart and mind,
As I store within images of a thousand peaks and myriad ravines.
Baiitsu Yamamoto Ryo wrote this and painted the picture
in the mid winter of [1818] while visiting Yoro-zan.

石 上 煎 茶 拂 絲 苔
欲 模 真 景 対 崔 嵬
靈 泉 一 洗 心 胸 去
更 貯 千 巖 萬 壑 来

Although both poems acknowledge the divinity of the mountain, neither alludes to the folk story. Their poetic imagery derives instead from Chinese-inspired concepts of the relationship between man and nature. Specific reference to the West River in Shibutsu's poem and to the making of sencha in Baiitsu's, indicate their attempts to identify with Chinese traditions. Baiitsu's break with traditional means of depicting the falls is further confirmed by the brushwork of his painting. In earlier versions, colors were applied and figures and landscape elements were represented in the Yamato-e style. However, Baiitsu's brush technique is rapid and scratchy, a very impressionistic approach in which the details are reduced to their essentials. The overall effect is quite similar to Baiitsu's View from Ishiyama-dera which he had completed no more than several weeks earlier.

Baiitsu's 1825 print of Yōrō-zan (plate 172) presents quite a different image of the area, visually and stylistically, from that seen in his Yōrō Falls. As already noted in Chapter Two, the inscriptions on the print equate the mountain with Mount T'ien-t'ai of China. Associations with Chinese landscapes had already been implied in Baiitsu's and Shibutsu's poems for the earlier work. However, the visual depiction of the mountain in this print is a marked departure from the shinkeizu style of either the View from Ishiyama-dera or the Yōrō Falls. Baiitsu has represented Yōrō-zan as if it was an idealized Chinese-style landscape. The composition and brushwork exhibit close similarity to his Landscape (plate 136) of 1826. The only identifying feature of the Yōrō-zan print is the waterfall, which is recognizably similar to that represented in the painting of Yōrō Falls. Despite the fact that he titled the print, "Yōrō Shinkei," Baiitsu must have consciously represented the mountain as a Chinese-inspired landscape rather than as a true shinkeizu in order to intensify the literati associations with Mount T'ien-t'ai, and with the scholars' gathering for which it was created.

While Baiitsu was living in Kyoto, he also continued to produce shinkeizu, probably for his own enjoyment. Such paintings included his Daimon-ji (plate 173) of 1833 which, as noted in his inscription, was brushed in Nukina Kaioku's study. The rough, Mi-like dots which define the mountains are the same type of strokes Baiitsu used to define the forms in his View from Ishiyama-dera (plate 168). Here, the brushwork has become softer, and the large character, "dai," burned into the mountain, appears to float ephemerally in the air. Because of the

economy of brushwork and forms, Baiitsu's painting seems more like a representation of some inner vision than a portrayal of an actual location. Baiitsu signed this painting only with his name, "Ryō," and even omitted a seal; he must not have carried one on his person while out visiting. This practice has already been observed in Baiitsu's paintings of uta-e. The spontaneity of the brushwork and the simplicity of the forms in this work relate it stylistically to his uta-e as well.

In another painting of Daimon-ji, this one a leaf from the album of the Twelve Months of Kyoto (plate 174), which Baiitsu painted in 1849 for a child, quite a different mood is conveyed. The mountain etched with the character "dai" dominates only the back portion of the scene. In the foreground, numerous rooftops can be seen with people climbing upon them. The spectators must be observing the annual festival of the burning of the "dai" which takes place in August. This version of the scene may be considered closer to the traditional stylistic representation of a meisho. Although the brushwork is clearly Baiitsu's own, the emphasis on the narrative is much like that found in many popular printed books, for example, the Miyako meisho zue (plate 176) of 1781. Baiitsu's more descriptive composition must have been designed specifically for the appreciation of the young child for whom he brushed the album.

Baiitsu's personal shinkeizu style is evident again in a short handscroll, Higashiyama Shinkeizu (plate 177) dated 1841. Like the View from Ishiyama-dera (plate 168), Yōrō Falls (plate 170), and Daimon-ji (plate 173), this was brushed in commemoration of a specific event. In his inscription, Baiitsu states that

> In the fourth month of summer of [1841], together with Shunkin and [several unknown people] we are holding a farewell party at the "Swimming in Wine Pavilion" for our honorable friend, Rai Ritsusai, who is about to depart for Kyushu. I compose this at the farewell gathering. Baiitsu Yamamoto Ryo.[8]

The brushwork and composition of this painting closely relate to that of his earlier View from Ishiyama-dera. However, there is greater coherency to the space in the later work, partially accounted for by the increased number and clarity of the details. These slight differences are indicative of the maturation of Baiitsu's painting style.

