

A Study of *Jikkei-ron*: An Aspect of KAGAWA Kageki's *Karon*

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【Abstract】

Research on KAGAWA Kageki up until now has been focused more on his *waka* treatise than *waka* he composed. In particular, the center of its research is his theory of *shirabe* (fine-tuning or tonal integrity), which is known as the discourse “*Uta wa kotowaru mono ni arazu shiraburu mono nari.*” (*Kagaku teiyō*).

This study focuses on Kageki's emphasized *jitsubutsu* (actual object) and *jikkei* (actual scenery) as an important methodology to support his theory of *shirabe*. This theory based on *jikkei* is now called *jikkei-ron*. Kageki used the terms *jikkei* and *shinkei* (true scenery [originally a term for painting treatises]) together, however, they had two meanings, *jissai no keshiki* (the scenery as it is) and *makoto no keshiki* (the scenery with the poet's emotion).

First, the words *jikkei* and *shinkei* were searched for in his *waka* treatise, commentaries and judgments at the poetry matches. Next, how these words were used in his *jikkei-ron* was analyzed. Then it was confirmed that *jikkei* which Kageki advocated did not mean the scenery as it is, but the scenery with the emotions that the poet felt.

In fact, the concept of Kageki's *jikkei-ron* was found in the treatises of painting and even Chinese poetry. For example, YAMAMOTO Hokuzan's poetic treatise is based on YUAN Hongdao's Xing Ling Shuo (*seireisetsu*) in the Ming Dynasty as a

theoretical pillar. The poetic circles influenced by *seireisetsu* were precisely the hallmark of that era, and it seems to have been the catalyst for Kageki's *jikkei-ron*. It should not be overlooked that an aspect of realism in painting can be seen in KASHIWAGI Jotei's translation and commentary on *Kaishiengaden*.

In the history of painting treatises, especially in Kyoto, the new style of *Shasei-ga* (sketching as it is) by the Maruyama-Shijō School became very popular. Eventually, a theory, which turned into *shasei*, appeared in the Kansei era. It was the painting treatise of KUWAYAMA Gyokushū, a literary painter, who developed his own *shinkei-ron* that respected the artist's creativity while emphasizing the importance of *shinkei*. It was a unique theory that paintings could not be made only by the reproduction of *jissai no keshiki*, that is, *shasei*, and that it had to be accompanied by the artist's heart (art historians generally refer to Gyokushū's treatise as *shaiteki shinkei-ron*). This theory is quite similar to Kageki's *jikkei-ron*. It seems that there was a good chance that Kageki could have come across Gyokushū's painting treatise.

In the Meiji period, KUBOTA Utsubo repeatedly explained the importance of heart in poetry composition while being conscious of MASAOKA Shiki's sketch theory. It is considered that Kageki's *jikkei-ron* was at the root of Utsubo's discourse.

*This study is a translated version of KANSAKU Ken'ichi's "Jikkei-ron o megutte," in *Kinsei wakashi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2013).

【日本語要旨】

香川景樹の研究は、これまで、どちらかと言えば和歌よりも歌論を対象として進められてきた。とりわけその中心は「歌はことわるものにあらず、調ぶるものなり」(『歌学提要』)との言説で知られる「調(しらべ)」の説である。

本稿では新たに、その「調」歌論を支える重要な方法論として、景樹が「実物・実景」を重視していたこと(いまこれを〈実景論〉と呼称する)に着目する。景樹は「実景」と「真景」の語を併用していたが、その語義には「実際ノケシキ」と「マコトノケシキ」の両義があった。

まず、景樹の歌論や注釈、歌合の判詞の中から「実景」「真景」の語を追跡してその〈実景論〉の位相を解析し、景樹の唱える「実景」が、あるがままを言うのではなく、思うままの「実情」を自然に詠ずるものであったことを確認した。

そのような景樹の〈実景論〉は、実は詩論と画論にも共通して見出されるものであった。例えば山本北山の詩論は明の袁宏道の性霊説を理論的支柱とするものであり、性霊詩観に染まった詩壇はまさに「時代相」として、景樹が〈実景論〉を首唱する際の機縁になったと思われる。柏木如亭による『芥子園画伝』の訳注本に、画における現実主義の様相が見てとれることも看過できない。

画論史に就けば、特に京都において、円山四条派による新様式「写生画」(ありのままに描く)が一世を風靡したが、やがて寛政期に入ると「写生」に代わる新しい考え方が登場してくる。文人画家の桑山玉洲の画論がそれであり、彼は「真景」を重用しつつ、そこに画人の創意を尊重した独自の〈真景論〉を展開した。それは、「実際ノケシキ」の再現つまり「写生」のみでは作品とは成り得ず、さらにそこに画人の「気韻」(こころ)が要請されなければならないとする特異なものであった(美術史家によって「写意的真景論」と呼称されている)。この理論は、景樹の〈実景論〉とかなりの類似性が認められる。景樹が玉洲の画論に接し得た可能性も十分にあったのではないかと思量する。

なお、明治に入ると、例えば窪田空穂は、正岡子規の写生歌論を意識しつつも、作歌における情（こころ）の重要性を繰り返し説いた。その歌論的立場の根底には、景樹の〈実景論〉があったと思われる。

* 本稿は、神作研一「〈実景論〉をめぐる」(『近世和歌史の研究』所収、角川学芸出版、2013) を英訳したものである。

Introduction

Treatise on *waka* 和歌 poetry (*karon* 歌論) by KAGAWA Kageki 香川景樹 (1768–1843) is known for the theory of fine-tuning or tonal integrity (*shirabe* 調). This study focuses on the fact that Kageki emphasized the actual object (*jitsubutsu* 実物) and the actual scenery (*jikkei* 実景) as an important methodology to support his theory of *shirabe*. Kageki's theory based on *jikkei* is now called *jikkei-ron* 実景論. In this study it is confirmed that the time period during which he was active, affected Kageki's *karon*. This time period when his *karon* was created will then be scrutinized. Finally, the relationship between Kageki's *jikkei-ron* and the *shinkei-ron* 真景論 of a literary painter, KUWAYAMA Gyokushū 桑山玉洲 (1746–1799), will be examined.

1. *Shirabe* and *Jikkei*

歌はことわるものにあらず、調ぶるものなり

Waka is not a linguistic form of thought, but is literature accompanied by rhythm.

— UCHIYAMA Mayumi 内山真弓 (1786–1852)

“Shukō” 趣向, *Kagakuteiyō* 歌学提要

(pub. 嘉永 3/1850)

The research of KAGAWA Kageki's *karon*, known in the above discourse, up until now has naturally been centered on *shirabe*. Here I am not going to go through all of the history of research about Kageki's *karon*, but I would first like to comprehend the point of his theory in my own way.

新まなびに云ふ、いにしへの歌は調をもはらとせり。うたふ物なればなり。景樹按らく、いにしへの歌の調も情もととのへるは、他の義あるにあらず、ひとへの誠実より出づればなり。誠実より為れる歌はやがて天地の調にして、空ふく風の物につきてその声をなすが如く、あたる物としてその調を得ざる事なし。

According to *Niimanabi*, *waka* used to be recited just with poetic rhythm in the old days. However, I (Kageki) believe that if *waka* came directly from the poet's heart, those *waka* have literary elements though they were composed in the old days. There is no other way to align *shirabe* and emotion with *waka* besides composing it from the heart. *Waka* has its original *shirabe* as it is. As the wind in the sky naturally makes a sound, *waka* can get its *shirabe* easily.

— KAGAWA Kageki

“Introduction” 巻頭, *Niimanabi iken* 新学異見
(pub. 文化 12/1815)

Niimanabi iken states that *shirabe* of KAMO no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697–1769) only means poetic rhythm, whereas Kageki's *shirabe* is used as a concept that comes from the poet's heart that *waka* naturally has (literary elements). *Waka* that came directly from the poet's heart is the essence of literature that leads to the universal heavens and earth as it is. This theory is similar to Neo-Confucianism. So how is *shirabe* prepared? The statements that succinctly show this are as follows.

たゞ実物・実景に向ひて、おもふまゝをすらすらとよみ出むには、おのづから調べとゝのひて、愛たき調は出くるものなり。

If one just faces *jitsubutsu* or *jikkei* and composes *waka* with the feeling one felt at that time, one will get a natural *shirabe* and also create a beautiful *shirabe*.

— UCHIYAMA Mayumi

“Shukō”, *Kagakuteiyō*

されば書を捨て、実物・実景に向ひて、わが調にて、今の調にて、誠をのべ試み給ふべし。

Therefore, one should stop reading books in the house and try to face *jitsubutsu* and *jikkei*, look into one's *shirabe* and try to say the words one felt at that time.

— KAGAWA Kageki

Comment on manuscript of *waka* by SUYAMA Nagakiyo 巢山永清

at Kiso-hirasawa in Shinshū

Zuimonzuiki 随聞随記

Kageki said if one faces *jitsubutsu* or *jikkei* and composes *waka* with the emotion one felt at that time, one would get a natural *shirabe*. What one can see from his theory is that Kageki gave importance to *jitsubutsu* or *jikkei* as a premise factor for the appearance of *shirabe*. It seems that *jikkei-ron* was one of the most important methodologies that supported his *karon* about *shirabe*.

So what exactly is *jikkei*? The meaning of this word will be reviewed first.

