

Ogata Kenzan: Collected Research

Richard L. Wilson and Ogasawara Saeko

Part I: Biography and Artistic Resources

Chapter One: Documentary Sources and their Reconsideration

Biographical research on the ceramic designer Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743) has been conducted since the second decade of the twentieth century, and it reached a plateau in the early postwar era. This chapter re-examines the sources for this portrait, and introduces new material and perspectives. The chapter begins with a reprisal of Kenzan's career that emphasizes his literati pastimes and ceramics production. The second section inventories persons, places, events, texts, and institutions related to Kenzan. Some of the highlights of this research, arranged by period, are listed below.

Kariganeya period (1663-1688): This period covers Kenzan's boyhood, his early interest in learning, and the collapse of the family's textile business under the stewardship of his oldest brother Tōzaburō (ca. 1650-after 1714). Regarding the latter, the authors introduce new information on a "Kawaguchi Genzaburō" who is identified as the employer of Tōzaburō in Edo in a 1714 Ogata family genealogy. Genzaburō, a *hatamoto*, was the son of Kawaguchi Genzaemon (1630-1704), who served in influential government posts in Nagasaki and Edo. The link with the Ogata may be traced to the funeral of their principal patron Tōfukumon-in in 1678, which Genzaemon is known to have attended. The ca. 1720 record *Chōnin kokenroku* relates many cases where the scions of bankrupted merchants (like Tōzaburō) move to Edo or regional domains to serve samurai.

Shūseidō period (1688-1699): Following his father's death Kenzan moved to Omuro, in the northwest suburbs of Kyoto, to a villa that he called the Shūseidō (Hall of Learning Tranquility). For over a decade Kenzan pursued a literati lifestyle, studying Zen with monks of the Ōbaku sect and attending the salon of high-ranking courtier Nijō Tsunahira (1670-1732). The authors reconfirm the circumstances behind the construction of the Shūseidō villa and the survival of its principal building within the Ninnaji temple. The exchanges between Kenzan, his fellow Zen students, and the Ōbaku monks are covered in detail. Kenzan's decision to purchase land for a ceramic workshop just after the death of his Ōbaku mentor, Dokushō Shōen (1617-1694), is linked to a relationship with an Omuro neighbor, the potter Nonomura Ninsei (active ca. 1640s-1690s).

Narutaki period (1699-1712): Kenzan opened his first ceramics workshop in Narutaki village northwest of Omuro in 1712. He relied on a cadre of specialists: his brother Kōrin (1658-1716) and Watanabe Soshin for painting, Ninsei scion Seiemon for high-fired ceramics (*hongama*), and an Oshikōji-ware potter named Magobei for low-fired ceramics (*uchigama*). This section focuses on these personnel, especially the connection with Ninsei's family, which Kenzan would maintain until the end of his career, eventually adopting Seiemon's grandson Ihachi as an heir to the Kenzan line.

Nijō-Shōgoin period (1712-ca. 1731). In 1712, citing the inconvenience of his remote location,

(2) English Summary

Kenzan changed his workshop location to Chôjiyamachi, a neighborhood on the north side of Nijô-dori just west of Teramachi. This was a business location, with numerous craft workshops and publishers, all depending on the nearby wharves of the Takase Canal, the shipping conduit to Osaka and markets beyond. A report of this move to city authorities mentions that Kenzan had shifted his management style, and instead of running his own kiln he was renting space in the kilns at Awataguchi and Gojôzaka. During this period Kenzan's adopted son Ihachi established a workshop in Shôgoin-mura, just across the Kamo River from Chôjiyamachi. Sherds recently excavated on the campus of the Kyoto University Hospital demonstrate the existence of this workshop, which both continued the first-generation Kenzan style and created new designs. This section also considers recently introduced evidence for the ownership of Kenzan's Narutaki land after 1712.

Edo period (ca. 1731-1743): Kenzan's move to Edo was connected to Kôkan (1697-1738), a tonsured prince selected to head the Tokugawa religious establishment at Kan'eiji, in what is now Ueno Park, Taitô-ku. Kenzan settled in nearby Iriya-mura and continued to make ceramics and attend cultural circles. A Meiji-era report mentions that one Shindô Suô-no-kami attended to the details of Kenzan's burial, and this chapter introduces the existence of Shindô's personal seal inside of Kenzan's 1737 pottery manual *Tôkô hitsuyô*. The chapter also introduces a Meiji-era map of Zenyôji, the Edo temple where Kenzan was buried. Kenzan's grave and the memorial stele later erected by Rimpa revivalist Sakai Hôitsu (1761-1828) appear on this document.

Chapter Two: Conceptual Basis and Design Sources

Ogata Kenzan was no ordinary potter. The scion of a highly cultured Kyoto family, he spent his early adulthood pursuing Zen and studying Chinese poetry and calligraphy. When he finally took up ceramics at age thirty-seven, it wasn't to display manual skill, but rather to translate the world known to him into ceramic design. This "world" can be divided into one, the resources that supported Kenzan's education and profession, and two, the resources that supported Kenzan designs. The purpose of this chapter is to survey both areas and link them to specific concepts and works associated with Kenzan.

Kenzan grew up in a period where private teachers and study in private academies were well within the reach of wealthy urban commoners. Although no direct references remain as to how Kenzan was educated, inferences can be made based on evidence surrounding his great uncle Hon'ami Kôetsu (1558-1637), his father Ogata Sôken (1621-1687), and Confucian scholar Itô Jinsai (1627-1705), related to the Ogata through marriage. We conclude that Kenzan was trained by his father and select private teachers. Education included reading as well as receiving lessons: Kenzan inherited the family library, and the authors speculate about its contents. Subsequently, when Kenzan took up ceramics he accessed a completely different set of personnel. The occupational dictionary *Jinrin kinmôzui* (1690) permits a reconstruction of crafts producers and merchants working in specialties that supported Kenzan ware directly or indirectly.