In 1844, Baiitsu embarked on a trip to Naniwa (Osaka Prefecture), passing through places he must have visited many times before. This trip is unusually well documented, as he composed a travel diary in the form of an album of eleven pictures, two of which are reproduced here (plates 178-179).[9] Typical of most of the water views in the album is Naniwa, the Mouth of the Aji River (plate 178), for which Baiitsu uses the rapid, dry, sketchy brushwork and the compositional feature of a low horizon, that we have come to associate with his personal shinkeizu style. Except perhaps for the presence of the tall-masted ships, this is a rather ambiguous lake or river scene. Baiitsu's representation of Nunobiki Falls (plate 179) in Kobe is more original. In comparison with a traditional view of the waterfall from the printed book, Fusō meisho zue of 1836 (plate 180), Baiitsu's version is quite specific in its details. The waterfall in the printed book, with the courtier pausing

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[8]For an article about this painting, see: "Baiitsu hitsu, Higashiyama Shinkeizu," in: Bijutsu kenkyu 138 (vol.5, 1944), pp.237-238.

[9]This album must be similar in conception to Baiitsu's earliest recorded shinkeizu, an album of his trip along the Sanyodo in 1803, which has already been noted in Chapter Two, p. 34.

to gaze at its beauty, could be almost any waterfall of Japan. Just how realistic Baiitsu's version is becomes apparent when we look at a photograph of the actual site (plate 181) as it appears today. With his characteristic dry, crumbly brushwork, Baiitsu has represented the steep, angular granite cliff surrounding the falls as squared-off layers of rock.

Baiitsu's love for this Nunobiki Waterfall is clear, for he painted a number of versions of it, all dating after 1844, and all larger in scale and format than the album leaf just discussed. Perhaps the most impressive of all the versions is his hanging scroll, Nunobiki Waterfall (plate 182), which he brushed in the spring of 1845. Baiitsu inscribed on the painting

> In the tenth month of winter [of the previous year, 1844] I went again to Naniwa to see the famous Nunobiki Waterfall. Afterwards, I wished to paint a picture of it, but still have not yet done so. Now, while visiting here, I have free time. Therefore, remembering the enjoyment of the previous excursion, I paint this scroll as a record of that occasion. It is now the second month of spring of the year [1845]. Baiitsu Old Man Yamamoto Ryo.

In this painting, the tiers of the falls and the rock formations resemble closely those of the album leaf of 1844. Although Baiitsu denied, in his inscription, having painted a picture of the waterfall until this date, inscriptions on other leaves of the 1844 album indicate that he brushed the album during his travels. Baiitsu therefore must not have considered the album a finished work, but rather thought of it as a collection of personal or preliminary sketches. By enlarging the scale of the waterfall in the hanging scroll, Baiitsu created an impressive composition dominated by a towering waterfall. Although undoubtedly a representation of an actual place, the appearance of the

picture is more akin to Baiitsu's standard literati landscapes. The brushwork in this scroll resembles in particular that employed in his right scroll of the pair of Landscapes After Li T'ang (plate 36) which was painted ten years earlier. Baiitsu did not often transform his shinkeizu sketches into full-size paintings. That he did so repeatedly for Nunobiki Falls indicates his love for the scene and his depiction of it, as well as the popularity of the place among Baiitsu's patrons.

Thus far in our discussion of Baiitsu's shinkeizu we have noted his sketchy, personal style, as well as one more closely aligned to his standard literati landscapes. Baiitsu also developed a manner of painting which he reserved for meisho. He portrayed in this meisho-e manner, famous scenic spots of Kyoto and its environs in the different seasons, and Mount Fuji. The selection of views and compositions are generally shinkeizu. Most of these works were probably produced to meet customers' desires as there is often the inclusion of delicate coloring and charming details. They are also generally brushed on silk, in large scale formats, or as part of a set. Yet, this style is not quite as formal and imposing as the mainstream of Baiitsu's literati landscapes.[10]

One of the best examples of this meisho-e style is a set of four hanging scrolls showing Meisho of Kyoto in the Four Seasons (plates

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[10]As noted above, some of the scenes from Baiitsu's album of The Twelve Months of Kyoto may be considered to belong in this group.