The following can be seen from the references at hand. *Jikkei* is quite new as a word of Chinese origin (*Kango daishiten* 漢語大詞典 includes two examples such as *Shōsetsu genri* 小説原理 and *Shikan* 詩刊 [vol. 1 published in 1978] both written by XIA Zengyou 夏曾佑 [1863–1924]). *Jikkei* is a synonym of the word *shinkei* 真景 (“true scenery” [*Shinpen daigenkai* 新編大言海 and others]). The kanji character *jitsu* 実 means “actual” 実際の (*Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典 and others) or “true” まことの (1st volume of *Yakubun sentei* 訳文筌蹄 by OGYŪ Sorai 荻生徂徠

[1666–1728]). As for examples of *shinkei*, several Chinese dictionaries, including *Haibun inpu* 佩文韻府, list *Unkyūshichisen* 雲笈七籤 as the oldest example, whereas the 2nd edition of *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 picked *Gyokushū gashū* 玉洲画趣¹ first. It will be mentioned later that the word *shinkei* was originally a term for painting treatises (*garan* 画論) though Kageki uses both *jikkei* and *shinkei*.

Because the word *kei* 景 can be interpreted to mean scenery (*keshiki* 景色) in general, both *jikkei* and *shinkei* can be considered as actual scenery (*jissai no keshiki* 實際ノケシキ) or true scenery (*makoto no keshiki* マコトノケシキ). The wording by Kageki is also limited to the above meaning. However, while *jissai no keshiki* refers to the view as it is, *makoto no keshiki* requires more than just superficial observation of the subject. In order to capture its essence of the topic, the poet's emotion (*jō* 情) should be included. In other words, it should be noted first and foremost that the words *jitsu* and *shin* 真 have two different interpretations (Kageki seems to have used one of these two words depending on the situation).

2. *Jikkei* in the History of *Karon*

The word *keiki* 景気 is a term of *karon*, and it includes the concept of the kanji character *kei* (scenery), a part of the word *jikkei*. In the medieval period, *keiki* was more frequently used than *jikkei*. It is well known that *waka* composed about *keiki* and included in *Maigetsushō* 毎月抄, were classified as mere landscape poetry (*jokei-ka* 叙景歌) and were categorized in *miruyōtei* 見様体 in *Sangoki* 三五記.² The issues about *kei*, including the above and the fact that *Ryōshun isshiden* 了俊一子伝 and *Rakusho roken* 落書露見 advocate respecting the scenery in front of one's eyes, as well as the tendency of Kyōgoku School 京極派's *waka*, could be considered as the foundation for the history of *waka* during the medieval period. When one examines Kageki's *jikkei-ron*, the issues to consider are expanding. For example, the issue associated with *kei* can be inferred as the relation to the matter of the scenery and

emotion (*keijō-ron* 景情論) in the treatises of Chinese poetry (*shiron* 詩論). In addition, the issues of the popularity of phrases about *keiki* (*jokeiku* 叙景句) and *keijō-ron* (*Kyoraishū* 去来抄 and others mentioned) in *haikai* 俳諧 during the early modern period are increasing. However, these issues will not be addressed here.

Moving to *waka* by high ranking court nobles (*tōshō* 堂上) during the early modern period, it is possible to find bits and pieces of attitude that emphasize *keiki* in front of one's eyes though the authors did not use the word *jikkei*. See the following examples:

浦松などいはんには、眼前に其景気みるやうに、浦に松のある体を思やりなどして趣向をもとむべき也

When one has to compose *waka* on the topic of the pine tree in the backyard, one needs a technique that makes one feel as if one was looking at *keiki* in front of one's eyes.

— stated by GOMINOO-IN 後水尾院 (1596–1680)
transcribed by Emperor REIGEN 靈元天皇 (1654–1732)

Rokubokushō 麓木鈔

歌はたゞ如斬に過春の景気をいはんよりも、眼前の景気をいふがまさりたるとの事也

When one composes *waka*, it is much better to compose in the present moment of *keiki* in front of one's eyes than to recall the *keiki* of spring that has passed by.

— transcribed by ŌGIMACHI Sanetoyo 正親町実豊 (1620–1703)

Waka kikigaki 和歌聞書

The first poet who used the word *jikkei* in *karon* was *Shunshū* (genius) MUSHANOKŌJI Sanekage 俊秀武者小路実陰 (1661–1738) of a poetry circle by REIGEN-IN 靈元院.³

たゞ毎度いふことなれど、歌はたゞ実情をさきとし、つねに実景をこゝろ
にかくべし

As I always say, when one composes *waka*, one should place the highest value on
one's honest emotion (*jitsujō* 実情) coming directly from heart and at the same
time always put *jikkei* in one's mind.

— stated by MUSHANOKŌJI Sanekage
transcribed by JIUN 似雲 (1673–1753)
on July 1, 正徳 4/1714
Shirinshūyō 詞林拾葉

After Sanekage, KARASUMA Mitsuhide 烏丸光栄 (1689–1748) stated in
Karasuma Mitsuhide kadō kyōkun 烏丸光栄歌道教訓:⁴

凡よみ歌の教へ、唯一也。一は、心の真実なり。思ふ所のまことをいひの
ぶるより外の事なし。意をいひのぶるは実意、景をいひのぶるは実景にし
て、毫末も実にそむけば、歌とゝのはず。古来の秀歌、只此実のみ也

In general, there is only one *waka* composing instruction. It is the honest
expression of heart. There is no other way to express what one really feels. The
expression of feeling is called *jitsui* 実意, and the expression of scenery is called
jikkei. One cannot make a good *waka* if one goes against the truth, even a little
bit. The good old *waka* were true to reality.

Moreover, one came to see the word *jikkei* many times in some *waka* manuals
such as the one by HINO Sukeki 日野資枝 (1737–1801). What is particularly
interesting here is that the theory of *tōshō* poets' emphasis on *jikkei* is always
presented along with a respect for *jitsujō*. What this theory concludes is almost the
same as Kageki later asserted. It should first be considered that the origin of Kageki's
jikkei-ron could be found in the *tōshō karon* in the mid-Edo period.⁵

However, what should one think of the fact that though Kageki used the word *jikkei* exclusively to include matters of *jō*, he did not often use the word *jitsujō* itself as much as *jikkei*? On the other hand, why did MOTOORI Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) emphasize *jitsujō* (*Ashiwake obune* 排蘆小船) but did not mention *jikkei* at all? Considering these facts above, the development of *jitsujō* and *jikkei* in the history of *karon* goes beyond a matter of terminology, and it can be recognized that this is an unavoidable matter that goes deep into *karon* in the early modern period. However, if one takes a careful look at the history of *karon*, one should pay attention to the fact that Kageki often used the word *jikkei*. Of course, it is obvious in the history of *waka* that the emphasis on *keiki* in front of one's eyes and the fact that there was occasional realism can be found even before Kageki's theory.⁶ However, its thought was not as mature as the one in the late Edo period. The historical characteristics of Kageki's *karon* will be described later. Before that, each of his discourses related to *jikkei* will be extracted from his *karon* and an aspect of his *jikkei-ron* will be considered first.

3. An Aspect of *Jikkei-ron*

実景より出たるもの、みな秀逸なり

All *waka* created by looking at *jikkei* are magnificent.

— KAGAWA Kageki

“Kibun” 紀聞, *Zuimonzuiki*

Kageki's statement here best expresses his assertion in *karon*. One frequently sees his remarks like “You should just face *jitsubutsu* or *jikkei* and compose *waka* honestly (とかく実物・実景にむかひて、さらさらとよみならひたまへ).” This is a comment on the manuscript of *waka* by MARUYAMA Tasuku 丸山弼 of Shinano in *Zuimonzuiki*, and *jikkei* means *jissai no keshiki* here. He mentioned in the chapter of “Kibun” in

Zuimonzuiki, “One of the great things of old poets is that they face *jikkei* with their mind’s eye and compose *waka* with the emotion they felt. It is said that it is unimaginable for ordinary people (すべて古人の妙なるもの、真の実景より出て、いかなる心より思ひうかぶる事にや。凡慮のはかり得られざる所なりといはれき)” and further asserted that not only his own *waka*, but also even old masterpieces were composed from the true *jikkei*. (This is a rather immature expression, but this *jikkei* means *makoto no keshiki*.) In fact, this attitude often appears in commentaries that he wrote. Two cases will be listed:

此歌風、調平淡して、其真景をみるにたれり。きはめて率意に出たるべし。

The style of this *waka* is simple and not unsightly, and was composed with a good view of *shinkei*. It is *waka* that shows an extremely honest feeling.

— KAGAWA Kageki

Commentary on #94 “Miyoshinono” みよしのの by Masatsune 雅経

Hyakushu iken 百首異見

(pub. 文政 6/1823)

大方の花は、中々余りにけちかくては、そゝけたる蕊も交り、よからぬ薫りもつくめり。只梅のみは、花も匂ひもいと清く、よそめにのみあはれと見しより、却て近まさりのせらるゝ真景を、めでたくいひ出たるもの也。

Generally, the flowers are not very pretty and do not smell good if one gets too close to them. However, only plum blossoms are so pure in flower and smell, and when one looks at them from a distance, they look tasteful, and also one’s *waka* are able to express *shinkei* seen from a close distance.