Printed and illustrated books inform almost all of Kenzan's work. As the authors introduced in 2004, the inscriptions on Kenzan's Chinese-style ceramics derived from the Ming anthology *Yuanji huofa* (J: Enki kappô), and those on Japanese-style ceramics were largely based on Sanjônishi Sanetaka's waka anthology *Setsugyokushû*. This chapter reveals many more. Sources for Kenzan-ware painted designs can be located in *eshô*, *ehon*, *gafu* and *hinagata* which were burgeoning in Kenzan's day. In addition to their value as source materials, these books also help to reconstruct the expectations of Kenzan's patrons. It is no exaggeration to say that Kenzan ware was purchased,

used, and enjoyed by a new generation of bibliophiles.

Considering that he was raised in a family that purveyed luxurious textiles to the court, it comes as no surprise that textile art should serve as a source for Kenzan's designs. However to date researchers have only been able to vaguely—and anachronistically—link the mid-seventeenth kosode designs in the family archives to Kenzan's style. This chapter places more emphasis on kosode designs published in Kenzan's lifetime. The authors have found that Kenzan appropriated *hinagata* patterns from the period between the 1680s and mid-1710s. These appear in his ceramics from the Shōtoku era (1711-1715), when he began to cater to a mass market. At the same time the name of Kenzan's older brother Kōrin was popularly linked to textile design, and from the Kyōhō era (1716-1736) the so-called "Kōrin kosode" designs form a common horizon with designs on Kenzan ware.

The tea ceremony integrates material environment, ritual performance, and cultural memory. Kenzan can only be linked to formal tea study (Omotesenke) posthumously, but his works leave no doubt that he was thoroughly familiar with vessels for drinking tea and meal service.

Kenzan was cognizant of the current developments in fine dining. The *kaiseki* tradition of the tea ceremony formed a foundation, but new elements in Kenzan's day include enhanced food classification systems, codes of etiquette, and enhanced food visibility. Against this background, Kenzan was not content to create generic pots. Inscriptions on matching boxes that accompany certain Kenzan ware refer to specific vessel types or uses. The authors have matched these functions with their appearance in contemporary cuisine manuals (*ryōri-bon*).

Together with ceramics, lacquerware is central to the tea ceremony, its food service, and more abbreviated customs of eating and drinking. Additionally, since fine writing equipment was made in lacquerware, the medium is associated with poetry and calligraphy. In appropriating a wide variety of lacquerware shapes in his ceramics, Kenzan thus added a layer of value. Especially his use of lacquer-inspired rectilinear forms, which are congenial with writing and painting, must be recognized as a major contribution of Kenzan-ware design. The flat square dish (*suzuributa*) and smaller square dish with rounded corners and shaved surfaces (*kanname-zara*) were favorite shapes for Kenzan, and they emerge as key vessels in serving hors d'oeuvres (*kuchi-tori*) that augment set menus in *kaiseki* or stand alone in more informal entertainments.

Finally, Kenzan's designs are rooted in earlier traditions of decorated ceramics. He borrowed elements from Chinese Cizhou stoneware and Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou porcelain, Vietnamese porcelain, Thai stoneware, Dutch earthenware, and Korean stoneware. Domestically, sources can be found in Mino stoneware, Karatsu stoneware, Hizen porcelain, and Omuro (Ninsei) ware. Many of these products are described in the contemporary connoisseurship manual *Wakan sho dōgu kenchi-shō* (1694), and thus link Kenzan design to a booming ceramics market.

In surveying these resources and their applications, two things stand out. One is the sheer breadth of sources utilized, evoking Kenzan's personal resourcefulness and encyclopedic knowledge of cultural traditions, behaviors, and material traces. The encyclopedic aspect connects to a second element: Kenzan ware succeeded because it resonated with upwardly mobile audiences, proud of their newfound access to many forms of knowledge. Performing thusly, Kenzan ware can be situated well beyond the conventional boundaries of premodern Japanese ceramics.

Part II: Works in Ceramics, Calligraphy and Painting and Their Iconography

Chapter Three: Chinese Poetic Themes (1): Landscapes, Human Figures, and Animals

A revolutionary ceramic product, one that looked more like a painting than a pot, made its debut in Kyoto in the opening years of the eighteenth century. These rectilinear dishes and trays were decorated with monochrome painting, poetic inscriptions, and personal signatures. As the designer and frequently the calligrapher for these works, Kenzan understood the codes of poetry, painting, and writing that had evolved in China and Japan. His knowledge was mediated by the reproduction of those codes in contemporary painting and especially in illustrated literature. His products were functional ceramics, which means that these images had now migrated from the tokonoma to the tatami, so to speak; at the same time, the decidedly “non-ceramic” shapes and impromptu painting-poetry provided the work with a performative aura that resonated with consumers, specifically that segment of the population which, from the 1680s, had begun to identify with the literati tradition.

This chapter is the first of two that survey this genre of Kenzan ware, which the authors call the “*gasan*” style after the Chinese expression for inscribed paintings, or *hua zan*. Kenzan-ware *gasan* ceramics from the Narutaki (1699-1712) and Shôgoin workshops (1712-mid-18th century) are the focus. Judging from the number of surviving works, the style was remarkably popular, and it came to be mass produced at Shôgoin, first under Kenzan himself and then under his adopted son and successor Ogata Ihachi (dates unknown).

This installment on Kenzan-ware *gasan* treats landscape, human figures, and animal subjects. The chapter begins by reviewing the Chinese *locus classicus* for the combined arts of poetry, painting, and calligraphy, with special attention to the way in which this synthesis articulated the values of the scholar-official class. A discussion of the appropriation of that tradition in Japan follows.

