

Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus:

Entangled Asia: Korean Students and Japanese Protestantism, 1900 – 1920

Research Topic and Methodology

My doctoral thesis “Entangled Asia: Korean Students and Japanese Protestantism, 1900 - 1920” analyzes how the interaction between Japanese Protestants and Korean exchange students during the Meiji and Taishō eras contributed to the emergence of an ‘Asian identity’ among Japanese Protestants. In the early 20th century increasing numbers of Korean students flocked to the Japanese metropolis in pursuit of higher education. Among others, the Korean Young Men’s Christian Association served as an important venue for Korean student activists during the years between 1906 and 1919. Drawing on recent scholarship in Global History, my dissertation focuses on the networks of Protestant Korean students and Japanese teachers that emerged within the context of church communities, the YMCA and the indigenous Japanese Christian non-church movement of Uchimura Kanzō.

So far, historians have widely ignored the complex and conflicting dynamics between Japanese Protestantism and Japan’s imperial project. Moreover, previous research tended to subordinate Korean colonial history to the main narratives of Japanese imperial history, thereby leaving little room for the agency of the colonized. In my research project I aim at overcoming the national history paradigm and the top-down approach to imperial history. Furthermore, I challenge the assumption that the emergence of Protestantism in East Asia was a mere byproduct of Western-style modernization. Instead, my project is centered on Korean and Japanese actors in order to adopt a multi-layered perspective on Japan’s regional entanglements that goes beyond Euro-centric models of modernization.

To this end, I draw on a wide array of sources which have been produced within the context of Japanese Protestantism and its encounter with Korea. Among others these include the Protestant journals Shinjin, Jōmō Kyōkai Geppō, Kaitakusha and Kirisutokyō Sekai as well as Korean student magazines Hakjikwang and Ajia Kōron. I strive to analyze these sources with regard to the discursive creation of an East Asian brand of Protestantism. The core issue in this respect is the question as to how the actors conceived of the role of Protestantism in the emerging East Asian regional order. Further materials comprises newspapers and educational magazines that ran a whole slew of articles and editorials on the education (and assimilation) of Korea. While these sources are rarely available in Germany, most are easily accessible in Japanese archives such as Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko of the University of Tōkyō or the National Diet Library. Authors like Yoshino Sakuzō, Kashiwagi Gien and Uchimura Kanzō used a wide array of magazines and articles to express criticism of Japanese colonialism in Korea and other parts of the Japanese empire, while others like Ebina Danjō were less critical. Korean students, too, created their own media to express their political views toward the Japanese colonial policy and authorities in Japan as well as Korea. I am very grateful to the Tōshiba International Foundation for endowing me with an extraordinarily generous scholarship which enabled me to conduct highly necessary archival research for my dissertation project.

Archival Research

This research stay offered the second opportunity for me to conduct archival research in Japan since I started the Ph.D. project on the interaction between Korean Students and Japanese Protestants during the Meiji- and Taisho-eras at Free University Berlin in August 2011. I had already established connections with the University of Tōkyō from previous stays as a visiting researcher at the university's Institute of Social Science in 2010, when I collected materials for my master's thesis funded through a grant by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and in 2012, when funds from the German Research Foundation (DFG) enabled me to stay at the ISS for three months in order to do initial research for my Ph.D. thesis. Under the guidance of Professor Iokibe Kaoru, I was able to get a preliminary overview over the existing Japanese (and as far as available Korean) literature and source material.

Through generous funding by the Toshiba International Foundation, I gained the unique opportunity to conduct further research in Japan from mid-September to mid December 2014. As my Ph.D. thesis mainly examines Japanese Protestant magazines and journals that were published by Korean exchange students, the main goal of my fieldwork was to collect most of the crucial materials in the archives of the University of Tōkyō (esp. Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko and others) and the National Diet Library. Furthermore, I was able to gather secondary sources that have recently been published in Japan, but are not yet available in Europe. Despite significant progress in the creation of digital archives and online repositories the accessibility of primary sources and materials – especially when compared to the situation in countries such as South Korea – remains difficult for scholars based outside Japan. In many cases archives must be accessed in person in order to obtain certain resources. This even applies to recently digitalized material which is retrievable exclusively from inside the particular libraries ostensibly due to strict or unresolved copyright. The National Diet Library for instance thankfully digitalized and put online the larger part of its materials from the Meiji and Taishō era. However, these files are for the most part not accessible from outside the National Diet Library – including the campus of the University of Tōkyō – making archival research in Japan difficult and exceptionally time consuming. This is further complicated by the plethora of diverse materials that are usually distributed across various archives.

