# UKIYOE PAINTING

## SELECTED PROBLEMS

## VOLUME I

by

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## PREFACE

This book is designed to serve as a guide to the study of ukiyoe painting with special emphasis on a group of selected problems.

Although this school of Japanese Art is the one most commonly known to Western man, it is only in terms of prints. The paintings, save for a limited number, have never been properly investigated. I therefore determined to make a study of them. There was a great number of artists and I soon realized that it would be impossible to present a total picture. Because of this I concentrated my effort on a number of selected problems and set these against a background of the general trends and developments of the school.

I set forth to define ukiyoe and trace them back to their source of origin. At the same time we tried to relate them to their general position in the history of Japanese Art. Numerous artists were studied, and their work was re-evaluated in the light of recent research.

Although I examined many collections, I have relied almost entirely on the ukiyoe paintings in the collections of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. The reason for limiting the illustrated material to these is that assembled there is one of the largest collections of ukiyoe paintings in the world. It surpasses those in Japan and, save for those in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, is unrivaled. Within it are many unique works. It is the only collection where a comprehensive

study of the paintings of artists, such as Hokusai, can be made. The paintings in this collection have remained unpublished for too long a period. Their inclusion here in relationship to the biographical and stylistic data of the artists who produced them throws new light on the development of ukiyoe. It is hoped that this will stimulate future studies.

The period when ukiyoe were produced was one of major alteration in the social structure of Japan. These paintings serve as a pictorial record of all that occurred in Edo. One must study them to know and understand Japan in the Tokugawa period. For these reasons, I embarked upon and present this study.

Mr. A. G. Wenley, Director of the Freer Gallery of Art, was most helpful in giving advice and in permitting me the time, as well as the facilities of the Gallery, to study ukiyoe throughout our land and in Japan. All the other members of the staff encouraged me in my search. Mrs. Lawrence West gave unstintingly of her time to see the manuscript completed into typewritten form. In this accomplishment she was assisted by the secretarial staff, and to all these, I am indebted. Mrs. Bertha M. Usilton, Librarian of the Freer Gallery of Art, organized the bibliography and suggested its method of presentation; Mr. Raymond Schwartz made the arrangements for the production of the photographic contents. Their contributions would be difficult to forget.

At times I felt defeated by the monumentality of the task. The Chairman of my Doctoral Committee, Associate Professor

James M. Plumer, and my parents would then step in and give new spirit to my flagging effort. They were joined in this by the other members of my Committee and the staff of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, who, by their patience and understanding, aided me.

The many collections and collectors of ukiyoe in our land opened their doors to me and for each of them I have a deep sense of appreciation. The same was true during my study in Japan. While there, Professor Narazaki Muneshige, Professor Shibui Kiyoshi, Dr. Fujikake Shizuya, Mr. Yoshida Teruji, Mr. Kondō Ichitarō, Mr. Mayuyama Junkichi, Mr. Matsushita Takaaki, Dr. Umezu Jirō, and Miss Shirahata Yoshi all gave freely of their time and knowledge. The Directors of the National Museums of Japan made not only their own fine collections available, but also arranged for others of importance to be open for my study. My thankfulness to these and the many others in Japan who gave me advice is great.

Last, but not least, I wish to acknowledge those who have long since gone; Mr. Charles Lang Freer for his foresight in collecting ukiyoe, and the artists of Japan for painting these masterpieces in which the life of Edo continues to live.

Before all of these who assisted, I feel humble. It is my hope that this study of paintings of the so-called "floating world" will help to bring it once again down to earth.

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# I. BACKGROUND

## The Meaning of Ukiyo

For many years I have carried on research in the field of ukiyoe[1] painting and as a result have been able to come to several findings that I feel were unknown in the past. The most important portion of my project was not in trying to justify the existence of these paintings for as works of art they speak for themselves. As historical documents they are vitally important in reflecting the culture of a period when Japan underwent a major change.[2] It is impossible for a person in a limited span of years to cover completely a field so vast in the realm of art history as that of ukiyoe.[3]

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[1] Literally translatable as pictures of the floating world. A more thorough explanation of the term will follow in the text.

[2] As documents of the culture they are invaluable for more than in any other period of Japanese history. They show us in a detailed fashion what the man in the street desired and sought. The change that Japan underwent was from a feudalistic economy and society to one with a broader spread of power and wealth. Merchant princes were replacing hereditary and honorable nobility in both of these categories.

[3] Approximately 260 years (early 1600's - 1860's) and several hundred artists.

What I have tried to do is approach certain specific problems and questions and highlight them while I trace the general development of this form of art.[4]

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[4] You will notice I deal with ukiyoe painting rather than with the prints. Naturally the two cannot always be separated. Actually every print was at one time a painting. The technique of producing a print involves the development of a final sketch known as a hanshita-e 板下絵 which is painted by brush on a thin sheet of paper (almost of a tissue variety) and then pasted to the block for carving. In the process of producing the print the painting is destroyed. I include in the category of painting all sketches for they are produced with a brush. Certain artists such as Hokusai and Hiroshige left us with much material of this nature. The reason I have turned to the paintings is that in the past the scholars in both Japan and the West have neglected them. In the literature, particularly that in Western languages, they were almost forgotten. This is understandable as the very nature of the print decrees this fate for the paintings. Prints are a reproductive process. Not one exists but many and these can easily and cheaply be multiplied and spread into the hands of numbers of people. The contrast of an average of 250 prints of an item to one painting is great. We must add to this the later increase in numbers, with the block being recut to sharpen the worn line or inserts of new wood placed into the worn sections. The print even after the demise of the artist could go on living and expanding. An

The most important gap that I have found in past research is the lack of any gauge by which to determine what an ukiyoe is. Previously art historians have avoided really explaining the term and have just proceeded to call a certain group of works by this name. When asked why, there is usually general confusion and one is left with a vague notion that an ukiyoe has something to do with genre. Certainly many paintings are clear cut specimens of genre but there are an equal number that do not conform to such a generalization. This leads us to the basic question, what is an ukiyoe?[5] In order to answer this properly we must turn to the early use of the term ukiyo 浮世. We find that it is not confined

example of this would be Satō Shōtarō's 佐藤勝太郎 production in 1921 of prints in black and white from the hanshite-e designs of nos. 21, 30, 43, 59, and 73 of the Hokusai, Hyakunin isshū ubaga etoki 北齋百人一首乳母が繪解 (The poem of one hundred master poets as explained by a wet-nurse.) The painting in contrast is an exclusive item for it is the work of the hand. It constantly varies and rarely if ever recaptures the same line. It is more time consuming and the sale of one painting can but slightly compensate the artist for his time when compared with the sale of many prints or volumes of sketches printed into book form.

[5] For our purpose we shall be interested only in the term ukiyo for the e affixed to it has but the meaning of picture and remains constant, whereas, the word ukiyo changes in meaning.

to Japan for much prior to its use there it appeared in China. One example of how the Chinese used the term is found in a poem by the noted T'ang poet, Po Chü-yi 白居易[6] (A.D. 772-846). The poem which is titled, Written at the end of a scroll after reading the poems of Li Po[7] and Tu Fu[8] in free translation is as follows:

In the days when the Han Lin[9] was at Chiang Tso[10]

At the time when the Second Secretary of

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[6] Selected writings of Po Chü-yi have been translated many times. His biography in addition to Chinese and Japanese sources can be found in the following work: Arthur Waley, The Life and times of Po Chü-I, 772-846 A. D., London: G. Allen and University Ltd., 1949.

[7] Li Po was another of the great T'ang dynasty poets. He lived from A. D. 701-762.

[8] Tu Fu (A. D. 713-770) with Li Po and Po Chü-yi combine to form what could be called the triumvirate of T'ang master poets.

[9] The Han Lin 翰林 was another name for the Literary Academy.

[10] Chiang Tso 江左 is a reference to Kiangnan which was made up of the provinces of Kiangsu 江蘇 and Kiangsi 江西 .

the Board[11] was at Chien Nan[12]

Unable to obtain high official positions they[13] fell upon hard times and their lives were confused and separated [they were banished].

In his last years Tu Fu felt as an unwelcome guest.

In this floating [transient] world Li Po had the sorrow of a banished immortal.

Their poetry will drift down [last] for a thousand ages.

Their fame will extend to the four corners.

Their literary position [literary production] presents us with refined phrases.

Their collections of tunes entertain us with new verses.

The gentleman must respond to the spontaneity of their conceptions.

Among mankind there must be a love of good poetry.[14]

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[11] Yüan Wai 員外 was the name given to the official with the title of Second Secretary of a board. The term was first used in the Han dynasty.

[12] Chien Nan 劍南 is the name of a place in Szechwan Province.

[13] This refers to both the poets Li Po and Tu Fu.

[14] This poem was found recorded in the following work: Saku Setsu 佐久節 ed., Kanshi taikan 漢詩大觀

We see here that the Chinese treated the word in much the same manner that the Japanese were to use it many centuries later. It is an unsettled world and man moves through his alloted years as a transient.

The Japanese, although they used the term in the Chinese sense, went on to add to it and alter it as we shall later see. In addition a theory has been advanced for the origin of the term that throws a completely different light on it. It is felt by such men as Dr. Shizuya Fujikake[15] 靜也藤懸 that the word originally had a religious connotation and derived from the term ureei yo 憂世 (the

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(A great compendium of Chinese verse) Vol. IV, 1943, Tokyo; Ida Shoten 井田書店, 1944. The particular section is titled "Hakurakuten shishū" 白樂天詩集 and the Chinese text is as follows:

讀李杜詩集因題卷後
翰林江左日員外劒南時不得高官職
仍逢苦亂離暮年遠客恨浮世謫仙悲
吟詠流千古聲名動四夷文場供秀句
樂府待新詞天意君須會人間要好詩

[15] Dr. Fujikake is considered to be the dean of ukiyoe studies in Japan. His first name is now often read as Shizue.

world of grief).[16] Takayanagi Mitsuhisa 高柳光壽 in an article on ukiyoe also points this out[17] as does the editor of the Genroku bungaku jiten 元祿文學辭典 (Dictionary of Genroku literature), Satō Tsurukichi 佐藤鶴吉.[18] Mr. Satō points out that the term was originally ureeki yō 憂き世 (the world of grief) but that it later was changed in texts to ukiyo 浮世. He does not trace the reason for this change; however, if one accepts his theory, the change may have been wrought by an error in copying a text and has been perpetuated. I have yet to find any authority who actually has traced this matter through and it is likely that even though one tried, not enough could be found to draw a conclusion. The important

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[16] He is currently editor of Kokka 國華 Magazine. Fujikake Shizuya 藤懸靜也 Ukiyoe no kenkyū 浮世繪の研究 (Ukiyoe research) Vol. I, Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣, 1944, pp. 3 and 4.

[17] Takayanagi Mitsuhisa 高柳光壽, "Ukiyoe to iu koto to iu mono" 浮世繪といふことといふもの (Things said about items called ukiyoe), Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪藝術 (Ukiyoe art) No. 4, (May, 1932), p. 40, Tokyo: Ukiyoe Geijutsu Sha 浮世繪藝術社.

[18] Satō Tsurukichi 佐藤鶴吉 ed., Genroku bungaku jiten 元祿文學辭典 (Dictionary of Genroku literature), Tokyo: Shinchō sha 新潮社, 1928, p. 52.

fact is that the word as used in the period when the paintings we are to consider were produced certainly did not have a religious context. It meant the everyday world in which the men of that time lived. Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴, the great seventeenth century novelist, used the term as being synonymous with life and the karyūkai 花柳界 (the red light district). He wrote in a poem composed on his deathbed, "Man's life ends at fifty. That, I have even exceeded. How much more I have exceeded in viewing the moon [my last years] of life [or the moon at the red light district] these last two years."[19] Even here, however, it actually becomes the everyday world for tales of the red light district are the basis of much of Saikaku's literature. If we move from the seventeenth century application of the term to the present day colloquial form we find that it has changed little. In Kenkyūsha's new Japanese-English dictionary 研究社新和英大辞典, the entries following ukiyo are as follows:

> Ukiyo 浮世 n. the [transitory] world [transient, fleeting] life; the earth. 浮世離れのした other worldly; free from worldliness. 浮世がいやになる be sick (= tired) of life. 浮世にそむく Turn one's back upon the world. これが浮世とあきらめろ Take things as they are; take the world as it is.
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> [浮世の] worldly; earthly, sublunary; terrestial; mundane. 苦労 worldly cares. 一糸半 (義理)

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[19] Ibid. The Japanese text is as follows: 人間五十年の究り、それをへ我にはあまりたるに、ましてや、浮世の月見過しにけり末二年.

worldly bonds; a social duty; worldly ties (= obligations). — 習い (常) the way of the world; the lot of life. — ちりを遠く離れて far from the hustle and bustle of ordinary life (= din and bustle of the world); far from the madding crowd. — 荒波に揉まれる be buffeted by the world; go through the whirlpools of life. — 無情を悟る awake to the stern (= grim) realities of life. 〔浮世を〕一捨てる renounce (= forsake) this world; live out of (keep aloof from) the world; be secluded from the world. 浮世はどうせ苦界だ. Life is, at [the] best, a sea of troubles. 浮世は夢. Life is but an empty dream. まゝにならぬは浮世の習い. Life is full of vexations. = No rose without a thorn.[20]

Thus we see that ukiyo means the world in which we live. It is synonymous with the everyday pastimes and events in the life of the Japanese man in the street from the Momoyama period on, and it is that which the paintings of this school of art depict.

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[20] Katsumata Senkichirō 勝俣銓吉郎 ed., Kenkyūsha shin Waei daijiten 研究社新和英大辞典 (Kenkyūsha's new Japanese English dictionary), Tokyo: Kenkyūsha 研究社, 1954, p. 1923.

## Historical Background of Japanese Painting

We now have a set definition of the term ukiyo but that still does not tell us exactly what an ukiyoe is. To learn this we must in particular trace the origins and development of this school of painting and in general investigate the whole history of Japanese painting. It is the latter that we shall do first with great brevity.

Although archaeological evidence of painting exists in Japan at an early date it was not until the coming of Buddhism traditionally purported to have been in A.D. 552[21] that we have the seeds of the organized schools of artists sown. It was in the year A.D. 577 that the King of Paeckche, a state located in the Southwest portion of present day Korea, sent to Japan Buddhist clergy and images as well as the artisans to produce them. For many years Buddhism had to struggle for its existence, as a group of nobles at court was diametrically opposed to the introduction of a foreign religion and way of thought. Eventually through the dynamic personality of a prince, Shōtoku Taishi, 聖徳太子 (572-621) it won official sanction at court and the opposition was largely dispelled. The Buddhist paintings were naturally formal and highly stylized for there was a limit to the vocabulary of

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[21] Actually the date for the introduction of Buddhism was probably earlier than this as reported by Robert Treat Paine and A.C. Soper, The art and architecture of Japan, [Baltimore] Penguin Books, 1955. (The Pelican history of art, Z8).

subject matter available to the artist. The great frescoes of the Horyūji 法隆寺 Temple as well as the portrait of Prince Shōtoku 聖徳 and his sons are products of this period. With the passage of years two great schools of painters of Buddhist subject matter came into existence, the Kose 巨勢[22] and Takuma 宅磨[23]. In the eighth century very important handscrolls were produced known as the Kako Genzai Inga Kyō 過去現在因果経 (Sutra of Past and Present Karma)[24] (Plate I). They are the earliest handscroll paintings called emakimono 絵巻物 produced by the Japanese to have survived. The whole

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[22] Kose Kanaoka 巨勢金岡 is believed to have been the founder of this school and although he is said to have produced many paintings, nothing exists today that can be definitely assigned to his hand. He is believed to have been active during the later part of the ninth century.

[23] A man named Takuma Tameuji 宅磨為氏 is held to be the founder of this school.

[24] This is often reported and published as the Sutra of Cause and Effect. Copies are located in various places and the total consists of nine rolls of which the first six date eighth century and the last three are thirteenth century. They are quite fully reported in Japanese as well as Western languages. If the reader wishes to pursue this subject further, he may consult Kenji Toda, Japanese scroll painting, Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1935, p. 144.

development of this form of painting that later includes numbers of yamatoe 大和絵 (Japanese paintings) evolve from this known specimen. The stories depicted in it are based on tales of Gautama's life which came to Japan via China and Korea from India. The text confined to the lower portion of the paper on which the scroll is painted and the pictures above relate stories from the lives of the Buddha, past and present. Scenes illustrative of the strength of the prince who was able to shoot one arrow through seven iron drums and who could wrestle elephants as well as his baptism and decision to become a priest are all included. The figures are drawn in outline with color of outstanding freshness and brilliance added later. This feature we shall see continued from the Nara period (A.D. 710-794) into the Heian (794-1185) and Kamakura (1185-1336) periods. There is a stiffness and formality in most of the figures as they are scattered about in the naive though charming landscape. The simple, bold two dimensional drawing shown here became one of the constantly repeated formulas in Japanese painting.

Buddhism had become all powerful in the preceding period. It had completely taken over control of the court life at Nara and the power of the priests was getting out of hand. If things had continued to develop along the old line, the church would have replaced the state. Thus in 794, the Emperor Kammu upon consideration of this and other matters determined to move the court to Heian [present day Kyoto] and away from the

oppressive monasteries of Nara.[25] This move proved to be a great blessing to the arts for it helped the development of a style of painting based on secular things, known as yamatoe 大和繪. It was painting in a purely Japanese and free style in contrast to that of the Nara epoch which relied heavily on Chinese and Korean forms and was limited in scope by the permissible iconography of Buddhism. The Heian period was one of great elegance and refinement. It was the age when court etiquette was foremost in the minds of the nobility. Costumes were fastidious and literature and the arts flourished. During the period many of the great court romances were written such as the Genji monogatari 源氏物語 (Tales of Genji), attributed to Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部. Poetry was also important and as a result we have numerous anthologies gathered such as the Kōkin Waka shū 古今和歌集 (An anthology of poems of the past and present). The Tosa nikki 土佐日記 (Tosa diary) and Ise monogatari 伊勢物語 (Tales of Ise) are also literary products of this period. The nobility at court spent much of their time in games and contests and in creating new pastimes.

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[25] A good survey of the history of this period that clearly states the problem of church versus state can be found in Sir George B. Sansom, Japan: A short cultural history, ed. rev. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943, p. 183, and Captain Frank Brinkley, A history of the Japanese people, New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Co., 1915, pp. 191-223.

Poem contests, incense contests, archery meets, football matches, and painting competitions were reported and these appear represented in the art works of the Heian period. It almost leads one to conclude that it was an age of scandal and reaction to Buddhism, though, of course, this generality is not true. In contrast to the courtly life, however, Buddhism continued in popularity although its state support was reduced.

The Hōrōkaku Mandara 寶樓閣曼陀羅 in the Freer Gallery of Art at Washington, D. C. (Plate II) is a specimen of Buddhist art produced in the latter portion of the Heian period. It represents the Buddha (Tathagata), Kongōshū 金剛手 (Vajrapāni) and Hōkongō 寶金剛 (Manivajra) seated in a two story tower-like structure. Before them and outside the building are the Four Deva Kings and Four Bodhisattvas. Placed in the lower center of the composition is a pool from which rises a lotus. At the very bottom center of the painting is a small figure seated on a mat holding a censer in his hand. In all likelihood he is the donor who commissioned the painting or in whose honor it was painted. The background of the work was once covered with kirigane 切金 (cut gold leaf), a decorative technique which the Japanese artists of the Heian period developed to a high skill. It consists in first painting an area, then drawing the pattern, and after that placing thin strips of cut gold leaf along the design to enrich it.[26] Though this

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[26] Kobayashi Taichirō 小林太市郎, Yamato eshi ron 大和繪史論 (The history of yamatoe) Osaka, Japan: Zenkoku Shobō 全國書房, 1946.

technique was employed in China it never reached the level of perfection which we see in Heian and Kamakura Buddhist painting.

The yamatoe 大和繪(Japanese style painting) of the Heian period is most important to the development of ukiyoe as we shall later see. The origins of this style of painting are undoubtedly to be found in Chinese painting but in the twelfth century it was altered into something that we can call purely Japanese. The most important elements of it are a freedom of style and representation of scenes of everyday life in Japan in the depiction of stories that originated in Japan. Prior to this the artists drew principally from Chinese or Indian material for their subject matter. Hand in hand, literature and painting moved along. The great emakimono 繪巻物 actually served the role of the later developed picture books. The stories that were popular in the age and the moral tales and historical events were recorded and illustrated in them. The Genji Monogatari Emaki 源氏物語繪巻[27] (Tale of Genji Picture Scroll) (Plate III), illustrates the most

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[27] The Genji Monogatari Emaki 源氏物語繪巻 (Tale of the Genji Picture Scroll) is now divided up into two sections. One portion is in the Tokugawa 徳川 Museum in Nagoya, Japan, and the other is in the Masuda 益田 family collections. The scenes and calligraphy portions in the Tokugawa Museum section are mounted on individual pieces of paper in folio form. Thus the original handscroll format no longer exists.

important scenes from this great romantic novel. If we examine it we see nothing that calls to mind the religious painting of the previous and current age. We also see nothing in it that we can speak of as having a Chinese origin. It is a purely Japanese story. The handling of perspective and space is fresh and different. The figures are flat and two dimensional. They almost appear as though they have been cut out and pasted onto the setting. The great Shigisan Engi Emaki 信貴山緣起繪卷 (Picture Scroll of the History of Mount Shigi) now in the Chōgosonshi-ji 朝護孫子寺 Temple in Nara, Japan, shows us that the Japanese had added humor to their art. It also clearly illustrates how very well the emaki served as a vehicle for illustrating and recording a tale.

The importance of the yamatoe style in the Heian period became more and more evident; the small fan-shaped Sutra of the Hokekyō,[28] (the Lotus Sutra), (Plate IV) from the twelfth

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[28] This painting is in the collection of the Shitennō-ji 四天王寺 Temple in Osaka. The Hokekyō 法華經 (Saddharma Pundarika Sutra, the Sutra of the Lotus) is the most important one in Japan and China. The Tendai 天臺 sect introduced from China in 806 by Dengyō Daishi 傳敎大師 and the Nichiren 日蓮 sect founded in 1253 by Nichiren 日蓮 depend entirely on it for it is reported to have been the last and the supreme teaching of Buddha. The theory expressed in it is that there is only one vehicle of Buddhist teaching and that is for all. It carries the thought that all will be saved.

century provides us with a good example of its employment as a foil for a religious text. This object is quite unique for it is a combination of printing, painting, and calligraphy. The designs are of a purely Japanese and secular nature. They were first executed on the gold and silver flecked paper by means of a wood block technique. This became evident when some of the pigment flaked away and after it was noticed that the same figures completely alike in every detail appeared over and over again. After the printing was completed brilliant colors and details were added by painting and finally the text of the sutra or religious liturgy was written over the whole surface. The religious text is not at all related to the scene printed and painted beneath it, It appears likely that the leisurely life of the Heian nobility required secular painting in order to sweeten the austerity of Buddhism.[29]

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[29] The Heike Nōkyō 平家納經 (Sutras Donated by the Taira Family) scrolls consisting of 32 rolls of which 28 are devoted to the Hokekyō (The Lotus Sutra) also utilize secular painting of the yamatoe variety to lighten the austerity of the Buddhist text. These paintings are kept at the great Itsukushima 嚴島 Shrine in Hiroshima 廣島 Prefecture. In September 1957 on a visit to the shrine I had the honor of being able to see and study some of the originals of this scroll. Normally only skilled copies are made available to the public and exhibited at the museums.

The yamatoe picture scrolls also served as a means of political satire and cartoon. The Frolicking Bird and Animal Scroll called Chōjū Giga 鳥獣戯画, (Plate V) in the collection of Kōzanji 高山寺 Temple are of this nature. It is probably the most famous and humorous animal painting ever conceived and is traditionally attributed to the brush of Toba Sōjō Kakuyū 鳥羽僧正覚猷 a twelfth century priest. The Heian period as has already been stated was a time when courtly contests seemed to be all that concerned the nobility. This painting is an excellent series of satirical caricatures on the state of the nation, that is the court and clergy, during the twelfth century. Contests represented in the scroll include a sumō wrestling match between a frog and a rabbit. The rabbit has been defeated by the overpowering strength of the frog and the audience also composed of frogs roars with glee and delight over his upset. The painting is in sumi 墨 (ink) on paper. Other scenes include a group of dancing frogs surrounded by an audience of many animals including two Shinto priests, a cat and a frog, a rabbit serving as the mother of two mice and other gr ups. The Buddhist church was subjected to a satire for in a portion of the scroll a fat frog is shown seated on a pedestal. Leaves of a banana plant serve as his halo and a lotus is placed before him by a monkey in the robes of a priest who chants the nembutsu 念佛 (a Buddhist invocation).

The development of yamatoe painting in the Heian period

greatly expanded the repertoire of the artist and marks the start of purely Japanese painting. The Kamakura period took up where it left off and continued its development.

The years from 1185 to 1333 are assigned in Japanese history to an era called Kamakura. It was an age of great strife and upheaval. The whole land was torn by wars that followed in the wake of the battle between the Minamoto 源 and Taira 平 clans. As a result of the internal strife a military dictatorship came into existence known as the Bakufu 幕府.[30] Two governments existed in the period, the Emperor and his court which was the titular head at Kyoto, and the military and administrative head at Kamakura. As in the past ages there was a continuation of old traditions in art. This applied to both style and technique. The importance of the military, however, led to the production of a more virile treatment. Realism grew in importance and portraiture flourished. It was an age of great activity and excitement. The man who launched it was Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝

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[30] Various reasons are given for the use of this term. The most likely, however, appears to be based on the fact that the military rulers prior to this seemed to be always on the move and thus affairs of state were often carried on behind the curtain of a shelter. Baku 幕 literally means curtain and fu 府 stands for government, thus it becomes government from the curtain or as it is often put, government from behind the curtain.

who lived from 1147 to 1199. He was appointed the first Minamoto Shōgun 將軍 , military dictator of Japan, in 1192. The portrait of him (PlateVI) attributed to Fujiwara no Takanobu 藤原隆信 and kept at the Jingo-ji 神護寺 Temple in Kyoto is illustrative of twelfth century portraiture. It shows Yoritomo in a monumental and aristocratic pose. He is seated on a dais and wears the robes and bears the symbols of a gentleman of rank. The secular presentation and brushwork inform us that this is a yamatoe painting and serves as a foretaste of the yet to be developed ukiyoe. The robe of Yoritomo is spread out and almost fills the composition. It creates a handsome geometric pattern with new devices of painting evident. The artist has painted black on black for the robe to suggest the pattern of the cloth. He makes use of little color save for a touch at the throat and on the belt and sword that leads us to concentrate on the face and fine features of Yoritomo. Through the use of the most delicate line a sense of strength, kindness, and dignity are imparted to this portrait of a great national hero.