In the data section, surviving works and archaeological specimens are surveyed in terms of their inscriptions, including sources and meanings, and painted decoration, including styles and lineages. Landscape themes are the most numerous, and they divide into panoramic scenes descended from the Xiao and Xiang river tradition (J: *Shôshô hakkei*) and close-up views of “pavillion landscapes” (J: *Rôkaku sansui*). The former type, which occurs most frequently in Kenzan’s first decade of production, features full-length poems and rather detailed painting in the Kanô style. The latter type, which is common to Kenzan’s later production and also the work of his adopted son Ogata Ihachi, typically features single-line excerpts and highly abbreviated, often amateurish painting.

Figural themes constitute the second category. Here too the subject matter is orthodox, drawing from the Muromachi-based line of Chinese “saints and sages” that had become increasingly popularized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The poetic excerpts for this category are typically couplets, and the painting is either by or in the style of Kôrin. This approach is also limited to Kenzan’s first decade of production.

The last category, animals, makes use of creatures associated with Buddhist or literati values; the wares are inscribed with couplets or one-line excerpts, and most of the painting is quite abbreviated. Wares decorated with animals appear at the end of Kenzan’s first decade of production, specifically in association with Kôrin, but they also appear in later work as well.

For all categories, the poetic inscriptions are taken from the Yuan-dynasty anthology

Shixue dacheng (J: *Shigaku taisei*) and its Ming successor *Yuanji huofa* (J: *Enki kappô*). Both of these collections enjoyed considerable popularity in Kenzan's day.

In selecting the poems for his pottery Kenzan exhibited a preference for those that had been originally composed as *ti hua shi* (J: *daiga shi*), that is, poems that were written upon the viewing of a painting. Those "versed" in the code of *gasan* could appreciate the experiential quality in such work. Yet, conversely, both the painting and poetry clearly access a well-developed archive of popular reproduction. Additionally, the lofty images of solitary and religious pursuits were now being employed in the decidedly communal and secular spaces of wining and dining. The appeal of Kenzan ware *gasan* must derive from these incongruities. In any case, with such a literary load Kenzan clearly diverted ceramic appreciation away from the materiality of the object to its "conception" (*yi*), embodying poetic traditions, thoughts of the maker, and the moment of execution.

Assuming that Kenzan ware reached a broad public—a fact increasingly validated by urban archaeology—and deployed poetic excerpts and themes that would be recognized by that public, the ceramic works also document cultural literacy in the mid-Edo period. They show how an ever-growing consuming class could read and savor selections of poetry from the Tang, Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties together with painting. Bashô and Chikamatsu wove the same verses into their *haikai* and *yoruri*. A plethora of how-to books like *Shirin ryôzai* (Handy materials for the world of poetry; 1684) ensured popular access to these quotations.

Until quite recently, the poetry-painting synthesis in Kenzan ware was bypassed by researchers. The authors hope that this chapter will serve as a reference for understanding Kenzan's distinctive appropriation of the *gasan* lineage and its reception in the mid-Edo period.

Chapter Four: Chinese Poetic Themes (2): Flowering Plants and Trees

This chapter is the second of two covering the iconography of Kenzan-ware dishes decorated with monochrome painting and Chinese poetic (*kanshi*) inscriptions, or the so-called "*gasan*" style. The most celebrated of these specimens are the square dishes with poetry inscribed by Kenzan and painting by Kenzan's older brother Kôrin. These were made in limited numbers in the late Hôei (1704-1711) and Shôtoku (1711-1716) eras, but were mass-produced from the Kyôhō era (1716-1736) though the middle of the eighteenth century. Collectively these works are recognized as the premier examples of Kenzan's expression of the literati ethos.

The poetic and pictorial traditions of flowering plants and trees mobilize select species, using their fragrance, form, and seasonality as auspicious and moral symbols. Such deployments are in evidence as early as the Warring States era but gained critical mass among the scholar-official elite of the Northern Song dynasty. Plant allusions were not only aesthetically appealing; they became a political necessity in an age where direct moral criticism was difficult. Worship of literati heroes and their plant avatars became an iconographic system in the Yuan dynasty, as this group struggled to affirm its identity in the midst of Mongol domination. This sensibility was transmitted to medieval Japan and came to flourish in the Five Mountain or Gozan monastic culture. With the popularization of sinophilia in the seventeenth century, Chinese-derived floral codes became a staple of literary and artistic representation in Japan. Thus when the young Kenzan himself was described by a mentor, the Ôbaku monk Gettan Dôchô, he was "tending chrysanthemums by an eastern fence," an unmistakable reference to the bucolic pleasures of literati paragon Tao Yuanming ("Shûseidô ki," in *Gazankô*, 1690). In the form of poetry excerpts, these tropes were increasingly available in Japanese editions of popular Chinese anthologies;

the most popular of these, the Wanli-era *Yuanji huofa* (J: *Enki kappô*), is the source for most of the inscriptions in Kenzan ware.

The painted decoration on these dishes also evokes a multi-layered tradition, which in a general sense we might call “ink flowers.” Documents reveal how Northern Song literati dabbling in monochrome bamboo and plum came to be highly regarded as an expression of personal character and refinement. In the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties, ink flowers became firmly established as a mark of literati identity. At the same time, Chan-Zen painters were fond of creating ink impressions of plants and vegetables. Surviving paintings in the style of the Chan monk Muqi, or by the Yuan literatus Zhao Zhong, use the handscroll format to show a succession of ink flora against a blank background—called *kakizatsukan* or handscroll of miscellaneous flowers.

From the Kamakura period ink flowers came to be painted in Japan, notably by Zen monk painters Tesshû Tokusai and Gyokuen Bonpô. From the late fourteenth century, these subjects came to exhibit brushwork and compositional traits distinct from their Chinese models. Furthermore they were now painted as small hanging scrolls in order to fit the newly evolved Japanese *tokonoma*. Imported Chinese handscrolls were cut into sections for the same reason. In this compact format, ink flowers subsequently became a popular subject for tea ceremony display (*chagake*).