Since my dissertation focuses on Korean students at Christian institutions in Japan during the Meiji and Taishō eras, a second major goal was to gain access to the private archives of the YMCAs. However, this again proved to be more difficult than expected for various reasons: due to the pluralistic and decentralized nature of the YMCA movement, archival research necessitates attending a number of archives in Tōkyō alone. Furthermore, in the cases of university YMCAs it often is only possible to access their private archive rooms through the mediation of members or former members. In this regard, I am deeply indebted to Professor Iokibe Kaoru of the University of Tōkyō who presented me with the opportunity to gain an insight into unedited, hand written and completely unexplored material available at the archive of the University of Tōkyō YMCA that partly dates back to the 1910s. Further

research will be necessary to explore these materials and those of other university YMCA and dormitories in depth.

Despite the difficulties one regularly encounters doing archival research in Japan, in the end I was able to collect a vast quantity of source material and literature. Once more, the well-assorted libraries and archives of the University of Tōkyō proved to be a veritable gold mine of early twentieth-century Christian journals, magazines and letters. Moreover, I was able to glean some additional material that will hopefully shed light onto yet unexplored aspects of my Ph.D. thesis and probe the archive in order to facilitate future research on Protestantism in Japan and Korea.

Meetings and Conferences

I also owe a large debt of gratitude to Professor Haneda Masashi of the University of Tōkyō who was kind enough to invite me as a visiting researcher to the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia. This renowned institution houses a very extensive range of literature and sources on Asia in Japanese, Asian languages and English and attracts many scholars in the field. This exceptional international environment provided the perfect opportunity to meet and discuss with experts in the field on many occasions and in various contexts. Weekly seminars on Global History led by Professor Haneda, in which Japanese graduate students participated alongside foreign researchers and visiting professors and discussed recent publication in the field of Global History, greatly contributed to the international atmosphere and exposed me to a plethora of approaches to Global History. I could benefit greatly from the meaningful discussions and thought-provoking conversations with many of the participants. At times, however, there exist diverging views on what constitutes the writing of a history that transcends borders and/or world regions. In order to write Global Histories that are free from Euro-centrism etc., more exchange like this will be necessary. Besides my archival research, it has been very intriguing and inspiring to share and discuss views and approaches pertaining to Global History within a setting that comprised not only scholars educated within a European and Japanese or Korean context but also from other world regions such as Southeast or Central Asia that are still underrepresented at German institutions at least.

As visiting researcher at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, I was furthermore given the opportunity to present my own findings at a workshop held at the institute in November within the context of the Global History Collaborative between Freie University Berlin, Humboldt University Berlin, Princeton University, the University of Tōkyō and École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in Paris. The invaluable advice of Professors Haneda Masashi, Kuroda Akinobu of the University of Tōkyō and Benjamin Elman from Princeton University and other researchers had a very positive impact on my Ph.D. thesis, for it helped me to better understand how to connect my topic to the diverse approaches on trans-cultural history of East Asia, a difficult field of Global History.

During the period of my fieldwork in Japan, I furthermore arranged meetings with Professor Lee Yeon-suk from Hitotsubashi University and Lee Hyeong-nang from Chūō University

whose research interests include the Korean community in Japan, its interaction with Japanese intellectuals and the construction of the Japanese national language that helped to strengthen the nation state and assimilate minorities. Both kindly shared their knowledge with me and thus significantly deepened my knowledge about the history of Koreans in Japan and the most recent research on the topic in Japan and South Korea.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Tōshiba International Foundation for its invaluable support during my research activities in Tōkyō. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to Ms. Kuwayama Mariko and Mr. Shirai Makoto, President of TIFO, who warmly welcomed me at the Tōshiba headquarters upon my arrival in Japan. Furthermore, I would like to extend my thanks to the Council of the European Association for Japanese Studies which has supported my application to the TIFO scholarship.

Further Reading

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Benedikt Vogel:

The Character of Aesthetic Experience and Atmosphere in the Idle Arts (yûgei 遊芸) of the Edo Period

When it comes to the Edo-period (1603-1868) in Japan, one easily remembers its lively city culture with its flourishing craftwork and idle arts (yûgei), which ranged from the tea ceremony to theatre. Its significance for the cultural development made it to a prominent theme in recent research. While various artistic activities recognizable in the Edo-period were treated as sociological, economical, and political factors, there seems to be an implicit consensus about the existence of a sphere of “art”, which in the course of the increasing material production as well the widespread learning and practice of idle arts, evolved in its social function.