— KAGAWA Kageki

Commentary on #37 “Yosoninomi” よそにのみ by SOSEI 素性

Kokinwakashū seigi 古今和歌集正義

(pub. 天保 6/1835)

If one reads through both commentaries, one will find that the word *jikkei* appears twice in *Hyakushu iken* (#69 and 73) and 12 times in *Kokinwakashū seigi* (#4, 6, 139, 196, 203, 329, 358, 360, 362, 868, 881, and 1011). The word *shinkei* appears once in *Hyakushu iken* (#94) and three times in *Kokinwakashū seigi* (#5, 37 and 776). It is undeniable that Kageki stuck to the words *jikkei* or *shinkei* so much that it was sometimes strained commentary. Even so, he succeeded in carefully capturing the poetic sentiment of old *waka* (*koka* 古歌), mostly based on *jikkei-ron*.⁷ Moreover, except in commentaries, it should be added that *jikkei* and *shinkei* were confirmed in his judgment (*han no kotoba* 判詞) at poetry matches (*uta-awase* 歌合) in *Rokujūyo-ban utamusubi* 六十四番歌結 (pub. 文化 12/1815 and others).

Incidentally, how does *jikkei-ron* relate to topic-based composition of *waka* (*daiei* 題詠)? The chapter of “Daiei” in *Kagakuteiyō* contains the following:

されば題詠に力を尽したらむには、实景・実事にふれて詠出る歌、かならず感ありぬべし。…先何にまれ、題をえたらんには、題の文字をかゝげず、景色と其情を觀ずべし。月雪花はさら也、人事・雜物何にまれ真景を目前にうかめて、身心を山野・海浜に投じ、あるひは聖朝の徳化に舞蹈し、或は釈教の寂寞に快樂し、或は男女の恋慕心に耽落し、一筋にして更に余念なく、物色や、声音や、其的当の感慨を述べし。されば題詠といへども、天地同一の感にして、鬼神をも哀哭せしめ人間をも歎息せしむべし。

Therefore, in order to compose *waka* on *daiei* with much effort, one should look at *jikkei* and the actual object (*jitsuji* 実事). *Waka* created by looking at *jikkei* or *jitsuji* is definitely impressive.... After all, although one is given a topic, one should focus on scenery and emotion in one's mind's eye regardless of the topic itself. It is important to imagine *shinkei* in one's mind and fly to the mountains and beaches even if the subject is about personal matters or miscellaneous things, needless to say, the moon, snow, and flowers. In the same way, one should celebrate the good government by the imperial court, enrich one's mind with the

teaching of Buddhism, indulge in love between men and women, and then devote oneself to them and put one's feelings at the time into *waka*. Hence, even if it is *daiei*, one should identify with God and impress the demons and humans as well.

As *daiei* was repeated many times, the technique was exhausted and there was no freedom in expression. Under such circumstances, Kageki's methodology that even *daiei* can develop one's mind if one experiences *jikkei* or *shinkei* seems to be very interesting.⁸ In the past, Mabuchi altered his situation in which select *waka* were composed on fixed topics into a situation where *waka* were composed by looking at *jikkei*.⁹ It should be noted that the confrontational but simple way of thinking at the bottom of Mabuchi's action, such as *daiei-ka* 題詠歌 (*waka* composed on fixed topics) versus *jikkei-ka* 実景歌 (*waka* composed by experiencing *jikkei*), was unified by Kageki.

What about the case of *waka* about famous places (*meishoei* 名所詠)? Originally, poets should understand the essence of famous places (*meisho* 名所) even though they did not visit them (*Kefukigusa* 毛吹草 by MATSUE Shigeyori 松江重頼 [1602–1680]). However, in the chapter of “Meisho” of *Kagakuteiyō*, Kageki mentioned:

名所なりとていまだ見ぬ境を詠るは、いとも浮たる事なりかし。たとひ古人の歌をもて照し考ふとも、浪よせし墨吉の松は岡の司に聳え、浮寝をわびし猪名の湊は舟漕よせし跡だになし。桑田碧海いかで古にたがはざらん

Even though it is *meishoei*, it is very careless to compose *waka* about *meisho* where one has never been to before. Even if one refers to *waka* made by old poets, the pine trees at Sumiyoshi, where the waves beat on the shore, are actually standing on the hill, and there is no sign of a boat coming to the port of Ina where waterfowl sleep in sorrow. Everything in the world is not the same as when objects were composed in old *waka*.

After all, it is clear that Kageki suggested one should compose *waka* based on what one has seen and heard.

The chapter of “Jikkei” in *Kagakuteiyō* will be examined to check the essence of Kageki's *jikkei-ron*. Here is the full chapter:

見るもの聞ものにつけ、或は悲しび或は歎び、その事に物に望みたらんをり、打付にあはれとおもふ、初一念をよみ出るこそ歌なるべけれ。二義にわたる時は、道理に落て感なきものなり。实景といへばとて、見聞有がまゝをのみ云ものならむや。あるがまゝをいはむには、たとへば垣根の梅に鶯の来鳴くを、二人三人にて聞むに、みな垣ねの梅にうぐひすの鳴とより外更に云べくもあらじかし。さる物ならむや。其鶯のなくを聞て、或はひとへに声のあやをゆかしみ、或は契もおかぬ人をまち、あるは時の移りやすきを驚き、或は旅なる人は故郷の荒ゆく宿をおもふなど、一方ならず百に千にかはるものなり。そは人の面のおなじからざるがごとく、性情もなかかはらざるべき。されば師常に「月花をみて、月花のうへをのみいふ輩は共に語りがたし」と諭されたり。然るに大かたの歌よむ人、实景といへば見聞有がまゝを云ものと意得、或は思ふまゝを云ものなりといふを、口より出るまゝを云ものと意得るたぐひも少からず。こはいみじきひがごとなり。たゞそのおもふまゝの実情を偽飾らず歌とよみいでむのみ。

Waka is a poem that expresses the first impression when one comes into contact with something, such as what one sees or hears, or one's sadness or joy. Phrases made up just in one's head are explanatory and unimpressive. Even if one sees or hears of *jikkei*, do not compose *waka* just with these experiences. For example, if two or three people heard the bush warblers singing on the plum tree by the fence, they cannot express the fact other than the bush warblers are singing on the plum tree by the fence. It is not like that. Hearing that warbler sing, one simply wants to know the sound of his voice, one waits for a person who did not promise to meet, one is surprised at the ease of the passage of time, and it brings

back memories of travelers' desolate inn of his hometown. There is not one way to feel, but a hundred or a thousand different ways to feel. That is because just as everyone's face is different, so are their emotions. Therefore, the master always insisted, "I do not want to talk to people who look at the moon and flowers and express only their superficial things." However, most poets think that *jikkei* is about expressing what they see and hear as it is. Quite a few people think that making *waka* about what one thinks means saying what comes out of their mouth. This is terribly absurd. All one has to do for composing *waka* is to express their frank and straightforward emotion from the heart without faking what they felt when they see *jikkei*.

— *Jikkei* is not about expressing what one sees or hears, but about expressing frank and straightforward *jitsujō* naturally. Therefore, it is the same as people's faces are different; even if people look at the same scenery, different *waka* can be composed. — The root of his attitude is that simply copying what one sees and hears is immature as the literature. Should one understand his intention from the fact that the words that emphasize the importance of *jikkei* do not appear persistently, despite the title of this chapter being "Jikkei"? *Waka* should be based on *jissai no keshiki* first. This thought was already made clear in this chapter. His argument further focuses on the point that *jikkei* obviously means *makoto no keshiki*, which is why superficial observation of an object is not enough, and requires the reflection of a poet's honest emotion. This is reminiscent of MASAOKA Shiki 正岡子規 (1867–1902)'s sketch theory (*shasei karon* 写生歌論) which insisted on composing a poem as it was. Shiki said, "It is tentatively called realism (*shajitsu* 写実) to copy the real thing as it is. It is also called sketching (*shasei* 写生). The word *shasei* was borrowed from the painter's terminology." ("Jojibun" 叙事文¹⁰). In the past, NAKAMURA Yukihiro 中村幸彦 (1911–1998) carefully compared and analyzed theories of both Kageki and Shiki, and recognized the superiority of Kageki's.¹¹ This opinion will also be followed here.

Incidentally, Kageki's statement that it is not good enough to just capture things as they are is written elsewhere:

歌は、見るもの聞ものにつけて、思ふまゝを述るもの也。

Waka is a form of expressing one's feelings about what one sees and hears.

— “Gishoku” 偽飾, *Kagakuteiyō*

歌は、見るもの聞くものをいふにあらず。見るもの聞くものによりて、思を述ぶるものなり。

Waka is not an expression of what one saw or heard, but an expression of one's feeling after seeing or hearing.

— *Tōuigenshō* 東鳩遺言抄¹²

歌は、おもふまゝをばのぶるものに侍れど、ありのまゝをいふものにはあらず。

Waka is expressed as one felt, but it is not expressed as it is.

— Comment on *waka* draft by MARUYAMA Tokimasa 丸山辰政

at Suzaka, Shinano

Zuimonzuiki

His unique *jikkei-ron* — while emphasizing *jikkei*, he still tries to overcome mere *shasei* and seeks the movement of the poet's *jō* — is strongly impressed on us by these quotations. However, he sometimes said the following, and it was unavoidable reality that he emphasized elegance too much:¹³

歌はとかくけ高くなくては叶はず。さりとして云べきをひかへていはぬにはあらず。おもふまゝを上品にいふなり。おもふまゝを賤しくいふは乞食にてもすることなれば、歌とするを待つべからず

Waka should generally be elegant, but it is not good to refrain from saying what

should be said. One should compose elegant *waka* with what one thinks. Saying vulgarly your thoughts is what a beggar does. That is not the level of *waka*.