From the mid-seventeenth century, connoisseurship of Song-Yuan and Muromachi paintings became a central and self-legitimizing activity of the Kanô family of painters. Their appraisals are preserved in the form of annotated sketches or *shukuzu*. These sketches, which included floral subjects, subsequently served as school models under the name of *funpon*. In addition to serving as components for larger pictures, such models were readily transferable to small-format surfaces such as fans (*senmen*) and album pages (*gajô*). The range of possibilities and modularizing tendency can be seen in Kano Tsunenobu’s (1636-1713) copybooks *Kara-e tekagami* and *Kara gakan*, albums of his copies of Chinese paintings.

From the late seventeenth century, as painting became a popular pastime, woodblock-printed painting manuals (*gafu*) began to circulate, initially in the form of Chinese editions or their Japanese reprints. From the 1720s Kano-school *funpon* were also collected into painting manuals, notably *Ehon shaji bukuro* (1720) and *Gasen* (1721).

Kenzan conceived his early efforts in this mode as a ceramic version of the literati-inspired “three perfections,” that is, poetry, painting and calligraphy. Since these were produced in sets of assorted themes, his patrons surely associated them with the painting album; the thematic preferences, simple compositions, and “boneless” strokes could equally evoke the *chagake* or *gafu*. In short, there was no deficit of allusions, both classical and contemporary.

We should not neglect the fact these dishes were intended for practical use. The early collaborations of Kôrin and Kenzan were made in the comparatively large form of *suzuributa*, a square or rectangular tray used for serving snacks or sweets in intimate gatherings. However from second decade of the eighteenth century, smaller round, square or rectangular dishes were produced in much greater numbers, presumably filling the role of *mukôzuke*, a dish placed on the far side of the tray used for individual servings, or as side dishes to supplement a main serving. A few large sets remain, positioning them as stock items in the higher end of the food and entertainment industry. Even these, however, maintain an improvisational look central to the “literati” ethos. The users presumably enjoyed identifying the texts and images and trading their knowledge with companions.

Chapter Five: Japanese Poetic Themes: Centering on Waka and Noh

Abetted by peace and prosperity, and by the strategic utility of cultivated pastimes in an era of regime change, Japanese literary themes enjoyed an unprecedented florescence in the seventeenth century. As scions of a wealthy merchant house serving the highest echelon of the imperial court, Kôrin and Kenzan were steeped in classical verse (*waka*), narrative (*monogatari*), and drama (*noh*) traditions. With the decline of their family business at the end of the century both brothers were compelled to convert this “*habitus*” into production of painting, lacquer and ceramic design. Their contributions form the core of what came to be known as the Rinpa school.

The early-modern treatment of the indigenous literary tradition is marked by new modes of packaging and dissemination. While prose and poetry themes are hardly new to crafts decoration, Kenzan’s synthesis of theme, calligraphy, painting and ceramic form is entirely without precedent. In order to take full measure of this approach, the authors surveyed all known works inscribed with Japanese poetry and *noh*-drama lyrics attributable to Kenzan and his workshop, totaling 20 sets (as presently constituted) and individual objects, for a total of 223 pieces. All inscriptions were transliterated and traced to their classical sources. Below we summarize the findings for *waka* and *noh*, with special attention to selection, pictorialization, and text-picture-object relationship. *Monogatari* and poet-portrait (*kasen*) themes are relatively few in number and thus excluded from this summary.

For ceramics inscribed with *waka*, Kenzan showed a preference for poetry by and related to Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241) and for poetry by Sanjônishi Sanetaka (1455-1537). The Teika-legacy material includes “Teika’s Ten Styles of Poetry” (Teika *jittei*, 1207-1213), *Manuscript of Remnants* (*Shûi gusô*, 1216), *Single Poems by One Hundred Poets* (Hyakunin *isshû*, 1235), and “New Six Poetry Immortals” (Shin Rokkasen, 1505). The Sanetaka verses are all extracted from *Jewels of Snow* (*Setsugyokushû*, n.d.). The interest in Teika reflects his centrality in the medieval literary tradition and posthumous links to *noh*, tea ceremony, and calligraphy. Kenzan was in agreement with his contemporaries in frequently using “Birds and Flowers of the Twelve Months” (*Jûnikagetsu waka*, 1214), originally included in *Shûi gusô*. As for Sanetaka, there is a tenuous connection to the Mikohidari line of poets descended from Teika, and Sanetaka is renowned in the tea ceremony for instructing Takeno Jôh (1502-55) in Teika’s poetics; additionally Kenzan probably favored Sanetaka for the topics of his poems, especially “poems on things” (*daiei*) that were readily adaptable to pictures.

Pictorialization of *waka* (*uta-e*) accelerated in the mid-seventeenth century after a long hiatus. Decoration on Kenzan’s Teika twelve-month dishes relate closely to painted versions, especially those in an album in the Idemitsu Museum bearing the signature of Kano Tanyû (1602-74). Other poetic vignettes have a basis in the *kai-e* (literally “poem-meaning picture”), abbreviated scenes that first appear around 1660, inserted above portraits of classical poets (*kasen-e*) also associated with Tanyû. The *kai-e* becomes a fixture in illustrated manuals from the 1670s, exemplified by Hishikawa Moronobu’s *Single Poems by One Hundred Poets, with Commentary* (Hyakunin *isshû zôsanshô*, 1678). The simplification and modularizing tendency in the *kai-e* commended it to ceramic décor.

Befitting a man of letters, Kenzan adroitly manipulated the relationship between the text, picture, and vessel. The permutations include 1) dishes with picture on the front and poetry on the back, 2) dishes with picture and poetry on the front, 3) paired dishes with pictures and the first and second halves of a poem on the respective halves, 4) the same as previous but without pictures, and 4), dishes with (complete) poems only. The strategy reflects the social aspect of

the waka tradition, rooted in *uta-awase* but with playful innovations like cards (*karuta*) reaching maturity in the seventeenth century.