At that very time these artistic activities did not - despite their expansion - instantly provoke a fundamental change in theoretical discourse, which mainly remained focused on the practice (michi). The question then is, what it actually means to speak of “art” in this period or to what extent it is possible. For a society with omnipresent aesthetic activities a rather dire question.

Consequently it seems foremost necessary to shed some light on this specific sphere and to track the motions of people and objects, as well as their complex connections in performance and imagination - in other words: to clarify the world of aesthetic experience.

Considering the fact, that not so much the theoretical discourse but the practice, performance and the multi-sensory experience were characteristic for this specific aesthetic environment, it seems promising to take a much closer look at kôdô, the incense ceremony. Its complex performative nature as well as the use of all five senses makes kôdô especially interesting for this approach. In an endeavor to explore the meaning of aesthetic experiences and to clarify as to what it meant to “appreciate art”, the current research project wants to refocus on the aesthetics of the idle arts, taking kôdô as its main example.

While this research project shall add an aesthetic dimension to the aforementioned recent research perspectives, moreover it seeks to contribute to the field of performance studies by working out the link between performance and affective/emotional experience, which itself shall become a tool for the reevaluation of other social events and rituals.

While these thoughts sum up the initial starting point for my research project, I was more than grateful to receive the gracious grant by the Toshiba International Foundation, which made me able to conduct the essential research in Japan, to get in touch with other scholars and to experience the fascinating world of kôdô firsthand.

During my stay in Tokyo and Kyoto and through the reception of a wide range of research materials and primary sources, I was able to specify the theoretical concepts, which will become the underlying framework for the following study. According to the above mentioned thoughts, which led to this study, aesthetic appreciation emerges from multiple elements and therefore seems to be atmospheric, but its exact character still needs to be

explained. Therefore the project seeks to uncover the role and function implicitly associated with “art” by looking at the “art-events” itself, their various material and performative constituents and how they were experienced. Firstly, this means that the starting point for such an endeavor has to be the human body itself. Following phenomenological concepts the body has to be recognized as the source of perception and experience.

Another important constituent of the idle arts arises from the various elements of play and ritual. To grasp the glimpses of meaning occurring in the complex gatherings of people, “performance” has to become a key-concept. The body, its movement, and the various sensory perceptions have to be considered. But it is not only the ephemeral appearance of meaning in the performance, but also the transmission of supposedly unchanging ideas and concepts of the specific idle art (e.g. *kôdô*) itself. Important part of the aesthetic experience appears to be the communication through language, poetry and literary images, and the constant reminiscence of history, while defining the action of one’s own as a continuation of that very tradition. As such, it has to be scrutinized.

Since performance is always connected to its material context and objects respectively, it is important not only to track the actors but the things as well. This means to consider the arrangement of the room, where the events took place, furthermore the trade, reception and presentation of objects as well as the consideration and organization of the aesthetic practice and schools. The importance of the materiality of performance is especially true for the world of incense. As part of the chemical senses and the physical realm it becomes a key-factor. The process of odor perception, the description of scents and the complex associative ways of incorporating fragrance in the incense ceremony will be the target of analysis.

In order to analyze those elements and illuminate their diverse connections, appropriate materials and sources are necessary, which show these exact aspects and movements. The main goal of my stay in Japan was to identify such materials.

While *kôdô* continues to be a minor subject of research - in comparison to the tea ceremony or the flower arrangement - even in Japan, there have been a couple of endeavors to make the handwritten scriptures of the Edo-period more accessible. These transcriptions became the starting point for my own project. Since the practice itself has to become the focus of analysis, it was necessary that the sources allow an overall reconstruction of the aesthetic events. Because *hidensho*, (books of secret teachings) describe in detail, how these gatherings were to be held, they were considered as the primary sources. However, it became obvious, that there is a wide range of what is included in these transmissions and how detailed they are. Therefore it seem not possible to limit the analysis on just a few texts. While a complete translation of one representative *hidensho* helps to illustrate the overall character of methods and events itself, seems a description of the performative as well as material elements only possible through a consideration of numerous scriptures.

Moreover, during the examination of various sources it became obvious that - even so the project focuses on the Edo-period - the range of materials can not be limited to this time frame. The constant recurrence of texts written in previous periods - especially the mid and

late Muromachi- period (1337-1573) - as well as the mentioning of events occurring in former generations made it necessary to look more closely at these exact sources as well. Therefore, in addition to the before mentioned (hi)densho, selected records of incense gatherings of the Muromachi-period were added as primary sources, which also will be analyzed. This extension is expected to be extremely valuable, when it comes to describe for example the decoration and display of rooms and objects, as well as tracing back different ideas and concepts.