183-186) brushed sometime around 1839.[11] For spring, Baiitsu painted the Scenery of Arashiyama (plate 183), which he also brushed as one screen in a pair (plate 187) dated 1832, and in a number of other individual hanging scrolls. In both the screen and in this hanging scroll from the set, the panoramic view Baiitsu presented was hallowed by tradition. Although the hanging scroll emphasizes the river by cutting off from view the tops of the distant mountains, the two paintings depict essentially the same setting. This view was the one chosen for inclusion in the 1781 Miyako meisho zue (plate 189) and also one depicted by Ōkyo's pupil, Yamaguchi Soken (1759-1818) in his screen of Arashiyama and the Ōi River in Spring.[12] The same stock images are presented in all of these versions--the wide expanse of the bridge; low, covered boats floating in the water; rows of tall, spindly pines interspersed with blossoming cherry trees; and a neat row of three rooftops in the lower right corner of the picture. Baiitsu need never have gone to Arashiyama to paint his view.

The screen painting, done in the blue and green style, is well-composed and meticulously detailed, but not at all typical of Baiitsu's work at that time.[13] Although the landscape details of it and its mate, The Tatsuta River in Autumn (plate 188), are rendered with literati brushwork, the narrative sequences and water are much closer

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[11]The box lid is inscribed to the year Tempō 10 (1839) by the patron.

[12]Illustrated in: Hillier, The Uninhibited Brush, Japanese Art in the Shijō Style, plate 70.

[13]The only other known painting by Baiitsu that even vaguely resembles it stylistically is a short undated handscroll, Shadow Dancers, now owned by the Cleveland Museum of Art.

Kyoto boasts many famous beauty spots for autumn scenery. One of the most popular is the area around the Tsutenkyō bridge at Tōfuku-ji (plate 191). Baiitsu chose this location to represent as autumn in his set of Meisho of Kyoto in the Four Seasons (plate 185). As in the brushwork of the other scrolls of the set, the brushwork here is light and the colors are immediately appealing. Baiitsu's depiction of Tsutenkyō isolates the area near the bridge from the rest of the large Tōfuku-ji complex which is illustrated in the 1781 Miyako meisho zue (plate 192). However, he does retain the elevated perspective which is typical of traditional views of meisho. Baiitsu brushed several other, more spontaneous versions of the Tsutenkyō. In one of these, dated 1836 (plate 193), he inscribed to the left of the scroll that he had visited the area with several friends in order to view the colorful maple trees, and that he casually brushed this scroll and presented it to one of his companions. The brush style of this 1836 scroll is the hastily sketched, rough manner of his Yōrō Falls (plate 170), View from Ishiyama-dera (plate 168), Album of a Journey to Naniwa (plates 178-179), and Higashiyama Shinkeizu (plate 177). Even the colors for the autumn foliage have been applied with cursory brushwork. The perspective has also been lowered to appear more natural, and the scene has increased intimacy. Baiitsu was by no means the only artist to impart this increased sense of versimilitude to the setting. Kawamura Bumpō (1779-1821), a Kishi school artist, included a print of Tsutenkyō in his book, Teito gakei ichiran (plate 194) of 1809-1816, and Hiroshige designed a print of Maple Leaves at Tsutenkyō for his series, Kyoto meisho no uchi, and both present the bridge in similar compositions.

Thus, although Baiitsu's brushwork is quite personal, and he did indeed base his work on direct observation, he is keeping within a kind of prescribed formula by depicting the bridge from a predetermined location. By doing so, he is still adhering to the tradition of the meisho-e.