Kenzan and his brothers participated in non-guild noh drama (*tesarugaku*) from an early age, and recent scholarship has underlined the influence of noh on Kôrin's art. Kenzan's experience is revealed in sets of dishes decorated with noh-drama themes. The front of each dish is painted with an evocative scene or object related to a specific play and the back features an excerpt from that play's script. An ordinary model for the pictures can be found in hand-painted covers of deluxe noh libretti (*utaibon*) from the early seventeenth century, but Kenzan's schematization parallels the aforementioned *kai-e*. The calligraphic excerpts on the back of the dishes are key passages from the respective plays: these excerpts, called *ko-utai*, were expected recitation material for celebratory and social events, and *ko-utai* compendia were best-sellers in Kenzan's day.

The authors have tried to demonstrate that Kenzan wares with Japanese literary themes are closely related and indebted to early modern appropriations of classical Japanese literature and trends in its pictorialization. However the versatile design strategies—particularly the sensitive deployment of writing, centered around calligraphic inscriptions from Kenzan's own hand—must be seen to reflect the sensibilities and skills of Kenzan himself. This helps to explain why Edo-period Kenzan imitators rarely attempted to work in this mode.

Chapter Six: Calligraphy and Painting, and Related Documents

As the Japanese term *shoga* suggests, calligraphy and painting were seen as allied arts until Meiji-era internationalization forced their separation. It is not uncommon to see inscriptions, chiefly poetic ones, on all kinds of premodern painting. In the first half of the Edo period inscriptions on paintings were carefully planned, and in any single painting the two arts were compartmentalized in the sense that the writers and painters were usually different, the writing and painting were carried out in separate stages, and the writing and painting occupied discrete spaces on the picture surface. In the mid-eighteenth century, however, under the influence of Chinese literati aesthetics, this distance was breached by Nanga and other painters, bringing a great deal of spontaneity into the pictorial arts. The art of Kenzan occupies an interstitial place in this trend. In order to fully characterize Kenzan's *shoga* and its multifold background, this chapter will survey writings, inscribed paintings, seals and ciphers, and related documents (specifically the Konishi archive of Ogata family documents).

Calligraphy: Ogata Kenzan developed his calligraphic skills as a pastime, but they became integral to his success as a ceramic designer. Eschewing the manner of Hon'ami Kôetsu (1558-1637), which was followed by his father and brothers, Kenzan pursued the Song style of Zhang Jizhi (1186-1286) and the indigenous style of Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241). Both of these modes were popular in the tea ceremony from the sixteenth century. However by the end of his first decade as a pottery designer, Kenzan demonstrated less interest in imitating classical calligraphy style and more concern about maintaining a lucid script appropriate to writing on ceramic surfaces. As attested to in a draft manuscript in the Konishi archive, Kenzan also planned inscriptions for his brother Kôrin's painting, but such works, if they indeed were made, do not survive. Then, at the end of his life, Kenzan's writing and painting became intermingled and considerably less fettered, anticipating the literati mode—where the work is experienced as an act rather than as a thing.

Painting: Despite the attestations of later Edo-period painting treatises, there is no convincing evidence that Kenzan ever studied painting under a teacher. Trained painters or artisan-decorators carried out most of the painting on his Kyoto ceramics. However, Kenzan

encountered new expectations and opportunities upon his move to Edo in about 1731. There he was hailed as a “second-generation Kôrin,” encouraging him to essay a colorful Kôrinesque style of flowers-and-grasses subjects, notably his *Hollyhocks* (1742; coll. Cernuschi Museum). This new sense of entitlement is also manifested in efforts to transmit the Kôrin style to a follower, Tatebayashi Kagei (act. mid-18th c.). At the same time Kenzan seems to have been warmly received in Edo haikai salons, which inspired a more impromptu “painting on the spot” or *sekiga*, chiefly in monochrome. An example is *Willow in Spring* of 1739 (coll. Yamato Bunkakan). Further research is necessary to assess this latter mode; the disciples of Hanabusa Itchô (1652-1724), who can be linked to those salons and obliquely to Kenzan’s late-life milieu though a patron, Sakamoto Beishû (1705-1777), may offer some models.

Seals and ciphers: Seals (*inshô*) appear on Kenzan’s calligraphy, ceramics and painting, and ciphers (*kaô*) appear on his ceramics and on a few documents. To the extent possible the authors have grouped similar seals and ciphers to serve as a resource in distinguishing original Kenzan works and derivatives. Early in his career Kenzan signed and sealed his ceramics using names like *Shôko* (Antiquity Lover) and *Tôin* (Pottery Hermit), conjuring up the kind of literati persona that late seventeenth-century townspeople had come to admire. Kenzan’s late-life painting uses other seals, notably *Reikai* (Sea Spirit), the Zen name he received from his teacher Dokushô Shôen (1617-94), *Tôzen* (Escape from Zen), and *Furiku* (Tutor of the Prince). *Furiku* must refer to Kenzan’s relationship with Prince Kôkan (1697-1738), a late-life patron in Edo. Regarding ciphers, Kenzan’s Narutaki ceramics occasionally display a mark in the shape of a moneybag (*kinchaku*), and from around 1712 this is replaced with one resembling the character *ji* 爾. The latter is also commonly used by Kenzan’s adopted son and heir Ogata Ihachi (act. mid-18th c.).

Related documents: The Ogata family papers were preserved by Kôrin’s heir Juchirô (b. 1700), adopted into the Konishi family of government mint officials shortly before Kôrin’s death. These papers, called *Konishi-ke monjo* (Konishi archive; coll. Kyoto National Museum and the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art), include documents from the hand of Kenzan, spanning from 1687 to the year of his death. In addition to trustworthy biographical details they provide evidence for changes in Kenzan’s calligraphy.