As this research project seeks to illustrate the performance and multi-sensory perception in the incense ceremony, it was a wonderful opportunity to participate in an incense gathering of the Shino school of kôdô at the Kôdôkan in Kyoto.

Hachiya Sôhitsu, 21st-Generation Heir Apparent Grand Master of the Shino school of kôdô, prepared a simple game of incense recognition with a literary theme, introduced by poetry and conducted in accordance with the schools traditions. To experience firsthand, how close and at the same time clear-cut play and strict ritual can be intertwined, made a deep and lasting impression.

At this occasion I was also able to meet and discuss various aspects of kôdô with Hachiya Sôhitsu. As the heir apparent of the Shino school - one of the oldest schools of kôdô, with a tradition reaching back to the Muromachi-period - he granted me some invaluable insights in the "school- system", the preparation and handling of incense woods and in the fundamental ideas of the "Way of the incense". These experiences and encounters at the Kôdôkan proved to be important for the progression of my research project.

My stay in Japan, which opened up so many new perspectives, would of course not have been possible without the help of others: teachers, colleagues and friends. For special guidance during this stay I want to express my deepest gratitude particularly towards Professor Kodama Ryûichi (Waseda University), who let me join his study group and helped me clarify many open questions. Furthermore I want to express my heartfelt thanks towards Associate Professor Hamasaki Kanako (Senshû University; Kôdôkan Kyoto), who brought me to a deeper understanding of kôdô - not only through discussions but through the experience of the wide repertoire of the Japanese aesthetics at the Kôdôkan in Kyoto.

Finally I want to express once more my deepest gratitude to the Toshiba International Foundation for the research grant, which helped me to conduct this research and made not only possible the unique experiences, but also the encounter with other people, researchers and students. I am thankful for this opportunity and hope that my research can contribute to the study of early modern Japan and to shed some light on the complex and fascinating spheres between the "social" and the "aesthetic".

Stefan Jeka:

To Relieve the People From Hunger and Suffering: A Study On the Compendium of Agriculture's (1697) Impact On Agricultural Guidebooks of Early Modern Japan

In 1697 Japan, the outstanding agricultural guidebook *Nôgyô zensho* 農業全書 (Compendium of agriculture) was published. It's author Miyazaki Yasusada 宮崎安貞 (given name alternatively reading Antei; 1623-1697) was born in Aki province as the second son of a samurai, who served the local lord as a commissioner for forest and mountain affairs 山林奉行 (sanrin bugyô). Already about the age of 25 to 30 he, too, came into employment of the daimyo of Chikuzen province, acting as an advisor for forest and mountain affairs. But Miyazaki very soon left his position, travelled the country and gathered information about how experienced and successful farmers were conducting agriculture. The acquired information he put to a test by doing farming on his own and then compiling the results in his agricultural guidebook *農書* (nôsho), which is said to have been the number one bestseller in Tokugawa Japan. Eventually becoming the standard authority on agricultural writing it had an enormous influence on following authors dealing with agriculture throughout the whole Tokugawa era and even into modern times.

Writing my MA thesis I focused on the major part of the Compendium's tenth volume "[About] growing medical herbs in the garden" 園に作る薬種 (sono ni tsukuru yakushu) and I felt to merely get a glimpse at the whole genre of Japan's early modern agricultural guidebooks. Agriculture and farming activities played a major role in early modern Japanese society and economy, but while I was conducting my research I found western studies about the diverse genre of nôsho to be very scarce and even the contents of the canonised Compendium have yet rarely been investigated in the western academia (e.g. in an unpublished Habilitation thesis by Klaus Müller in 1976).¹

For my PhD project I now want to explore about the actual influence of the Compendium as it marks a methodological turning point in Japanese writing on agriculture towards an empirical approach of obtaining knowledge. Preparing the mindset for the economic growth of Meiji-Japan (1868-1912), it has to be examined why, how, and to what extent the influence of the Compendium stretched out into other nôsho. As this project's topic is located in the early moderns, it demands a critical historical approach, combining questions of power relations and political economy with the detailed mapping of the historical settings, not to mention careful philological work.