All that we have written about the Yoritomo portrait can be applied to the portraits of the Thirty-six Master Poets. The Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. is fortunate in possessing three of these portraits.[31] They became the vogue

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[31] The Freer portraits include the poets Ōnakatomi Saishū no Yorimoto 大中臣祭主賴基 , Saigū no Nyōgo

and a large number of sets of these in album as well as scroll form were produced for the courts at both Kyoto and Kamakura.

The great change in art during this period seems to be tied up with the development of esoteric sects of Buddhism and the continuation of the fusion of Buddhist and secular or yamatoe painting. Religion was reaching out to the masses and salvation became easier. Interest in Amida 阿彌陀 (Amitâbha) Buddha was fostered by the Jōdo 淨土 (pure land ) sect which was introduced by the Priest Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212). The philosophy of the Jōdo sect was that salvation can be attained by faith but it is faith ritually expressed. It comes from the ceaseless repetition of pious formulae---the nembutsu 念佛 , the invocation of the name of Buddha. It further holds that the world is so evil that one cannot possibly reach Buddhaship on earth. The best plan therefore is to give up all such hope and set one's mind on being born in Amida's Paradise after death. This philosophy accounts for hundreds of representations of the Paradise of Amida. It made it possible for the common man to partake of

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齋宮女御 , and Minamoto no Kintada 源公忠 and are of the series titled Agedatami Sanjūrokkasen 上畳三十六歌仙 (Thirty-six Poets Seated on a Mat). The other important set of portraits of the thirty-six master poets is called the Satake-bon 佐竹本 series. Both of these scrolls have been cut up and dispersed.

religion and feel that there was some hope for him in the future life. Painted handscrolls representing the lives of the famous priest who preached these doctrines appeared and were dedicated in a number of temples. The Ippen Shōnin E Den 一遍上人繪傳 (Picture Biography of the Priest Ippen), the Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjō Ezu 法然上人行狀繪圖 (Pictures of the Life of Priest Hōnen) and the Kōbō Daishi Gyōjō Emaki 弘法大師行狀繪巻 (Picture Scroll of the Life of Priest Kōbō) and the Saigyō Monogatari 西行物語 (Tale of Priest Saigyō) are examples of these. Paintings done in the yamatoe style relating the history of noted temples also appeared such as the Ishiyama-dera Engi 石山寺緣起 (History of the Ishiyama Temple). In addition to this, historical events were recorded in picture handscrolls such as the Mōko Shūrai E Kotoba 蒙古襲來繪詞 (Picture Records of the Mongol Invasion) which relate the events that occurred in November 1274 and August 1281 when the forces of Kublai Khan invaded Kyūshū and were defeated. The famous Heiji Monogatari 平治物語 (Tale of Heiji)[32] tells the story of the war that occurred in the year 1159 when two court nobles Nobuyori 信頼 and Shinsei 信西 fought for political supremacy. All of these paintings are of events and stories familiar to the Japanese and the majority are set

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[32] Heiji 平治 refers to an era name which lasted but one year, 1159.

in their land. In them, glimpses occur of the countryside and the people of the age. These features are the essence of yamatoe painting.

After the fall of the Kamakura Bakufu, meaning the Minamoto s 源 and Hojō s 北條, the Ashikaga 足利 Shōguns returned the government from Kamakura to Kyōto and we begin the Muromachi 室町 period dating 1333 - 1568. During this period clan rivalry remained strong and uprisings and wars were as numerous as in the previous era. The Ashikaga Shōguns, however, did not let the unsettled status of the political scene swerve them in their patronage of the arts and the period provides us with an array of great paintings and painters. The artists of this era are more easily documented for biographies and other records exist. Prior to this, however, one had to rely on the mystical term of "traditional attribution."

Muromachi painting in general was not as closely related to ukiyoe as that which had preceded it. This was because the yamatoe was on the decline for the taste of the art patrons had switched to a desire for painting done in a Chinese style. This later type of painting is referred to as the Muromachi-suiboku ga 室町水墨画 (Muromachi water and ink painting). To produce it the artist normally relied on Chinese subject matter and executed his work in ink. He occasionally would add color, but in general it was kept at a minimum. This contrasts greatly to the brilliant handscrolls

of the previous period. Zen thought[33] exerted its influence on paintings for the attempt at realism which appeared in the Kamakura yamatoe vanished in the wake of abstraction. Self-realization through contemplation and satori 悟 , the acquiring of a new viewpoint through intuitive looking into, prevailed. There was great austerity and simplicity; art was stripped to basic line and was as unornamented and unostentatious as the simple thatched Japanese farm hut of today. These features combined with the Chinese Southern Sung dynasty style of painting to produce works of great merit represented by the priest-painters of Japan.

Landscapes, birds and flowers, and the representation of immortals and sages provided the subject matter of the Muromachi-suiboku painter. Historical events, biographies, and romantic tales in general did not concern him. All of this later group were of a narrative nature and thus required series of pictures. What form was more convenient than the handscroll so skilfully used by the Kamakura masters. In contrast a landscape, bird, or sage does not have a long story to tell. It but sets a mood and leads us to contemplate the wonders of nature. Thus relatively few new handscrolls were produced and the Muromachi artist used the kakemono 掛物 (hanging vertical scroll) and fusuma 衾 (sliding

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[33] A simple discussion of Zen philosophy can be found in Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, Introduction to Zen Buddhism, New York: The Philosophical Library, 1949.

door) as his format. One of the exceptions to this would be the great Sesshū 雪舟 (1420-1506) handscroll in the Mōri 毛利 collection. Other works of importance by this artist include the Summer and Winter Landscapes in the Tokyo National Museum. Sesshū, a priest-painter, was originally attached to the Sōkokuji 相國寺 Temple in Kyōto and studied under the painter Shūbun 周文 who was in charge of the grounds and construction at the temple. Early in the year 1468 an event occurred which was to influence Japanese painting for centuries to come. During that year Sesshū traveled to China and the Imperial Court of the Ch'eng-hua 成化 period (1465-1487) in one of the so-called "tribute ships" sent by the Shōgun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政. He arrived at Ningpo 寧波 in May of that year, and was offered the Daiichi za 第一座 [literally, the first seat, actually the top position] and placed in charge of the great monastery at T'ien-t'ung-shan 天童山. He visited Peking 北京 and although there are reports of his painting during his stay, there is no evidence to support this claim. Before the eighth month of the following year, 1469, he returned to Japan. As a result of this trip, Sesshū had an opportunity to see with his own eyes the land of China which had not been available to other artists of his homeland save in the form of Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasty landscape paintings imported to Japan. His impressions of nature and the landscape about him were sharply focused and relayed through him to innumerable generations of Japanese artists.

After his return from China, Sesshū painted with fervor and it is principally by his works produced after his trip that we know the artist.

Some of the other artists[34] who worked in the suiboku style were Kaō 可翁,[35] a priest-painter, who was active in the first half of the fourteenth century; Shūbun 周文,[36] who was superintendant of the grounds and buildings at the Sōkokuji; and Minchō 明兆 (1352-1431)

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[34] It would be impossible to list all of the artists of this Muromachi-suiboku school here. I have included but a few of the earliest masters.

[35] Little is actually known of the life of Kaō save that he was a Zen priest-painter and was active in the early fourteenth century. Most notable among the works produced by him are the paintings of Kanzan 寒山 (Chinese: Han Shan) who was a Chinese Buddhist priest reported to have lived during the T'ang dynasty. Kanzan was noted for his eccentricity. An important painting of this subject ascribed to the artist, Kaō, is in the collection of the Nagao 長尾 Museum in Kanagawa 神奈川 Prefecture.

[36] Shūbun 周文 together with Josetsu 如拙 were both active in the fifteenth century and both associated with the Sōkokuji 相國寺 Temple in Kyoto. They were therefore in contact with Sesshū 雪舟 and able to exert their influence on him. Shūbun in particular is noted for his landscapes.

another noted painter of landscapes as well as religious subject matter.

Growing out of the style of ink painting developed by these men were other schools of painting. One of these is that called Kanō 狩野 which was founded by Masanobu 正信 (1434-1530) and grew into prominence under his son, Motonobu 元信 (1476-1559). They followed the Chinese tradition of painting as can be seen in the kakemono 掛物 (hanging scrolls)[37] by the latter artist which were formerly sliding door panels at the Reiun-in 靈雲院 of the Myōshinji 妙心寺 Temple in the western outskirts of Kyoto. A pair of screens by Motonobu formerly in the collection of the late Prince Motoaki Mōri 毛利元昭 and now at the Freer Gallery in Washington, depict twelve landscapes derived from Ming dynasty academic painting and executed in ink on silk. The Kanō school of painting which came into being in the Muromachi period was to continue in prominence well into the eighteenth century.

We may wonder what had happened to the yamatoe style of painting during the Muromachi period. Fortunately, it did not vanish: however, it did change. The alteration that occurred was two-fold. One took the nature of a formalization

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[37] Henceforth, when referring to the vertical hanging scroll the traditional term kakemono 掛物 will be used whereas makimono 巻物 will be used for reference to a horizontal handscroll.

of the manner of presenting the Japanese subject matter. The reason that this occurred is easily understood for the Imperial Court took an ever increasing interest in yamatoe production. The main stem artists who produced yamatoe paintings in this period came to be called the Tosa 土佐 school[38] and in serving the Court they lost the freedom of expression found in the Heian and Kamakura works in this style. The other change is actually contradictory to the first one for emakimono other than those for the Court continued to be produced but the artists are largely unknown. They were painted in all likelihood for military men rewarded with fiefs by the Ashikaga Shoguns and for lesser officials many of whom were not descended from the aristocratic class. This brought a

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[38] The use of the term Tosa 土佐 derives from the fact that the founder of the family, Fujiwara Tsunetaka 藤原經隆, was appointed Tosa-Gon no Kami 土佐權之守 (Deputy Lord of Tosa Province) in the late twelfth century. A similar event occurred about 1407 when Yukihiro 行廣, a descendant of this family, was given the title Tosa no Kami 土佐之守 (Lord of Tosa). The name, Tosa, appears to have been used as a family name from Yukihiro on when referring to the artists descended from him. Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (c. 1430-1521) who painted the Kiyomizudera Engi 清水寺緣起 (History of the Kiyomizu Temple) in the Tokyo National Museum collection is considered the leading master of this school.

trend toward less refinement in the painting probably conditioned by the artists' need for turning out a large number in order to subsist. Thus their work often appears as poor copies of earlier masterpieces. The most important fact for us to keep in mind with reference to ukiyoe painting is that yamatoe although having less vigor in the Muromachi than in the previous eras continued to be produced.

The name given to the epoch that followed the fall of the Muromachi is Momoyama 桃山 (Peach Mountain). This term derives from the name of the palatial villa that Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598), the great military leader, had built in 1593 at Fushimi 伏見, a suburb south of Kyoto. Actually although named after this villa, the period commenced prior to its construction and lasted from 1568 to 1615. Following the fall of the Ashikaga Shogunate, Japan came under the military dictatorship of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) and later the previously mentioned Hideyoshi. These two men brought an end to the major insurrection and civil warfare in the land and established a strong central government. We must remember that the institution of the Emperor as the titular head had never ceased to function but in reality it was formerly the Shogun, and in the Momoyama period Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, who actually ran the affairs of state. One would naturally think that with all the political strife and civil warfare art would vanish from the land. The artistic tradition, however, is so deeply a part of the Japanese that it never gave in to

the external pressures. Finally in this age, relative peace came to Japan and the country was unified. Court life continued to be elegant but the common man's lot was increasing. It was a period of prosperity and fortunes grew. Now not only did the nobility manifest an interest in fine art, but also the mercantile and even the farmer class. It was an age of economic boom with villas and castles being constructed all over the land. The nobles soon began to rival each other in having the finest in the way of interior decor which, in this instance, took the form of screens, wall paintings, sliding doors, fans, etc. One way of showing one's wealth was to use as much gold and silver in the decorative scheme as possible. Thus, gold leaf and silver foil became popular. Opulence, though not decadence, was the keyword for this period.

Several important changes in Japanese painting took place during the Momoyama period. The most noticeable of these was the disappearance of a noteworthy school of Buddhist painting. Actually this trend had begun in the Muromachi era. The need for Buddhist painting had decreased. This is not meant to imply that religion was on the decline. All it means is that through the centuries the temples had accumulated stocks of paintings and newly commissioned works were but copies of the limited iconography found in earlier works. Thus there was no need to turn to a great master. Added to this was the vanity of the age. The patrons when they did turn to a recognized painter sought something that could be used to decorate their homes and not a temple.

Another change is to be found if we examine Kanō school painting. The works of the previous era were most often executed in ink on paper. During the Momoyama period the Kanō masters such as Eitoku 永徳 (1543-1590) and Sanraku 山楽 (1559-1635) used a great deal of color with bright mineral pigments such as malachite and azurite as favorites. They continued to rely on themes derived from China but combined them with the color of yamatoe painting and thus altered the nature of this school's production. It now became a more equally balanced mixture of Chinese and Japanese elements.

The Tosa school which had become the bastion of the yamatoe tradition proceeded to become more and more stilted. The repetition of the same subjects such as scenes from the Tale of Genji or the Tale of Ise were dominant. Originality had vanished but for a handful of Tosa artists who occasionally broke away from the tradition. Mitsunori 光則 (1583-1638) was one of these men and in the next chapter we shall see that he was capable of producing ukiyoe paintings. In addition to breaking periodically with tradition he has a further claim to fame as one of the few Japanese artists to work in a true miniature technique. His illustrations to the Tale of Genji, now mounted in album form and in the Freer Gallery of Art, are of this variety. The paintings are in ink and occasionally gold and slight touches of color are added. They are as delicate as the first breeze of spring that stirs the petals of the cherry blossoms and causes them to tumble and float to earth.

A change not only occurred in the existing schools but is also evident in the creation of a new school derived from earlier styles. This school is called by the Japanese Rimpa 琳派[39] and included in it are the Momoyama and Edo artists, Sōtatsu 宗達 Sōsetsu 宗雪[40], Kōrin 光琳 (1658-1716), Kenzan 乾山 (1663-1743) and others. The inspiration for these men was yamatoe combined with Kanō and some Tosa elements. Sōtatsu, the earliest master of this school,[41] made an extremely careful study of the early emakimono and actually copied details from them.

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[39] The term Rimpa 琳派 is composed of the last character in the name of the artist Kōrin (1658-1716) and the character meaning "group or school".

[40] Accurate dates for Sōtatsu 宗達 and Sōsetsu 宗雪 are unknown. For a further discussion see: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 國立博物館 (National Museum) (comp.), Sōtatsu, Kōrin ha zuroku 宗達光琳派圖錄 (Catalogue of works of the Sōtatsu Kōrin school) Kyoto: Benridō 便利堂, 1952.

[41] Many scholars feel that Kōetsu 光悅 (1558-1637) was the true founder of the school; however, little is known of his painting. He is known to us mainly by calligraphy at which he excelled. A family relationship through marriage existed between Kōetsu and Sōtatsu but it is actually the latter artist who brought the Rimpa style to a flowering.

His portrayal of the Thunder God and Wind God on a pair of two-fold screens from the Kennin-ji 建仁寺 Temple in Kyoto closely parallels the figures seen in the Kitano Tenjin Engi 北野天神縁起 (History of the Deified Spirit of Michizane 道眞 ) picture scroll kept at the Kitano Temmangū 北野天滿宮 Shrine in Kyoto. In this same style he produced a picture scroll based on the thirteenth century Saigyō Monogatari 西行物語 emakimono. He also painted the well known Waves of Matsushima screens in the Freer Gallery of Art which in subject matter appears to be derived from the Tales of Ise. His followers in the late Momoyama and into the Edo period worked in the decorative fashion and turned out a large number of flower paintings. The most famed of these was Kōrin who did the Iris screens now to be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Nezu 根津 Collection in Tokyo. This same artist produced the superb White Plum and Red Plum screens now kept in Atami 熱海. These screens would rank as one of the finest decorative patterns created by a Japanese artist. There is no question as to who inspired Kōrin for he clearly copied the Waves of Matsushima[42] and the Thunder

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[42] The Kōrin copy of this screen is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts. Another copy was reported in the collection of a Japanese art dealer, Kobayashi Bunshichi 小林文七, but was destroyed in the Tokyo earthquake of 1923.

God and Wind God[43] screens of Sōtatsu. The Rimpa school is noted for its widespread use of an uncommon technique in Japanese painting called tarashikomi 滴込. It consists of painting an area in one color and while that is still wet painting over the area with a very wet brush often loaded with a different color. This causes the pigments to run and mix and creates an unusual outline edge to the painted area. Tarashikomi became a speciality of this school

The painting of the Momoyama period was not limited to works by known masters. There are many unsigned paintings as well as a great number of notable compositions produced by the lesser artists of the Kano, Tosa, Rimpa, and other schools. Many of these adhere to the traditional formulae. Others, however, are of a purely yamatoe nature. Examples of this would be the landscape paintings with sugar-loaf shaped, gently rounded mountains covered with stylized pine trees painted in the brilliant colors of the yamatoe palette on backgrounds of gold and silver leaf.[44] The many paintings of the Bridge at Uji 宇治 with willow boughs along the

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[43] The Kōrin copy of the Sōtatsu work is in the National Museum in Tokyo.

[44] See the pair of screens of Landscapes with Sun and Moon owned by the Kongōji 金剛寺 in Osaka, Japan, illustrated as catalogue no. 49, in Exhibition of Japanese Painting and Sculpture (Washington: H. K. Press, 1953) pp. 122-123.

bank, a waterwheel, and a moon or sun set in the sky are also representative of the unsigned and yamatoe derived paintings.

We have but briefly touched on the developments and trends in Japanese painting from the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century to and including the Momoyama period of the sixteenth century. It would be pretentious for me or anyone to assume that they could so easily place the history of Japanese painting in a nutshell. Our purpose has been but to trace the major developments and in particular keep in the forefront the importance of the yamatoe. It is in the Momoyama period that our general historical survey terminates for it is in this era that ukiyoe painting, as we know it, began.

## II. THE ORIGIN AND FOUNDING OF UKIYOE

### The Origin

"The world in which we live," "the present world," are the definitions we gave to the word ukiyo in Chapter I. It is this meaning that leads us to the origin of the school of painting we call ukiyoe. In the first chapter we traced the development of Japanese painting and noted it was really the yamatoe artists who perfected a purely Japanese style. The reason for this rests on the simple fact that they in contrast to the other schools were bound by neither Chinese artistic tradition nor subject matter. The yamatoe were paintings of actual events or legendary happenings that were purported to have transpired in Japan within a set frame of time. They were paintings of the environment in which the artist lived and the world about him was shown in them. The ukiyoe are the same and are but an Edo period name replacing yamatoe. The two are synonymous save for slight differences due to the natural political and social evolution of the Japanese nation.

A careful examination of the origin of ukiyoe lends credence to the theory expressed above. Time and time again figures and sections from Heian and Kamakura emakimono are repeated in ukiyoe paintings. The beggars shown in the Ippen Shōnin E Den 一遍上人繪傳 (Picture Biography of the Life of Priest Ippen)

handscroll[1] (Plate VII) in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum and those in the Yūzū-Nembutsu Engi 融通念佛緣起 (Story [of the Founder] of the Yūzū-nembutsu Sect of Buddhism) handscroll reappear some 300 years later in the Shijō Kawara Zu Byōbu 四條河原圖屏風,[2] (Screen of the Shijō Kawara Sector of Kyoto (Plate VIII). This street remains today as the principal thoroughfare in Kyoto. The elegant kimono patterns seen in sections of the Ishiyamadera Engi 石山寺緣起[3] (History of the Ishiyamadera Temple) are repeated in the work of the ukiyoe painter, Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618-1694)

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[1] Priest Ippen 一遍 (1239-1289) was the founder of the Jishū 時宗 Sect of Buddhism. He traveled about Japan preaching the doctrine and this specimen of the Ippen Shōnin E Den 一遍上人繪傳, is purported to have been painted but ten years after his death by the Priest En-i 圓伊.

[2] This screen is in the collection of the Seikadō 靜嘉堂 Foundation and is registered as an Important Cultural Property. It is published in the Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京國立博物館 (Tokyo National Museum), Kinsei shoki fūzoku e 近世初期風俗画 (Genre paintings of "early modern" Japan), Tokyo: Benridō 便利堂, 1957, pp. 56-57.

[3] I had the privilege of examining these scrolls in their entirety in July 1957 at the Kyoto National Museum where they were placed on loan.

whom we shall discuss later. The children swimming in the river painted in the forementioned Ippen scroll can also be seen in almost every ukiyoe Rakuchū Rakugai Byōbu 洛中洛外屏風 (Screen of Scenes Inside and Outside of Kyoto). The whole general theme of bustling crowds and people of the street link the yamatoe and ukiyoe as one.

If we seek further evidence of the close link between the two styles of painting we need but turn to the attitudes of the artists who painted them. The early seventeenth century and eighteenth century painters did not use the term ukiyoe in referring to themselves. Instead, they chose to sign their paintings yamatoe shi 大和繪師 (master of yamato painting) or at times the characters used are read Nihon-e shi 日本繪師 (master of Japanese painting). Nakata Katsunosuke 仲田勝之助,[4] in an article dealing with the relationship of the two cites the findings of Tanaka Kisaku 田中喜作, which were published in a work titled Ukiyoe gaisetsu 浮世繪概説 (General remarks on ukiyoe). Tanaka states that the word was first used about 1682 by the artist Hishikawa Moronobu, in the preface to an illustrated book bearing the title Tsukiya no asobi 月夜の遊 (Pleasures on a moonlit night). In addition to Moronobu we know that Okumura Masanobu

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[4] Nakata Katsunosuke 仲田勝之助, "Ukiyoe wa yamatoe ka" 浮世繪は大和繪か (Are ukiyoe yamatoe?), Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪藝術 (Ukiyoe art), no. 2 (March, 1932), pp. 40-42.

奥村政信, Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信, Torii Kiyomasu 鳥居清倍, Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信, and Nishimura Shigenaga 西村重長 all used "yamatoe master" or "Nihon-e master" in combination with their signatures. I do not recall a painting of early date (that is, up until mid-eighteenth century) on which the word **"master of ukiyoe" appears in conjunction with the artist's** signature.

An even earlier use of the word ukiyo in association with a painting is **described in an article by Takayanagi Mitsuhisa** 高柳光壽, where he writes as follows:

> In the collection of Baron Iwasaki there is a genre screen by an unknown artist thought to have been painted in the period between 1596 and 1704. This is a "so called" ukiyo and in this painting there is drawn the Shijō Kawara Kabuki 四條江原歌舞伎. In the center of and before the depiction of the kabuki dance is a type of watchtower upon which there is an inscription written reading Ukiyo Sado Shima Dai Kabuki うきよさど山島大かぶき (Ukiyo Sado Island great Kabuki). This ukiyo is without doubt the ukiyo [we refer to]. I think that its meaning is that of the

current /present/ world.[5]

The author then goes on to comment on this form of kabuki in which only females performed. He points out that it was very closely related to the dances of the yūjo 遊女 (the prostitutes). The use of ukiyo in this manner brings us right back to the death bed poem of Saikaku quoted in Chapter I.

Early Paintings

After considering the definition and origin of ukiyoe there should be no question of where we start in tracing the stages of development of that school. It would commence with the yamatoe. Naturally this would involve a complete and detailed history of all Japanese painting for elements of the yamatoe style were adopted by other schools, among these the Tosa and Kanō. We cannot hope to accomplish a complete history within the framework of this thesis. We therefore start with the revival of the yamatoe style as an independent group. This occurred toward the end of the Muromachi or start of the Momoyama period and often took the form of a revolt by an artist against the established tradition in which he was trained. More often it was the result of painting to

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[5] Takayanagi Mitsuhisa 高柳光壽, "Ukiyoe to iu koto to iu mono" 浮世繪ということとういうもの (Sayings about things called ukiyoe), Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪藝術 (Ukiyoe art), No. 4, (May, 1932), p. 40. The painting he refers to is illustrated in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (Tokyo National Museum), op. cit., pp. 60-61.

please one's patron; for then, as now, the artist had to market his work in order to live and correspondingly was willing to step outside the limits of his school to satisfy the request of a patron.

Western authors[6] in writing about ukiyoe in the past have usually forgotten to turn back to this early period and have selected the so-called "ukiyoe master,"[7] Iwasa Matabei 岩佐又兵衛 (1578-1651) or Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618-1694) as their starting point. If we search with care, however, we find something that we may call by this name in existence as early as the late Muromachi period. The screen depicting a picnic party viewing the maples[8] in the collection of the

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[6] James A. Michener, The floating world, New York: Random House, 1954.

Laurence Binyon and J. J. O'Brien Sexton, Japanese colour prints, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

[7] There are many discussions of the Matabei problem. A good standard biography can be found in Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, Ukiyoe shiden 浮世繪師傳 (Biographies of ukiyoe masters), Tokyo: Watanabe Hanga Ten 渡邊版畫店, 1931, pp. 216-217.

[8] This screen is published in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京國立博物館 (Tokyo National Museum), Kinsei shoki fūzoku ga 近世初期風俗画 (Genre painting of "early modern" Japan), Tokyo: Benridō 便利堂, 1957, pp. 14-15.