— Comment on *waka* draft by FURUTA Shigeoki 古田重興
at Shinano
Zuimonzuiki

So far, based on Kageki's *karon*, the nature of *jikkei-ron* has been researched. To recapitulate the main point, Kageki's *jikkei-ron* had a double structure. It is a kind of realism that seeks to experience *jissai no keshiki* above all else, but at the same time, it is also a kind of emotionalism to embody *makoto no keshiki*.

4. *Keien Isshi Kōgi*

Kageki started lecturing about his personal collection *Keien isshi* 桂園一枝 (pub. 文政 13/1830) from November 1, 天保 8/1870, when he was 70 years old. This lecture is called *Keien isshi kōgi* 桂園一枝講義. The lecture currently known is included in *Keien ikō* 桂園遺稿. Those were transcribed by Kageki's disciple, KAMATA Masanobu 鎌田昌言 ([1798–1859] court physician to the Emperor ARISUGAWA 有栖川宮, age 40 at that time). This contains 313 *waka*, one-third of the total number of *waka* such as those about four seasons and those not on fixed topics (*koto ni tsuki toki ni furetaru uta* 事につき時にふれたる歌). This does not include the later chapter of *waka* about love. This was a rarity in those days in which a poet himself commented his own *waka*, and it is a valuable resource for studying the wording of Kageki's *waka* expressions, as well as for knowing the specific aspects of his teaching style.¹⁴

As one reads this *Keien isshi kōgi*, the word *jikkei* comes up a little more often. In other words, out of 313 *waka* recorded, 25 of them have the word *jikkei* and one has the word *shinkei*.

<i>jikkei</i>	<i>Waka</i> about spring	#75 / 107 / 127
	<i>Waka</i> about summer	#145 / 153 / 157 / 177 / 179 / 187
	<i>Waka</i> about fall	#231
	<i>Waka</i> about winter	#416 / 437
	<i>Waka</i> not on fixed topics	#451 / 453 / 468 / 469 / 473 / 479 / 483 / 493 / 495 / 543 / 556 / 562 / 563
<i>shinkei</i>	<i>Waka</i> not on fixed topics	#545

The surviving *Keien isshi kōgi* was transcribed by Masanobu, so when he missed the lecture, the book also lacked that part. It should be considered that not all lectures are available, however, it should be noted that his points about *jikkei* and *shinkei* appear equally in *waka* of the four seasons and also in the one not on fixed topics. Three examples will now be arbitrarily introduced: ¹⁵

夏ふかみ木がくれ多き山里の月の光はふけてなりけり
(夏・夏月・一七七)

…山里でなくてもよけれど、これは実景なり。黒谷の山中にて、夜よみたる時の哥なり。…

As summer deepens and there is a lot of shade in the mountains, the moonlight is getting deeper. (Summer, Month of summer, #177)

…It does not have to be in the mountain village, but this is *jikkei*. I composed this *waka* at night in the mountains of Kurodani. …

五月雨の雲ふきすさむ朝風に桑の実おつる小野原の里
(事につきふれたる・四九三)

城崎の湯に行きたる時に、小野原と云ふ処にてよめり。尤もかひこを多くかへり。桑斗の里なり。実景を知る人は、よく合点ゆくなり。…

It is the village of Onohara where the mulberry drops in the morning breeze

stirring the clouds in the early summer rain. (*Waka* not on fixed topics, #493)

Waka composed in Onohara when I went to a hot spring in Kinosaki. It is the village that has the most silkworms. It is a village full of mulberry trees (to feed silkworms). Those who know *jikkei* will understand. ...

沖つより夕こへくれば山松の梢にかゝるふじの白雪
(同・五五六)

沖つを出でゝ、ほどなくさつた峠にかゝるなり。実景なり。見る人は知るべし。夕べでなくともよけれども、調度夕べなりしなり。また、夕べの方、妙なり。

Leaving Okitsu, in the evening, the white snow of Mount Fuji can be seen through the treetops of the mountain pines. (*Waka* not on fixed topics, #556)

After leaving Okitsu and going for a while, I arrived at Satta Pass. It is *jikkei*. Those who have seen it will surely understand. It did not have to be in the evening, but it was just evening. It is also more tasteful in the evening.

In addition to the above, there are other statements that honestly emphasized *jissai no keshiki* though there are slight differences in the way of expression:

“This is *waka* based on *jikkei* composed in Kitano.” (Spring, Falling petals, #107), “*Waka* based on *jikkei*. It is the voice of the cuckoo heard from Okazaki.” (Summer, Cuckoo, #145), “This is *waka* based on *jikkei* composed in Osaka.” (Summer, Topic unidentified, #187), “This is *shinkei* seen from Baigetsudō in Okazaki.” (*Waka* not on fixed topics, #545), and “Anyone who has seen *jikkei* can understand.” (*Waka* not on fixed topics, #562).

The circumstances surrounding *Keien isshi kōgi* (participants other than Masanobu and their level) are unclear, however, the repeated phrase “This is based on *jikkei* (*jikkei nari* 実景なり).” may suggest that the participants were beginners.¹⁶

Waka composition should be based on *jissai no keshiki* first. There is no doubt that the pursuit of *makoto no keshiki* that respects the poet's emotion was on the next step.

In any case, it is very interesting to realize again that Kageki's *jikkei-ron* was not limited to the theoretical issue, but always affected the activity of *waka* composition.

5. *Fude no Saga* and Tamekane Style

While reading through Kageki's personal collection *Keien isshi*, it is noticed that there are many picturesque *waka*, so-called *jokei-ka*.¹⁷ Considering his thought that emphasizes *jikkei*, it can be said that this is a natural consequence. Therefore, for example, FUKUI Kyūzō 福井久蔵 (1867–1951) has come up with the opinion that “Kageki is a genius landscape poet.”¹⁸ What is remembered at this time was that KATŌ Chikage / Kitadonari no Okina 加藤千蔭・北隣の翁 (1735–1808) and MURATA Harumi / Hashimoto no Jizōmaro 村田春海・橋本の地蔵磨 (1746–1811) criticized Kageki's *waka*, which depicted a lot of scenery, as a KYŌGOKU Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254–1332) style, long ago in *Fude no saga* 筆のさが (pub. 享和 2/1802). This year, Chikage was 68 years old and Harumi was 57 years old. Kageki, on the other hand, was 35 years old. The focus of *Fude no saga* is the so-called “refined versus unrefined controversy” (*Gazoku ronsō* 雅俗論争), however, the criticism that Kageki's *waka* is Tamekane style should not be overlooked. Here are two examples:¹⁹

暮山松

すみぞめの夕のやまをながむれば松のたてるもさびしかりけり

Pine Tree on the Mountain in the Evening

Looking at the mountains in the dark of the evening, a single pine tree looks lonely.

翁云、下句、つたなし。これも、芭蕉風などいへる俳諧の意也。
麿云、新古今の哥くづ也とむかしよりいへど、「残る松さへ」といへるは、
猶おもむきあり。このうたは、いと味なくこそ。是も為兼朝臣の哥ぶり也。
かの朝臣は、不学暗識なる人にて、今の俳諧者流に異なる事なかりしなり。
此哥を「俳諧の意」と北どのゝいはれたるは、はなはだあたれる事なり。

Okina commented: The lower phrase is not good. This is a *haikai*-like work, in the style of [MATSUO] Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694).

Maro commented: This *waka* is the one that often appears in *Shinkokin*. If he said “...even a remaining pine tree (*nokoru matsu sae* 残る松さへ)”, it would still have a taste. This *waka* is very tasteless. It is also composed in the style of Tamekane Ason 為兼朝臣. Ason is a person who was uneducated and had little knowledge, just like the people in the *haikai* group today. Kitadonari no Okina’s comment that this *waka* looks like *haikai* is quite correct.

“Winter has come and the leaves have fallen off the trees until the mountainside is clearly visible. Even a remaining pine tree on those peaks looks lonely (冬のきて山もあらはに木のはふりのこる松さへ嶺にさびしき).” (Winter, #565) by HAFURIBE no Narishige 祝部成茂 (1180–1254) included in *Shin kokinshū* 新古今集 was picked up and commented on by Harumi, “This *waka* is still tasteful.” On the other hand, Harumi said that Kageki’s *waka* is tasteless and Tamekane style. This (*Waka* not on fixed topics, #513) is included in *Keien isshi shūi* 桂園一枝拾遺 (pub. 嘉永 3/1850), which was published after the death of Kageki, but it is hard to say that it is an excellent *waka*. Even OGAWA Nobuyoshi 小川布淑 (1756–1820), a disciple of OZAWA Roan 小沢蘆庵 (1723–1801), who was supposed to be on the side of Kageki, and who should have respected realism, said, “The lower phrase is immature and this is an ordinary *waka*.” (*Gazokuben* 雅俗弁). Here is one more example:

戸外朝顔

ねやの戸をあけてみたれば朝貌の花のさかりははや過にけり

Outdoor Morning Glory

I tried opening the bedroom door and found that the morning glory flowers were already past their prime.

翁云、二句、つたなし。一首俳諧といふものゝさまにて、俗意也。

麿云、上句のさま、為兼朝臣の「萩のはをよくよくみれば」といへるに口調よく似たり。すべて此哥人の哥、かの朝臣のくちぶりによく似たるは、いとふべく、わらふべし。かの朝臣のひが哥よみなる事、そのかみより人もはやくいひあへるを、今かく言葉の学びうけたる世に、猶かのひが哥ぶりをまなばんとする人のあるこそ、うたてけれ。「あけてみたれば」の句、いときたなげなる調なり。さらに哥詩のやうもおもはれず。こは「見しかば」「みつれば」などといはゞ、これにははるかにまさるべし。されど、此一、二の句のいひなし、てづゝにて、をさなき人のものいひのやうなり。
(後略)

Okina commented: The second phrase is not good. This *waka* is like *haikai* and sounds unrefined.