Considering Kenzan’s painting as a whole, works like the aforementioned *Hollyhocks* and *Willow in Spring* may be considered as standards in distinguishing authentic works. Kenzan’s untutored manner opened up the field to imitators, but as inherited by Kagei and other still-unknown late eighteenth-century painters, it formed one of the foundations for Edo Rinpa, which was ultimately inherited and transformed into a sharp, Kôrin-retro style by Sakai Hôitsu (1761-1828).

Part III

Workshops, Technology, and Archaeological Resources

Chapter Seven: Workshops and Archaeological Evidence

From 1996, the archaeology of production and consumption sites began to impact the study of ceramics made by Kenzan and his followers. This chapter coordinates the archaeological evidence with extant Kenzan wares, and attempts to delineate the characteristics of associated workshops.

The Narutaki workshop: Documents suggest that the grounds of what is now the Hôzôji temple in northwest Kyoto was used as a workshop by Ogata Kenzan between 1699 and 1712. Sherds have been excavated from the site episodically since 1928, culminating in a five-year survey of the site between 2000 and 2005. The chapter matches the reconstructible specimens with extant pieces to portray the full dimensions of the Narutaki style; kiln fragments and furniture are used in a consideration of Kenzan-ware technology.

The Shôgoin workshop: In 2001 archaeologists from Kyoto University uncovered fragments that corroborated a passage in a 1737 Kenzan pottery manual called *Tôji seihô* that his adopted son Ihachi was working at a kiln in front of the Shôgoin temple in east Kyoto. The evidence excavated at this site coordinates stylistically with the extant work of Ihachi, but the sherds show a contribution by other potters as well.

The Iriya workshop: There is no archaeological evidence directly linking Kenzan to the Edo (Tokyo) neighborhood of Iriya where he spent his last years, but Taitô ward has excavated a site that shows hints of later ceramic production, possibly influenced by a local Kenzan tradition.

Consumption sites: Here we summarize the discoveries of Kenzan ware in urban user sites from 1975 to the present. Significantly, the majority of the fragments found to date correspond to the boom in Kenzan ware as well as Kôrin (Rimpa) design in the second-to-third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Data from surface collections at Narutaki: The chapter concludes with an illustrated and annotated survey of artifacts collected from the Narutaki site prior to the formal excavations that began in 2000. Since these collected sherds correspond closely with the recently excavated ones, and since they include many more reconstructible pieces, they stand as critical evidence for the first dozen years of Kenzan's production.

Archaeological materials must be interpreted with care, for they seldom point to specific dates of manufacture or use. However after a very productive two decades of archaeology-based research we can say that our picture of Kenzan ware production is broader and more reliable than ever before.

Scientific analysis: Our previous studies of Kenzan's clays (from the Narutaki kiln site sherds and samples taken from the Freer Gallery of Art collection) using EPMA (electron probe micro-analyzer) at the Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, provided a major-element profile of his clay body, which incidentally matches well with an EDX (energy dispersive x-ray) analysis carried out by Tokyo Metropolitan Archaeological Research Center in 2019 on sherds bearing the name Kenpô 乾峯, a Kenzan-style potter, from a user site (*Otsuka iseki II*; 2019) in Tokyo. Nevertheless major-element data alone proved to be insufficient to distinguish clays formulated from a single region like the Kyoto basin. Accordingly, in 1999 the authors submitted a group of 122 Kenzan and Kenzan-related sherds from Narutaki and from user sites to Prof. Ninomiya Shûji of Tokyo Gakugei University for INAA (instrumental neutron activation analysis). The purpose was to 1) distinguish different clays used by Kenzan; 2) match those clay types with notes in Kenzan's pottery manuals; and 3) see how well the clays of user-site specimens matched with the Narutaki clays. Date clustered into four groups. Group A related to Hizen porcelain, correlating with Kenzan's testimony that he experimented with porcelain and used Kyushu materials in those bodies. Group B, the largest group, appears to represent Kyoto clays like Kurodani and Yûgyô, which Kenzan identifies as his main clay sources; also raw clay specimens from the Yûgyô area submitted as a control fell into this group. Several sherds from user sites also fell within this group. Group C was a control group centered around Hataeda earthenware

dishes (kawarake) which are common in many early modern sites. No Kenzan wares matched with this group. Group D was loosely sorted, with subgroups of Narutaki material and isolated specimens of Kenzan-style wares which were probably made at other kilns. Further investigation and comparative material is needed, especially for Group D. For the time being we can say that INAA is an effective tool for confirming workshop procedure—what clay bodies are used and what are their sources—but it will probably not be effective in separating original pieces from imitations.

Chapter Eight: Pottery Manuals

This chapter surveys the technical legacy of Kenzan through the pottery manuals from his own hand and those written by his successors. Following a brief introduction to modes of technological transmission and the fundamentals of Japanese ceramic technique, each manual is transliterated and its contexts and vocabulary are explicated. The featured texts are:

- 1) By Ogata Kenzan: *Tôkô hitsuyô* (Essentials for the Potter, 1737); coll. Yamato Bunkakan; the first section of this book is a manual that Kenzan received in 1699 from potter Nonomura Ninsei (act. mid-late 17th c.).
- 2) By Ogata Kenzan: *Tôji seihô* (Ceramic Techniques, 1737); coll. Takizawa Tetchikudô Kinenkan.
- 3) By Ogata Kenzan but copied into a 1732-dated section of *Tôki densho*, a notebook by Sano (Tochigi-prefecture) ceramic hobbyist Ôkawa Kendô; coll. Takizawa Tetchikudô Kinenkan.
- 4) Attributed to second-generation Kenzan Ogata Ihachi: *Tôki mippôsho* (Ceramic secrets, n.d, est. mid-18th c.); coll. National Diet Library; the same contents are found in *Hongama uchigama narabini Kenzan yaki hihô* (Secret techniques for high- and low-temperature [ceramics] and Kenzan ware) in the former Tokyo Bijutsu Kenkyûjo collection; *Kenzan rakuyaki hisho* (Secret Kenzan Raku-ware book) in the National Diet Library, Tokyo, and *Kenzan hisho* (Secret Kenzan-ware book) in the collection of Tsutsumi-ware potter Haryû Yoshiaki. We know from its colophon that *Tôki mippôsho* was handed down in the Banko-ware line of Edo potters and related merchants and therefore also consider how the Kenzan techniques were manifested in early Banko ware and its nineteenth-century revival.
- 5) Attributed to a "second-generation Kenzan" in Edo: *Uchigama hiden* (Secrets for glazed earthenware), copy dated 1766, discovered by the authors as part of a bound volume entitled *Rakuyaki hiden* (Raku-ware secrets), coll. Tokyo Metropolitan Library.
- 6) By Kenzan-style potter Miura Kenya (1821-1889): *Ogata-ryû tôjutsu hihôsho* (Ogata-style ceramic techniques secret book) in the form of an 1854 copy by the lord of the Hikone domain, Ii Naosuke (1815-1860).
- 7) By Kenya's disciple and self-styled 6th-generation Kenzan, Urano Shigekichi (1851-1923): *Rakuyaki denjusho* (Raku-ware transmission document, 1919); coll. Art Research Center in Farnham, Surrey; this is a document written by Urano for British potter Bernard Leach (1887-1979).

Earlier researchers, namely Wakimoto (1941-2), Suzuki (1942), Mitsuoka (1963), Kawahara (1979) and Tagai (1980) have variously transliterated and interpreted these works. Additionally the manuals have been a subject of articles by potters Tomimoto (1957) and Uno (1975). Wilson (1992) includes an English translation of *Tôkô hitsuyô*. None of this earlier research, however, takes up the interrelationships of these books, and with the exception of Uno's insightful remarks none of them offer more than a summary description of the contents. None of these studies consider the

recipients of the work and how that is manifested in the contents. Furthermore, we can say a lot more about the contents of every manual due to recent scientific, archaeological, and documentary studies.

The Kenzan manuals expose the intermingling of the exoteric and esoteric spheres of premodern ceramic knowledge. Beginning with the former, one of the distinguishing features of early modern ceramics in all of East Asia is that it was written about and published in the form of block-printed gazetteers, classified encyclopedias, and guides to connoisseurship. Starting with early Chinese precedents such as the ceramic chapter of *Tiangong kaiwu* (Exploitation of the works of nature; 1637), we witness a description of production but conspicuously missing is the kind of information that would enable the reader to actually make pots, evoking Clunas' (2006:78) observation that such books were made for literati and parvenu merchant audiences with the intent of producing a "knowing subject" instead of transmitting practical knowledge itself. The authors have discovered a parallel phenomenon in Japan in a ceramic section in a published "encyclopedia of crafts" ironically titled *Hyakkô hijutsu* (Secret techniques for myriad handicrafts; 1724). On the esoteric side one can find written information kept within potter families or communities which functioned as working memoranda and as a tokens of entitlement, however as we can see first in the martial and performing arts and then in painting, the early modern publishing industry was adept at turning trade secrets into commodities. In Japanese ceramics such popular dissemination is centered around Raku ware, whose simple technology and short production schedule endeared it to amateurs. In 1736, the Raku-ware technical manual *Rakuyaki hinô* (Collected Raku ceramic secrets) became the first pottery manual to be put into print. While the Kenzan manuals were not published, their coexistence with this nascent genre of ceramic publishing is a key to understanding why they were made and reproduced.

Technically speaking, recipes for earthenware glazes and pigments, referred to by Kenzan as *uchigama*, appear in all manuals (stoneware coverage diminishes after the first Kenzan), and therefore can be used to determine specific lines of transmission. The starting point is the recipes Kenzan received from the Oshikôji potter Magobei, and listed in Kenzan's *Tôkô hitsuyô and Tôji seihô*; those formulas are basically repeated in *Tôki densho* and the newly discovered *Uchigama hiden*. Based on a simple and venerable formula of lead carbonate (*shiroko* or *tô no tsuchi*) and silica (Hinooka stone), Kenzan used these for underglaze painting on flat dishes. Back in mid-18th-c. Kyoto, Kenzan's successor Ihachi wrote a very different kind of manual, incorporating his adoptive father's recipes but adding new ones that include glass frit (*biidoro* or *shiratama*), and indeed glassy swatches of saturated colors inform many of his late works. This Ihachi manual was preserved in the Edo Banko line of potters. Finally, while Miura Kenya inherited the Edo-line manual passed down though Sakai Hôitsu (1761-1828) and Nishimura Myakuan (1784-1853), his copy was destroyed in the 1923 Kanto earthquake. The recipes passed from Miura Kenya to Ii Naosuke and Urano Shigekichi (surviving in the Leach copy), however, show that Kenya had little use for the older formulas. Now all recipes contained frit, which greatly stabilized the colors and melt, and allowed most of the pigments to be used both under or over the glaze coat. The "Kenzan" technical legacy had become a kind of paintbox for amateurs, awaiting new appropriations by artist-potters of the twentieth century.

Part IV Legacy

Chapter Nine: Kenzan's Edo Years and Technical Transmission

Ogata Kenzan was born and raised in Kyoto and built his illustrious career as a ceramic designer in that city. However in his final years he chose to move to Edo, where he worked until his death. Although there is a paucity of evidence for this period, this chapter considers Kenzan's motivations for relocating, his interactions with elite patrons and local ceramics workshops in Edo, and finally how that legacy resonated for later professionals and amateurs who variously evoked his name and techniques.