National Museum in Tokyo (Plates IX, X, XI) is from this date and in contrast to the above, our starting point. The screen was painted by the artist, Kanō Hideyori 狩野秀頼 (d. 1557) who was the second son of the most noted of the early Kanō school painters, Motonobu 元信 (1476-1559). Why should this painting by a Kanō artist be selected as the earliest representative? The answer can be easily stated. The subject matter with a group of people shown viewing the brilliant leaves of the maples while on a picnic is genre. It is a purely Japanese theme and is thus a yamatoe. Both the Tosa and the Kanō schools had absorbed elements of this earlier style as was reported in Chapter I. The Tosa became the official representative; however, it did not advance and as time went on only repeated the old yamatoe themes using the costumes and settings of periods long past. This screen varies from what preceded it and reports in contemporary terms on a Muromachi event. The problem of it coming from the hand of a Kanō trained artist is not disconcerting as these men had already turned to the use of the palette of the Heian and Kamakura emakimono artists and occasionally borrowed perspective and a decorative treatment of landscape from them. All that remained was for Hideyori to leap the hurdle and paint sixteenth century Japanese rather than Chinese literary figures, deities, sages, or an idealized landscape in the Chinese style. He was the first identifiable artist to do this. There is little doubt that Hideyori was exposed to the local Kyoto scene for a popularization of the arts was already

under way. An example of this would be the reported performance in 1553 before the thirteenth Ashikaga Shogūn Yoshiteru 義輝 of the first kabuki 歌舞伎 drama[9] consisting of the plays titled Yoshitsune ki 義經記 (The chronicle of Yoshitsune) and Soga adauchi 曽我仇討 (The revenge of the Soga) as well as others. The screen is not painted in the traditional style of the school Hideyori was trained in and thus cannot be called a Kanō painting. Instead it marks the revival of the depiction of everyday events of the world in which the artist lived.

We would be inaccurate were we to say that the ukiyoe style of painting spread rapidly from Hideyori's screen. On the contrary it was a slow process taking somewhere between fifty to seventy-five years until ukiyoe painting took root sometime during the Kan'ei 寛永 era (1624-1643). In illustrating the development of ukiyoe painting we shall henceforth rely largely on examples in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C.

Iwasa Matabei

Scholars in recent years have tried to solve the mystery of the artist, Iwasa Matabei. During the early 1900's he was

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[9] This performance believed to have been acted and danced by a female called Okuni おくに, and her troupe is reported by Ihara Toshirō 伊原敏郎, Kabuki nempyō 歌舞伎年表 (Chronology of the Kabuki theater), Vol. I, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1956, p. 3.

credited by Japanese and Western scholars alike as the founder of this school. As we have already noted, that is untrue. His place in the chronology, however, continues to be a mystery. The net result of current research is that Matabei is no longer believed to have painted a single ukiyoe. An eminent scholar in this field, Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, reports on this[10] and although he does not accept Matabei as an ukiyoe painter he believes he did produce genre, but these were in the Tosa fashion rather than the contemporary style. This would only be natural for Matabei was trained by Tosa Mitsunori 土佐光則 (1583-1638).[11]

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[10] Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, "Hishikawa Moronobu to Iwasa Matabei" 菱川師宣と岩佐又兵衛 (Hishikawa Moronobu and Iwasa Matabei), Sansai 三彩, No. 66, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan Sha 美術出版社, 1955, pp. 69-71.

[11] Tosa Mitsunori 土佐光則 (1583-1638) is known to have produced paintings that we can call ukiyoe. These bear his seal as well as that of the Edokoro Azukari 畫所預 (Painting Academy) and take the form of a pair of six-fold screens showing scenes of the end of the year and New Year's Day. They have been published in the following work: Watanabe Shōzaburō 渡邊庄三郎, Tosa Mitsunori kenkyū shiryō 土佐光則研究資料 (Research materials on Tosa Mitsunori), Tokyo: Watanabe Shōzaburō 渡邊庄三郎, 1933.

Although recent Japanese scholarship tends to disprove that Matabei was an ukiyoe painter I am reluctant to accept their theory totally which they base on the lack of a single acceptable painting in this style that bears his signature. My argument rests on the logic that Matabei's training was such that he certainly was exposed to what I call ukiyoe. We find him studying with Mitsunori[12] who had painted in this style and it is only logical to conclude that while in his studio he saw work of this nature. We can add to that the theory held by some that he also studied with Kanō Naonobu 狩野直信 (1519-1692)[13] who was a son of Motonobu and a brother of Hideyori, the producer of the first ukiyoe we have cited. In either of these ateliers Matabei would have been able to see genre. Our argument does not rest only on this, however, for in the Atami 熱海 Museum there is a painting that is generally accepted as a self-portrait by the artist. An elderly man is shown seated in a bamboo chair holding a staff much in the manner of a Buddhist arhat.

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[12] This fact is recorded in his biography as reported by Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, Ukiyoe shiden 浮世繪師傳 (Biographies of ukiyoe masters), Tokyo: Watanabe Hanga Ten 渡邊版畫店, 1931, pp. 26-27, as well as by Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, Ukiyoe tokuhon 浮世繪讀本 (Ukiyoe reader), Tokyo: Takamizawa Mokuhan Sha 高見澤木版社, 1939, p. 12.

[13] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., p. 27.

Beside his chair is a low table with an incense burner and books. Behind the chair is a form of lance. The painting is now in very poor condition and it is difficult to evaluate it properly. What strikes me as most important, however, is that it is portraiture and the figure is shown dressed in the costume of the period in which he lived, with a black haori 羽織 (short outer coat) and dotted under robe.[14] The painting is thus the equivalent of the yamatoe portraits of the Kamakura period and in this manner allied to ukiyoe. It is difficult to believe that almost all of the genre paintings with the Katsumochi 勝以 seal are fraudulent other than the portraits of the Thirty-six Master Poets in the haiden 拝殿 (worship hall) of the Tōshōgū 東照宮 Shrine located at Kawagoe 川越 city in Saitama 埼玉 Prefecture. On the back of the portraits of Kakimoto no Hitomarō 柿本人麿, and Nakatsukasa 中務, there is an inscription that helps us to date Matabei's work. It may be read and translated as follows:

"Seventeenth year of Kanei /1604/, sixth month, seventeenth day. Eshi Tosa Mitsunobu Sueryū Iwasa Matabei Jō Katsumochi Zu. 繪師土佐光信末流岩佐又兵衛尉勝以圖

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[14] Japanese costume of all periods is discussed by Ema Tsutomu 江馬務, Zusetsu Nihon fūzoku shi 圖説日本風俗史 (An illustrated history of Japanese costume), Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkō Sha 誠文堂新光社, 1956.

(A picture by the last [painter] in the Tosa Mitsunobu style, Iwasa Matabei of Upper Rank Katsumochi)."[15] The biography of this artist is quite well documented and numerous articles have been published about him.[16] These, however, only lead me further into questioning the advisability of following the Japanese scholars in excepting him from the lists of artists. We find Matabei mentioned as such in eighteenth century works[17] and he is listed in this category in the Ukiyoe ruikō 浮世繪類考

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[15] Yoshida Teruji, 吉田暎二, loc. cit.

[16] Tanaka Kisaku 田中喜作 "Iwasa Matabei ni tsuite" 岩佐又兵衛に就て (Iwasa Matabei), Ukiyoe shi 浮世繪志 (Ukiyoe magazine) Nos. 2 and 3. (Febuary and March 1929), pp. 19-23 and 1-13.

[17] One of the particular works that mentions him as such is the following: Hogan Shunboku Ichiō 法眼春卜一翁, comp., Wakan meiga en 和漢名畫苑 (Garden of noted Japanese and Chinese paintings), Tokyo: Suwara Mohei 須原茂兵衛, 1750, pp. 19-20. On those pages Matabei is referred to as Tosa Matabei 土佐又兵衛 and as ukiyoeshi to yo ni iu ウキヨエシト世ニ云 (referred to in his time as a master of ukiyoe). Also included are paintings in this style by other Tosa masters. An additional entry pointing to Matabei as a master of ukiyoe is to be found in Sakazaki Hiroshi 坂山奇 土旦, Nihon garon taikan 日本畫論大觀 (A great compilation of discussions on Japanese paintings), Tokyo: Arusu アルス, Vol. I., pp. 67-78.

(Notes on ukiyoe) compiled by Santō Kyōden 山東京傳 (who painted under the name of Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演 and lived from 1761 to 1816) and annotated by Shikitei Samba 式亭三馬 (1775-1822). It is believed that the original Ukiyoe ruikō[18] existed only in manuscript form as a series of notes and the exact date of its compilation is unknown although we may surmise that it was in the late 1790's. The supplement to it known as the Furoku 附錄, is said

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On these pages there is printed the text of the ukiyoe master, Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信, titled Gahō saishiki hō 畫法彩色法 (The canons of painting and color), first published in 1738. On pages 72-73 of the forementioned compilation by Sakazaki, Sukenobu discusses yamatoe masters in a section titled "Yamatoe no koto" 和畫え事 (Yamatoe) and mentions three of the greatest masters in this style as being Toba Sōjō Kakuyū 鳥羽僧正覺猷, Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信, and Ukiyoe Matabei 浮世繪又兵衛.

[18] A discussion of the various manuscripts and editions of this work can be found in the preface of the following work: Homma Mitsunori 本間光則 comp., Shin sōho ukiyoe ruikō gisakusha ryakuden hashigaki 新增補浮世繪類考戲作者畧傳はし書 (A new supplement to notes on ukiyoe and an introduction to brief biographies of novelists), Tokyo: Suwara Tetsuji 須原鐵二, 1889, pp. 1-2.

to have been completed in 1800 and the additional supplement called the Tsuikō 追考 was finished in 1802. It was not until about 1818, however, that the three portions were combined into manuscript form in the collection of a man called Ōta Dokusan 太田蜀山[19]. On my recent trip to Japan I was able to locate a number of manuscript editions of this work. It should be remembered that the first printed edition did not appear until 1889. The earliest manuscript edition I found is dated 1831 and was formerly in the Mihara 三原 collection. It is believed to be one of the earliest to have survived and thus gives us a good impression of the understanding of ukiyoe at the start of the nineteenth century when many of the artists were yet alive. This particular manuscript has additional pedigree for although it was copied by an unknown person, called Aitoku 相徳, its history is clear. Seals inside the first page show that it belonged to Darumaya Goichi 達磨屋 五一 (1818-1868), an eccentric Tokyo book dealer and publisher who used the seal Taikadō 待賈堂. Underneath this first seal is one in green which reads Bishokuya Bunko 美織屋文庫. It is uncertain who used this seal but it may also be that of Darumaya Goichi. His seal appears again five pages from the end of the manuscript in green where it may be read Shōzaien Santō Shokai Taikadō 象在緣山東書會待賈堂. The manuscript contains annotations by this man and on the

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[19] Ōta Dokusan 太田蜀山 is another name for the popular writer, Ōta Nampo 太田南畝 (1759-1823).

third page from the end we find the seal of the late ukiyoe artist, Toyoharu Kunichika 豊春國周 (1835-1900), as evidence that the book also belonged to him. The blank last page before the dated inscription carries the seal of the Kase 加瀬 family library. To date I have been unable to trace it. Last but not least are the seals and annotations of Mihara which are scattered throughout the text. It was purchased recently by Nakayama Zenji 中山善次, the owner of the Bunkadō 文華堂 Bookshop in Kyoto and has since come into my possession. On the third and fourth page of text the biography of Iwasa Matabei is given and he is clearly called a painter of ukiyoe. I cannot conceive how this belief, if it be an error, came into being and certainly see no reason why the Japanese scholars, novelists, and ukiyoe masters would have permitted it to continue. We must remember they were much closer to the age and time in which Matabei lived. It will remain for future studies to probe deeper into this problem and attempt a solution.

Before moving on to other early ukiyoe masters a few biographical notes on Matabei may be useful. He was born in 1578 and died on the twenty-second day of the sixth month in 1651 at the age of 73. He was commonly known by the name Katsumochi 勝以 [many scholars read these characters as Shōi]. His father, Araki Murashige 荒木村重, was reported to have been of the Fujiwara 藤原 family and was a Lord of Settsū 摂津

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Province.[20] His particular fiefdom was centered about Itami 伊丹 castle, which had been awarded to him by the great military ruler, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長, for meritorious service. During the eleventh month of 1579, however, Araki Murashige disobeyed Nobunaga and his castle was wrested from him by force. He fled and according to one report is said to have retired from worldly affairs and to have wandered about central Japan. Another report claims that he committed suicide. His son, Katsumochi, was but about two years old when this occurred, and his wet nurse fled with him to a subsidiary temple of the Kyōto Nishi Hongan-ji 西本願寺, in order to escape Nobunaga's wrath. They lived in great fear there and at that time it is believed his family name was set aside and that of Iwasa 岩佐 adopted from either his nurse or mother.

After Nobunaga died, Katsumochi served one of his sons, Oda Nobuo 織田信雄, who lived from 1558 to 1630. He, however, soon resigned from this position and went to live in Echizen 越前, at Fukui 福井. It was here that he first began to paint under the patronage of the Lord of Fukui, Matsudaira Tadamasa 松平忠昌, and although the date is uncertain it is roughly stated as having happened between 1615 and 1643. His skill in painting became known throughout the land and he was summoned to the court of the

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[20] Old time Settsu 攝津 Province encompasses much of the area that is now Ōsaka 大阪, as well as parts of Hyōgo 兵庫 Prefecture.

Shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光,(1603-1651), in Edo. There he received numerous commissions and remained in that city for many years. More and more effort was devoted to his painting and upon reaching old age he produced a self portrait to serve as a remembrance for his wife and children. As he was especially favored by the Lord of Fukui, his wife and children remained there and it was his fervent wish to return home to them. He, however, died in Edo.

Matabei was the familiar name of this man, Katsumochi, and as previously mentioned both Tosa and Kanō elements enter into his art style. In addition to the names already listed he is said to have used the names Shigesato 重郷, Kyūzō 久蔵, and Naizen 内膳, as a retainer of his father and to have at one time had the pseudonymn Kazuō 一翁. As is common with ukiyoe artists but little is really known of his life.[21]

There is probably no large collection of ukiyoe paintings that does not contain a number of works traditionally ascribed to Matabei. Until about 1935 it was standard practice to label all early ukiyoe that could not be otherwise identified, Matabei or style of Matabei. In the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. there are numerous specimens with this attribution. Most of these are genre scenes or figure paintings of comtemporary actors and dancers. The

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[21] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, Ukiyoe shiden 浮世絵師傳 (Biographies of ukiyoe masters), Tokyo: Watanabe Hanga Ten 渡邊版畫店, 1931, pp. 26-27.

portrait of a young girl performing a dance (Plate XII), in the Freer Gallery of Art,[22] is typical of this variety. Although this painting is now mounted in the form of a single panel it apparently was originally part of a screen or a sliding door panel. It closely resembles the small six-fold screen depicting six dancers dated seventeenth century in the collection of the Municipality of Kyoto. The figure of the girl is placed on a gold leaf background. There is no indication of space and the single dimensionality which we find so dominant in the paintings and prints produced by the ukiyoe masters makes the figure stand out as a decorative pattern. The costume and hair style as well as the general treatment of the stance and drapery convey to us without the need of such props as an artist's signature or seal that this also is a seventeenth century painting. There is a monumentality and dignity imparted to the dancer who has but a few moments to spend upon the stage. A careful examination of the painting reveals to us some important features which we have already noted in our discussion of the origin of ukiyoe. We find traces of Kanō and Tosa painting present. The colors and type of pigments are

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[22] This painting is catalogued in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, as 05.96. A recent remounting of this painting has revealed that although the original background was also of gold leaf the present one is of a later date. The original was damaged and the figure salvaged and set against a new one. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts, also has a fine group of portraits of dancers that closely resemble this one.

typical of both of these schools as is the careful concern given by the artist to the painting of the floral details on the fan. Although the performer appears to be suspended against the gold leaf background one can almost sense the slow rhythmic movement of the dance. This ability to impart the breath of life and action to a figure painted in a single dimension was derived from the original yamatoe masters and is common to most great ukiyoe. To really understand the early work of the school we must leave the fascinating problem of Matabei behind and turn our attention to an examination of the many works by unidentified artists.

Unknown Painters

The majority of the early ukiyoe paintings are unsigned and the artists who produced them are unknown. Naturally as in everything there are exceptions to the rule and we need but turn to the previously cited maple viewing screen by Kanō Hideyori[23] for an example. The fact remains, however, that the majority of the early paintings fall into the "artist unknown" category . The reason for this appears to be based on a fear held by artists of the recognized ateliers to place their names on paintings that varied from their normally accepted or the academic style. We must remember that Japan in the late sixteenth century still maintained a feudalistic social structure that included the world of art. To step away from the norm would have meant the loss of recognition and position. We might compare it to expulsion from a guild

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[23] See Plate IX.

thus placing oneself in Coventry or, in current society, to being ousted from a union. It was only in the instance of the most noted figures working in the realm of painting and in all likelihood commissioned by a patron of high social or ecomonic status that we find this unwritten rule flaunted and the signature added.

The themes that the early ukiyoe artist turned to are diverse. One of the subjects was that of the Shokunin Zukushi 職人盡 (Various Professions). The artists selected a number of the most common professions and portrayed them usually on sheets of paper about fifteen inches wide and twenty-one inches high. These in turn were originally believed to have been mounted in album form; however, some today have ended up mounted on pairs of six-fold screens or on panels. The number of occupations shown varies although at times twenty-four are represented.[24] The prototype for this theme can be found in the Shokunin Zukushi handscrolls of the Kamakura period[25] which continued to be popular during the

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[24] The pair of six-fold screens of the Various Professions by Kanō Yoshinobu 狩野吉信 (1552-1640), in the collection of the Kita-in 喜多院, at Kawagoe 川越 in Saitama 埼玉. Prefecture has twenty-four such scenes pasted upon it.

[25] Okudaira Hideo 奥平英雄, Emaki 繪巻 (Picture scrolls), Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan Sha 美術出版社, 1956 p. 32, figure 9.

Muromachi or Ashikaga period.[26] They can thus be traced directly back to the yamatoe. Occupations such as the making of fans, swords, bows and arrows, and lances, as well as weaving, dyeing and carpentry are all represented. Those of the Momoyama period that we term ukiyoe differ from the prototypes. Instead of but a single figure or possibly two being shown with the tools of the profession about them, a number of figures are represented usually on a smaller scale and these are placed in proximity to their workshop. In the pre-ukiyoe paintings this was generally lacking. These paintings have become quite rare but the author was fortunate in being able to purchase one that portrays a Shinto shrine architect known in Japan as a Miyazukuri 宮造 (Plate XIII). It is typical of this variety of painting. The interior of the busy workshop of the architect is shown. He is seated on a straw mat to the left of the painting. His white beard and hair show him to be a gentleman of some age and in his left hand he holds a plank along which he is sighting. To the rear of the architect there is a black and white cross-section plan of the shrine he is building and beside that there is a young boy leaning on some boxes, sound asleep. In the foreground a carpenter and his young apprentice,

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[26] A good Muromachi period specimen of the Shokuhin Zukushi handscroll is to be found in the Freer Gallery of Art at Washington, D. C. under registration number 06.4. This painting was traditionally attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信, although the attribution cannot be verified.

who hold a plumb line, squat as they mark off some timber while in the direct center a carpenter stripped to the waist raises his adze and chips away at a beam. Immediately to the left of this the artist painted a rear view of a girl carrying a bucket of water and balancing a tray of lunch boxes on her head. She arrives to interrupt the work day and sets the time of the scene. Against the side walls of the architect's shop are stacked boards, and its simple planked roof is held in place by branches of trees tied together. Topping the whole scene are the flowering limbs of a kiri 桐 (Paulownia imperialis) tree.

This simple painting by an unknown artist tells us what we are to expect in the early ukiyoe. The features are as follows:

1. Everyday and festival scenes are shown.

2. Groups, or at times single monumental figures, dominate the scene, and the landscape or setting serves but as a foil for them.

3. The figures are shown in contemporary dress and are represented in action.

4. There is a naturalism of action and man's weakness as well as his conquests are depicted. [An example of this would be the sleeping boy in the Shokunin Zukushi-Miyazukuri painting].

5. Brilliant colors and heavy applications of pigments were used.

6. There was an attempt to represent that which was new and fashionable and appealed to the urban population

centers such as Kyōto, Naniwa 難波,[27] Sakai 堺,[28] and the rapidly developing Edo 江戸 /Tokyo/.

7. There was a concern shown by the artists for so called "western type" single point perspective although most often it was misunderstood.

One of the frequently repeated themes portrayed by the ukiyoe artist from the inception of this school of painting, until it became absorbed by modern art movements, was the representation of the courtesan and geisha either in groups or alone. The lives of these two classes and their patrons are fully documented by both the paintings and the prints. We may candidly and unreservedly state that never to our knowledge in the history of art has the life of a profession been singled out and so fully portrayed. The fact that many of the ukiyoe paintings and prints are erotic or have suggestive overtones has often led to their suppression and has left us with but a partial view of the total school. This is to be

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[27] Naniwa 難波, was the name supposedly given by the Emperor Jimmu 神武天皇, who was the founder of the present reigning dynasty and is traditionally said to have reigned from 660-585 B. C., to the region encompassing the present day city of Ōsaka.

[28] Sakai 堺, was a major port and commercial center of Japan during the Muromachi period and continued in importance into the Momoyama and early Edo periods.

greatly regretted. We shall not go into a lengthy discussion of this problem at present; however, we must be made cognizant of the fact and not close our eyes to the great number of erotic ukiyoe.

It is especially important to note how many of the early paintings by unidentified masters portrayed courtesans and prostitutes. To understand this phenomenon we need but turn back to the events that had transpired in the late Momoyama period. There was an economic boom in middle class society whereas most of the former top bracket income class was sorely pressed by the financial demands of the military rulers and the expanding merchant class and money lenders. The whole social structure of Japan was undergoing change and it was the pleasures of the nouveau riche that came to be portrayed. They were the people who were paying for the paintings and, thus, they at times directly and often indirectly dictated the subject matter.

Courtesans of a rather low status[29] are shown at their house

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[29] There was a very definite organization of courtesans into a hierarchy with the tayū 太夫, at the top and the hashi-jōro 端女郎, at the bottom. Between these two extremes there were a number of classes. These women were also called keisei 傾城, which when literally translated means destroyers of castles. This harks back to the Chinese use of the term for women like the notorious Yang Kuei-fei. The Japanese of this period fully knew the power that these women of the demimonde could muster. Research material on them can be found in Sobu Rokurō 藪武緑郎, Yoshiwara fūzoku shiryō 吉原風俗資料

of entertainment on a six-fold screen painting in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate XIV).[30] Eight women are represented; seven of them being adults and one an attentant page, commonly called a kamuro 禿. The women are painted in monumental form and save for their dress and hair styling, there is little to suggest their social position. Most of them wear their hair bound up and rising as a knot at the back of the head. This particular type of hair styling is classified by Tsutomu Ema 務 江馬, as being of Chinese origin and belongs to a group called karawa唐輪 (Chinese ring).[31] It is also often called Hyōgo mage 兵庫髷

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(Materials on customs and manners of the Yoshiwara), Tokyo: Taiyō Sha Shoten 太洋社書店, 1930 and J. E. De Becker, The nightless city, London: Probsthain & Co., [1905]. Reports on the early Kyoto courtesan areas can be found in an article by Nakagawa Tokuemon 中川德右衛門, "Shimabara no rekishi to nenchū gyōji" 島原の歷史と年中行事 (The history and annual calendar of events of the Shimabara), Yamato bunka 大和文華 (Japanese culture), no.XIII, Osaka: Yamato Bunka Kan 大和文華館, March 1954, pp. 26-30, as well as in numerous other books and journals.

[30] This painting has the Freer Gallery registration number 01.173.

[31] Ema Tsutomu 江馬務, Nihon keppatsu zenshi日本結髮全史 (A history of Japanese hairdressing), Tokyo: Ritsumeikan Shuppan Bu 立命館出版部, 1936, pp. 100-102.

(Hyōgo chignon)[32] after the region of Japan in which it was most in vogue during the later half of the seventeenth century. The piling of the hair on top of the head and the twisting of it into a chignon marked a sharp break away from the hair styling of the previous era. Like a beacon it stands out as a sign of the garish profession practiced by these women. It is a typical symbol of the early Edo period and the slow yet victorious struggle on the part of the common man to break with tradition even in terms of style. These prostitutes very closely resemble those seen in the noted kakemono of the bath house prostitutes called Yuna 湯女, in the collection of the Atami Art Museum 熱海美術館. The bow-like stance of two of the figures with the abdomen pushed foward is another typical feature of early ukiyoe figure painting. The obi 帯 (sash) is wound about low on the waist, a fashion feature of the period, as are the brightly patterned kimonos. The girls are shown practicing the samisen, reading letters, and leisurely chatting and smoking.

The monumental representation of the courtesans is much like the often used theme relied upon by Kanō artists of depicting the life of the noted eighth century concubine of the Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 Emperor, Yang Kuei-fei 楊貴妃. The figures dominate the scene but in contrast to the former

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[32] Satō Tsurukichi 佐藤鶴吉, Genroku bungaku jiten 元禄文學辭典 (Dictionary of Genroku literature), Tokyo: Shinchō Sha 新潮社, 1944, p. 529.

Imperial concubine these are women of the lowest level. The setting and treatment of the perspective leads us directly to the Tosa school and back beyond that to the yamatoe. The diagonals of the wall partitions are intersected by the horizontals of the floor and the verticals of the figures. The fusuma 襖 (sliding-doors) are decorated with a popular Momoyama and early Edo theme of Mount Fuji and its approaches surrounded by clouds. This theme in art was made extremely popular by the Tales of Ise. The artist, however, left us with no trace of his identity.

Exterior scenes and groups of people were another popular theme of the early ukiyoe master. Courtesans with their kamuro and two samurai under a wistaria vine supported by a bamboo trellis are the subject of a two-fold screen in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate XV).[33] The dress and stance of the women are very much like that of the previously discussed painting and indicate that they are of the same period.[34] The two samurai are taller than the courtesans and their slender proportions in contrast with their almost miniature heads is puzzling. The artist appears to have been more familiar with the female figure for the proportions here are

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[33] The Freer Gallery of Art registration number for this painting is 02.242.

[34] Although it is impossible to give an exact dating these paintings in all likelihood were executed sometime between the start of the Kan'ei 寛永 era, 1624, and the close of the Kambun 寛文 era, 1673.

closer in harmony with nature. When this painting was originally purchased by Mr. Charles L. Freer in 1902 it was attributed to the hand of Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590). We know from Chapter I and the earlier portion of this chapter that the Kanō artists were closely related to the development of ukiyoe. It is impossible, however, to affirm the attribution. We can only speculate and report that the trellis and wistaria are quite obviously the product of an artist trained in the Kanō tradition. The figures are flat and are completely lacking in shading.

Much more in the style of Kanō Eitoku is a fragment from a Rakuchū Rakugai 洛中洛外 (Scenes Inside and Outside of Kyoto) screen in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate XVI).[35] There is a pair of screens of this variety in the collection of Uesugi Takaaki 上杉隆憲, of Yamagata 山形 Prefecture[36] bearing the seals of Eitoku. The Freer fragment is unsigned. Rakuchū Rakugai screens of this type performed the service of being panoramic maps of the city of Kyoto and became one of

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[35] This fragment now mounted in panel form has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.352.