Maro commented: The upper phrase is very similar to Tamekane Ason's expression, "If I look closely at the leaves of the amur silver-grass (*Ogi no ha o yokuyoku mireba* 萩の葉をよくよくみれば)." All of this poet's *waka* are familiar to Ason's expression. It should be hated and laughed at. Everyone has said that Ason was making poor *waka*. It is unbelievable that someone is trying to learn the cheap expression at this time when one can learn the words freely. The phrase "*akete mitareba* あけてみたれば" is a terrible *shirabe*. This does not feel like the poetic vocabulary (*utakotoba* 哥詩) of *waka*. If he had said, "*mishikaba* 見しかば," "*mitsureba* みつれば," or something like that, it would have been much better. The expression in the first and second phrases lacks suppleness, like something a child would say. ..."

Tamekane's *waka* that Harumi pointed out is "*Ogi no ha o yokuyoku mireba ima*

zo shiru tada ōkinaru susuki nari keru (荻の葉をよくよく見れば今ぞ知るただ大きな薄也けり) ” included in *Nomori no kagami* 野守鏡. And here again, Harumi thoroughly blames Kageki’s *waka* for being in the style of Tamekane, as he pointed out in the underline. Incidentally, the phrasing of “*akete mitareba* あけてみれば”, which Harumi said is cheap, can be seen in two examples in the imperial anthologies (*Chokusenshū* 勅撰集) such as “*Itsushika to akete mitareba hama chidori ato arugoto ni ato no naki nari* (いつしかとあけてみればはま千鳥跡あるごとにあとのなき哉)” (*Shūishū* 拾遺集, Miscellaneous *ge*, #553 by ONONOMIYA Dajōdaijin 小野宮太政大臣 [900–970]) and “*Yume ka tote akete mitareba tama kushige ima wa munashiki mi ni koso arikere* (夢かとしてあけてみれば玉くしげ今はむなしき身にこそありけれ)” (*Shin Chokusenshū* 新勅撰集, Miscellaneous 3, #1224 by KUJŌ Udaijin 九条右大臣 [908–960]), however, it is undeniable that they are both argumentative.

In any case, the fact that Harumi blames Kageki’s *waka* for being Tamekane style as early as 享和 2/1802 is important. From the aspect of *waka* history, it was well known that both imperial anthologies of the *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 and *Fūga* 風雅 including the excellent *jokei-ka* had a reputation for being bad examples for both *tōshō* and ordinary people (*jige* 地下). However, when one reads Kageki’s *waka* carefully, it is realized that one has to consider the similarity between Kageki’s *waka* and the expression in the two imperial anthologies at the level of wording. The details will be left to another paper, however, considering that many of the early modern *waka* themselves depicted the scenery, it can be concluded that the similarity to the expressions in *Gyokuyō* and *Fūga* is an issue not only for Kageki, but also for all the early modern *waka*.²⁰

On the other hand, it is also important not to overlook the fact that Chikage criticizes Kageki’s *waka* mainly because it has something in common with *haikai*. Considering that Kageki’s *waka* emphasizing *jikkei* has an objective element that *haikai* naturally has as its essence, once again, the not-so-small issue of “Kageki’s

waka and *haikai*” emerges. Kageki said, “*Haikai*, which is popular now, is not included in the category of *kyōka* 狂歌. So one can refer to *haikai*. The spirit of *haikai* is the same as that of *waka*.” (comment on manuscript of *waka* by MARUYAMA Tasuku at Shinano. *Zuimonzuiki*) and showed a stance of allowing *haiku*, which is an unrefined literature (*zoku bungaku* 俗文学), from beginning to end. In addition, there is an episode that Kageki corrected an opening verse (*hokku* 発句) even though they were made by *haikai* beginners (HATTA Tomonori 八田知紀 [1799–1873] “Furoku” 附録, *Shirabe no tadamichi* 調の直路 pub. 弘化 3/1846). The above incidents are very impressive when considering his thought in *karon* and his style of *waka* composition.

6. *Shiron* and *Garon* — The Place of Kageki's *Karon* in This Era

In the previous chapters, Kageki's *jikkei-ron* was taken up with the issues that have existed surrounding it. In the first place, where was the origin of his opinion in *karon*? If one looks back at that time with a view to the development of history of *karon*, it is unavoidable to be aware of “the trend of the era to move towards realism”. The theory that emphasizes *jikkei* is also found in the field of Chinese poetry (*kanshi* 漢詩) and painting, although using different words. Rather, it should be said that the thought of *kanshi* led to *garon* and *karon*. First, the aspect of *shiron* will be examined.

What covered this era widely was YAMAMOTO Hokuzan 山本北山 (1752–1812)'s theory.²¹ Hokuzan criticized the Ancient Rhetoric School (*kobunji kakuchō* 古文辞格調派) and his point is as follows:

専ヲ唐人ヲ剽竊シテ、句ゴトニ比シ、字毎ニ擬シ、目前ノ景ヲ舍テテ、腐爛ノ辞ヲ撫ヒ、公然トシテ復古トヨビ、中晩以下ヲ視ルコト、讎敵ノ如ク、標然トシテ、別ニ高華ノ工夫ヲナス。

They stole poems made by the Tang poets, arranged them phrase by phrase,

imitated character by character, did not see the scenery in front of them, picked up the rotten words, and publicly called it the restoration. They cannot stand the sight of even one poet in the late Tang dynasty. One must devise their own unique way without being influenced by others.

— YAMAMOTO Hokuzan

“Shihen sōron” 詩變總論, *Sakushi shikō* 作詩志彙

(pub. 天明 3/1783)

He criticized *kobunji kakuchō ha* for being nostalgic and not looking at the actual sceneries in front of them. In contrast with *kobunji kakuchō ha*, Hokuzan emphasized the importance of expressing one’s emotions based on the scenery in front of them. It is already a well-established theory that Hokuzan’s stance was actually based on YUAN Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610)’s Xing Ling Shuo (*seireisetsu* 性靈說) in the Ming Dynasty. The following is from “Shōshū ga shi ni josu” 小修ガ詩ニ叙ス in *Enchūrō zenshū* 袁中郎全集 reproduced at the end of 元禄 9/1696:²²

オホムネ独り性靈ヲ抒ベテ、格套ニ拘ラズ、自己ノ胸臆ヨリ流レ出ヅルニ非ザレバ、肯テ筆ヲ下サズ (原漢文)

In general, one should express from one’s own heart and not be influenced by the words of traditional poetry and dare not write unless it flows from one’s own heart. (The original was written in Chinese.)

In this way, the reformation of the poetry circles gradually spread not only to Edo and Kyoto, but also to a wide area by using *seireisetsu* advocated by Hokuzan as a theoretical prop. As a result, countless statements related to *shiron* that emphasized *jikkei / shinkei* and *jitsujō* appeared in this period (including critiques in the collections of poems).

The poetry circles influenced by such *seireisetsu* were truly characteristic of the times. Even though this was obviously a trigger for Kageki’s *jikkei-ron*, one still has

the task of identifying *shiron* that directly influenced Kageki's theory.²³

Incidentally, Kageki would have had the opportunity to often feel the atmosphere of the poetry circle mentioned above. Among them, it is hard to overlook the fact that Kageki unexpectedly met a disciple of Hokuzan at an inn near Mikawa-yatsuhashi on the way back from Edo in the winter of 文政 1/1818, when Kageki was 51 years old. He was one of the key figures in the innovation of the poetry circles, ŌKUBO Shibutsu 大窪詩仏 (1767–1837), and he was 52 years old at that time.

かへり出て、知鯉鮒の駅なる山吹屋にやどる。さるに、江戸なる詩仏翁、なご屋よりかへるさにて、おなじく此家にやどれり。「かねておのれに逢べきころがまへして、名護屋よりの文なども物し給へり」とあるじのいふに、「こは、ねがひたるにも似たるかな。おとのみ聞つるものを」と、やがて高殿よりおりて、あひまみゆ。(後略)

On the way home, I stayed at an inn called Yamabuki-ya at the Chiryū station. Then I found that Shibutsu from Edo was staying at the same inn on his way back from Nagoya. “Shibutsu has been planning to meet you for a long time and has some documents from Nagoya.” said the owner of the inn. “What better opportunity could one wish for? I have heard only rumors about him.” And then, I went down from the high building and met him. ...

— KAGAWA Kageki

Nakazora no niki 中空の日記²⁴

(written on November 24, 文政 1/1818)

According to *Nakazora no niki*, after this meeting, they spent an elegant time exchanging poetry over the next day. Did they really talk to each other about the core of poetic theories at this time? Needless to say, it is unknown, but the meeting of those two masters of the poetry circles must be regarded as important.