In similar fashion, Baiitsu's portrayal of Winter at Kiyomizu-dera (plate 186) from his set of Meisho of Kyoto in the Four Seasons also does not present the temple from a novel vantage point. However, unlike the 1781 print of that temple from the Miyako meisho zue (plate 195), the "bird's eye perspective" common to traditional Japanese landscapes has been lowered to a more naturalistic viewpoint. The same view Baiitsu chose for his scroll also appears in Bumpō's print of Kiyomizu-dera from his book, Teito gakei ichiran (plate 196) and in the Maruyama school painter Komai Genki's 1796 hanging scroll (plate 197). It seems that like compositions of Tsutenkyō and Tadasu-rin, a new, more realistic representation of Kiyomizu-dera had been standardized by the end of the eighteenth century. In this case, the new "realism" emphasizes the main architectural feature of the temple--its height. Thus, meisho-e had taken on some of the characteristics of shinkeizu. Although Bumpō's, Genki's, and Baiitsu's works render the same scene from almost the same locations, they remain different because of the individual sensibilities of each artist. Bumpō's dry, scratchy brushwork dominates his print, and of the three versions, his presents the temple closest to the viewer. His emphasis is on clearly defining the main temple building itself and limiting the landscape setting. Bumpō's definition of the landscape is so abbreviated that the seasonal

reference, clearly a major factor in the other two works, is not even hinted at. Both Baiitsu and Genki place great imortance on seasonal allusion and fitting the temple into its natural setting on the hillside. Genki's painting still highlights the building more than the landscape, abstracting and simplifying the trees and bamboo groves for the purpose of creating a more dramatic composition. Baiitsu's scroll presents the temple within a fuller natural setting. The main temple building, built up on layers of wooden posts and beams, is nestled snugly into the side of the hill, and does not dominate the composition as vividly as it had in Bumpō's and Genki's versions. Baiitsu's soft and feathery brushwork is also more effective in conveying a sense of the lyrical beauty of the temple buried under a winter's deep snowfall. By imparting such feelings to the scene, Baiitsu remains true to his literati painting heritage and also to the original intention of the Yamato-e tradition upon which the portrayal of meisho-e was based.

Baiitsu was fond of representing scenery of his native land despite the fact that he avidly adhered to the Chinese-inspired literati painting tradition. Very early in his life, he developed several personal styles for rendering these scenes. The most intimate of Baiitsu's shinkeizu styles was one he reserved for the small, casual sketches which were produced on the spot or from memory shortly thereafter. The subject-matter he represented with this style tended to be less-famous places, or more unusual views of well-known spots. Some other of Baiitsu's shinkeizu were rendered in finer detail, generally on silk, with delicate application of colors. In this group

are paintings which seem to be more stereotyped portrayals of meisho. They may be considered products of Baiitsu's output as a professional painter. Still another style, which Baiitsu only occasionally employed for his shinkeizu, was one which was virtually identical in technique to the mainstream of his formal literati landscapes. Baiitsu produced these paintings for clientele with a taste for literati painting styles.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have attempted to define Baiitsu's contributions as a literatus to the development of Nanga in the first half of the nineteenth century in Japan. While Baiitsu has been widely recognized as one of the foremost painters of birds-and-flowers in the Nanga movement, I have shown that his significance as an artist goes far beyond that conventional assessment. The study of his literati pursuits and related paintings reveals his personality, the motivations behind his paintings, and contributes to an understanding of the bunjin culture of which he was a significant member.

Baiitsu lived during his formative years in Nagoya, a city with a less well-established cultural heritage than Kyoto or Edo. Nevertheless, it was by no means a cultural vacuum. He became an inheritor of the small but vital literati movement in that city begun by Sakaki Hyakusen and continued by Baiitsu's more immediate predecessors--Niwa Kagen, Yamada Kyūjō, and Kamiya Ten'yū among others. Thus, even in the relative isolation of a provincial capital, Baiitsu was able to obtain basic instruction in Chinese literati theories and painting styles at an early age.

Baiitsu's circle of literati friends was wide, including Confucian scholars, Chinese-style poets and Nanga painters from many parts of Japan. Living in Nagoya gave Baiitsu great opportunities for meeting with other like-minded individuals as they passed through his city en route to Kyoto, Ise, Edo, Kanazawa and elsewhere. Nagoya's central geographic position along one of the major highways of the Edo period

also enabled Baiitsu to easily take trips himself. Thus Baiitsu broadened his perspective through travel to places in central Honshu--the Hokuriku district, the Sanyōdō, the Kantō and Kansai areas. He was especially drawn to Kyoto where he became a welcomed participant in literati gatherings. After his move to Kyoto in 1832, Baiitsu delved more deeply into a variety of literati-related pursuits along with other scholars and artists who had settled there.