[36] A portion of this screen was published in the exhibition catalogue of the Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京國立博物館 (Tokyo National Museum), Kinsei shoki fūzokue ten zuroku 近世初期風俗画展図録 (Japanese genre painting of the "early modern" periods), Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 國立博物館, 1957, no. 3.

the favored subjects of the early ukiyoe artist. They usually portrayed on the right hand screen an area extending from the heart of the city across the Kamo 加茂 River and up to Higashiyama 東山 in the East. The left hand screen covered the city from its center to the Horikawa 堀川 canal and the suburbs to the West. They are not only diagrams of the city but also include the people of the metropolis engaged in all of their favorite pastimes and festivals such as that of the Gion 祇園. In addition they are usually representative of the four seasons all intermingled.

The fragment from one of the Rakuchū Rakugai Screens in the Freer Gallery shows the Daibutsuden 大佛殿 (Great Buddha Hall) of the Hōkōji 方廣寺 Temple in Kyoto.[37] The history of this temple and the image help us to date the painting. The compound is located in Shimokyō-ku 下京区, at Chayamachi 茶屋町, and is dedicated to the Tendai 天台 Sect of Buddhism. It was in 1586 that the hall and a large wooden image were first completed; however, in 1596 these were destroyed by an earthquake. We can therefore assume that it was unlikely that Eitoku painted this work as he died in

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[37] The history of the Hōkōji 方廣寺 Temple and the Daibutsuden 大佛殿 (Great Buddha Hall) are briefly recorded in the following work: Yashiro Kuniharu 八代國治, Hayakawa Junsaburō 早川純三郎, and Inobe Shigeo 井野邊茂雄, ed., Kokushi daijiten 國史大辭典 (National historical dictionary), Vol. IV, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1929 reprint, p. 1990.

1590, four years after the hall and image were completed. Its relationship to him rests on his known painting of a similar theme; however, the Freer work is inferior and not the product of a well trained artist. The next reconstruction of the temple and image were undertaken by Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼(1593-1615), in the year 1602 but the undertaking was plagued with bad luck and destroyed by fire. The hair style of the figures represented in the painting indicate that it is not of that date. The third rebuilding started in 1610 and once again was under Hideyori's direction. It was completed in 1612. Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542-1616), the Shogun, had suggested the use of bronze instead of wood for the image of Buddha and this was incorporated into the plan. The Tokugawa family, however, found fault with an inscription placed on a large bell before the hall and the new image was never dedicated. This incident served as an excuse for the Tokugawas to move forward and destroy their Toyotomi rivals in a battle that concluded with the destruction of Ōsaka castle in 1615 and the death of Hideyori. An earthquake in 1625 again razed both the hall and the image. We may conclude that it was after this third rebuilding and prior to its destruction that the Freer fragment was painted for the artists of the Rakuchū Rakugai screens included only structures that were standing and not ruins. In the period that followed, the building was reconstructed but its form altered as did the hair styles and kimono patterns of the people. When we combine these facts with the additional dating clue of the technique

of outlining the clouds with dots and lines of built-up gesso prior to painting them gold we must concur in the 1610 to 1625 date.

Picnic parties to view either the maples or cherry blossoms were another favorite theme of the early ukiyoe artist. There was probably no more joyous event in the life of the common man than the blossoming of the cherry trees for then he knew that the hard, cold winter was over. He celebrated then much as he does today with an excursion to the flowering grove where he ate, drank, sang, and danced. Four unsigned panels in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate XVII)[38] show this event as experienced by the people in the early Edo period (1600-1704). These picnic paintings illustrate a rapidly developing trend of ukiyoe, namely to place groups of people in circles. Thus, the group seated on carpets form one ring, those dancing compose another, and so on. Probably the most outstanding specimens showing the use of this device are the pair of screens depicting the festival at the Hōkoku Shrine in the collection of the Hōkoku Shrine in Kyoto. Groups of dancers and revelers are shown across the whole surface of the screen in swirling circles.

The landscape in the Freer picnic paintings is secondary to the figures. This is another feature common to early ukiyoe

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[38] The design of these four panels connect, and in all likelihood, were at one time part of a larger composition. They bear the Freer Gallery registration numbers 04.53 to 04.56, inclusive.

of the period. If we examine these paintings even more carefully, we come upon another tendency that was soon to develop in the work of the masters of this school. It is the reworking and repetition of the same basic theme over and over again with but minor alteration. The artists thus were guilty of the very thing they criticized in the academic style. The figures of the samurai and young men flirting with the girls beside the pine trees, those of a man with his hands about the neck and tucked into the robe of another, one reading a poem, and one with his sleeve before his face snickering, are to be found again in a fan painting mounted with a group of other fans in the Inoue 井上 Collection.[39]

Although the Freer paintings originally had an attribution to Kanō Sanraku 狩野 山樂 (1559-1635)[40] it would be

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[39] A detail of this painting in the collection of Inoue Tatsukurō 井上辰九郎, is to be found in the following work: Tanaka Kisaku 田中喜作, and Kishida Ryūsei 岸田劉生 ed., Shoki ukiyoe shūhō 初期浮世繪聚芳 (Early ukiyoe paintings), Tokyo: Tanrokudō 丹緑堂, 1927, Plate 62.

[40] Kanō Sanraku 狩野 山樂, was born in 1559 and died in 1635. He was a pupil of Eitoku 永徳 (1543-1590) who was the son of Shōei 松榮 (1519-1592), more commonly known to us as Naonobu 直信, who in turn was the son of Motonobu 元信 (1476-1559), the second great Kanō master. Sanraku was adopted by his teacher and succeeded to carry on the family tradition in Kyoto after the other

very difficult to verify for there is no evidence in the form of a seal or signature. We would have to rely on style, and there is not sufficient known of Sanraku's painting in this manner to come to any conclusion. Thus, the paintings remain in the category of unidentified early ukiyoe.

We have already mentioned the many portraits of dancers (Plate XII) that constitute a large portion of the early unsigned paintings. It is in the nature of much of the festival dancing in Japan that we find the secret of compositions built up of circles of people. A great majority of the dances were what we would term circle dances.[41] The musicians would be seated in the center while the performers rotated around them. The dances of the Bon 盆 Festival[42] are typical of this. Another example of the placement of the figures in circles or rings can be seen in a very unusual two-fold screen depicting

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branches had moved to Edo. He served Hideyoshi 秀吉 as an artist and was with little doubt exposed to genre painting for his teacher clearly produced them. We, however, know of no signed work in the ukiyoe manner by his hand.

[41] A discussion of Japanese dancing can be found in Makoto Sugiyama and Kanjūrō Fujima, An outline history of the Japanese dance, Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1937.

[42] The Bon 盆 Festival, or Festival of Lights, is dedicated to the souls of the departed and it usually is celebrated on July 15 in most areas of Japan. Festive dances are performed and the people rejoice over the liberation of the departed souls from the torments of Buddhist Hell.

wrestlers (Plate XVIII).[43] The subject matter of sumō 相撲 wrestling[44] is rarely seen in Japanese painting. The screen is unsigned and the artist is unknown although like so much of the early work, it was originally attributed to the brush of Iwasa Matabei. The composition is divided by horizontal bands to give some indication of perspective. The wrestlers appear to be training in a school and are engaged in practice matches. A referee is present in the center foreground and on each side of him wrestlers are engaged in contests. Further up in the composition and just in front of the verandah of a house two youths are shown mimicking the antics of their elders while on the far right three other wrestlers sit on the ground, rest, and await their turn in the ring. The arrangement of the referee, four contestants and two youths form a circle.

An unusual feature of this painting is that there is a contrast of light and dark complexion and breechcloth in each competing pair of figures. The artist appears to have been conscious of the limitations of Japanese perspective for his use of the contrasting complexions make the wrestling figures stand out in dimension and as individuals. They

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[43] This painting is also in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art and has the registration number 03.100.

[44] The history of wrestling in Japan, including its portrayal in the arts, has been documented by Yokoyama Kendō 横山健堂, Nihon sumō shi 日本相撲史 (A history of Japanese wrestling), Tokyo: Fuzambō 富山房, 1943.

are shown in violent action and strain to overpower their opponents. Seated in the rooms behind the verandah that horizontally divides the composition are observers. On the right an old man, a youth and a child are watching the practice contests while on the left two men peek from behind a slightly opened sliding panel to catch a glimpse of the scene. The unusual quality of this painting leads us to speculate as to whether or not it might at one time have been part of a larger screen or set ofsliding door panels. It is an unique painting in the category of unsigned early ukiyoe of the seventeenth century.

No treatise on ukiyoe would be complete without the inclusion of the Hikone Byōbu 彦根屏風 (Hikone Screen).[45] This work by an unknown artist illustrates again the principle of seventeenth century composition used by this school that subordinates the setting to the figures. It is an interior scene; however, the only thing to suggest this is the presence of a six-fold screen. In it, fifteen figures and a dog are represented in attitudes of relaxation. An elderly

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[45] The "so called" Hikone Byōbu 彦根屏風 (Hikone Screen) is a registered National Treasure in Japan and is currently in the collection of Ii Naoyoshi井伊直愛. It dates from the 1630's and has been published in almost every major work on ukiyoe. A color reproduction of it is published by Kishida Ryūsei 岸田劉生, Shoki nikuhitsu ukiyoe 初期肉筆浮世繪 (Early ukiyoe painting), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1926, Pl. 26.

man plays a samisen and two younger girls accompany him. A group is engaged in a game of shōgi 將棋 [a game similar to backgammon] while another group appears to be reading letters and one young girl either paints or pens a poem. On the far right, a young dandy leans on his sword and flirts with two girls. The importance of this painting to the history of ukiyoe rests not only on its place in the chronology, ca. 1630, but on the number of paintings that stem from this basic design.[46] Two of these especially attract our attention. One is in the collection of Hosomi Ryōichi 細田見亮市,[47] and the other in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate XIX).

Professor Narazaki Muneshige 楢山崎宗重, has recently concluded research on the Hikone Byōbu and published his findings in an article in Kokka magazine.[48] It is his opinion that this screen is a product of the brush of Sumiyoshi Hiromichi 住吉廣通 (1599-1670) who is more often

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[46] The theme suggests the many paintings of the Four Accomplishments or Arts known in Japanese as Kinki Shoga 琴棋書畫 (Music, games, calligraphy, painting).

[47] This painting has the Freer Gallery registration number 03.208.

[48] Narazaki Muneshige 楢山崎宗重, "Hikone Byōbu to sono ruiji sakuhin ni tsuite" 彦根屏風とその類似作品に就て (The Hikone Screen and works that resemble it), Kokka 國華, No. 763, Oct. 1955, Tokyo: Kokka Sha 國華社, 1955, pp. 321-328.

referred to by his name as a priest, Jokei 如慶. He was trained in the Tosa style, but left Kyoto to go to Edo where he abandoned the court tradition to paint for the Shōgun.[49] In the same article, Professor Narazaki comments on the Freer Gallery's small six-fold screen. He also discusses the Hosomi screen and relates the designs. I have recently been able to see all three of these paintings, and my conclusions are as follows: First, the Hikone Byōbu is the original design as stated by Professor Narazaki and may well be the work of Jokei. Second, the Hosomi screen is derived from the Hikone design and is later in date, but original. Third, the Freer Gallery screen is the same design as the Hosomi example; however, at some time during remounting the arrangement of the panels was changed and the three on the left should be advanced to follow the three now on the right. A measurement and careful examination of each panel revealed this to be true. Fourth, the Freer Gallery screen may be a copy and not an original. I do not condemn the painting, but find inconsistencies about it. The gold leaf background, when compared with the other two, is surprisingly fresh as are all the pigments. The figures are quite beautifully and meticulously executed almost to the

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[49] Jokei 如慶, was the father of Sumiyoshi Hirozumi 住吉廣澄 (1631-1705) who, as a priest, was called Gukei 具慶, and is noted for the many makimono he painted of scenes in and about Kyoto. A superb specimen can be seen in the collection of the Nara National Museum. It is an ukiyoe. His father also appears to have been well versed in this subject matter.

point where one suspects the hand of a superb copyist. Thus, although I do not reject the Freer Gallery screen, I feel that some cloud obscures its originality and that it must be left to further research to lift this cloud. I hope it will be possible in the near future. Fifth, the Freer Gallery and Hosomi screens each contain only twelve figures in contrast to the fifteen of the Hikone Byōbu, and only the art of music is shown. The same elderly gentleman is seated before an Unkoku school suiboku screen playing a samisen while two girls accompany him.

Kanō Hideyori was the painter of the first ukiyoe in our use of the term and the subject he painted was a maple viewing picnic. The tradition he helped establish lived on as did the theme, but the latter had undergone some change. A Maple Viewing Party (Plate XX) is the subject of a two-fold screen in the Freer Gallery of Art[50] and in it we can see the variation produced by an unknown artist after the passage of some thirty to fifty years. In Hideyori's painting only a small and easily countable group of quiet picnickers appear. The Freer Gallery painting, however, shows a large group of revelers. There is little doubt that the screen is a fragment of a bigger composition which, in turn, would only increase the overall throng. The simplicity of the earlier work is lost, and the quiet bucolic scene is dispelled and now replaced with one of raucous laughter and .

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[50] The two-fold screen has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 17.203.

inebriation. Courtesans stroll brazenly on the street, one samurai embraces a girl as others and their retainers appraise them. Behind a wind curtain a picnic party has degenerated. One elderly gentleman of massive proportion, and obviously inebriated, has toppled over and rests his head in the lap of one courtesan who tugs at his ear and a second courtesan pulls on his arm. Another group of picnickers is busy at the game board while others practice the shakuhachi 尺八 (a five-holed bamboo flute) and peer out from under the wind curtain to flirt with the passing parade of courtesans and prostitutes. The dress, hair styles, kimono patterns, and treatment of both the figures and the composition make this painting a product of the end of the Kanei period, thus the early 1640's.

Parties and festive occasions continued to occupy the early artists. Although most of their works are unsigned, one feels a personal contact with the artist. He has been able to capture the life of his age much as a candid camera would do today, and we feel as though we are peering through such a lens. The Edo period as we have earlier stated, was one of reaction against the staid and formalized life of the past. The role of man in everyday society was expanding. A six-fold screen in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate XXI)[51] depicts a party at one of the houses of entertainment and illustrates this point. It is a documentary painting telling us of this

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[51] The painting bears the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 07.135.

facet of Japanese life in the mid-seventeenth century. It not only gives us a fairly good idea of the variety of entertainment available, but includes everything from the mores to the type of popular architecture. The house of entertainment or ill-repute, regardless of how we select to call it, was a very important factor in Japanese life. On such a screen all of the details of such an establishment are shown save for those that were censored by a moral and legal code.[52] The Freer Gallery screen is a fine specimen of genre painting and is only one of a great number of similar screens in other collections. A large house of entertainment is shown with porters waiting outside. On a rear outside verandah a cook purchases some ducks. The scene within the large and sprawling two-storey house is one of great frivolity. The various rooms are connected by verandahs and in each, a party is in full swing. In the central room of the first floor a rather stout man who much resembles the one in the previous painting (Plate XX) has fallen over in a drunken state. A large sake bowl is held over his head by one of the girls who also tickles his nose with a feather. The house is set out on the edge of a small pond or river and resembles the style of architecture so popular in the villas of the latter half of

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[52] The whole question of censorship of ukiyoe, especially of the illustrated books, is taken up by Miyatake Gaikotsu 宮武外骨, Hikka shi 筆禍史 (A history of injurious painting [forbidden art]), Ōsaka: Gazoku Bunko 雅俗文庫, 1910.

the Fujiwara period commonly called shindenzukuri 寝殿造.[53]

From all the foregoing we can conclude that the screen could have been painted any time from the later portion of the Kanei era, 1640, to the end of the Kanbun era, 1672. The top of the painting is wreathed with the usual clouds and the colors used by the artist, as in all ukiyoe, are showy and brilliant though not harsh or unpleasant to the eye. The contrasts and balance achieved by the ukiyoe painters in the selection of their palettes was daring and refreshing. Throughout the history of the school, this axiom held fast.

The passage of time brought some change, but not a great deal to the early unsigned ukiyoe. In order to date these we must turn to costume or hair details as well as to the slight changes that occurred in composition. The next major period of influence was the Genroku 元禄 (1688-1703). It marked the turn of a century. Kimono patterns became bolder and sleeves were shortened and the edges rounded.[54] In addition to this, the uchikake 裲襠 (a long robe) began to be worn as an outer and not an undergarment. It was a golden age in

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[53] Shindenzukuri 寝殿造, is literally translatable as "sleeping chamber construction". Architecture of this variety involved the use of rooms connected by verandahs and were usually placed beside an artificial pond or stream with one chamber or pavilion set out on the water or opposite bank.

[54] Ema Tsutomu 江馬務, Zusetsu Nihon fūzoku shi 圖說日本風俗史 (Illustrated history of Japanese costume), Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkō Sha 誠文堂新光社, 1956.

which theatre and the arts flourished.

A pair of small screens in the Freer Gallery of Art depicting A Festival at the Sumiyoshi Shrine in Osaka Plates XXII-XXIII)[55] is typical of Genroku art. This shrine is a very popular and ancient Shinto center of worship. It is believed to have been founded by the Empress Jingō 神功, who is traditionally said to have reigned from A. D. 201 to 269. Her spirit under the name of Okinaga Tarashi Hime no Mikoto 息長帯姫命[56] is one of the four worshipped at the shrine. The most notable feature of the shrine is an arched bridge which was ordered constructed during the Keichō 慶長 era (1596-1614) by Yodogimi 淀君 (1569-1615) who was the consort of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Three major festivals are held at the shrine on June 30, August 1, and October 17 respectively. In the past, the site was known as a famous picnic grove as it was located along the waterfront and had many pine and camphor trees. It is this location that is represented in the Freer Gallery paintings. The arched bridge appears prominently in the right-hand screen.

The genre scenes are filled with the vigor of the Genroku

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[55] The Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers for this unsigned pair of screens is 00.25 and 00.26, respectively.

[56] The three other deities of the Sumiyoshi 住吉 Shrine are Kamitsutsu no O no Mikoto 上筒男命, Nakatsutsu no O no Mikoto 中筒男命, and Sokotsutsu no O no Mikoto 底筒男命. All of these are worshipped as protectors of seafarers.

which theatre and the arts flourished.

A pair of small screens in the Freer Gallery of Art depicting A Festival at the Sumiyoshi Shrine in Osaka (Plates XXII-XXIII)[55] is typical of Genroku art. This shrine is a very popular and ancient Shinto center of worship. It is believed to have been founded by the Empress Jingō 神功, who is traditionally said to have reigned from A. D. 201 to 269. Her spirit under the name of Okinaga Tarashi Hime no Mikoto 息長帶姬命[56] is one of the four worshipped at the shrine. The most notable feature of the shrine is an arched bridge which was ordered constructed during the Keichō 慶長 era (1596-1614) by Yodogimi 淀君 (1569-1615) who was the consort of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Three major festivals are held at the shrine on June 30, August 1, and October 17 respectively. In the past, the site was known as a famous picnic grove as it was located along the waterfront and had many pine and camphor trees. It is this location that is represented in the Freer Gallery paintings. The arched bridge appears prominently in the right-hand screen.

The genre scenes are filled with the vigor of the Genroku

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[55] The Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers for this unsigned pair of screens is 00.25 and 00.26, respectively.

[56] The three other deities of the Sumiyoshi 住吉 Shrine are Kamitsutsu no O no Mikoto 上筒男命, Nakatsutsu no O no Mikoto 中筒男命, and Sokotsutsu no O no Mikoto 底筒男命. All of these are worshipped as protectors of seafarers.

period. In addition to the usual groups of courtesans and townsfolk who promenade, dance and sing, a number of other events are documented which are not as often found in paintings. The most unusual is a nun painted in the right-hand portion of the right screen. She is seated before a very peculiar painting, and is preaching to a group of women who have gathered in a circle about her. The painting that she is explaining shows the sun and the moon, the ages of man from birth to death, judgment by the King of Hell and his final disposition to either Hell or Paradise. This is the only example of this variety of mandala that I know to exist. The nun points to the character for heart in the center of the mandala, and is obviously advising her audience to be of good heart and mend their ways for the road of life cannot be escaped and the wages of sin lead but to Hell. By her side a young attendant sits and holds in his hand a Buddhist censer in which to collect alms.

The backgrounds of the screens contain boating scenes with excursion boats and shell and clam gatherers along the shore. These themes became very popular with the artist in later periods. On the upper portion of the left screen, a pleasant scene is enacted with a group of picnickers stopped before a refreshment stand while a woman prepares tea for them. The patterns of the uchikake are bold and more varied than those of the previous eras and the sleeves are shorter and in Genroku fashion. The hair of the girls is styled in the popular Hyōgo mage form. This is an additional aid to us in identifying the painting for that variety of hairdress was

particularly popular in the Ōsaka-Kyōto region. One feature of the artist's technique that may some day assist us in finding his identity is his handling of the clouds. He does not treat them as fluffy edged masses in the manner of the other artists, but varies their form. They commence from a band at the top and snake their way in narrow, smooth edged clusters toward the center and bottom of the composition. Only upon arrival at these destinations do their edges puff out and become fluffy. The composition is traversed by them and they lead us to concentrate on the festival and picnic scene and bind the whole work together at top and bottom in a truly "floating world".

The ukiyoe in the Genroku period reached a state of maturity. It became the usual rather than the unusual. More and more artists directed their efforts to producing paintings in this style and they lost the fear and hesitancy of identifying themselves and commenced signing their works. Dawn had come and the first hours of the day were breaking.

## III. HISHIKAWA MORONOBU

### Moronobu's Biography

During the Kanbei and through the Genroku eras, as we have already noted in the previous chapters, a change occurred in Japan. It was not sudden nor was it radical. In the arts it was felt as a progressive development of the trend towards secularization and popularization which had commenced in the Momoyama period. The course of fashion and taste as in the Western world periodically altered. The common man awakened and was coming of age. Japan is a land in which earthquakes are not rare and in a similar manner the upheaval of the social structure reverberated throughout the land. It was during this turbulent period of comparative peace[1] that a child was born who became an early pioneer of the ukiyoe style and devoted the greater portion of his life to this work. He is commonly known to us as Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣.[2]

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[1] By way of explanation, I wish to point out that the major internecine wars had ceased and that the turbulence was a boom which accompanied the growth of Edo as the greatest city of the land. Naturally, all family rivalry did not cease at once, but compared to the see-sawing of the past, things had stabilized. All the Western historians, such as Sir George Sansom, Captain Frank Brinkley and George Murdoch, as well as scores of Japanese have documented this period.

[2] Any researcher studying ukiyoe comes upon a problem that often defies solution. It occurs time and time again and I feel it is proper to explain it at this point for it applies

The facts concerning the birth of Moronobu and his early life are scant.[3] Takahashi Seiichirō 高橋誠一郎 reports that he was born in Hodamura 保田村, Heguri, Awa Province

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to almost every artist we shall consider. It is a matter of biography. Though we have the names of many ukiyoe artists, the facts and statistics of their lives are scant. An explanation for this can be found in that they were informal artists of the people. They were not members of the official Academy of Painting, nor of the Kanō or Tosa schools. If we add to this the widescale destruction of documents in Edo, later Tokyo, due to natural calamities and, recently, war, it is surprising to find anything existing. It is only in manuscripts such as the Ukiyoe ruikō cited in Chapter II that we find the basic essentials recorded and even then as recent research has brought to light, they are often in error.

[3] To illustrate the lack of material dealing with Moronobu 師宣, one has but to turn to the bibliography compiled by Shibui Kiyoshi 渋井清, covering publications between the critical years of 1800 to 1928. This lists but six items devoted to Moronobu. It was published in the following work: Shibui Kiyoshi 渋井清, "Ukiyoe sankō soshi" 浮世絵参考書史 (A reference bibliography on ukiyoe), Ukiyoe kenkyu 浮世絵研究 (Ukiyoe research), Vol. VI, no. 1, Tokyo: Nihon Ukiyoe Kenkyū Kai 日本浮世絵研究会, 1928, pp. 44-45.

平群郡 安房國[4], Dr. Fujikake Shizuya 藤懸靜也[5], on the other hand, does not state his place of birth and the often cited Inoue Kazuo concurs with him.[6] If we go back one step further, we find that in the 1831 and 1832 manuscript editions of the Ukiyoe ruikō in the author's library this place of birth is mentioned only in the supplement section titled "Ukiyoe ruikō shinkō" 浮世繪類考進考. We can therefore conclude that the birthplace is actually unknown although it may well have been the site mentioned by Takahashi for it was there that Moronobu's father dwelt during a large portion of his life. An even more difficult problem confronts us when we seek to establish the date of his birth for it is not recorded. We can, however, conjecture that he was born sometime between the first year of the Genna 元和 era, 1615, and the second year of the Kanei 寛永 era, 1625. The logic for this dating is based on the fact that the manuscript biographies as well as later ukiyoe commentaries and research drawn from these earlier sources

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[4] Takahashi Seiichirō 高橋誠一郎, The evolution of ukiyoe, Trans. by Matsumoto Ryūzō 松本良三 Yokohama: Yamagata Printing Co., Ltd., 1955, p. 5.

[5] Fujikake Shizuya 藤懸靜也, Ukiyoe no kenkyū 浮世繪の研究 (Ukiyoe research), Vol. I, Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣, 1943, pp. 138-139.

[6] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, Ukiyoe shiden 浮世繪師傳 (Biographies of ukiyoe masters), Tokyo: Watanabe Hanga Ten 渡邊版畫店, 1931, pp. 197-200.

state that Moronobu was in his seventies or over seventy when he died. Very recently a discovery has been made in Japan that, at long last, fixes the death date of Moronobu[7] and it is from this that we can compute his approximate birth date. The Superior of the Shōzenji 勝善寺 Temple located at Nibu Kuroishiyama 二部黒石山, in Toyama Machi 富山町, of Awa Gun 安房郡, Chiba 千葉 Prefecture, while examining the death registry found an entry that stated that the Buddhist layman, Yūchiku 友竹, died on the fourth day of the sixth month of the seventh year of Genroku, thus 1694. As we shall soon see, Moronobu upon taking the tonsure received the name Yūchiku, and it is now conceded that this entry refers to him. Since he died in 1694 and was in his seventies, he must have been born sometime after 1615 and prior to 1625.