Translation and commentary (pub. 文政 2/1819) on *Kaishien gaden* 芥子園画

伝²⁵ by KASHIWAGI Jotei 柏木如亭 (1763–1819), who worked with Shibutsu to innovate the poetry circles in Edo, begins with the following:

余が性、山水を愛し、又山水を画くを愛す。一幅の山水に対ふ毎に、某国の山、某郷の水を想似す。一座の山、一条の水を觀る毎に、弁識して某家の峰巒、某家の溪澗と為す。²⁶ (原漢文)

I was born to love landscape and love to draw it. Whenever I face the landscape in the hanging scroll, I remember and paint the mountains of the province or water in the village. Every time I see a mountain or a stream of water, I envision the scenery, and it becomes a mountain or a valley in a certain land. (The original was written in Chinese.)

Recently, IBI Takashi 揖斐高 (b. 1946) took up the above preface and said, “In other words, the consciousness of trying to superimpose the landscape depicted in the paintings and the real landscape that he faces is very strong.”²⁷ He pointed out that realism is certainly evident in the field of painting.

If one overlooks the field of painting diachronically, one can see that shortly before the above, a new style—“realistic paintings of nature” (*shaseiga* 写生画) by MARUYAMA-Shijō School 円山四条派 dominated its field, especially in Kyoto. That is why UEDA Akinari 上田秋成 (1734–1809) said, “In the field of painting, [MARUYAMA] Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733–1795) came out and *shasei* became so popular that all the paintings in Kyoto became like that.” (*Tandai shōshinroku* 胆大小心録). The word *shasei* literally means “painting as it is,”²⁸ but eventually, in the Kansei 寛政 era (1789–1801), a new theory emerged to replace it. It is *garan* by the literary painter KUWAYAMA Gyokushū. While placing importance on the word *shinkei*, he developed a unique *shinkei-ron* (in the following, Gyokushū’s theory of the emphasis on *shinkei* is called) that respected the creativity of the painter. His argument is highly valued by art historians as *garan* that surpasses *shasei*.²⁹ However, it seems that his *garan* has never been taken up in relation to literature. In the next

chapter, the relationship between Gyokushū's *shinkei-ron* and Kageki's *jikkei-ron* will be discussed.

7. Gyokushū's *Shinkei-ron*

Gyokushū was from Kii (Kishū 紀州) Province. He was born in 延享 3/1746 and died on April 13, 寛政 11/1799 at age 54 (22 years older than Kageki). He is known as a disciple of IKE no Taiga 池大雅 (1723–1776), and is renowned for theorizing Taiga's painting stance based on experience of nature. *Kaijihigen* 絵事鄙言 was published by Gyokushū's friend, KIMURA Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂 (1736–1802), immediately after Gyokushū's death in 1799.³⁰

Though the word that was most valued in *Kaijihigen* was *shinkei*, the word *shinkei* was originally seen in *Sansuiketsu* 山水訣 (*Hippōki* 筆法記) by JING Hao (Keikō 荆浩 [dates unknown], active from the late Tang to Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period in China). The word *shinkei* is one of the important concepts that later became the basis of the Chinese landscape painting. In Japan, Gyokushū started using the word *shinkei* as a term for *garan* during the Kansei era. However, it seems that the word *shinkei* has been used as a subject term for landscape paintings since the Tenmei 天明 era (1781–1789).³¹ However, it should be noted that while the word *shinkei* as a subject term was mostly used for works that depicted actual scenery (*jissai no keshiki*) of famous places or scenic spots, *shinkei* in Gyokushū's *garan* was used to mean scenery with the artist's emotion (*makoto no keshiki*). The word *shinkei* in Gyokushū's *Kaijihigen* will now be examined.

First of all, he said, “The reason why Chinese landscape painting is unique is that it depicts *shinkei* (其物形ノ時々意外ニ出タルハ、本コレヲ真景ヨリ求タル奇処ナリ), on the other hand, Japanese painters draw only by imagining the shape of a landscape and do not think deeply about the emotion they feel when they see the actual

landscapes, which is why their works are flat and shallow (景状ヲ像想ニノミ求テ、深く真形ノ氣韻ヲ考ヘザルユヘ、平淡淺狭ヲ為ス)。” In response to the prevalence of copying painting models (*funpon shugi* 粉本主義), which did not even look at nature, he stated his own view that “No matter where one is, one should try to depict *shinkei* (何地ニモアレ、真景ヲ描キ試ムベシ).” This *shinkei* has the same meaning as *jissai no keshiki* above. Under such circumstances, it is noteworthy that in his words describing the reason for his high regard for KANŌ Tan’yū 狩野探幽 (1602–1674)’s painting works — Tan’yū observes *shinkei* carefully and tries to paint with all his emotion (是深く真景ヲ熟覽シ、氣韻ヲ以テ象形ヲ覓メタル) — he regarded *shinkei* as *makoto no keshiki*. Originally, *kiin* 氣韻 (emotion) was a word based on the concept of “Spirit Resonance” (*kiin seidō* 氣韻生動), the first of the Six Principles (*rikuhō* 六法) of Chinese painting, in the preface of *Kogahinroku* 古画品録 by XIE He 謝赫 (dates unknown) of Southern Qi, and it was considered as the most important concept in the history of Chinese *garan*. Gyokushū enthusiastically explained the importance of *kiin* and, by contrast, strongly discouraged copying (*shasei*) and said, “When one is trying to imitate all shapes by copying an old painting or sketching the object, no *kiin* are created (古画を模写し又は諸の真物を写すに、悉く其形に似候事を求る時は必ず清韻生じ不申候).” (*Gyokushū gashu*³²). The fact that Gyokushū quoted the following phrase of SU Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101) in his *Gaenhigen* 画苑鄙言 represents his opinion.

画ヲ論ズルニ形似ヲ以テスレバ、見兒童ト隣ル

When one discusses paintings, if one judges only by how one sketches, it is the same level as a child.

— “Enryō no Ōshu bo egaku tokoro no sesshi ni shosu 2-shu” Part 1

「鄢陵ノ王主簿画ク所ノ折枝ニ書ス二首」其の一

Tōba sensei shi 東坡先生詩

(pub 明曆 2/1656³³)

This phrase was also quoted in “Seirei” 性靈 in *Sakushi shikō*.

The details of Gyokushū's *garon* will be left to the experts and will not be discussed more deeply here. In any case, based on the theory of traditional Chinese landscape painting, Gyokushū emphasized the importance of *shinkei* and at the same time, he said that mere reproduction of *jissai no keshiki* — in other words, *shasei* — cannot be called artwork, but must contain the *kiin* of the artist. Gyokushū's unique *shinkei-ron* (generally referred to as *shaiteki shinkei-ron* 写意的真景論 by art historians) seems to be quite similar to the aforementioned *jikkei-ron* by Kageki. Of course, this study must refrain from both lightly discussing their relations of influence and writing bold speculation here now. However, it cannot be hidden that the theories of the same taste were developed in the same field of art theory almost at the same time. Why did Kageki use the word *shinkei*? (Note the fact that the first example of the term *shinkei* used in *karon* is due to Kageki.) The relationship between Kageki and Gyokushū/Kenkadō has not been revealed yet, and the fact that the existing copy (*denpon* 伝本) of *Kaijihigen* is not extensive is also a concern. (There are only seven copies in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books by the National Institute of Japanese Literature 国文学研究資料館.) Even so, there was a good chance that Kageki could have indirectly come into contact with Gyokushū's *garon* through a third party or a trend in the painting and poetry circles of Kyoto.

Incidentally, HATTA Tomonori, a disciple of Kageki, contrasted *shirabe* in *waka* with the *kiin* in calligraphy and painting, and explained as follows:

又いかばかり初心の人にてても、「夏風ぞふく」「冬風ぞふく」「赤菊の花」などはいはぬをみれば、さすが又調をしらざるにはあらず。されば歌に調あり、書画に気韻あるは、花に句あるが如くにて、すべて技芸の上、一切の器財に至りても、形の外に出でゝ品位の妙所あるもの、みな玄妙の堺にして、これ即第一義の道なり。

No matter how much of a beginner one is, one does not say things like “summer

wind blows,” “winter wind blows,” or “red chrysanthemum flower” in *waka* because, as one would expect, everyone knows *shirabe*. Therefore, *waka has shirabe and calligraphy and painting have kiin*, just as flowers have beauty. In everything, there is a taste of its original dignity in the expressed form, and it is most important to understand it.

— HATTA Tomonori
“Appendix”, *Shirabe no tadamichi* ³⁴

Tomonori’s statement suggests the proximity of *karon* and *garan*. It can also be confirmed that Gyokushū himself was saying, “Needless to say, painting is like composing *waka* or Chinese poetry (固ヨリ画ヲ作ル意ハ、歌詩ト同情ニテ)” or “If Chinese poetry is said to be a picture with a voice, so is *waka* (詩ヲ有声ノ画ト云へバ、和歌モ同意ナリ).”

8. Development of *Jikkei-ron* in the Meiji Period

At the end of this study, some further issues will be introduced by focusing on the development of *jikkei-ron* after Kageki.

In the Meiji period (1868–1912), KUBOTA Utsubo 窪田空穂 (1877–1967) said, “Those who insisted on *shasei* valued only the reality and comparatively disregarded their emotions. Therefore, I have a feeling that it is not enough.” (*Tsūzoku sakubun zensho: Tanka sahō* 通俗作文全書 短歌作法 ³⁵). Also he said, “The poetry is not *shasei*, but it cannot be separated from *shasei*. The poetry is *shasei*, but it is more than *shasei*.” (*Sakka mondō* 作歌問答 ³⁶). He repeatedly explained the importance of *jō* in poetry composition. This seems to be a remark made in consideration of Shiki’s *shasei karon*, which dominated poetry circles at that time, and it is now obvious that Kageki’s *karon* is at the root of Utsubo’s statement in his poetic theory. It would be an effective perspective to reconsider the flow from Kageki

to Utsubo when looking at the evaluation of Kageki in the history of short poem (*tanka* 短歌) during the modern era and the “flow of the history of *karon* from the early modern to the modern era” from a larger perspective.