To outline the Compendium's diverse and steady influence three texts have been selected: the *Nôgyô kokoro oboe* 農業心覚/ *Nônin jôhô* 農人定法 ("Agricultural skills one should

¹ *Agrarproduktion und Agrarschrifttum im Japan des 17. Jahrhunderts*, unpublished Habilitation thesis by Klaus MÜLLER 1979. The translation consists of the preface and foreword and some other selected segments from various volumes of the *Compendium*.

remember”/ ”The peasants’ common methods”; 1703)² by Fukamachi Gonroku 深町権六 (?-1725), the *Nôgyô toki no shiori* 農業時の栞 (“Guide of the times of agriculture”; 1785) by Hosoi Yoshimaro 細井宜麻 (?-1788) and the *Toyoaki no waraigusa* 豊秋農笑種 (“The fools bumper harvest”; 1843) by Toya Genpachi 戸谷源八 (1792-1872). Many of the early modern agricultural guidebooks of Japan have been examined once and by Japanese scholars only, as in the case of the *Nôgyô toki no shiori* by Arizono Shôichirô 有薗正一郎 of Aichi University and the *Toyoaki no waraigusa* by Uchida Kazuyoshi 内田和義 of Shimane University and published in the most ample “Collection of agricultural guidebooks of Japan” 日本農書全集 (*Nihon nôsho zenshû*).

Research in Japan

I was glad to have been granted with the research scholarship by the Toshiba International Foundation (TIFO), thus being able to travel to Japan to meet the before mentioned scholars and other researchers in person and to conduct interviews in November and December 2014. Professor Arizono welcomed me in his office in Toyohashi where we discussed difficult passages of the translations and he provided help with the research at the library of Aichi University.

Visiting Professor Uchida in the city of Matsue, he took me on a trip to the nearby village Ôtani, where we met the descendants of Toya Gempachi who still continue to live in the same place. There, the challenges of agricultural enterprises in a narrow mountainous region with a less favourable local climate where explained to me by Mr. Toya and Professor Uchida. In later discussions with Professor Uchida at his office in Shimane University, he helped to shed a light onto some of the passages of the text that were puzzling me, because they refer to specific local conditions, expressions and agricultural techniques. Also, Professor Uchida presented me with copies of new transcriptions he made from another version of the *Toyoaki no waraigusa*, which are not available in print at all.

At this point I would like to thank both Professor Arizono and Professor Uchida, who not only provided me with various copies of their works, working papers and rare materials they collected throughout their years of research, but also gave me substantial help with difficult parts of the translations, explaining in detail the history of the works and lives of the respective authors and who helped me mapping the texts within the greater context of the *nôsho* genre.

Doing research at the library of the Department of Agriculture of Kyoto University, I got access to various documents regarding early modern agronomy, e.g. the publications of Kikuchi Isao 菊池勇夫, who worked on the impact of the major famines of early modern Japan for many years. According to early modern authors the prevention of famine caused by a meagre harvest or even crop failure very often was one of the key motivations for compiling their work, which is why these have to be taken into account to outline the very

² These two texts are written in close succession and depend on each other, therefore considered as one.

often intended purpose of nôsho: the promotion of advanced techniques to increase agricultural yields.

While staying in Kyoto I was able to meet Professor Tokunaga Mitsutoshi 徳永光俊, president of the Osaka University of Economics. For many years Professor Tokunaga was the chief editor of the “Collection of agricultural guidebooks of Japan” where all the primary texts I am investigating have been published. His research projects focused on the emergence of nôsho in early modern Japan under the harsh economic and environmental influence in the early modern rural agrarian societies. I am most grateful to have been presented with books and copies of the recent publications by Professor Tokunaga, as well as working papers for the university’s bulletin that are simply not accessible outside of Japan. In several discussions his expertise on early modern agricultural guidebooks, on the history of farming, of rural society and the intertwined relationship of the rural economy and the state (e.g. as government officials) contributed invaluable to my research project. His current research interest – the transmission of farming techniques and knowledge about weather, soil and plant conditions but by the semi- or illiterate farmers themselves – helped me to broaden the perspective of my research regarding the quite ambivalent classification of nôsho into *gakusha no nôsho* 学者の農書 (agricultural writings by scholars) and *hyakushô no nôsho* 百姓の農書 (agricultural writings by peasants) as it was outlined by Furushima Toshio 古島敏雄 decades ago.

In Tokyo, I used the resources of the National Diet Library to access some of the oldest secondary literature, which is nearly inaccessible outside of Japan, if available at all. This does not only count for pre-war and wartime publications, like *Senkaku Miyazaki Yasusada* 先覚宮崎安貞 (“The pioneer Miyazaki Yasusada”) by Nakamura Kichijirô 中村吉次郎 published 1944, but also for relating articles in post-war periodicals e.g. in *Sanrin keizai* 林業経済 (Forest economy) of 1953 or publications in journals and bulletins of the various study groups.

Acknowledgements

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