The genealogy of Moronobu's family is recorded for the two generations that preceded him. His grandfather was Hishikawa Shichiemon 菱川七右衛門, and lived in Kyoto. He appears to have been trained as a dyer of fabric. His son, Hishikawa Kichizaemon Michishige Nyūdō Kōchiku 菱川吉左衛門道茂入道光竹, was Moronubu's father. The records are unclear; however, sometime

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[7] This information is reported in the following work: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京國立博物館 (Tokyo National Museum) ed., "Bijutsukai tsūshin" 美術界通信 (Art news), Museum, No. 86, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan Sha 美術出版社, May 1958, p. 29.

during his life he left Kyoto and moved to Hoda-mura 保田村, Heguri-gun 平群郡, in Awa 安房 Province. As his name shows, he took the tonsure and after that was called Kōchiku. He was a skilled craftsman and designer in the art of dyeing and gold and silver thread embroidery. That Moronobu was not only exposed to, but also trained in his father's craft is manifested by the variety of fabric designs he used in clothing the figures found in his paintings and prints. We also have evidence of some of the actual patterns he produced in books such as his Kosode gohinagata 小袖由御ひな形 (Patterns for wadded silk garments)[8] published in 1677. In a book of this nature the kosode outline and pattern are shown on one page while the opposite page often portrays groups of figures wearing the handsome early Edo Period robes. His father, Michishige, died on the fifteenth day of the second month of 1662.

The interest that Moronobu showed in following the family profession and designing patterns expanded to include a keen interest in all forms of drawing. He was obviously much impressed by the busy capital that was growing up at Edo. He heard tales from there and we can even conjecture

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[8] A page from this book is reproduced in Sorimachi Shigeo 反町茂雄, Kōbunsō zempon mokuroku 弘文荘善本目録 (Catalogue of rare books in the Kōbunsō [bookshop] Collection), Tokyo: Kōbunsō 弘文荘, 1957, p. 284.

that at some time during his youth he travelled to visit the city. Any person who has travelled in Japan can realize how logical this theory is for even today the people of Japan leap at the first opportunity to make a pilgrimage and see the wonders of their land.[9] One theory, held by Tanaka Kisaku 田中喜作, reports that during his youth he also moved to Kyoto and while there completed his studies with a master painter whose name is unknown.[10] It is impossible for us to substantiate this hypothesis; however, it is not at all illogical for us to believe that Moronobu travelled to Kyoto if for nothing more than to visit his grandfather.

Regardless of where he travelled from, he appeared in Edo sometime during the Manji 萬治 era which lasted from 1658 to 1660.[11] He at once busied himself in the portrayal of

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[9] Charles Nelson Spinks, "The Tōkaidō in popular literature and art", The transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Third series, Vol. III, Tokyo: The Asiatic Society of Japan, 1954, pp. 1-26.

[10] Inoue, loc. cit., p. 197.

[11] The Manji 萬治 era followed that of Meireki 明暦. In the third and last year of Meireki, 1657, a huge fire engulfed Edo and most of the city was destroyed. This event is mentioned in Takahashi Seiichirō 高橋誠一郎, op. cit., p. 5, and is also reported by Urushiyama Tendō 漆山天童, Ukiyoe nempyō 浮世繪年表 (Ukiyoe chronology) Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1920, pp. 21-22. It is believed that Moronobu came to the city following

the new pastimes of the people. Two books that he illustrated and which were published in Edo during 1660 were the Yoshiwara makura 吉原枕 (Yoshiwara pillow) and the Yoshiwara kagami 吉原金監 (Yoshiwara mirror) and from that time on, his production of illustrations for books, prints, and painting mounted rapidly. He turned for his subject matter not only to the Yoshiwara, but to prostitutes of lesser grades as well as to the kyōgen 狂言 (comic interlude) plays. He was riding the crest of a wave of good fortune. Undoubtedly the previously mentioned fire was of assistance to him for it had destroyed so very much. The reconstruction of the city naturally brought many additional craftsmen into town as well as merchants peddling their wares, and the inevitable loan sharks. He was a prolific artist in this new style and thus soon earned the title of the founder of ukiyoe in Edo.

Moronobu's mature years were between 1661 and 1680 and during this period there is an added vigor in his work which skilfully blended Kanō and Tosa elements with his own style. Following this he turned to painting quantities of courtesans and beauties and his interests in color and line intensified. He appears to have changed his residence a number of times during these later years. Until about 1687 he is reported to have lived at Sakai chō Yoko chō 堺町 横町 .

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the fire. Evidence of this nature, however, is very unreliable for the great fire undoubtedly destroyed many records, books, and documents and it is possible that some earlier reference to his presence in Edo perished at that time.

However, at the start of the Genroku Period he is said to have moved to Tachibana chō 橘町, and the Ukiyoe ruikō also lists him as having lived at Muramatsu chō. He appears to have been quite affluent for in 1694 he contributed a memorial to his parents and grandfather. It took the form of a Buddhist bell which was placed in the town he is believed to have been born in, Hodamura, before the Rinkaizan Bekkanin 林海山別願院, a temple associated with the Jōdo 淨土 sect of Buddhism. The inscription on the bell states that it was donated by one Hishikawa Kichibei no Jō Fujiwara Moronobu, the lay priest Yūchiku, in the seventh year of Genroku on an auspicious day during the fith month.[12] Thus it was but about a month from the creation of this memorial to the date that Moronobu passed away.

A Portrait of Moronobu

It is rare to find portraits of individual artists in Japanese art. The men who took up the brush were much more concerned with the landscape or legend that they were painting. It is only in the yamatoe and in the memorial paintings depicting Buddhist priests that we find portraiture in practise. In these instances the idealization is quite extreme for the portrait is not made from life but is a posthumous representation. With the coming of the Edo period and the revival of yamatoe

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[12] The text of the inscription on the bell in Japanese reads as follows: 寄進施主菱川吉兵衛尉藤原師宣入道友竹元祿七甲戌歲五月吉日.

in the form of ukiyoe, portraiture came into its own. Individual dancers, actors and courtesans were represented and though we may grant that these also were idealized, they were in contrast to the past, paintings of the living.[13]

The artist as we have already stated seldom paused to do a self-portrait and only toward the mid-nineteenth century was such a practice looked upon with any favor. At the same time other artists very rarely painted their colleagues. This phenomenon could be explained in many ways; however, I feel the soundest reason is that up to the Edo period the artist was a complete pawn of the social structure. Only with the relativel slight freedom of the new order did he receive the status of an individual. This is not meant as a derogatory reference to pre-Edo artists, for their concern and creative talent were directed elsewhere, nor does it take into consideration the exceptions to the rule that always prevail. Simply stated, it was a shift from the fleeting and floating uki yo 浮世 world of the past that the painter sought to escape from into the world in which he desired to live.

Because of the rareness of portraits of artists, we must cherish those that do exist. We are extremely fortunate to have been able to rediscover and for the first time fully publish the only portrait of Moronobu known to exist.

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[13] They served as billboard advertisements or souvenirs of the most noted matinee idols and beauties of the age. They were objects of popular acclaim rather than awe and respect.

In addition to this, it is almost without doubt a self-portrait (Plate XXIV).[14] This representation of the artist appears in a two volume book titled Shika Buzaemon kuden hanashi 鹿武左衛門口傳はなし (The legends related by Shika Buzaemon). Although undated it is reported to have been published in 1683[15] and the representation of the artist, Moronobu, appears as a double spread on pages 3b and 4a of Volume I of the book. The author of the text is unknown but he recounts various tales. The composition and figures portrayed are typical of the work of Moronobu and we may conclude that the original sketches for the blocks came from his hand.

The woodcut shows the exterior and interior of a house of a gentleman of more than average means. On the right half, a figure of a priest wearing a black outer coat and a white under robe leans on a staff and approaches a youth who squats before the doorway. Behind the priest there is an attendan who carries a sword and holds a hat in his left hand. The outer door of the house they stand before is open and one can see the mats within. In the upper right corner there is a cartouche with a legend that reads Toritsugi no sosō とりつぎのそそう (The blunder of Toritsugi). Actually this may be a play on words for in all likelihood Toritsugi is not meant

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[14] The plate reproduced here is a photograph made from a copy of the book Shika Buzaemon kuden hanashi 鹿武左衛門口傳はなし (The legends related by Shika Buzaemon) in the author's collection.

[15] Sorimachi 反町, op. cit., p. 292.

as a name here but instead refers to the characters 取次ぎ, which have the same reading and stand for the answering of a knock at a door. In this instance it more likely means the error of the doorman and as we shall shortly see, that is precisely the story related in the text.

The left half of the woodcut is devoted to the interior of the house and garden. A man in a handsome floral patterned robe is seated on the mats before a folding screen upon which are shikishi 色紙 (colored pieces of paper) containing poetry. He holds a fan in his right hand and pipe in his left. Before him is a lacquered tobacco tray. In the garden there is a hollowed out rock that serves as a water receptacle and resting on it is a ladle. Against the wall stands a pine tree and another shrub of unidentifiable species. The man seated on the mats, smoking, is none other than Moronobu. The house is not that of an ordinary artisan, but that of a gentleman of some wealth.

The text of the story illustrated by Moronobu (Plates XXV and XXVI)[16] tells of a visit in the middle of winter made by the son of the critic of poetry, Takai Ryūshi 高井立志,[17] to the home of the artist, Hishikawa 菱川 .

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[16] The photographs of the text are from the copy of the book in the author's collection and occupy pages 3a and 4b respectively.

[17] I have made an attempt to check the biographical source books to see if a man with the name Takai Ryūshi 高井立志, actually ever existed. Although no

The poetry pseudonym of the critic was Shōyōken 松葉軒,[18] and his son was named Ryūei 立詠.

It is related that in the middle of winter, Ryūei went to pay an evening visit to the student of haikai 俳諧 (seventeen syllable verses), also known as the artist Hishikawa,

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person with exactly the same name appears, a man called Ryūshi using the same characters for his name died in 1681. In addition to this he was called Samanosuke 左馬之介, and as a poetry pen-name called himself Shōrakken 松樂軒. Most important of all is the fact that he was a critic of poetry as well as a poet. This therefore may well be the man referred to in the first chapter of the book Shika Buzaemon kuden **banashi.** Ryūshi's biography may be found in the following work: Ichiji **Tetsuo** 伊地知鐵男, ed. and others, Haikai daijiten 俳諧大辭典 (Haiku dictionary), Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1957, p. 797.

[18] The name Shōyōken 松葉軒, is recorded in the biographies and he is said to have been of the Nakamura 中村 family. He was born in 1646 and died in 1694. He was more commonly called Saikoku 西國, and appears to have been a pupil of the great novelist Saikaku 西鶴. There is no mention of his having used the name Ryūei 立詠 or that he was the son of Ryūshi; however, it is recorded that he wrote a number of books and that he also used the name Shōbei 庄兵衛. This biographical data is to be found in Ibid., p. 241.

who dwelt at Ningyō-chō 人形町.[19] Seated before the entrance of the house was a youth who served as a doorkeeper.[20] Upon the approach of Ryūei, the youth called out to announce him, "The honorable ghost from the house of the spirit of the dead comes to visit Hishikawa." The gatekeeper had mistakenly pronounced Ryūei's name as Yūrei 幽霊, which means "ghost", and for the house of Shōyōken he had erred in saying Shōryōken 精霊軒, meaning house of the dead. When Hishikawa heard this he was startled, but since it was the time of the memorial to the dead, he was uncertain. When he investigated the blunder he saw a small, thin priest wearing a white robe and leaning on a walking stick approach and he thought it strange. As he found it was Ryūei rather than a visitor from the spirit world, he laughed, and upon telling the story to his visitor, they joined in laughter and composed a verse.

The amusing tale recounted here in the first chapter of the book is an especially valuable source of information for us. In addition to the self-portrait and mention of the

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[19] Ningyō-chō 人形町, is still a street in present-day Tokyo and is located in the Nihonbashi-ku 日本橋区 ward.

[20] Once again we raise the question as to whether or not the doorkeeper's name was Toritsugi とりつぎ. It is impossible to resolve this problem for, as mentioned earlier, not only is it a perfectly respectable name, but it also literally means a person who serves as a doorkeeper.

name Hishikawa, the artist, it tells us of another residence that he occupied. In the past the dwelling places were limited to the previously mentioned Sakai-chō Yoko-chō, Tachibana-chō, and Muramatsu-chō. We can now add to that list the Ningyō-chō residence[21] and point out that it appears to be the earliest known dwelling place of Moronobu in Edo. The book was published in all likelihood in 1683 and he is already mentioned as residing there, whereas all the others are known to be of later date.

Earlier I stated that the author of this book, titled Shika Buzaemon kuden hanashi is unknown, and that fact remains unaltered although it is attributed to a man called Shikano Buzaemon 鹿野武左衛門.[22] We might even conjecture

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[21] Ningyō-cho is also mentioned as a residence of Moronobu in the following works; however, in neither of them is the source discussed or any further evidence given: Yoshikawa Kampō 吉川観方, Ukiyoe no kao 浮世絵の顔 (Ukiyoe faces), Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsu Sha 中央美術社, 1929, p. 23.; Shibui Kiyoshi 澁井清, Shoki hanga 初期板畫 (Primitive prints) Tokyo: Asoka Shobō アソカ書房 1954, p. 50. Shibui in his work actually uses a cut of the figure of Moronobu from the Shika Buzaemon kuden hanashi book and quotes a passage from it; however, he does not comment or elaborate on the text.

[22] Asakura Musei 朝倉無聲, Shinshū Nihon shōsetsu nempyō 新修日本小説年表

that the book was written by Moronobu using the other name as a pseudonym; however, as there is no way of proving this the position is untenable and we must content ourselves with a statement of author unknown. The book has become extremely rare, and it was with great happiness that I was able to secure one of the four copies of the work still known to exist. It actually originally consisted of three volumes. None of the surviving sets, however, is complete. All four lack the second volume and the set in the Tokyo University Library also lacks the first volume.

The Critics' View.

We reported that the woodcut that contains the self-portrait of Moronobu is surprising for he is shown as a gentleman of some means. If we examine the writings of contemporary critics[23] we find sufficient evidence to support the woodcut

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(A new compilation of a chronology of Japanese novels), Tokyo: Shunyōdō 春陽堂, 1926, p. 165. The title of the work is here listed as being Shikano Buzaemon kuden hanashi 鹿野武左衛門口傳話, and the date of publication is given as 1686. This date cannot be confirmed any place in the text, nor can the author's name be found. I therefore prefer to accept the research of Sorimachi Shigeo, op. cit., p. 292.

[23] Musei Gakujin 無聲學人, "Ukiyoe shi hyōban ki" 浮世繪師評判記 (Art criticism of ukiyoe masters), Ukiyoe 浮世繪, No. 42, Tokyo: Ukiyoe Sha 浮世繪社, Nov. 1918, pp. 4-6.

portrayal as well as an idea of how his co-workers in the arts and letters appraised his work. A summary of the comments found in the Kankatsu Heike monogatari 寛濶平家物語 (Informal tale of Heike) of Hachimonji Jishō 八文字自笑,[24] which was published in 1710, only sixteen years after Moronobu's death, states that the artist, Hishikawa Yamatoe Shi 菱川大和絵師, was the founder of ukiyoe in the Edo region, and that he introduced prints which were copied by others to the East and the West. In contrast to this, Yoshida Hanbei 吉田半兵衛,[25] studied the style of a man called Shōgorō 庄五郎, and was the leading ukiyoe artist in the Kyoto and Osaka region.

Moronobu is especially highly praised in a work titled Tōsei dare minoue 當世誰身上[26] (Whose future at present) which was published in 1709. It mentions that an artist called Hishikawa Moronobu who produced ukiyoe lived in

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[24] This work is discussed in the following book: Teruoka Yasutaka 暉峻康隆, Edo bungaku jiten 江戸文學辞典 (Dictionary of Edo /period/ literature), Tokyo: Fuzambō 富山房, 1940, pp. 118-119.

[25] Yoshida Hambei 吉田半兵衛, was active in the period between 1684-1710. He was a Kyoto artist and was also known by the name Sadayoshi 定吉. His biography is recorded by Inoue Kazuo, op. cit., p. 153.

[26] I have been unable to locate other publication statistics on this book. It is not recorded in the standard works of Edo period literature.

Edo and that he was so skilled that his work came to be highly respected. Not only did disciples gather about him, but also men of note, and the former took the name of Hishikawa from him. He thus became the founder of a school that was very popular. It is clear from the comment in this book that the work of Moronobu was in demand. He, therefore, would have been able to afford more luxuries than the average artist and, thus, might have been able to dwell in a home resembling that shown in the book, Shika Buzaemon kuden hanashi. We must also not rule out the supplementary income he must have obtained from designing textile patterns for the professional and popular beauties of the age.

Another book in which reference is made to Moronobu is that titled Irozato mitokoro setai 色里三所世帯[27] (Three establishments in the red-light district). This book is believed to have been written by Ihara Saikaku and although the publication date is not clear, that of 1688 is generally accepted. The writer of the passage refers to his examination of the ukiyoe books produced by Hishikawa. He found that the figures were plump and that the pelvic region was especially rotund. He further reports that the adults glance to the side in a piercing manner and that the faces of the males were colored in a peculiar way. Moronobu is

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[27] The book Irozato mitokoro setai 色里三所世帯 (Three establishments in the red-light district) is listed by Teruoka Yasutaka, op. cit., p. 66, and by Asakura Musei, op. cit., p. 56.

then praised by the writer for he points out that he was able to capture everything. Things like the villas of the well-to-do, and the women of Edo were all within his reach. In portraying the latter, he was especially capable for all they saw and heard as well as their moments of sleep and love were painted by him.

Mention of Moronobu is also made in the book Tagasode umi 誰袖海 (The sea of prostitutes).[28] This six-volume work was written by a man who used the name Yoshinoken Masafusa 由之軒政房, and was published in 1704. He refers to the books illustrated by the Hishikawa family to which color was added as being indescribably beautiful. In his opinion the figures were like gaily decorated, pure red, yellow, and gamboge clad dolls.

The critics took favorably to Moronobu as is manifested in the foregoing comments. We must remember, however, that in general we do not know a great deal about the critics and that statements such as those made about Moronobu might well have been included in a book by a publisher anxious to stimulate sales. They do, however, inform us that within ten years after his death in 1694, Moronobu's name was indelibly inscribed in the history of ukiyoe as a master.

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[28] Tagasode 誰袖, is a term used to refer to prostitutes. This particular book Tagasode umi 誰袖海 (The sea of prostitutes) is listed by Asakura Musei, op. cit., p. 61.

A Genealogy of the Hishikawa School

No work on the Hishikawa family would be complete without the inclusion of the genealogy published first by Santō Kyōden 山東京傳, during the tenth month of 1802 in his Ukiyoe ruikō tsuikō which we discussed in Chapter III. Kyōden states that he received the genealogy from a doctor who had the name Shibuya Genryū 澁谷元龍 and was a descendant of the Hishikawa family. He lived in the same town of Hoda-machi 保田町 in Bōshū 房州 Province where Moronobu's father had immigrated, and in all likelihood where Moronobu was born. Shibuya Genryū told Kyōden that the direct blood line of the Hishikawa family continued through six generations and that the person listed as the seventh generation was actually an adopted child.

The genealogy Genryū presented is as follows:

1. Hishikawa Shichiemon 菱川七右衛門.
   Moronobu's grandfather.
2. Hishikawa Kichizaemon Michishige Nyūdō Kōchiku 菱川吉左衛門道茂入道光竹.
   He was a skilled embroiderer and lived in Bōshū Heguri-gun Hoda-mura 房州平群郡保田村. He died on the fifteenth day of the second month of 1662. He was the son of Shichiemon.
3. Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣.
   The son of Kichizaemon.

   Hishikawa Shōnosuke 菱川正之丞.
   Moronobu's younger brother.

4. Hishikawa Morofusa 菱川師房.

Moronobu's eldest son.

Hishikawa Moronaga 菱川師永.

Moronobu's second son.

Pupils of Moronobu:

Hishikawa Masanobu 菱川政信.

Hishikawa Tomofusa 菱川友房.

Furuyama Moroshige 古山師重.

Hishikawa Chikahira 菱川新平.

Hishikawa Morohira 菱川師平.

5. Hishikawa Sajibei Shigeyoshi 菱川佐次兵衛重嘉. He was trained as a dyer and was the son of Morofusa.

Hishikawa Magoemon 菱川孫右衛門.

He was the younger brother of Shigeyoshi.

6. Hishikawa Sajibei Morotosa 菱川佐次兵衛師喜. His occupation was a dyer, but he was also trained in painting and calligraphy. The latter was his forte.

Hishikawa Saburōbei 菱川三郎兵衛.

He was the second son of Shigeyoshi.

7. Hishikawa Jirō Morooki 菱川次郎師興.

His profession was a dyer; however, he also painted.

Hishikawa Gisuke 菱川儀助.

He was the second son of Morotasa.

Hishikawa Tomogorō 菱川友五郎.

He was the third son of Morotosa.

Furuyama Moromasa 古山師政.

The son of Furuyama Moroshige.

Furuyama Tomomizu 古山伴水.

A pupil of Moromasa.

Furuyama Morotane 古山師胤.

He was a pupil of Moromasa.

Paintings by Moronobu and his School

There is little doubt that Moronobu was a prolific artist. Dr. Fujikake 藤懸, for example, lists one hundred and two books that contain illustrations attributed to Moronobu's hand.[29] It is surprising, however, for although the illustrated books are plentiful, the paintings, on the contrary, are relatively few. We cannot doubt that many paintings exist that bear the signature or seal of Moronobu. The number of these that are trustworthy, however, is limited. In fact, the completely acceptable ones can be restricted to about a dozen. Of these the majority are in Japan in collections such as that of the Tokyo National Museum. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, also possesses a very fine specimen in the form of a pair of six-fold screens that illustrate a theatrical performance. It is the pair of six-fold screens in the Freer Gallery of Art, however, that I

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[29] Fujikake Shizuya 藤懸靜也, Ukiyoe no kenkyū 浮世繪の研究 (Ukiyoe research), Vol. I, Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣, 1943, pp. 157-162.

feel to be the finest examples of painting to come from Moronobu's brush. They depict The Cherry Blossoms at Ueno 上野, and The Maples at Asakusa[30] 浅草. They are in almost pristine condition and in them we find summed up almost all that we can say about the painting of Moronobu.

Both screens are executed in rather bright color on paper of a neutral tone. They are filled with the teeming multitudes of Edo, and we are transported by the artist into the present day world in which he lived. The Cherry Blossoms at Ueno screen (Plate XXVII) shows us a joyous festive scene. People stroll, picnic, and play amidst the pinkish-white, froth-like blossoms of the cherry trees that abound in Ueno Park. The contrast of the green pines with the blossoms is very skilfully handled. The artist has also made use of the yamatoe and Tosa trick of scattered clouds that float in and out of the scene and obscure areas. An important feature of the painting is the actual setting. The gate seen on the first and second panels to the reader's right still exists and formerly stood directly in front of the site of the present day Tokyo National Museum. The temple visible on the first and second panels to the reader's left is in all likelihood part of the Kaneiji 寛永寺 Temple which was first constructed in 1625. A number of the members of the Tokugawa family are buried within its precincts. The horizon is very high and in terms of perspective one feels as though one were flying in

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[30] This pair of screens bears the Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers of 06.267 and 06.266, respectively.

a helicopter above the scene. All stages of life are shown from gentlemen of extreme wealth to lowly porters. A blind man and boy have just passed through the gate while in other areas priests converse and picnickers dance and sing. All ages are shown from infants still carried on their mother's or brother's backs to elderly men and women who have come to walk in the spring light and breathe the faint perfume of the delicate blossoms.

The scene we find on this screen was repeated over and over again by Moronobu in his work. Although the painting is signed Bō no Kuni Hishikawa Moronobu Zu 房國菱川師宣圖 (Painted by Hishikawa Moronobu of Bōshū Province) and has two seals the upper of which may be read Moronobu, and the lower one is illegible, it is also signed in another manner. The second variety of signature takes the form of the artist's interest in textile design. It serves as a trademark. In this particular screen one hundred and ninety eight people are represented and there is hardly an instance where the textile pattern of the robes repeats. Each one differs from the other. The painting and its mate thus become a walking encyclopedia of design. It is my firm belief that only a man well versed and brought up in the tradition of a designer for fabrics could have executed this feat and achieved this triumph.

The Maples at Asakusa (Plate XXVIII) is a worthy companion to the previously discussed screen, One hundred and ninety six people are portrayed enjoying the maples at Asakusa and the cool breeze of the Sumida 隅田 River that winds its

way past this area of Edo noted for its devotion to the pleasures.[31] The temple and pagoda in the left foreground of the screen are in all likelihood part of the Kannonji 観音寺 Temple of the district. Pilgrims visit the temple and a geomancer sits before it relating the future to a client. An actor strolls with his family beneath a willow tree that flanks the gate to the Temple. Along the bank of the river a palanquin, in which rides either a lady of superior social position or a courtesan of note, rests on the ground. Her porters, who are also women, squat beside it, while an elderly woman inquires directions of a crouching man who points down the road. This is a scene that keeps reappearing in the work of Moronobu. It became so much a part of his design that his pupils adopted it. Furuyama Moroshige 古山師重, who was active during the Genroku period made an especially skilled copy of the scene.[32]

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[31] Asakusa 浅草 is an area of present day Tokyo and continues the old Edo tradition. It was here that the recently closed Yoshiwara 吉原 (the red-light district) was located. Theaters, restaurants and gaming houses abound in the area.

[32] The Furuyama Moroshige 古山師重 copy of the scene was formerly in the collection of Ōta Shinkichi 太田新吉, and is illustrated by Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, ed., Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪藝術 (Ukiyoe Art), Vol. III, No. 2, Tokyo: Ukiyoe Geijutsu Sha 浮世繪藝術社, 1934, Plate I.

The screen contains other delightful scenes of late seventeenth century Edo. On the far right a daimyō 大名 (feudal lord) mounted on horseback rides into the setting and passes before a kura 倉 (godown). Excursion boats floating back and forth across the Sumida River are portrayed. In one, gentlemen are engaged in a game resembling chess while women are seated in the bow of the boat behind bamboo blinds. Another boat plies the river with a Shinto priest, a mother nursing her child, a man with a monkey wrapped about his neck, and other passengers. On the far bank is Mukōjima 向島, and a large pleasure house. A boat has just arrived and it brings a musician to the party. In the spacious entrance parlor one man has become so inebriated that he must be supported by two others. Women peer out from another room at the new arrival and across the river, while in a third room a man is receiving a massage from a blind masseur. Moronobu had carefully portrayed the life about him in a meticulous manner. The gorgeous patterns of the robes stand out handsomely against the neutral paper background, and the artist has carefully reduced the scale of the figures as they recede into the background. In addition to all of this, he has skilfully executed the most distant background in light washes which reveals that he understood the work of the Kanō school of artists.