Another issue is the dilemma in actual poetry composition as a consequence of *jikkei-ron*. Just as some of the poetic circles after *seireisetsu* created a large number of flat poems, Keien School 桂園派 after Kageki, including the New Keien School 新桂園派 (Outadokoro School 御歌所派) of the Meiji period, fell into the situation of mass production of *jokei-ka* that was too flat. Here is an example:

[一とせ花見にものしける時]
よしの山かすみのおくはしらねども見ゆるかぎりはさくらなりけり

[When I had a cherry blossom viewing before]

I do not know what is going on behind the haze of the Yoshino Mountain, but as far as I can see, it is all cherry blossoms.

— HATTA Tomonori

Shinobugusa vol. 1 志乃布久佐³⁷ 初編

How should one perceive the many *waka* of this period that have received little attention until now? There is much to consider about what impact *jikkei-ron* will have on the future and how it will develop.

Conclusion

The concept of KAGAWA Kageki's *jikkei-ron* is found in both *shiron* and *garon*. In particular, the fact that it is quite similar to *shinkei-ron* (art historians generally refer to this theory as *shaiteki shinkei-ron*) developed by KUWAYAMA Gyokushū, a literary painter of the same period as Kageki, was confirmed. In the Meiji period, the influence of Kageki's *jikkei-ron* was slightly seen in *karon* by KUBOTA Utsubo. This

fact is very thought-provoking as an issue of the history of Japanese *karon*.

Notes

1. KUWAYAMA Gyokushū, published in 寛政 2/1790. Question-and-answer style about painting treatise in letter format. The following sentence contains the word *shinkei*:
「古今の画を見るに、筆墨設色滞なく、鳥獸なれば活けるが如く、山水なる時は遠近分明にして、恰も真景に対せるが如きものは」
2. TANAKA Yutaka 田中裕, “Keiki” 景気, in *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten* 日本古典文学大辞典 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten).
3. It is considered that the word *jitsujō* in addition to *jikkei* was first seen in *Shirinshūyō*. In examining the history of *karon*, especially the expansion into *jige karon* in the late Edo period, the arguments in *Shirinshūyō*, including the terminology, are thought to be the most important among several *tōshō karon*.
4. UENO Yōzō 上野洋三 et al., Eds., *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei: Kinsei kabunshū, jō* 新日本古典文学大系 近世歌文集 上 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), p.172.
5. Early on, TAKAHAMA Mitsuru 高浜充 briefly pointed out this fact in “Tōshō karon ni okeru makoto” 堂上歌論におけるまこと, *Baikō jogakuin daigaku kokubungaku kenkyū*, vol. 8 梅光女学院大学国文学研究 八号, November 1972.
6. Example of paintings on *shōji* paper sliding-door (*shoji-e* 障子絵) at Saishō Shiten’nōin Temple 最勝四天王院 (visiting Akashisuma 明石須磨行 by a painter, MUNEUCHI Kaneyasu 宗内兼康), issue related to SAIGYŌ 西行 (1118–1190)’s exploration of poetic places (*utamakura* 歌枕) or the existence of

waka by Kyōgoku School including KYŌGOKU Tamekane come to mind immediately. In addition, as time went on, some of the realism was much more influential in the early modern *waka*, such as *tōshō*'s *waka* with the topic of Mount Fuji (*Fuji eihō* 富士詠法).

See ŌTANI Shunta 大谷俊太, “Fujiei sobyō: Jikkan to hon’i” 富士詠素描—実感と本意—, in *Wakashi no “kinsei” dōri to yojō* 和歌史の「近世」道理と余剰 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2007).

KATANANO Tatsurō 片野達郎, *Nihon bungei to kaiga no sōkansei no kenkyū* 日本文芸と絵画の相関性の研究 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1975).

Katano pointed out the trend of realism in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and squarely featured the picturesque nature of literature at that time.

7. YAMAMOTO Kashō 山本嘉将, *Kagawa Kageki ron* 香川景樹論 (Tokyo: Ikuei Shoin, 1942), p. 165.
“Kageki karon no kinseiteki genkai ni tsuite” 景樹歌論の近世的限界について, in *Fujihira Haruo chosakushū*, vol. 4 藤平春男著作集 第四卷 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1999).
- TAKIZAWA Sadao 滝沢貞夫, “Kaisetsu” 解説, in *Kokinwakashū seigi* 古今和歌集正義 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1978), and other publications.
8. Refer to SUZUKI Ken’ichi 鈴木健一, “Kadai no Edoteki tenkai” 歌題の江戸的展開, in *Edo kotengaku no ron* 江戸古典学の論 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2011).
9. SUZUKI Jun 鈴木淳, “Kamo no Mabuchi no jisanka” 賀茂真淵の自讃歌, in *Edo wagaku ronkō* 江戸和学論考 (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō, 1997).
10. *Nihon* 日本. Jan.–Mar. 1900.
Shiki zenshū, vol. 17 子規全集 第十七卷 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976), p. 255.
Note that the word *shasei* is originally a term used in *garan*.

11. “Kageki to Shiki” 景樹と子規, in *Nakamura Yukihiro chojutsushū*, vol. 1 中村幸彦著述集 第一卷 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1982).
Also refer to ŌTANI Masao 大谷雅夫, “*Jinshin onaji karazaru koto tsura no gotoshi*: Seigo o meguru wakan hikaku ronkō” 「人心不同如面」一成語をめぐる和漢比較論考一, in *Wakan hikaku bungaku sōsho 7: Kinsei bungaku to kanbungaku* 和漢比較文学叢書 7 近世文学と漢文学 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1988). In this article, ŌTANI acknowledged that Kageki’s *jikkei-ron* had uniqueness in *waka* composition and discussed the excellence of his *karon*.
12. *Zoku Nihon kagaku zensho: Kagawa Kageki ō zenshū, ge* 続日本歌学全書 香川景樹翁全集 下 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1898), p. 487.
13. Refer to FUJIHIRA’s article in Note #7. Further related articles are included in *Fujihira Haruo chosakushū*, vol. 3 and 4. (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1998–1999).
14. KUBOTA Utsubo, “*Keien isshi kōgi o yomu*” 『桂園一枝講義』を読む, *Tanka kenkyū* 短歌研究, April 1920. *Keien isshi kōgi* is later included in *Kubota Utsubo zenshū*, vol. 10 窪田空穂全集 第十卷 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1966). This is very useful for research.
Recently, YANASE Mari 柳瀬万里’s “*Kagawa Kageki no waka jichū ni okeru yanagi*” 香川景樹の和歌自注における「柳」 was published. It is included in *Nihon kinsei bungaku kenkyū no shinryōiki* 日本近世文学研究の新領域 compiled by MUNEMASA Isao 宗政五十緒 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998).
15. These examples were quoted from the book owned by Tōyō Bunko 稲葉文庫. (It is a book that YATOMI Hamao 弥富破摩雄 transcribed in 明治 38/1905 from INOUE Michiyasu 井上通泰’s collection, and it is an original text [*teihon* 底本] included in *Keien ikō*. Also, I referred to Microfilm owned by the National Institute of Japanese Literature.) The original text is a mixture of kanji and katakana, but when quoting, all katakana were converted to hiragana, and then

the category (*budate* 部立), poetic topic (*kadai* 歌題) and poem number were added in parentheses to the end of each *waka*.

16. In YANASE's article in Note #14, she has pointed out the exact opposite "Kageki may have given this lecture to the elite disciples of a very limited instructor class." This may not be correct.
17. The word *jokei* 叙景 cannot be found in the dictionaries of Chinese texts (*Haibun inpu*, *Kango daishiten* and others), so it might be a Japanese word. In addition, the word cannot be seen in various Chinese-Japanese Dictionaries such as *Dai kanwa jiten*. On the other hand, *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 2nd edition takes *Musashino* 武蔵野 by KUNIKIDA Doppo 国木田独歩 (1871-1908) published in 1901 (the first publication was in *Kokumin no tomo* 国民の友 on January 1898) as the oldest example. However, recently, I found that the word *jokei* was included in the critique (printed in the upper margin in the printed book) by RAI Sanyō 頼山陽 (1780-1832) and TAKEMOTO Hokurin 武元北林 (1770-1820) in the second part of KAN Chazan 菅茶山 (1748-1827)'s poetry collection *Kōyō sekiyō sonshashi* 黄葉夕陽村舎詩 後編 (pub. 文政 6/1823). It appears in vol. 3, 6 and 8. Since there is a good possibility that the first case can be traced back further, I would like to continue my effort to investigate the case. Just before the above *Musashino*, MASAOKA Shiki wrote in 明治 25/1892 "我邦の韻文は叙事よりも叙情を主とせり、叙情よりも叙景を主とせり、..." and "我邦に短編韻文の起りし所以を論ず" (*Waseda Bungaku* vol. 26 早稲田文学 二六号, October 1892), and it was an early example of the usage of the word *jokei* in the modern era. NODA Hiroko 野田浩子 pointed out that the word *jokei* was coined by Shiki for the above reason ("*Jokei-ka* no seiritsu e" 「叙景歌」の成立へ, in *Man'yōshū no jokei to shizen* 万葉集の叙景と自然. Shintensha, 1995), however, there might be some disagreement. She states that the word *jokei-ka* was not used until the Shōwa period (1926-1989), but this is also suspicious. I would like to clearly state that KUBOTA Utsubo said, "叙景

歌といへば新しいやうですが、昔の言葉で言へば春夏秋冬の歌で、四季の歌です” (*Sakka mondō*. Tōundō, 1915). However, there are many things I can learn from her attitude of trying to determine the starting point of the words *jokei* and *jokei-ka*. It is necessary to keep a strict eye on the historicity of the concept of these words, which are still in widespread popular use today.