A consensus in Kenzan studies is that in these Edo years (ca.1731-1743) he was supported by Prince Kōkan (1697-1738), the third son of Emperor Higashiyama and the nephew of Kenzan's longtime Kyoto patron Nijō Tsunahira (1670-1732). Their relationship is corroborated in a 1737-dated letter by Kenzan relating that he had arranged an audience with the prince for some acquaintances (coll. Osaka Municipal Museum), and a 1738-dated lamentation written by Kenzan upon the death of the prince (coll. Yamato Bunkakan). Posthumously, the 1820 pamphlet *Sumidagawa hanayashiki* (ex-Keio Library coll.) and the 1854 painting history *Koga bikō* related that Kenzan lived in Iriya, located in the lowland just east of Ueno terrace, where Kōkan presided as abbot of the Tendai-sect center Kan'eiji. The circumstances of Kenzan's death were also credibly described in a period diary of a Kan'eiji official named Honma, but only known from an 1895 citation in the newspaper *Yamato shinbun*. To build upon these few references, the authors investigated the ritual and informal activities of Kōkan by consulting documents such as the *Tokugawa jikki* (Chronicles of the Tokugawa), diaries preserved in the Tendai-sect archive Eizan Bunko in Ōtsu, and anecdotal evidence from temples, shrines, and secular sources, particularly a collection of anecdotes entitled *Getsudō kenmonshū* (Moon hall eyewitness records). While none of these materials directly mention Kenzan, the authors tried to demonstrate that 1) there was precedent among the Kan'eiji abbots for introducing aspects of Kyoto culture into Edo, and 2) Kōkan had proclivities in poetry, painting and calligraphy that would have made Kenzan a welcome companion.

After comprehensively surveying the documentary evidence for early ceramics activities in Edo, the chapter's focus moves to Iriya. Until now the only documentary evidence for ceramics production there was the *Shinpen Musashi fudoki kō* (New edition gazetteer for Musashi; 1810-1828), which briefly describes vernacular and official pottery activities in the village. However we were able to find a reference to pottery making in "Sakamoto," which overlaps geographically with Iriya, in the 1735 sequel volume of the city guide *Edo sunago* (Gold dust of Edo). Presumably Iriya, together with the better known Imado kilns just to its east, began to develop in response to popular demand at the turn of the eighteenth century. An Iriya potter named Kyūsaku is named in *Tōki densho* (Ceramics manual), the ca. 1737 notebook attributed to Sano (Tochigi) hobbyist Ōkawa Kendō, surveyed by the authors in the previous chapter. Although not directly related to Kenzan, we were able to produce further evidence as to when Iriya gained status as an official pottery producer: the government-appointed earthenware maker (*on-doki-shi*) Matsui Shinzaemon, previously recorded as based in Ueno Chōjamachi, Asakusa, is listed as headquartered in Iriya as an official potter in the 1774 samurai directory *Daimyo bukan*.

In the previous chapter the authors considered how the Kenzan technical legacy was passed down among designated successors: the so-called Kenzan line of potters. However there is also one

other Kenzan legacy, and that is how his techniques were used or otherwise regarded by potters outside the Kenzan succession. Evidence for this can be found in the dozens of pottery manuals written by professional and amateur potters, which cluster in the second half of the Edo period. The authors surveyed about thirty of these manuals to determine how Kenzan was characterized. A bridge between Kenzan himself and this coterie is found in *Uchigama hisho* (Secrets for glazed earthenware), a group of Kenzan recipes copied out in Edo in 1766. In the dedicatory page at the end, an otherwise unnamed (second-generation) Kenzan relates that when he was given this information he was told by (the first) Kenzan that the techniques did not constitute a title transmission and that they could be shared freely. By the 1790s the third-generation Edo Banko-ware potter Asajisei San'a (dates unknown) was allowing copies to be made of another "secret" Kenzan manual that originated in Kyoto, called *Tôki mippôsho* (Ceramic secrets, ca. 1750). In the second decade of the nineteenth century, professional potters back in Kyoto like Aoki Mokubei (1767-1833) were listing "Kenzan" recipes, but these references are eclipsed by those of unnamed amateurs in the decades that followed. Most of those are recipe lists whose titles included the term "rakyuyaki," which by this time connoted low-temperature lead-glazed ceramics made for pleasure rather than the tea ceremony wares made professionally by the Raku family in Kyoto. The surge of interest is evidenced in a forlorn potter portrayed in the 1825 *Imayô shokunin zukushi utaawase* (Modern-style poetry contest using the theme of craftsmen) who grumbles, "What a nuisance...the recent fad for amateur raku-yaki has taken away all my business!" The manuals of these enthusiasts often cite Kenzan's invention of a white pigment. This was a mixture of glass frit, white clay from Kyushu, and lead carbonate. When used as a wash (engobe), it turned any clay, regardless of its color, into a canvas that could be painted upon. The first-generation Kenzan had recognized the importance of this pigment, calling it "the most important secret of the Kenzan kiln." Even in the opening of the twentieth century, when these premodern pastimes were recast for newly risen white-collar workers under the rubric of *shumi* or hobby, pottery-as-shumi publications like "Tôkô hitsunô" (Potters' secrets; *Zatsugei sôsho* 1, 1915) began its inventory of "raku" glazes by citing Kenzan's white.

An appendix at the end of the chapter lists the core components of the first Kenzan's manual, *Tôkô hitsuyô* (Potter's essentials; 1737), and transcribes the document into modern Japanese.

This publication is the culmination of nine articles (2013-2021) aimed at assembling a comprehensive resource base for the life and work of Kenzan. It would not have been possible without the past and present achievements of scholars of literature, art history and archaeology, and the unstinting support of curators and librarians. For this the authors are profoundly grateful. We also extend our deepest appreciation to the past and present directors of ICU's Institute for Christianity and Culture, and our sincere thanks to the Institute's editorial staff for their untiring efforts in the editing and publishing stages.