The art of Moronobu, save for his woodblock prints, can be summed up in the two Freer Gallery of Art screens. As we have already mentioned, these and the other examples

of Moronobu's use of this design served as an inspiration for many paintings by later artists. In fact, they so impressed the artist Miyagawa Chōki 宮川長亀, that he repeated the whole composition with but slight revisions. This can be observed in a pair of screens in the Ōkura Shūkokan 大倉集古館.[33] Very little is known about the life of Chōki other than that he appears to have been a pupil of Miyagawa Chōshun 宮川長春 (1683-1753). He was active during the Kampō 寛保 era (1741-1743) and was most noted for his painting of beauties although few of these have survived. The influence of Moronobu was to last throughout the history of ukiyoe.

The genealogy of the Hishikawa family lists a number of artists who became pupils of Moronobu. These included Masanobu, Tomofusa, Moroshige, Chikahira, and Morohira. The person who was nearest to Moronobu was his elder son, Morofusa, and he also became a pupil. It is unfortunate that he never was able to achieve the skill of his father. He painted from about 1688 until 1697 after which he gave up his interest in painting and returned to the former family business of dyeing and designing fabrics. He used the names of his grandfather, Kichizaemon 吉左衛門, and his father, Kichibei 吉兵衛, but did not equal the latter in fame, for only three years after his father's death his interest in painting ceased. Perhaps it was the age-old problem of father insisting that his son follow his profession.

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[33] Ibid, Vol. II, No. 9, Plates I and III.

The other interpretation could be that competition had already become too keen for an amateur.

A painting by Morofusa in the Freer Gallery of Art depicting a Courtesan and Kamuro (Plate XXIX)[34] illustrates to us how inferior the artist was to his father. The hair styling and robes are typical of the Genroku period. The painting is in kakemono form and the colors of the robes are delicate. The courtesan's robe is white with a gold pattern whereas the young kamuro wears a robe of pink with a white pattern. The figures appear to be stiff and lack a sense of relaxation. Students in ukiyoe studies often point this out as a general trait of the school and claim it is a direct result of the artist's concern for producing something that could be executed in a wood-block technique. There is no doubt that prints cast their spell and at times curbed the ukiyoe masters' desire to produce something new. We must realize, however, that this painting was never meant to be cut into a block. It is the result of an artist trying to rest on the laurels of the past. Morofusa added nothing new to his father's designs. He was content with the status quo. In this painting we can note but one additional feature that developed with Moronobu and his pupils and was relayed on to future generations. It is the use of a "u" shape fold to indicate the drapery of the robes. The artist did not try to portray realistically the broken folds of drapery which one would see on a live figure in this stance. Instead he just repeated a number of

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[34] The painting of the Courtesan and Kamuro has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.7.

u's in a mechanical fashion. The painting is signed Nihone Hishikawa Morofusa Zu 日本繪菱川師房圖, and has two seals. The upper seal may be read Morofusa, and the lower seal reads Hishi. I have been harsh in my treatment of Moronobu's son. He was not a great artist, but by way of balm I wish to point out that none of Moronobu's other pupils ever attained the greatness of that master.

The most capable of Moronobu's pupils was an artist who called himself Moroshige 師重. He was of the Furuyama 古山 family, although once he came under the sway of Moronobu's influence he turned to the use of the Hishikawa family name. He was also called Tarōbei 太郎兵衛, and for some time dwelt on Hasegawa-chō 長谷川町, in Edo. As a result of this some of his work is signed Hasegawa Tarōbei 長谷川太郎兵衛. He was most active in the period between 1684 and 1703; however, too little is known of his life to draw any final conclusions.[35]

Moroshige , as his teacher before him, portrayed the female figure with great skill. While Moronobu did not limit himself to this as subject matter his pupils were prone to do so. In the Freer Gallery of Art there is a painting of a Woman Reading (Plate XXX),[36] by his hand. The painting is signed Nihone Hishikawa Moroshige Zu 日本繪菱川師重圖 (Japanese painting painted by Hishikawa Moroshige)

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[35] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., p. 196.

[36] The painting bears the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.12.

and has a seal that is not totally legible. The woman is seated on tatami 畳 (mats) inside her house. The shōji 障子 (paper sliding doors) are open revealing the verandah and a stepping stone from the garden. Behind the woman is a screen with a design of sparrows and a blossoming plum tree. This together with the open shōji signifies that the season is spring. The robes that the woman wears are handsomely patterned. The outer one is black with a gold and white motif of willow boughs and footballs. This would also be symbolic of spring and the pattern may even derive from the football sequence in the Tale of Genji. The inner robe is of a rich red and is covered with patterns worked out in brocade. The contrast of the black almost lacquer-like hair of the lady and the warm red of the robe shows us just how capable the artist Moroshige was in learning his teacher's trade. Specimens of the artist's work are rather rare; however, the Tokyo National Museum owns a few fine examples.

Last, but not least, I wish to introduce the reader to a new artist, Moroyasu 師保, who used the Hishikawa family name in his signature. He is not recorded in any of the biographical works and to my knowledge there is but one painting that exists today which was produced by his hand. It is a portrait of a Courtesan Arranging Her Hair (Plate XXXI) in the Freer Gallery of Art.[37] The artist was not a skilled master. In fact, there is a certain hesitancy and amateurish

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[37] This Freer Gallery of Art registration number on this painting is 98.114.

quality about his brushwork. He signed this work Nihoneshi Ryūshiken Hishikawa Moroyasu Zu 日本繪師柳千軒菱川師保圖 (Painted by the Nihonē Master Ryūshiken Hishikawa Moroyasu). The signature does not appear again in any known painting and the combination of the Hishikawa surname and Moroyasu personal name is perplexing when we study the painting. There are two seals below the signature. The lower one is badly rubbed and illegible. The upper one, however, may be read Ryūshi 柳子, and the characters that compose it are placed in a jar-shaped form.

Moroyasu used as his design a monumental figure of a courtesan arranging a comb in her hair. The manner in which the figure fills the composition should recall to the reader's mind the Dancer (Plate XII). In this instance, however, the courtesan has expanded and occupies all of the space rather than filling it partially. There is a nobility imparted to the woman although the artist lacks the ability of his predecessors. There is an obvious exaggeration of the proportions and the head is miniature in comparison with the body. This distortion is similar to the tiny heads painted on the samurai in the two-fold screen of Courtesans and Samurai (Plate XV). The robe is voluminous and its pattern lacks the delicacy and interest in design that so occupied the painters of the Hishikawa School. Neither do the drapery folds or proportions conform to the standards set by Moronobu.

The importance of the painting does not rest on the rarity of the signature alone. Its value to students of ukiyoe is

founded on the relationship of a painting bearing such a signature to the whole group of portraits of courtesans represented in monumental form which are signed by the Kaigetsudō s 懐月堂.[38] The full identity of the many who used this name has never been established, nor is the source from which they derived known. The painting of the Courtesan Arranging Her Hair indicates a direct line of descent via men such as Moroyasu and the pupils of Furuyama Moroshige. One in particular, Furuyama Morotane 古山師胤, produced a painting which very closely resembles that by Moroyasu.[39] It depicts a courtesan standing and looking over her left shoulder. In contrast to the Moroyasu work the proportions are closer to normal and more interest is shown in the textile design. Unfortunately very little is known of this artist's life. If we compare the Moroyasu painting with those of men who worked in the Kaigetsudō style we find an additional similarity. The use of the character read ken 軒 (house) with the name Ryūshi in the signature resembles the use of the same character by Baiyūken Katsunobu 梅祐軒勝信,[40]

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[38] The work of the Kaigetsudō s 懐月堂, will be briefly discussed in the following chapter.

[39] Tōhō Shoin 東方書院, comp., Ukiyoe taisei 浮世繪大成 (The complete ukiyoe), Vol. II, Tokyo: Tōhō Shoin 東方書院, 1931, Plate CCXV.

[40] A brief biography of this artist can be found in Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, Ukiyoe jiten 浮世繪辞典 (Ukiyoe dictionary), Tokyo: Hokkō Shobō 北光書房, 1944 p. 362.

and Baiōken Eishun 梅翁軒永春.[41] Both of these artists were active in the early seventeen hundreds and the latter one may provide us with a direct link to the Moronobu school. He was of the Hasegawa 長谷川 family and as we know Furuyama Moroshige, the leading pupil of Moronobu, also used this name. On the one hand if we can substantiate this lineage through further research, we will have made a major break-through in solving the mystery of the Kaigetsudō school. On the other hand, if we deny any such link we can but conclude that the artist Moroyasu and the Hishikawa style had so degenerated that they could but parrot the work of others. The question remains an open one, and it is to be hoped that further investigations will expand our knowledge of this important step in the development of ukiyoe.

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41 Ibid, p. 145.

## IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF UKIYOE AFTER MORONOBU-ITCHŌ TO UTAMARO

### Hanabusa Itchō

It is near to madness for one to believe that he can cover the major portion of the history of ukiyoe in a single chapter and on a few pages, yet that is what we shall do. In Chapter I we stated that our purpose was to discuss specific problems and that the general development of the school was subordinate. The meaning of the term ukiyoe and the origin and foundation of the school was our first problem. This included the Matabei question. We next devoted our effort to expanding upon the existing information available on Moronobu. This included the presentation of his death date and self-portrait as well as a new artist Moroyasu. In addition to that a relationship of the Moronobu school to that of Kaigetsudō was suggested. It would be logical to ignore the general developments; however, in the Freer Gallery of Art there is one of the finest and largest collections of ukiyoe paintings in the world.[1] They represent

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[1] The ukiyoe holdings of the Freer Gallery of Art and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, cannot be equalled in the world. The number of paintings including a group of mounted drawings in the former collection exceeds four hundred items. The size of the latter collection is equally large. In addition to the paintings, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, has the largest collection of Japanese woodblock prints in the world. Other important public ukiyoe collections in our country include those of the Chicago Art Institute and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

all of the schools and for ever fifty years the major portion of these have not been exposed to public view. This has not been the fault of the Gallery for they have always been available to scholars and students. Few Japanese specialists in the field; however, have visited our land and equally few of our own nationals have evidenced an interest in studying them. These paintings are important and are primary tools to furthering not only our own personal knowledge but that of all art and social historians in a better understanding of ukiyoe and the Tokugawa era. Many of them can be considered the finest representatives of a particular artist's work and others are the only known specimens of an artist's output or of a particular period in his life. They have been hidden too long and the darkness of fifty years must be pushed aside. It is time that the world, and especially scholars in the field of ukiyoe and Tokugawa studies, were made aware of them. It is for this purpose that Chapter IV has come into existence. In it we will present the long unknown paintings in the Freer Gallery of Art and through them with utmost brevity trace the development of the major trends in ukiyoe.

During Moronobu's life and following his death there came into being an ever expanding interest in paintings of the current scene. He had devoted his life to compositions of this nature and had popularized them. He had sought and gained favor in the eyes of the public and this was all that was needed to spur others to join the band wagon. The immediate followers of Moronobu, as has already been demonstrated, copied their master but were inferior. At the same time other artists were at work

and they brought new blood to the ukiyoe. One of the most prominent of these was Hanabusa Itchō 英一蝶 (1652-1724)[2]

We would be incorrect if we were to think of Hanabusa Itchō as only a master of ukiyoe. His biography is especially rewarding to us for it reveals the problems that the artists of that day and age faced. He was born in 1652 and was the son of Taga Hakuan 多賀伯竜, who was a resident of Osaka and served as a doctor and fencing instructor to Ise Kameyama 伊勢亀山, Lord of Ishikawa 石川. Itchō claimed that he was descended from the great Fujiwara 藤原 clan and his family name was Taga 多賀; however, this was later changed to Hanabusa 英. Upon order of the Lord of Ishikawa, his father, accompanied by his son, moved to Edo in 1666. At that time Itchō was but fifteen years old. Once he reached Edo he entered the studio of Kanō Yasunobu 狩野安信 (1613-1685)[3] and became proficient in that style of painting. While in Edo he also investigated the Tosa style and there is little doubt that he saw paintings by Matabei and Moronobu. To further round out his education in the arts he studied the composition of haiku poetry with

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[2] Good concise biographies of Hanabusa Itchō 英一蝶, can be found in Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., pp. 6-7; and in Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

[3] Kanō Yasunobu 狩野安信, (1613-1685) was the younger brother of Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽, (1602-1674) and was instrumental in founding the Kanō school at Nakabashi 中橋 in Edo.

the greatest master of his age, Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694)[4] and writing with the calligrapher Sasaki Genryū 佐々木玄龍. Starting in the sixth year of Genroku (1693) on the fifteenth day of the eighth month he was imprisoned for a period of approximately six years. The cause of this imprisonment is unkown but again in 1698 he was sent into exile to Miyakejima 三宅嶋, for a period of almost eleven years. The cause of this confinement stems from his having done a picture titled Asazuma Bune 淺妻舩 (The Boat of Asazuma).[5] It was held by the government that it was a satire on the life of the Shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646-1709), and thus Itchō was punished. The life of an artist was carefully governed by the laws of censorship which were strictly enforced.

It is hard to believe that sixteen years of Itchō's life were spent in paying for his violation of the Tokugawa censorship code. On the ninth month of 1709 following the death of Tsunayoshi he was pardoned and permitted to return to Edo.

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[4] A biography in English of Bashō 芭蕉, as well as a selection of his poetry in both Japanese and translation can be found in Miyamori Asatarō 宮森麻太郎, Haiku poems ancient and modern, Tokyo: Maruzen Company Ltd., 1940, pp. 37-51 and pp. 91-131.

[5] Asazuma 淺妻, is the name of a place in Ōmi 近江 Province. It is also possible that in this instance it really should be contracted to read Azuma which was but another name for Edo.

He was then fifty-seven years old. During his stay in exile Itchō did not cease to paint for the story is related that he sent his paintings from Miyakejima to Edo where they were marketed to provide food and clothing for his elderly mother to whom he was extremely devoted. One of the pseudonyms he used, Hokusōō 北窓翁, derives from his long stay in exile. It is translatable as "The old man of the north window" and was adopted by Itchō as a name for he always looked out of his windows to the north towards Edo while in banishment and longed for the day he would return home. In addition to the names already given, he used a great number of pseudonyms. These include Nobuka 信香, Yasuo 安雄, Chōko 朝湖, Sasuiō 簑翠翁, Kyūsōdō 舊草堂, Ippōkanjin 一蜂閑人, Rinshōan 隣樵庵, Rintōan 隣濤庵, Gyōun 暁雲, Kansetsu 澗雪, Sesshō 雪蕉, Waō 和央, and Undō 雲堂.

Itchō is important to any study of ukiyoe painting in that he was not exclusively a painter in this style. His work was a blend. In the Freer Gallery of Art there is a pair of hand-scrolls titled Pastimes of the Twelve Months.[6] Itchō divided the year into halves and on each scroll six months are represented.[7] The first one (Plate XXXII) begins with January and ends with June. The painting is signed Hanabusa Itchō Sho 英一蝶書, and bears his seal read Kunju 君受,

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[6] The two scrolls have the Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 04.136 and 04.137.

[7] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.136.

which was one of his nickmames. The introductory painting in each roll is done on a much larger scale than those that follow which represent each month. A man at a well is shown with pine trees flanking the well. He wears formal dress common to the holiday season. The January scenes that follow it show figures exchanging holiday greetings before their homes with doorways decorated with pine and bamboo. The technique of his painting demonstates the happy blending of Kanō and ukiyoe styles. The subject matter is the latter whereas the brushwork and color are typical of the former. The ukiyoe masters in painting the scenes of everyday life normally used brilliant color and the figures and setting were carefully outlined. Itchō, in contrast, painted this scroll in pastel tones and relied a great deal on washes. This imparts a sketchy quality to the painting and a lightness that is usually absent in ukiyoe. It is a quality that one finds present in much of the work of the Kanō school.

A hyottoko ひょっとこ (a clown) (Plate XXXIII)[8] is the first subject on another picture scroll by Hanabusa Itchō in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. The clown wearing a mask was an extremely common figure in the festival life of Japan. His performance of a dance before the inari 稲荷 (fox) shrines was performed during the Inari Matsuri 稲荷祭 . This was enacted on the first day of the second month and was also known as the Hatsu-uma no Kagura 初午の

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[8] The painting has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.138.

神樂 (Sacred Music and Dance of the First Horse Day of the Lunar Calendar). The painting is typical of Itchō's ukiyoe style yet immediately next to it in the scroll is a pure Kanō representation of Daikoku 大黑, and Ebisu 惠比須.[9] Figures such as these utilizing the brush work of both schools alternate throughout the scroll and establish the versatility of the artist.

A man with the skill of Itchō had numerous pupils. His elder son actually adopted his name upon his death and became the second generation Itchō 一蝶. Other pupils of his were his younger son Itchō 一周, his adopted son, Isshū 一舟, Issui 一永, Ippō 一蜂, and Kō Sūkoku 高嵩谷. This last artist's name will appear again when we consider a large Utamaro 歌麿 painting in the Freer Gallery of Art. That Itchō was able to overcome the handicap placed upon him by the long exile truly speaks well for his stamina and skill.

Nishikawa Sukenobu

The artistic production of Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 is known to us today primarily through the many illustrations he did for books. There is no doubt that he was a superb

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[9] Both Daikoku 大黑 and Ebisu 惠比須 are gods of fortune and two of the Seven Lucky Gods. The former is the God of Five Cereals and is represented as a very stout fellow resting against bales of rice. The latter is also depicted as a plump soul and his particular attributes are a mallet and fishing rod. He is the God of Commerce.

draftsman. To the student of ukiyoe, however, his importance rests on the fact that in contrast to most of the other prominent artists we are to consider, he dwelt in Kyoto. In both Chapter I and Chapter II we pointed out that the Kyoto area was the original home of ukiyoe via yamatoe. Sukenobu continued the tradition in this Imperial City.

The artist, Nishikawa Sukenobu, was born in 1671.[10] He, as many of the artists, claimed descendence from the Fujiwara clan. His family name was Sukenobu and he commonly used the name Yūsuke 祐信 as well as Magoemon 孫左衛門. Later in his life he used the name Ukyō 右京 which may have been a reference to a residence of his in the right sector of the capital city which had been planned and designed along T'ang dynasty Chinese lines. Sukenobu had training in both Kanō and Tosa styles for we find that he studied painting under Kanō Einō 狩野永納 (1634-1700)[11] as well as Tosa Mitsusuke 土佐光祐.[12]

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[10] This date had long been contested and Western scholars such as von Seidlitz and Rumpf have suggested other dates. The true date is based on a painting of a fox hunt on a panel that is inscribed painted in 1744 during the fifth month by Nishikawa Ukyō Sukenobu 西川右京祐信, at the age of 74. The panel is in the collection of the Gion Sha 祇園社 Shrine in Kyoto. If we convert the age in accordance with Western practice we find that he was born in 1671.

[11] Kanō Einō 狩野永納 (1634-1700) was also known as Yoshinobu 吉信. He was a pupil of his noted father, Sansetsu 山雪 (1590-1651), and is known to us as the compiler of the biographical work, Honchō gashi 本朝畫史.

At one time during his life he is reported to have dwelt at Yanagi-no baba Aya-no-kōji Kudaru Chō 柳馬場綾小路下る町. In terms of illustrated books he was undoubtedly very prolific. Dr. Fujikake mentions some two hundred volumes produced by him and lists fifty.[13] He was also a prominent designer of erotic illustrations[14] and made use of many pseudonyms as an artist in addition to those above. Among these were Jitokusai 自得齋, Jitokusō 自得翁, as well as Bunkadō 文華堂. Upon his death on the eleventh day of the ninth month in the year 1751, his ashes were laid to rest in the compound of the Myōsenji 妙泉寺 Temple which was devoted to the Jōdo 淨土 Sect of Buddhism and located in Kyoto at Sanjō-dōri Ōmiya-nishi 三條通り大宮西.

The nature of Sukenobu's paintings and prints were such that we can distinguish them from those of his contemporaries working in Edo. There is a softness and a sweetness about them. More often than not, the figures portrayed were the average residents of the city. They were not the courtesans and actors that so dominated the work done in Edo. For the common man Sukenobu had a great sympathy and it is at once obvious in his gentle handling of the themes from everyday life. It was this quality of his work that so influenced the artists Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1724-1770) and Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-1785) 石川豐信.

The painting of a child's presentation to the Shinto tutelary

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[12] Tosa Mitsusuke 土佐光祐 (1675-1710) was first known as Mitsutaka 光高, and was the son of Mitsunari 光成 (1646-1710), who, in turn, was the son of Mitsuoki 光起 (1617-1691).

[13] Fukikake Shizuya, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 78-79.

[14] Shibui Kiyoshi, op. cit., p. 146.

god at a shrine shortly after its birth[15] (Plate XXXIV)[16] in the Freer Gallery of Art is an excellent specimen of his work. There is a great charm in his simple representation of this natural scene in the lives of all Japanese. Although the infant is the smallest figure, all attention is concentrated upon him as he receives the blessings of a miko 巫女 (a maiden in the service of a shrine). She holds a cluster of bells in her right hand and performs her ritual over the child while a nurse holds the baby and the grandmother,[17] brother and other relatives look on. They are all clothed in their finest robes to celebrate the occasion. To my knowledge there is not another representation of this scene executed on this scale in the history of ukiyoe.

The artist has handled his treatment of textile patterns of the robes with a skill that reminds us of Moronobu. He also experimented in the representation of reality for the white gauze outer robe of the miko is made transparent so that we can see the red under garment. The perspective that he used in placing the building on a diagonal and partially obscuring it is typical of

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[15] This custom known as miyamairi 宮參 (a visit to a shrine) is actually the first real festival in a baby's life. It varies in Japan according to the sex of the child. For boys, it normally takes place on the thirty-second day following birth, and for girls, on the thirty-third day. In the past the visit was often delayed until the infant was one hundred days old.

[16] This painting has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.229.

[17] In the ceremony of miyamairi 宮參 , the mother of the child was excluded for she was considered as yet to be impure.

Sukenobu's Tosa training and thus of his yamatoe heritage. The altar in the background holds the paraphernalia of the ritual. The artist had a special skill in linking the figures of a composition. By hand gesture or glance they all tie together into a circle which we have already discussed as a feature of many ukiyoe representations of groups. The painting is signed Bunkadō Nishikawa Ukyō Ga 文華堂西川右京画(Painted by Bunkadō Nishikawa Ukyō) and has two seals. The upper one may be read Bunkadō and the lower reads Sukenobu. In this rare painting of an unusual subject the calm of the old capital city of Kyoto, and thus traditional Japan, is captured.[18]

Kaigetsudō

The name Kaigetsudō 懐月堂 has presented many problems to the scholars of ukiyoe. The most pressing of these has been the identification of the artist or artists who composed this school. Authors such as Laurence Binyon and J. J. O'Brien Sexton have investigated the problem.[19] Their conclusion, with

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[18] A relatively complete survey of Sukenobu's 祐信 work is reported by Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重. "Nishikawa Sukenobu to sono shūi"西川祐信とその周囲 (Nishikawa Sukenobu and his surroundings), Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世絵藝術 (Ukiyoe art), op. cit., Vol. II, No. 10, pp. 212-228.

[19] Laurence Binyon and J.J. O'Brien Sexton, op. cit., pp. 193-196.

a margin of doubt, was that the many artists using this name were but a single person. I find it difficult to concur entirely in this opinion.

The personal names associated with that of Kaigetsudō are Ando 安度, Doshū 度秀, Dohan 度繁[20], Doshin 度辰, Doshū 度種, and Anchi 安知. There is no information available as to the birth or death dates of the user or users of these names, and it is only about the first one Ando that any biographical data exists. He appears mentioned in the manuscript edition of the Ukiyoe ruikō dated 1831 in the author's collection. The comment found therein is very slight and but states that a man called Kaigetsudō was active during the period about 1726 and that his name became known. Later additions to this entry report his having also been called Ando. The same entry also reports an incident in the life of Kaigetsudō Ando that helps us to date him. In 1713 the popular actor, Ikushima Shingorō 生島新五郎,[21] carried on an illicit

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[20] These names may also be read as follows: Yasunobu 安度, Nobuhide 度秀, Nobushige 度繁, Nobutatsu 度辰, Nobutane 度種, and Yasutomo 安知. Yoshida Teruji suggests these readings; however, Takahashi Seiichirō, op. cit., pp. 10-11 recommends the use of the reading Nori instead of that of Nobu in all of the names.

[21] A portrait of the actor Ikushima Shingorō 生島新五郎 is included in Tachikawa Emba 立川焉馬, Kabuki nendaiki 歌舞伎年代記 (A kabuki chronology) Vol. I, reprint, Tokyo: Tōyōdō Shiten 東陽堂支店, 1905, p. 196.

love affair with a court lady named Ejima 江島. Ando appears to have assisted in arranging for their meetings, and as a result on the fourth month of that year he was sent into exile to Ōshima 大島 Island. The number of years he remained there is unknown. One of the only other records we have of this man's existence other than his paintings is that while in Edo, he dwelt in Asakusa 浅草 on Suma-chō 隅取訪町.

The contribution of Kaigetsudō Ando to the development of ukiyoe was the monumental portrait of the courtesan. This was not a new feature as far as ukiyoe were concerned; however, the artists using the Kaigetsudō name enlarged upon the early attempts to produce paintings of this nature. In the Freer Gallery of Art there is a portrait of a Courtesan (Plate XXXV)[22] which is typical of the achievement of Ando. The figure is made to appear majestic. This is to some sense achieved by the artist almost filling the entire composition with the figure. Very rarely is any setting shown in his work and broad areas of solid brilliant color form the robe and are surrounded by heavy outlines to create a cocoon that envelops the courtesan. There is an explosive force in the boldness of the patterns and those of Moronobu appear to be but miniatures when placed beside those of the Kaigetsudō's. The hair style is also greatly altered, for no longer is it brought up to form a knob or bun on the head. Instead it is combed back behind the ears and left to hang down the back where it is tied together with

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[22] This painting has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.73.

ribbon. The coiffure in a way resembles the long raven hair of the court ladies seen in the yamatoe paintings and may have served as a reminder to Ando of the court scandal in which he had become involved. It acts almost as a trademark of his work. The robes are more voluminous than those which can be seen in the paintings by other early eighteenth century artists. Another feature and contribution of the Kaigetsudō school was a bow-like or "s" curve stance with the head of the figure looking in a direction opposite to that in which the rest of the body is turned. The face of the courtesan is always full and has a plumpness that is lacking in the work of those outside Ando's influence. In addition to all of this the artist signed his name in an unusual fashion. The signature on the painting in the Freer Gallery of Art is quite typical for it reads Nihon Giga Kaigetsudō Zu 日本戯畫懐月堂風 (A Japanese caricature drawn by Kaigetsudō) and it carries a seal which may be read Ando 安度 . The combination of this variety of signature with the long black hair of the figures leads me to speculate as to whether or not Ando and his followers had not painted them purposely as a satire on the ladies of the Shogun's court.