18. *Waka renga sōkō* 和歌連歌叢孝 (Tokyo: Seibidō Shoten, 1930), p. 215.
19. The quotations are from a manuscript in the collection of the Library of Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University 京都大学文学研究科図書館, but some of the words have been changed after referring to a manuscript included in *Hōrozasshō* 蓬蘆雑鈔 in the Murakami Collection of Kariya City Central Library 刈谷市中央図書館村上文庫.
Refer to NAKAMURA Yukihiro, “Haikai no kyakkansei” 俳諧の客観性, in *Nakamura Yukihiro chojutsushū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1982). NAKAMURA includes these two examples in this article.
SHIMIZU Masaru 清水勝, “Ozawa Roan to Kagawa Kageki: Kyōwa 2-nen o chūshin ni” 小沢蘆庵と香川景樹—享和二年を中心に—, *Kagoshima Joshidaigaku kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 20, no. 1 鹿児島女子大学研究紀要 二十卷一号, July 1998. This is a recent article featuring *Fude no saga*. Two articles were recently published one after another about SEKKŌ Zenji 雪岡禅師 (dates unknown), who sent Kageki’s *waka* to Chikage and gave him opportunity to write *Fude no saga*.
TANAKA Kōji 田中康二, “Sekko Sōhitsu: Sekko Zenji to Edo ha” 雪岡宗弼—雪岡禅師と江戸派, in *Edo ha no kenkyū* 江戸派の研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2010, 1st edition, 2007).
KONOE Noriko 近衛典子, “Sekko oboegaki: *Fude no saga* shūhen” 雪岡覚え書き—『筆のさが』周辺—, *Komazawa kokubun*, vol. 46 駒沢国文 四六号, February 2009.

20. UENO Yōzō, “*Wakamurasaki no kafū*” 『若むらさき』の歌風, in *Genroku wakashi no kiso kōchiku* 元禄和歌史の基礎構築 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003).
UENO specifically pointed out that some of the phrases in *Wakamurasaki* edited by RYŌZEN'NI 了然尼 (1646–1711) overlap with the wording of *Gyokuyō* and *Fūga*. Ueno's article is extremely suggestive, as he describes the fundamental questions in considering this issue.
21. IBI Takashi, “Seirei-ron: Edo kanshi ni okeru koten shugi no kokufuku” 性霊論—江戸漢詩における古典主義の克服—, in *Edo shiika-ron* 江戸詩歌論 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1998). In addition to IBI's article, there are discussions by various scholars. Incidentally, Hokuzan was 16 years older than Kageki.
22. *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei*, vol. 19 和刻本漢詩集成 第十九卷 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1977), p. 299.
23. KANSAKU Ken'ichi, “Kenkyū: Genjō to tenbō (2) Kinsei” 研究 現状と展望 (2) 近世, in *Waka bungaku ronshū 7: Karon no tenkai* 和歌文学論集 7 歌論の展開 (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1995). I attempted a brief summary of the theories that have been asserted.
24. This was quoted from a woodblock-printed book published in 文政 2/1819. This is the first impression of the book that Matsunomaru-ya 松之丸屋 owned.
25. Its first volume was published in 康熙 18/1679 during the Qing dynasty. There are four volumes in total (the volume four was fabricated by a later person). This is a popular beginner's guide to literary painting. The latest article about this is KURAMOTO Akira 倉本昭, “Kokugakusha to garon: Takebe Ayatari to Ueda Akinari no baai” 国学者と画論—建部綾足と上田秋成の場合—, in *Edo bungaku*, vol. 18 江戸文学 十八号 (Tokyo: Perikansha, November 1997).
26. *Wakokubon shoga shūsei*, vol. 5 和刻本書画集成 第五卷 (Tokyo: Kyūko

Shoin, 1976), p. 249.

27. IBI Takashi, “Kinsei sansuiga no shiten” 近世山水画の視点, in *Kinsei bungaku no kyōkai: Koga to hyōgen no hen’yō* 近世文学の境界 個我と表現の変容 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009).
28. In terms of art history, *shasei* also has various meanings. KŌNO Motoaki 河野元昭, “Edo jidai *shasei* kō” 江戸時代「写生」考, in *Nihon kaiga-shi no kenkyū* 日本絵画史の研究 compiled by Yamane Yūzō sensei koki kinen kai 山根有三先生古稀記念会 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989) explains it in detail.
29. SASAKI Jōhei 佐々木丞平, “Nihon bunjingaron no kakuritsu: Kuwayama Gyokushū no shinkei-ron o megutte” 日本文人画論の確立—桑山玉洲の真景論をめぐって—, in *Geijutsuteki sekai no ronri* 芸術的世界の論理 compiled by Kyoto daigaku bigaku bijutsushigaku kenkyūkai 京都大学美学美術史学研究会 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1972).
- SAKAI Tetsurō 酒井哲朗, “Kuwayama Gyokushū no garon ni tsuite” 桑山玉洲の画論について, *Bijutsushigaku*, vol. 2 美術史学 二号, March 1980.
- . “Nihon nanga ni okeru *shinkei* no mondai ni tsuite” 日本南画における「真景」の問題について, *Miyagiken bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 2 宮城県美術館研究紀要 二号, March 1987, and other publications.
- YAMASHITA Yoshiya 山下善也 Ed., “Kankei shiryō” 関係資料, in *Zuroku: Egakareta nihon no fūkei kinsei gaka tachi no manazashi* 図録 描かれた日本の風景 近世画家たちのまなざし (Shizuokakenritsu bijutsukan 静岡県立美術館, 1995). These articles are very useful as they contain excerpts of the parts including the word of *shinkei* from the five volumes of *Nihon kaigaron taikai* 日本絵画論体系 (Meicho fukyūkai, 1980).
30. KIMURA Kenkadō wrote the preface and HOSOAI Hansai 細合半斎 (1727–1803) wrote the afterword. *chūhon* 中本, 1-*satsu*. The title was given with respect to *Kaijibigen* 絵事微言 by TANG Zhiqi (TŌ Shikei 唐志契, 1579–

1651) in Ming dynasty. Refer to KOBAYASHI Tadashi 小林忠, “Kuwayama Gyokushū to Kimura Kenkadō: *Kaijihigen* o megutte” 桑山玉洲と木村兼葭堂 – 『絵事鄙言』をめぐって –, in *Edo kaigashiron* 江戸絵画史論 (Ruri Shobō, 1983). In this article, KOBAYASHI pointed out that Kenkadō had edited and supplemented *Kaijihigen* by introducing widely the draft *Gaenhigen* (owned by General Library, the University of Tokyo 東京大学総合図書館, *kohon* 小本, 1-*satsu*). It is formerly in the Nanki Collection 南葵文庫). According to *Dokusho nikki* 読書日記 (written on March 6, 1938) and *Mori Senzō chosakushū zokuhen*, vol. 14 森銑三著作集 続編 第十四卷 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1994), p. 319, it seems that Taiga wrote the title “絵事鄙言 全” on the cover of the book. The quotation in this study is from *Nihon shoron shūsei*, vol. 3 日本書論集成 第三卷 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1978). The original text is in the Kaga Bunko Collection at the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library 都立中央図書館 加賀文庫 (formerly owned by TSUBAKI Chinzan 椿椿山 [1801–1854]).

31. TSUJI Nobuo 辻惟雄, “*Shinkei no keifu*: Chūgoku to Nihon, jō ge.” 「真景」の系譜—中国と日本 (上) (下)—, *Bijutsushi ronsō*, vol. 1 and 3 美術史論叢一、三、March 1985, March 1987.
32. This was quoted from the manuscript owned by the General Library, the University of Tokyo (It was bound into one book with *Kaiseki gawa* 介石画話 formerly owned by the Nanki Collection, *ōhon* 大本). However, there are places where the words were appropriately revised by referring to *Ronga yonshu* 論画四種 of Iwanami Bunko 岩波文庫 edited by SAKAZAKI Shizuka 坂崎坦, original text is unknown, pub. 1932.
33. *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei*, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1975), p. 108.
34. This was quoted from woodblock-printed book in the Murakami Collection of Kariya City Central Library, which is the first impression of the book with no colophon besides *Sakaki no sono zō* 賢木園藏. In YAMAMOTO's article in

Note #7, he mentions Kageki's theory of *shirabe* by referring to *kiin seidō* in Chinese *garan*. However, it does not refer to Tomonori's discourse, nor does it specifically refer to *garan*.

35. Hakubunkan, 1909. *Kubota Utsubo zenshū*, vol. 7 窪田空穂全集 第七卷 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1965), p. 60.
36. Tōundō, 1915. *Kubota Utsubo zenshū*, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1965), p. 115.
37. This was quoted from the woodblock-printed book published in 安政 2/1855. Incidentally, this poem was quoted in *Utayomi ni atauru sho* 歌よみに与ふる書 (1898) by Shiki in later years, and was the subject of controversy.

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