Scholars today often separate Nanga painters into categories based mainly on the styles and geographic locations of the artists' birthplaces or major places of residence. Japanese scholars often align artists from Nagoya with Kantō area Nanga painters. Yet from the inception of the Nanga movement in Nagoya, Kyoto was always the city with which Nanga painters of Nagoya had the strongest ties. Although this is certainly true for Baiitsu as well, his position is less clear, largely because he produced many decorative bird-and-flower works of a type more associated with Kantō-based Nanga artists. These bird-and-flower paintings by Baiitsu were brushed in a style which is generally considered outside the orthodoxy of the Chinese literati tradition usually associated with Kansai area Nanga. However, there is no indication that his friends and associates of Kyoto looked down upon Baiitsu because of this. Instead, Kantō artists such as Watanabe Kazan criticized Baiitsu's paintings of these subjects, while Kansai area painters such as Uragami Shunkin praised Baiitsu for them. Furthermore, as pointed out in this study, many of these bird-and-flower paintings contain elements and stylistic characteristics found in Baiitsu's paintings of literati plants and trees.

Although Baiitsu's professional bird-and-flower works comprise approximately half his known paintings, Baiitsu was in no way a mere painter of superficial, decorative pictures. As this dissertation has shown, Baiitsu possessed great depth in his understanding of the Chinese literati painting tradition. He was an avid collector of Chinese paintings and antiquities, and was considered a connoisseur of these subjects. Concrete proofs of this expertise are the two large exhibitions of Chinese paintings, Shokumoku rinrō and Dōge yokun, which were held in his honor. In addition, because of the existence of a number of copies he made of Chinese paintings and the extant Chinese paintings which we know that he saw, Baiitsu's methodological approach to the study of Chinese painting styles is now more clearly understood.

There is no doubt that Baiitsu was a painter first and foremost throughout his life. Yet his various personal interests were shown to have been stimuli for the subjects and styles in which he chose to paint. As an orthodox literatus, Baiitsu studied Chinese paintings and antiquities, and participated in other Chinese-inspired literati hobbies; among these were the practice of sencha and the composition of kanshi. These activities complemented his paintings of standard literati subjects--landscapes resembling those painted by Chinese artists, and plants and trees considered symbolically special by the literati.

In spite of these strong bunjin interests, Baiitsu was not an imitator of the Chinese literati who disregarded the cultural tradition of his own country. He studied the history and literature of Japan's ancient past, was a frequent traveler to many renowned natural scenic

spots, and observed and commented on the natural world around him in his waka. These interests stimulated Baiitsu to paint shinkeizu and uta-e. His delightful figure and genre paintings reflect aspects of the lighter side of life in contemporary Japanese society and his lively sense of humor. However, these native Japanese interests and paintings of non-traditional Chinese themes did not alienate Baiitsu from the essential spirit of the literati. He was able to assimilate and harmonize literati ethics with sensibilities derived from his own country's traditional values.

Baiitsu further exemplified the humble spirit of the Chinese literatus for, although he was an extremely successful artist who had numerous students and commanded high commissions, he did not have an inflated sense of his own importance. From anecdotes about his personal life we saw he was more concerned with the quality of his painting than with the trappings of wealth that accompanied success. He was thoroughly immersed in his art, continually striving to improve his painting technique right up to the end of his life. His paintings, especially those of his mature years, are imbued with great technical accomplishment yet remain refreshingly spontaneous.

Baiitsu was active at a time when Nanga painting in Japan was already a well-established and widely practiced painting movement. Thus, Baiitsu can never be considered a pioneer of the tradition like Sakaki Hyakusen or Yanagisawa Kien. Neither may he be thought of as a great innovator like Ikeno Taiga or Yosa Buson, or as a spirited individualist like Uragami Gyokudō. Nevertheless, while working well within the conservative Nanga tradition which dominated Nanga painting

in the nineteenth century, Baiitsu managed to create individual styles for his wide-ranging reportiore of subjects. In his pursuit of a literati lifestyle he followed his own directions and achieved a depth of understanding of Chinese culture without denial of his own Japanese identity. In these ways he set an example for his friends and disciples, and thus earned a place as an individual who contributed markedly to the growth and development of the last flowering of literati culture within the Nanga painting movement of the nineteenth century in Japan.