We questioned the advisability of believing that but one Kaigetsudo existed. Actually nobody has been able to solve this problem; however, on examination of a number of paintings belonging to this group in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum it became evident to me that more than one man lived who used the name. The paintings that are both signed and sealed

by Ando are slightly superior to the others. I would like to advance a proposal that Ando actually set up a factory. He would paint the face and outline while his pupils set about to fill in the color, textile patterns, and other details. One painting in the Tokyo National Museum indicates the possibility of this for some of the outlined areas are left uncolored and yet the portrait of the courtesan is properly signed and sealed. Many scholars of ukiyoe in Japan today hold to this theory. The similarity of the faces and overall design as well as the calligraphy create many problems that are yet to be solved.[23]

The Theater and Courtesans

The city of Edo continued to grow and hand in hand with its

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[23] Biographies of Ando and a discussion of the Kaigetsudō problem can be found in Takahashi Seiichirō 高橋誠一郎, Kaigetsudō 懐月堂, Tokyo: Kodansha 講談社, 1956, as well as in Shiichi Tajima, Masterpieces selected from the ukiyoe school, Tokyo: Shimbi Shoin, 1908, pp. 75-77. The reader should also recall the artist Moroyasu and the possibilit of his relationship to the Kaigetsudōs. In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts there is a very fine handscroll that bears the seal and signature of Kaigetsudō Ando. This painting has not as yet been verified as being his work but, if so, it is most important for the landscape technique and figures vary greatly from the monumental form we are familiar with. The painting depicts figures set in landscapes and is registered as number 11.7498 924 in that museum.

expansion went an interest in the world of entertainment. Throngs of people began to flock to the popular theater and at the same time additional crowds visited the pleasure quarters. The number of plays on the boards increased. Favorites soon developed and an idolatry almost equal to that of our Valentino era arose. Paintings of the leading performers and scenes from the popular plays were in demand. In a similar manner portraits of the local beauties and most noted courtesans became the rage. In a very true sense it was the age of the "pin-up picture."

The citizens of Japan did not turn to the artists of the Academy to produce these paintings. They instead sought out the ukiyoe master who was trained in such matters. Very often we read and hear that the people of Japan frowned on such art. A simple glance at the number of paintings and the quality and material that went into those that were produced should forever dispel from our minds this thought. The gentry naturally did not publicly approve or go into rapture over them, for they were far too steeped in the traditional academic style. We must remember, however, that the gentry was but a tiny segment of the population. Where they frowned on ukiyoe the general populace smiled widely and took these paintings to their heart. We must always remember that this was a time of change and peaceful revolt against accepted traditions. The theater, courtesans, and ukiyoe paintings and prints served as battle standards of the citizens of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto.

The tradition of the theatrical portrait and billboard

art had no better friends in the history of Japanese art than the founder and followers of the Torii 鳥居 school.[24] We would be well within reason to affix after the names of these artists, "by appointment to the kabuki theater." To thoroughly investigate this whole complex of painters and report intelligently on one's findings would require many volumes. In contrast to this, to report on the existence of such a school as a development of ukiyoe painting and print making during the eighteenth century is feasible.

The founder of the atelier of portrayers of actors was a man called Torii Kiyomoto 鳥居 清元 (1645-1702). He was a resident of Osaka but moved to Edo and settled on a street called Naniwa-chō 難波町. During the third year of Genroku,1690, he painted his first billboard for the Ichimura-za 市村座 theater. It was not he, however, who provides us with the greatest source of inspiration for future generations but his son.

Kiyomoto's son was Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信(1664-1729) and he can be called the grand painter and print designer of actor portraits of the ukiyoe school. When his father moved from Osaka, Kiyonobu accompanied him. He has served as a problem for many scholars, for some question exists as to the exact identity of a second Kiyonobu as well as to the genealogy of the descendants of others of the Torii atelier such as

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[24] There are still artists today who claim to be descended from the Torii 鳥居 school and execute posters and paintings for the kabuki theater.

Kiyomasu 清倍[25] (1706-1763) and Kiyomitsu 清滿 (1735-1785).

The success and life of the Torii family and especially that of the first Kiyonobu was related to that of the great stage performers, the Ichikawa Danjūrōs 市川團十郎.[26] A play in which a Danjūrō performed and which was painted by the first Kiyonobu was the great adventure thriller based on the revenge of the Soga 曾我 brothers titled Bandō Kotobuki Soga 坂東壽曾我[27] (Plate XXXVI).

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[25] Some of the most detailed writings on the Torii atelier are as follows: Ōkuma Komamura 大曲駒村, "Torii Kiyonobu no setsu" 鳥居清信の說 (A report on Torii Kiyonobu), Ukiyoe shi 浮世繪志 (Ukiyoe magazine), Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Tokyo: Geichikudō 芸竹堂, 1929, part 1, pp. 36-42; part 2, pp. 39-42; part 3 pp. 37-42.

[26] The actors who were named Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川團十郎 were and remain the nobility of the Japanese kabuki theater. A chronology of them appears in Ueno Shigesaburō 上野繁三郎 ed., "Ichikawa Danjūrō nendaiki" 市川團十郎年代記 (A chronology of the Ichikawa Danjūrōs)," Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪芸術 (Ukiyoe art), Vol. II, No. 2, Tokyo: Ukiyoe Geijutsu Sha 浮世繪芸術社, 1933, pp. 64-72.

[27] This painting has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.14. The Soga 曾我 theme was a major one in the kabuki repertoire and served as the vehicle of any number of plays. A very brief sketch of it can be found in Aubrey S. and Giovanna M. Halford, The kabuki handbook, Tokyo: Charles

The painting representing a scene from this play is in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. The first performance took place during the first month of 1715 at the Nakamura-za 中村座 Theater.[28]

The artist has painted three actors in the midst of an altercation. One stands and has smashed a table in two, and is being restrained by the figure behind him as he raises a piece of the splintered wood to strike the seated figure before him. The standing figure is that of Ichikawa Danjūrō II (1685-1757). He wears the Soga family crest on his kamishimo 裃 (ceremonial dress), and his robe beneath this carries the square crest of the Danjūrō's, three rice measures. He took the role of Gorō 五郎 in the play. The actor restraining him wears the crest of Tomizawa Hansaburō 富澤半三郎 on his robe, and that of Asahina 朝比奈, the role he plays, on his kamishimo. The actor in armor being threatened by Danjūrō is Ogawa Zengorō 小川善五郎, in the role of Kudō Suketsune 工藤祐経. The identification of the figures is verified for on the back of the painting there is mounted a note by the previously mentioned comic writer Ōta Nampo (1749-1823) which reports the comments of the fifth generation Danjūrō (1741-1806) upon viewing

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Tuttle Company, 1956, pp. 462-463. The book also contains good summaries of a number of kabuki plays.

[28] Ihara Toshirō 伊原敏郎, Kabuki nempyō 歌舞伎年表 (Chronology of the kabuki theater), Vol. I, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1956, p.447.

the painting. The note is signed with one of Ōta's pseudonyms, Kyōkaen 杏花園. Danjūrō V told him that the Goro represented was his grandfather, the second generation actor of this name. In itself this is important, for it clarifies a mystery which had existed up until this time as to whether or not Danjūrū IV really was the son of Danjūrō II.[29] From this inscription we know that to be so. He also identifies the other actors.

The painting of a scene from the play Bandō Ichi Kotobuki Soga is signed Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信, and carries the square shaped seal reading Kiyonobu 清信, which was that of the first artist to use this name. The general genealogy of the family is reported in an unpublished manuscript titled Torii ga keifu 鳥居畫系譜 (Genealogy of Torii painting), compiled by a person who used the name Tomosame Kaneko Masayoshi 伴雨兼子誠好, which the author recently located.[30] A selection from some of the contents reveals the following:

1645 The founder Kiyomoto was born.

1661 Kiyomoto married.

1664 First artist of the school, Kiyonobu, was born.

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[29] Ueno Shigesaburō 上野繁三郎, op. cit., p. 65.

[30] The unpublished manuscript consists of forty pages. Its known bibliographical data is as follows; Tomosame Kaneko Masayoshi 伴雨兼子誠好, Torii ga keifu 鳥居畫系譜 (Genealogy of Torii painting), Tokyo: [no publisher], [no date].

1680 His pupil Hanegawa Chinchō 羽川珍重 was born (there is some question as to the date).

1687 Kiyomoto and his son Kiyonobu moved to Edo.

1690 Kiyomoto and Kiyonobu painted their first theatrical billboard.

1693 Kiyonobu married.

1702 Kiyomoto died.

1706 The second artist of the school, Kiyomasu 清倍, was born.

1716 Kiyonobu's wife died on the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month. Her posthumous name was Yōkōin Myōgi Niten Shinnyo 大量大院妙像映歓. She died at the age of 42 [Japanese reckoning is used for the ages].

1721 Kiyomoto's wife died at the age of 65 on the twentieth day of the tenth month. Her posthumous name was Hōmyō Myōō Shinnyo 法名妙性信女.

1724 Kiyomasu married. At this time these pupils were active: Chinchō; Kiyotsune 清経 I; Kiyotada 清忠 I; Kiyoshige 清重; Kiyoaki 清朗; Kiyomoto II; Kiyotomo 清朝.

1729 First artist of the school, Kiyonobu, died.

1735 Third artist of the school, Kiyomitsu 清満, was born.

1752 Fourth artist of the school, Kiyonaga 清長, was born.

1754 Third artist of the school, Kiyomitsu, married. The pupil Hanegawa Chinchō died.

1755 The wife of the third artist of the school, Kiyomitsu, gave birth to a daughter.

1761 The wife of the second artist of the school, Kiyomasu, died at the age of 55 on the fourteenth day of the eighth month. Her posthumous name was Hōmyō Kōunin Myōzennito Shinnyo 法名教運院妙善日堂信女.

1763 The second artist of the school, Kiyomasu, died. At this time the atelier was composed of the following: Kiyohiro 清廣 ; Kiyoharu 清春 ; Kiyohide 清英 ; and Kiyotsune 清經 II.

1771 The eldest daughter of the third artist of the school, Kiyomitsu, married Matsuya Kameji 松屋龜次 .

1776 The pupil Kiyohiro died.

1785 The third artist of the school, Kiyomitsu, died.

1787 The fifth artist of the school, Kiyomine 清峰 , was born. The atelier at this time was composed of the following: Kiyokatsu 清勝 ; Kiyotsugi 清次 ; Kiyosada 清定 ; Kiyotoki 清時 I; Kiyohisa 清久 ; Kiyofusa 清房 ; Kiyotada II; and others.

1794 Torii Hansabusō 鳥居半三郎 died. The pupils at this time were the following: Kiyomasa 清政 ; Kiyoyuki 清之 ; Kiyosato 清里 ; Kiyotoshi 清俊 ; Kiyotoki II; Morotada 師忠 ; and others.

1808 The wife of Kiyomitsu died on the tenth day of the twelfth month at the age of seventy-two. Her posthumous name was Hōmyō Eirin-in Myōdō Nishū Shinnyo 法名永林院妙道日修信

1815 The fourth artist of the school, Kiyonaga, died.

1818 A lesser pupil Kiyotada III was born.

1819 The fifth artist of the school, Kiyomine, married.

1824 Matsuya Kameji, the son-in law of the third artist of the school, Kiyomitsu, died on the eighteenth day of the fifth month at the age of eighty-six. His posthumous name was Hōmyō Jōjuin Sōyō Nishū Shinshi 法名常喜院宗要日修信士. The pupils in the atelier at this time were the following: Kiyoyasu 清安 ; Kiyomasa 清雅 ; Kiyotada III; Kiyomoto III; and others.

1829 A pupil, Tokuda Kiyotane 徳田清種 was born.

1832 The sixth artist of the school, Kiyomitsu 清満 III, was born.

1836 The true child, Kiyokuni 清國 , and the adopted son, Kiyomine II, of the fifth artist of the school, Kiyomine, were born.

1839 The wife of Matsuya Kameji, the daughter of the third artist of the school, Kiyomitsu, died on the twenty-fourth day of the first month at the age of eighty-five. Her posthumous name was Hōmyō Eijuin Myōyō Nichigyō Shinnyo 法名永喜院妙要日行信女.

1841 The sanza 三座 (three theaters) moved to Asakusa. The fifth artist of the school, Kiyomitsu, attended the machi bugyō 町奉行 (the town official). /It appears that Kiyomine I changed his name to Kiyomitsu at this time./

1845 A pupil, Kiyosada 清貞 , was born.

1855 Kiyokuni died.

1867 Kiyomine II died. Kiyosada married. In the atelier

at this time there were Kiyotane and others.

1868 The fifth artist of the school, Kiyomitsu II, died.

1872 The sixth artist of the school, Kiyomitsu III, married.

1874 A daughter Aka アカ was born to the sixth artist of the school, Kiyomitsu III.

1875 Kiyotada IV was born. Kiyotada III died.

The Torii line was a long one and throughout its history it remained true to its tradition of actors and courtesans.

The women of the red-light district were sympathetically portrayed by most ukiyoe artists. One of the artists who took them as his theme and also succeeded in establishing his own school was Miyagawa Chōshun 宮川長春 (1683-1753). He was born in Owari 尾張 Province, Kaisei 海西 District, in the village of Miyagawa and it is from this that he took his family name. He moved from there at an unknown date and settled in Edo at Shiba Ta-machi 芝田町. As alternate names, he used Kiheiji 喜平次 and Chōzaemon 長左衛門. While in Edo, Choshun served as a ward official and his skill in painting became widely known. He fused the traditions of the Kanō and Tosa schools with those of Moronobu and Kaigetsudō. The influence of the latter, however, is most evident. In 1749 he was considered to be of sufficient stature as an artist to be asked to join Kanō Shunka 狩野春賀 in the repair of the great Tōshōgu 東照宮 Shrine at Nikkō 日光.[31] Chōshun's

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[31] The tomb of the Shogun Ieyasu 家康 and others of the Tokugawa family are located there. The shrine and the

son, Chōsuke 長助, accompanied him and assisted in the work. An argument, however, took place over the question of payment for his father's services and Chōsuke in anger is reported to have struck and slain members of the Shunka faction. As a result, his life came to an end[32] and his father as a penalty was exiled to Niijima 新島 Island.[33] Once again we have an example of an artist in trouble with the government. This appears to have been the bane of the ukiyoe masters.

Although he was exiled, Chōshun's painting appears not to have suffered. A portrayal of a Courtesan Smoking Under a Willow Tree (Plate XXXVII)[34] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art is typical of his work. The languid quality of a hot summer day is captured by the artist. The robe of the courtesan is partially open and she raises a tobacco pipe to her mouth. The angle of the bench is utterly impossible and, although reality would forbid such a perch, artistic license permits it. The special characteristic of Chōshun that he passed along to his followers was an ability to impart to the

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temple structures have periodically undergone repair.

[32] It is uncertain whether Chōshun's 長春 son voluntarily committed suicide or whether he was executed by Shogunate court orders.

[33] This story is related in Shiichi Tajima, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 38-39.

[34] This painting bears the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.429.

bulky figures that he took from Kaigetsudō the delicacy and charm of Moronobu. This is noticeable among other places in the refinement of outline and the patterned fabrics of the robes. Chōshun added to all of this an excellent sense of color as well as a mild understanding of Kanō school landscape. These he synthesized in producing his distinctive paintings.

Another prolific painter of the period was Okumura Masanobu 奥村政信 (1686-1764).[35] He also glorified the actors and the courtesans. He used many pseudonyms as his signature, including those of Bunkaku 文角, Tanchōsai 丹鳥齋, Hōgetsudō 芳月堂, Shimmyō 親妙, Genroku

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[35] Detailed discussions and biographies of Okumura Masanobu 奥村政信 can be found in the following : Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., pp. 184-187; Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, Ukiyoe tokuhon 浮世繪讀本 (Ukiyoe reader), Tokyo: Takamizawa Mokuhan Sha 高見澤木版社, 1939, pp. 178-182; Hakaru Kintei Shujin 寸錦亭主人 "Okumura Masanobu no kotodomo" 奥村政信の事ども (Facts about Okumura Masanobu), Ukiyoe shi 浮世繪志, (Ukiyoe Magazine), op. cit., No. 7, pp. 19-23. A rather complete review of his black and white illustrated books can be found in the following: Shibui Kiyoshi 渋井清, "Masanobu no sumie" 政信之墨繪 (Masanobu's ink pictures), Ukiyoe no kenkyū 浮世繪之研究 (Ukiyoe research), Vol. VI, no. 3, Tokyo, Nihon Ukiyoe Kyōkai 日本浮世繪協會, March, 1929.

源六, and Gempachi 源八 , to list but some of them. Most of these, it is said, were given to him by his teacher of poetry, Shōgetsudō Fusumi Senō 松月堂不角千翁 under whom he studied at about the age of twenty. Little is known of Masanobu's origin. He is reported to have established a print and book sales shop at Tōrishio-chō 通塩町 in Edo about 1724. This shop he called both the Okumuraya 奥村屋 and the Kakujudō 鶴壽堂 . It was from this shop, as a center, that he directed both his commercial and artistic ventures. Masanobu was a great innovator, although his experiments along this line are more evident in the field of prints than in painting. He is said to have introduced the first pillar prints and the so-called "urushi-e" 漆絵 (lacquer prints). Actually lacquer was rarely used. In place of it glue was mixed with the pigments and then applied. It produces a glossy and brilliant surface. In addition to these new additions to the print maker's craft, Masanobu is believed to have been the first to use mica on prints. He appears to have been inquisitive and interested in textures and the nature of things.

The paintings of Masanobu show that he was influenced by the work of Moronobu and Kiyonobu as well as that of Kaigetsudō. He also was aware of his contemporary, Miyagawa Chōshun. The paintings in general reflect a broader scope than do those of all but Moronobu. He makes use of settings and shows a concern for spatial effects. This can probably be linked to his earlier mentioned inquisitiveness. It also grew out of

an expanding interest in Japan in Western things. Perspective and a concern for reality in space was important to the European artist. I feel that there is no question that Masanobu at one point came into contact with Western art or books.

The Freer Gallery of Art possesses a number of paintings by Okumura Masanobu.[36] An Autumn Visit (Plate XXXVIII) shows a well-known theme of an actor disguised as a woman out for a stroll into the hills covered with autumn foliage. The actor is accompanied by an attendant who carries an umbrella over his head. He is probably on his way to visit a thatch-covered mountain hut in the upper left corner of the painting. In this house two figures are seated. A bamboo tube acts as a pipe-line and zigzags to carry a stream from the rear of the painting to a point near the mountain house where it breaks and cascades as a waterfall over a rock. The use of this device as well as the placement of the house on a diagonal and the alternation of the hills along the path receding into space give us a sense of depth. Although the painting is unsigned, there is little doubt of its being the work of Masanobu. In all likelihood it is a scene from a play; however, we as yet have been unable to identify it.

A Private Puppet Show (Plate XXXIX)[37] in the Freer Gallery

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[36] This painting has the Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.99.

[37] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.250.

of Art is another painting by Masanobu. In it he has painted a puppeteer and his staff of musicians, story-teller, and chanters performing in a palatial home. The audience is restricted in size, and the fact that the women watching the performance observe it through the split bamboo blinds of a screen leads us to believe that the house is that of a daimyō or very well-to-do samurai. Masanobu did not as yet fully understand Western perspective, and thus the setting is awkward. His persistent concern for it, however, is an innovation to the art of ukiyoe. The painting is signed with one of his signatures which reads Hogetsudō Okumura Masanobu Zu 芳月堂奥村正久信圖.

Courtesans were not neglected by Masanobu in his paintings. The Courtesan Takao and Attendants (Plate XL)[38] is the subject of another painting by him. The circular shape of the umbrella that an attendant holds over the head of Takao 高尾[39] and her kamuro is repeated in the placement

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[38] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.100.

[39] The courtesans who used the name Takao 高尾 are many. They encompass from the first to the eleventh generations. A report on the various women who took the name can be found in Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, Ukiyoe jiten 浮世繪辭典 (Ukiyoe dictionary), Tokyo: Hokkō Shobō 北光書房, 1944, p. 603; and Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦, Takao nendai ki 高尾年代記 (A chronology of Takao); [no place]; [no publisher], 1849.

of the three figures. The third generation Takao is probably the one represented, for it is her crest of a maple leaf placed within a ring that is on the umbrella held by the attendant.[40] On the upper portion of the painting there is an inscription which is a copy of a letter purportedly written by one of the Takaō's to Date Tsunamune 伊達綱宗 (ca. 1660). The copy is signed Gomeiro gi Hanaogi 五明樓妓華扇 (The courtesan Hanaogi of the house called Gomeirō). It is a love note in which Takao reaffirms that Tsunamune, although he has departed to return to his home in Sendai 仙臺, is always present in her heart. Her poem may be interpreted in the same manner, "My lord, you are yet in Komagata 駒形, the cuckoo calls."[41] The

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[40] Actually it would be difficult to establish which Takao is represented. The crest on the umbrella is that considered today to belong to the third generation, however ; it may have been used by others. The third Takao was active during the 1660's. Masanobu had not yet been born. By the time he was painting, Takao V had ascended. The crest found on the umbrella is published in Ibid, p. 11a.

[41] The Japanese text for the poem is Kimi wa mada, Komagata atari, Hototogisu 君はまだ駒形あたりほととぎす. Komagata-chō 駒形町, is located in the Asakusa 浅草 district in which most of the houses wherein the courtesans were employed were located. The call of the cuckoo is considered by the Japanese to be one of longing. Another interpretation of the ppem would be, "My lord, have you as yet reached

painting is signed by Masanobu as follows: Nihon Gakō Okumura Masanobu Zu 日本畫工奥村政信圖(Painted by the Japanese artist Okumura Masanobu). He was proud of his profession. The painting carries his seals reading Okumura and Masanobu. There is an interesting change of characters in the former seal, for instead of using the standard for mura 村 , the artist used its alternate 邨 .

Masanobu's painting, The Bridge of Maples -Act II Bandō Ichi Kotobuki Soga (Plate XLI)[42], is another instance of the artist's using the theater as a theme. In considering Torii Kiyonobu we discussed a painting by him from the same play (Plate XXXVI). The legend represented by the actors Ichikawa Danjūrō as Gorō and Nakamura Takesaburō 中村竹三郎 as Shōshō 少將 is that of the Divine Herdsman, the star Aquilla, meeting the Weaving Princess, the star Vega. They do this but once a year and at that time the leaves of the maples form a bridge to make the meeting possible. This legend developed into the Tanabata 七夕 Festival in Japan, which is celebrated on the seventh night of the seventh month of the lunar calendar. Gorō and Shōshō are believed to be reincarnations of the two stars in the play Bandō Ichi

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Komagata; the cuckoo cries." It is interesting to note that in the Hiroshige 廣重 print series titled Edo Meishō Zue 江戸名所圖會 (Pictures of Noted Places in Edo), a cuckoo is shown in flight at the top of the print showing Komagatadō 駒形堂 .

[42] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.119.

Kotobuki Soga. As this play was performed in 1715, Masanobu would have been but twenty-nine years old and thus it is most likely an early work of his.

The Bridge of Maples painting gives us warning of a trend which was on the increase in ukiyoe. As the demand for paintings increased, the artist took to copying over and over again the same design. Not content with this amount of repetition his pupils did likewise and thus a design would soon be exploited. In an unidentified collection in Japan, there is a painting which is a duplicate of the one in the Freer Gallery of Art.[43]

A puppet play performed in a private home, as we have seen, was the subject of one painting by Masanobu. The ningyō shibai 人形芝居 (puppet play), as a form of entertainment, grew in importance and attracted the greatest literary talents of the age, such as Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1724)[44] who is often spoken of as the Shakespeare of Japan.

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[43] This painting is reproduced in the following: Tōhō Shoin 東方書院 ed., Ukiyoe taisei 浮世絵大成 (The complete ukiyoe), Vol. II, Tokyo: Tōhō Shoin 東方書院, 1931, Plate CLXXVII.

[44] Japanese scholars as well as those of the West have done a great deal of research in studies of the work of Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1724). One of the most useful volumes in understanding his writing is Ueda Mantoshi 上田萬年, Chikamatsu go i 近松語彙 (A glossary of terms used by Chikamatsu), Tokyo: Fuzambō 富山房, 1930.

The puppet theater for which he wrote took root in Osaka and even to the present day is a speciality of that city. The Snow Scene from the Puppet Play Onna Hachi no Ki 女鉢の木[45] (The Women's Potted Dwarfed Trees) (Plate XLII) in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, is the noblest specimen of painting today which deals with this variety of theatrical life in Japan. It is in the form of a six-fold screen and is a most puzzling painting, for nothing is known about the artist who designed it. On the pillar of the stage the artist has written his signature which may be read Yamatoe Ichiryū Tōgetsudō Mantokusai Bunkaku Zu 倭繪一流東月堂萬德齋文鶴圖 (Painted by Tōgetsudō Mantokusai Bunkaku in a style characteristic of yamatoe). Below the signature are two seals which read Bunkaku 文鶴 and Mantokusai 萬德齋. The painting is beautifully executed and extremely rich in color. The artist places us directly before the stage and we can peer from its very edge into the wonders of the performance that have been unveiled with the opening of the curtain, which is tied back on the left edge of the screen. Thus the painting is framed by the pillar with the signature on the right, the curtain on the left, the edge of the stage at the bottom, and the upper edge of the proscenium at the top, on which is inscribed the title of the play being performed, read Onna hachi no ki. Receding from both the top and lower edges of the painting are the lines of the floor boards and ceiling, which carry us back into space and also reveal to us

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[45] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.505.

that the artist had some familiarty with Western perspective. Scattered about the stage are the setting, props, the puppeteers manipulating the figures, and a raised dais upon which are seated four musicians and chanters. Before the dais sits the leading narrator and manager of the theater. In this instance, he is reported to be the noted Takemoto Gidayū 竹本義太夫 (1651-1714), who first introduced this particular form of dramatic play in which the narration was accompanied by music. Written on the dais behind his head in gold is an inscription which contains the words he states as he welcomes the public to his theater and to that particular performance of the play, The Potted Dwarf Trees.

The story of the play is indeed well known.[46] It was a favorite theme of Japanese theatrical performances and illustrates the kind and charitable personality of Saimyōji Tokiyori 最明寺時頼. Briefly recounted, the story tells of a loyal knight, Tsuneyo 常世, who was banished from Kamakura 鎌倉 to his estate at Sano 佐野. On a stormy winter day he went forth from home, and while away a Buddhist monk stopped at his dwelling and asked Tsuneyo's wife to give him shelter. She virtuously refused him admittance for her

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[46] The play Hachi no ki 鉢の木 (The potted dwarfed trees) was a common one performed on the puppet stage. It is listed in the following work: Wakatsuki Yasuji 若月保治, Ningyō jōruri shi kenkyū 人形瑠璃史研究 (Studies on the history of the puppet theater and jōruri drama), Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten 桜井書店, 1943, p. 332.

husband was away. Upon Tsuneyo's return, the priest again requested shelter, but was once more refused for Tsuneyo said he was too impoverished to assist the priest. As the priest set forth into the cold, Tsuneyo's wife felt pity for him and convinced her husband to call him back and provide him with lodging and to share whatever meager food they had. In the evening they ate, and as the night wore on their supply of fuel ran low, and a great chill descended upon the house. There was no wood left to replenish the fire and Tsuneyo in a gesture of sacrifice burnt his three beloved dwarfed trees to provide warmth for the priest. During the night the priest learnt the unjust cause of Tsuneyo's exile and promised to present and plead his case to the Shogun and then he departed in the morning. One day Tsuneyo saw many samurai and men hurrying to the capital. He learned that the Shogun had summoned all loyal retainers, and moved by this, he joined the group. Once he reached the Shogun's court he was ordered to appear before the regent. As soon as he entered his presence, he noticed him to be none other than the priest who had visited him during the winter storm. The priest was actually the regent, Saimyōji Tokiyori, and he restored Tsuneyo to all his former rights and privileges, and in addition to this presented him with three extra estates; one for each of the favorite potted dwarfed trees that Tsuneyo had burnt to provide him with warmth the night of the storm.[47]

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[47] The text of the play is given in Sanari Kentarō 佐成謙太郎, Yōkyoku taikan 謡曲大観 (a collection of

The screen on which the story of the puppet play appears is a complete mystery. As we have earlier stated, the artist, although we have a signature, i unknown. His name is not recorded and this painting appears to be the only work he ever produced. This is the general opinion of Japanese scholars in regard to it.[48] I find it difficult to agree with them. The character of the painting is such that it is hard to believe that it is the work of a man who produced one painting and then stopped. No prints or book illustrations exist with the Tōgetsudō Mantokusai Bunkaku signature. I feel the screen is the product of a well-known artist who for some reason unknown to us chose to disguise his identity by signing the painting in this manner. Certainly otherwise there would be some trace of the work of a man of this calibre. The use of the name Bunkaku 文鶴, may be a clue. We know that Okumura Masanobu also used this name as one of his pseudonyms, but he used a different character for kaku 鳥. We also know that he had a great interest in the puppet theater as themes for his paintings and prints. In addition to this we are aware that he used this particular character reading kaku 鶴, in the name he gave to his print shop Kakujudō 鶴壽堂. The other names in the signature

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nō chants), Vol. IV, Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, third printing 1939, pp. 2545-2571.

[48] Fujikake Shizuya 藤懸靜也, op. cit., p. 93. Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., p. 676.

parallel those used by Masanobu. Thus Tōgetsudō on the screen matches Hōgetsudō 芳月堂, and Mantokusai matches Masanobu's use of Tanchōsai. We cannot as yet say the Onna hachi no ki screen was painted by Masanobu, but at the same time we cannot reject that possibility. Regardless of whether it be by his hand or that of another master, it is a superb example of ukiyoe theatrical painting.

The artists that we have thus far considered were the founders of the individual ateliers within the ukiyoe school. Almost all that was to follow can be traced directly back to them for the sun of ukiyoe had risen in the heaven and was approaching high noon.

The Followers

Each artist and every painting that we have thus far considered has an important role in our understanding of the total picture of ukiyoe art. Were either lacking or missing, a gap would appear in the chain that binds the school together. The paintings in particular are important, for they have given us much additional information about the artists that often could not be found elsewhere. We now have a foundation on which to build and demonstrate the trends and developments that occurred in the eighteenth century.

The subject matter selected by the painters of ukiyoe in the eighteenth century remained unchanged from that of the previous era. Their treatment of the themes, however, did alter. There was an overall tendency to seek refinement in all save the erotic paintings to which the application of such

a term seems incongruous. The ukiyoe artists' interest in man had altered from a concern as to his place in a group to a study of his individual pursuits. The crowds seen in the early paintings were generally replaced by small gatherings or individual representations. The statuesque quality of the Kaigetsudō women vanished and was replaced by an attempt to impart a sense of warmth and nobility to the figures.

The artist Shunsui 春水 who was active in the first half of the eighteenth century is typical of the trend. He is believed to have been a pupil of Chōshun and the influence of that great master is strongly evident not only in Shunsui's paintings, but also in his name, for he called himself Miyagawa Shunsui 宮川春水. He continued to use this name until the time that Chōshun was exiled, but even then he kept half of it for a while by signing his paintings Katsumiyagawa Shunsui 勝宮川春水. It was only a number of years after the disgrace of Chōshun that he entirely abandoned the Miya portion of the name and reduced it to Katsukawa. His figures are rather small and gentle looking. There is no bluster about them. He believed that they belonged in a setting and did not suspend them in a vacuum as did many of the earlier artists.

There are two paintings by Shunsui in the Freer Gallery of Art. Few of his paintings have survived, and the ones illustrated here are typical. A Woman Washing Her Hair (Plate XLIII)[49] is an early work. In it he has painted a lady

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[49] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.109.

on a verandah crouching before a tub in which she is washing her hair. Behind her stands an attendant who holds a water pitcher which will be used in rinsing the long black tresses of her mistress. The body of the woman washing her hair is bare from the waist up, and this in itself is an unusual feature in Japanese art. Prior to the ukiyoe, the nude or semi-nude figure was unheard of save in representations of scenes of the Buddhist Hell, a limited number of yamatoe and some erotic paintings. The ukiyoe artists in their attempt to show life as it actually was did not hesitate to paint the nude. The instances are rare and the presentation often clumsy. The fact that they did not falter at this hurdle, however, is a notable achievement to be recorded to their credit. The faces are similar to those which can be seen in the handscrolls by Chōshun in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts. Only a corner of the house is shown and part of the verandah and roof extends beyond the allotted space of the composition. Shunsui added a touch of landscape to this with a hedge and tree in the background. By combining all of these features, he has imparted a sense of depth and space to a composition restricted in scope by its format. The painting appears to be an early one for it is signed Miyagawa Shunsui; indicating that Chōshun had not as yet fallen from grace.

A Woman on a Verandah (Plate XLIV)[50] is the subject of the other painting by Shunsui. It is quite obviously of later date, for now the name in the signature reads Katsukawa Shunsui.

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[50] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 01.5.

Although all trace of a direct Miyagawa family tie had been eradicated from the name, the painting betrays Chōshun's influence for the figure resembles those by him. There is a plumpness of face and the entire form is outlined by a thin line rather than by the heavy, bold brush strokes seen in the work of followers of the Kaigetsudō studio. The fine patterned robe also carries us back via Chōshun, his teacher, to Moronobu. The difference between Shunsui and Chōshun lies on the former's utilization of his settings to impart depth to the paintings. The angle of the verandah which vanishes at either side and the placement of the woman upon it creates this illusion. Chōshun on the other hand had never quite so skilfully mastered the problem.

The gradual refinement of ukiyoe had no greater champion than the artist Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1725-1770). There is a great question as to whether or not a single acceptable painting from his hand survives. In prints he is unchallenged as the master with the delicate touch. The men and women he portrayed have a fragile quality that reminds us of porcelain figurines. Their ankles are so thin that one must marvel that they can support the bodies, and their wrists in a like manner make the hands appear useful only as decoration.[51]

The origin of Harunobu and his early training is unknown.

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[51] Biographies and discussions of Harunobu 春信 can be found in the following: Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., pp. 150-152. Hashiguchi Goyō 橋口五葉, "Suzuki Harunobu no e" 鈴木春信の畫

It is mainly through his prints and illustrated books that we can piece together a story of his life, but even then it is very sketchy. We believe that he was of the Suzuki family, but he may have adopted that name. His true name is believed to have been Suiseki 穂積 and he also used the names Jihei 次兵 and Chōeiken 長榮軒 as well as others. He lived in Edo and at one time dwelt in Ryōgoku 兩國 at the corner of Yonezawa-chō 米澤町 and later he is reported in Kanda 神田 on Shirakabe-chō 白壁町. His artistic output closely resembles that of Nishikawa Sukenobu, and it is obvious that Harunobu was much influenced by that artist. In addition to this, he appears to have also studied the artistic production of the Torii studio. If we search futher, we find an additional parallel between his work and that of Shunsui.

Normally one would not venture to consider Harunobu as a painter. A curious kakemono in the Freer Gallery of Art, however, has aroused my interest and I believe raises a problem that is worthy of consideration here. A Woman Writing (Plate XLV)[52] in a villa located on the bank of a river or lake is the subject of the painting. It is an ordinary theme and its derivation goes back to Chinese painting, for the scholar writing or just sitting in a pavilion and gazing

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(Pictures by Suzuki Harunobu) Ukiyoe 浮世繪 Volumes I, II, III, IV, V, and VII, Tokyo: Ukiyoe Sha 浮世繪社, 1915, pp. 8-13, 4-8, 5-10, 1-4, 1-6, and 1-4.

[52] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 01.166.

out over a lake is often encountered. The woman is seated before a low table upon which lies her notepaper and inkstone case. She rests her elbows on the edge of the table and gazes out over the lake or river in reverie. Boats with passengers cross the water and in the distance is the far shore, a flight of geese, and the distant mountainous horizon. Above the open verandah there is a sign which reads Kinryū 金龍 (Golden Dragon) and is probably the name of the villa. The figure of the woman is not typical of those seen in Harunobu's prints, although this does not preclude it from being a product of his brush. It is the signature and seal, however, that are most puzzling. The signature reads Koryūsai /Hana Okina/ Harunobu ga 湖龍齋花翁春信畫 (Painted by Koryūsai /Hana Okina/ Harunobu).[53] A conflict has raged for years among ukiyoe scholars as to what the relationship between Harunobu and the artist Koryūsai was. It has even been argued by a few that they were the same person. There has been no evidence, however, by which we can connect the two names as one. The Freer Gallery painting, however, may provide a link. This signature combination does not appear elsewhere. Four alternate explanations can be suggested. The first would be that Harunobu and Koryūsai were the same man. This is very doubtful, for there are stylistic peculiarities distinctive to work signed with each name. The second explanation would be that Harunobu also used the pseudonym of Koryūsai and that this was later adopted by a man working in his style. There is

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[53] This portion of the signature is not clear, however, it appears to be Hana Okina 花翁.

some logic to this theory; however, no concrete evidence in the form of other specimens with the same signature exists. The third explanation could be that the painting is a forgery. It is very doubtful that this is true, for the quality of the painting and its physical make-up, as well as its condition, inspire trust. The fourth explanation would be that the painting is a joint work, and thus both names appear on it. Normally on such specimens, both signatures appear in full rather than as a single combined name. An unusual seal is placed on the painting, which adds to the confusion. It may be read Nobutoyo 陳豊, but appears to be a name used by neither Harunobu nor Koryūsai. In fact, it can be traced to no artist. We can thus suggest one additional explanation, and that is that the painting is the work of a completely new and unrecorded artist. Although a conclusion is impossible, we may continue the traditional attribution and hope that its inclusion here will stimulate further research on the problem.

An important contributor to the development of ukiyoe was the artist Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1738-1818). He sparked the interest in Japan for both Western art and studies. In painting he was concerned with realism and chided the Japanese artists for their inability to reproduce true copies of nature. After a period of experimentation in the field of ukiyoe he turned from this school and devoted his effort to oil painting, copper plate engraving, and the lagging interest of the Japanese in science and the eighteenth century world outside of Japan. He was an internationalist.

Kōkan was born in Edo and his true name appears to have been Andō 安藤. He also used the name Shun 山交 and selected a multitude of those to use as an artist and author. These include those of Kungaku 君嶽, Katsusaburō 勝三郎, Sondaifu 孫太夫, and Shunparō 春波樓 as well as others. In his writings, which are numerous, he tells us that he was naturally artistic and that his uncle encouraged his interest. He studied painting first with a Kanō artist called Hisanobu 古信 but soon claimed he was disgusted with Japanese art and started to study the Chinese schools and especially the style of Sō Shiseki 宋紫石 (1712-1786). At the same time he began to admire ukiyoe and particularly, the work of the artist Harunobu who unfortunately died in 1770. Harunobu was most popular and Kōkan appears to have been an opportunist, for he took to turning out prints and paintings which he forged with Harunobu's signature and seals. These were not detected by the buyers; however, Kōkan's conscience began to trouble him and he took to signing his work Harushige 春重 to distinguish it from that of Harunobu. Once he had accomplished this, however, a change in his style occurred. Instead of the heavy and solid areas of color used by other ukiyoe artists he painted in light and delicate tones. He claimed that all of this was due to his careful study of Chinese painters such as Ch'ou Ying 仇英 (flourished 1522-1560).[54]

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[54] Many passages from Kōkan's 江漢 writing can be found. They appear both in the original Japanese and translation in

The story of Kōkan's later life is a fascinating one and I am much tempted to lose myself in it. We are concerned, however, with his contribution to ukiyoe which was the addition of a touch of realism to the paintings, He wanted to change Japanese perspective to that of the West. He was successful to some degree for he did convince a number of artists including Hokusai 北斎 to pay more attention to realism and in so doing altered the course of ukiyoe. Partially due to his influence more attention was given to things such as shadows, transparency of materials, and the phenomena of nature. Snow and rain as well as plant and animal life all began to approach reality. Kōkan, of course, was not alone in this drive to alter the course of Japanese art, for men such as Maruyama Ōkyo 圓山應擧 (1733-1795), Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内(1723-1779) and the whole group of artists at Nagasaki were joined in this common cause.[55] An especially fine collection of paintings by the experimenters in this

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articles such as the following: [No author], "Shiba Kōkan", Kokka, Vol. XIX, No. 219, Tokyo: The Kokka Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 64-72; Nakai Sōtarō 中井宗太郎, Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢, Tokyo: Atorie Sha アトリエ社, 1943. Kōkan reports much of his early life in his Gōkai ki 後悔記, (Confessions).

[55] Kuroda Genji 黒田源次 Nagasaki kei yōga 長崎系洋畫 (Western style painting of the Nagasaki school), Tokyo: Sōgen Sha 創元社, 1932.

style are to be found in the Kōbe Municipal Museum in Kōbe, Japan.[56]

Although Kōkan painted a great deal, little of his work in the ukiyoe style has survived. Especially scarce are those that relate to the period when he was painting in the Harunobu manner. Most of these that still exist are of an inferior nature. His portrait of a Girl Holding a Firefly Cage (Plate XLVI)[57] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, however, is a good painting and probably the finest he produced in the Harunobu manner. It is signed Shōtei Harushige 鵜亭春重, which tells us that it was produced after he felt troubled by his conscience for turning out forgeries signed Harunobu. He had not relented all of the way, however, for the seal on the painting reads Harunobu 春信. The ankles and wrists of the young girl as well as the face and body proportions closely resemble those of Harunobu. The girl holds a cage of fireflies in her hand, and in his concern for realism Kōkan has made them glow in the cage. They set the season as summer as does the gauze-like outer robe that the girl wears. The transparency of the fabric is skilfully handled. It is obviously a night scene for the moon

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[56] They were formerly in the Ikenaga 池長 Museum and are published in the catalogue; Ikenaga Takeshi 池長孟 Hōsai banka daihōkan 我彩蠻華大寶鑑 (Catalogue of foreign style painting produced in Japan), Osaka: Sōgen Sha 創元社, 1933.

[57] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.96.

is in the sky. This is one area in which Kōkan failed for the even light on the scene would lead us more likely to believe that it was noon.

The painting contains many elements in addition to those already mentioned illustrative of Kōkan's interest in experimentation and his growing concern for realism. He carefully portrayed the verandah on which the girl stands and shaded areas such as the support and floor boards to give a slight sense of shadow. He painted the flowers at the corner of the house more meticulously so that their botanical identification can be more easily made. It is in his painting of the shōji of the house, however, that we can clearly see the extent he went to in order to achieve the realism he sought. Shōji are composed of a lattice work frame covered with paper. The outer surface is covered with the paper whereas on the inner surface the ribs of the framework are often left exposed. Kōkan was not content, as had been artists in the past, to simply draw lines to indicate the ridges formed by the ribs. Instead, he actually built up ribs on the back side of the silk and thus captured the true effect of a shōji. Though he strove for realism in the painting, the limits of the ukiyoe school did not allow him to fully achieve it. He therefore abandoned ukiyoe, but not before he had awakened a concern among artists for the way objects actually appeared in nature. He modestly summed up his contribution in a poem composed towards the end of his life. It may be freely translated "Kōkan has now grown old and is dying. I leave

nothing in this world but a single perspective painting."[58]

Most ukiyoe artists also produced prints. Some exceptions to this rule would be Kaigetsudō Ando and Miyagawa Chōshun. Another artist whose work is rarely seen, however, also falls into this category, He is Kawamata Tsunemasa 川又常正. Next to nothing is known about him and he is included here primarily in the hope that the addition of another painting by him to those already known,and its publication,may through circulation shed additional light on the artist. He was of the Kawamata 川又 family and is noted for his delicate portrayals of beautiful women. He is thought to have been active during the period extending from 1716 to 1747 and was a follower of the artist Kawamata Tsuneyuki 川又常行 who was born in 1677. Equally little is known about this man.

The delicacy with which Tsunemasa treats his figures should remind us of those of Shunsui, Harunobu, and Nishikawa Sukenobu. He has even decreased their size if we compare them with the canon of proportions followed by the others. I feel that there is little doubt that we will eventually find sufficient evidence to relate him to them.

Typical of his paintings is one depicting The Brine Maidens of Suma 須磨 (Plate XLVII)[59] in the collection

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[58] The Japanese text for the poem is as follows: 江湊が年がよったで死ぬる成り浮世に残す浮繪一枚

[59] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.74.

of the Freer Gallery of Art. The story is a familiar one and the painting shows the two maidens, Matsukaze 松風 and Murasame 村雨, beside a pine tree at the beach of Suma.[60] One figure stands and masquerades in the cap and coat of Ariwara no Yukihira 在原行平 (818-893), their absent lover. The other maiden sits at her feet and holds her sleeve. A yoke with two pails for carrying salt water from the sea rests on the ground and also assists us in identifying the story, as does the lengthy poetic inscription at the top of the painting written in a Chinese style. The theme of lost love is both a sad and delicate one. Tsunemasa was the perfect artist to capture this moment.

The coming of the Anei 安永 period (1772-1780) brought a new look to ukiyoe painting. During it a new type of hair style came into vogue. Prior to this the hair at the sides of the head, had been drawn back and used to form knots or knobs of varying shapes. In Anei, however, hairpins made of different materials were employed to make the side locks billow out. When that was combined with the knob on the top of the head it resembled a garden lantern shape and thus was called tōrōbin 燈籠鬢. The growing popularity of the new hair style is a landmark in the history of ukiyoe for by means of it we are able to date many paintings and prints. Various theories may be advanced for this important change, but in all likelihood, it was brought about by something as simple

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[60] Suma 須磨 is a noted scenic spot on the coast located near present day Kōbe 神戸.

as the desire of women to copy a popular beauty who took to styling her hair in this fashion.[61]

One of the first artists to introduce the new hair style in his paintings was Koryūsai 沽月龍齋, who was active from about 1764 until about 1788. Actually little is known of his life save that he was of the Isoda 礒多 family and claimed to have been descended from the Fujiwara 藤原 clan. He is included in the early manuscript editions of the Ukiyoe ruikā but very few facts are given. The annotater of the book, Shikitei Samba 式亭三馬 (1775-1822)[62] points out that he also used the name Shōbei 庄兵衛 and was a rōnin 浪人

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[61] The theories even include one that evolves around the development and popular use of the folding umbrella. Prior to this period an uchikake thrown over the head or large straw hat served as the means of protection from both the sun and rain. A covering such as this made it impractical to elaborate the coiffure. The increase in popularity of the umbrella, however, made changes in style feasible. A study of the hair styles can be found in the following: Ema Tsutomu 江馬務, Nihon keppatsu zenshi 日本結髪全史 (A complete history of Japanese hair styles), Tokyo: Ritsumeikan Shuppan Bu 立命館出版部, 1936.

[62] Shikitei Samba 式亭三馬 (1775-1822) was most noted for his writings other than his annotation of the Ukiyoe ruikō. He composed popular fiction such as the Ukiyo furo 浮世風呂 (Ukiyo bath) between the years 1809 and 1813 and the Ukiyo toko 浮世床 (Ukiyo bed) between the years of 1811 and 1812.

(a masterless samurai) who dwelt in Ogawa-chō 小川町 in Edo. The family he had formerly served as a samurai is believed to be the Tsuchiya 土屋.[63] He is also reported to have used the names Masakatsu 正月 and Haruhiro 春廣. He quite obviously came under the influence of Harunobu, and that may be the reason he at times used the latter name. In discussing Harunobu we raised the problem of the painting in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate XLV) which is signed with both names. Harunobu was not the only artist, however, who exerted influence on Koryūsai. An examination of the figures in his prints strongly recalls to my mind those produced by Nishimura Shigenaga 西村重長 (died 1755).[64]

Koryūsai as has been stated was among the first to portray the new style for he was not content with the old. Ukiyoe are paintings of the current scene and Koryūsai pioneered in presenting the changes that appeared in the Anei period. This, however, was not his only contribution. He replaced the small figures so popular with the artists in the mid eighteenth century with some of greater proportion and stature. In the Freer Gallery of Art there are two paintings by his hand that when compared to his total production are unquestioned

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[63] This information is reported by Takahashi Seiichirō 高橋誠一郎, op. cit., p. 27.

[64] At the time of Nishimura Shigenaga's 西村重長 death in 1755 he is reported to have been over sixty years old. This information is found in the following: Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., p. 81.

masterpieces. Beauties of the Seasons are the subject, and in them Koryūsai's contribution to ukiyoe and his place in its development are made clear. Autumn (Plate XLVIII)[65] is the season represented by a single figure of a woman who wears a rain cloak and is opening an umbrella. She stands by a variety of plantain and in the sky there is an indication of the falling rain. Koryūsai was aware and had some interest in the phenomena of nature, whose study had so occupied Shiba Kōkan. The hair style is that of the tōrōbin variety and spreads out as wings on either side of the head. The woman and umbrella occupy most of the composition. She is substantial and not a fragile, doll-like creature as were those produced by Harunobu. She is of this world and reacts to the sudden shower and will weather it. One fears that the women of Harunobu would never be able to meet such a challenge. Although there is a solidity to this figure by Koryūsai, it is not lacking in grace and delicacy. The curve of the body and head are balanced by that of the tree. The pattern of the robe is carefully executed in black on black and the painstaking coiffure is meticulously painted. The signature reads Koryūsai ga 小胡龍齋畫 and the two seals may be read Masakatsu In 正勝印 and Isoda 磯田.

I feel that there is no painting in the history of ukiyoe which so beautifully portrays falling snow and a figure of a girl walking in it than the Winter panel (Plate XLIX)[66] of

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[65] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.38.

[66] Freer Gallery of Art Registration number 02.39.

the Koryūsai Beauties of the Seasons. It is my belief that originally a painting was made to symbolize each of the four seasons, however, only these two survive today. The umbrella the girl holds and the willow tree and bamboo behind her are covered with snow. It has carpeted the ground and makes her walking difficult. Koryūsai achieved his master stroke in depicting the flakes floating through the air towards the ground. There is a feather-like lightness which he gave to them and a lyrical realism that in an aesthetic sense far surpasses anything that could be captured with a camera lens. The white on white bamboo patterned snow cloak balances beautifully with the blue of the rim of the umbrella and red under robe. As in the Autumn painting the figure is of a larger scale than was common in the era that preceded Anei. The painting is signed and sealed as was the previous one. They are rare specimens of an artist achieving perfect harmony. It is tragic that more is not known of Koryūsai's paintings.

Following the introduction of the new coiffure and fashions by Koryūsai, other artist copied his style. Each of them had their own peculiarities, however, they tell us of the uninterrupted flow of ukiyoe. Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長, whom we have already seen listed as the fourth generation member of the Torii school was such an artist.

Kiyonaga was born in 1752 as the son of a bookshop keeper called Shirakoya Ichibei 白子屋市兵衛. He became a pupil of the artist Kiyomitsu 清満 I

(1735-1785),[67] and from about 1771 on is reported to have produced theatrical portraits of actors. He did not limit himself to this variety of ukiyoe for he also fell under the spell of the popular Harunobu and through him was influenced by Koryūsai. His true name was Sekiguchi 關口; however, he often abbreviated it to Seki 關. The name that he was more familiarly known by was Shinsuke 新助. After the death of his father, Kiyonaga inherited his name. Undoubtedly his childhood in a bookshop afforded him the opportunity to see and study the wonderful illustrated books which at that time were flooding Edo. The shop was located at Moto Zaimoku-chō 本材木町 and it is said that he lived here even after his father had passed on; however, he did not inherit the shop. At a later date in his life he moved from this area to Honjo Bamba-chō 本所番土場町. Upon his death on the twenty-first day of the fifth month in 1815 his posthumous name was entered in the death registy of the Ryōgoku Ekō-in 兩國回向院 Temple as follows: Nagabayashi Hideki Shinshi Shirakoya Ichibei 長林英樹信士白子屋市兵衛.[68] His tomb marker has as yet not been located.

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[67] Kiyomitsu 清滿 I was the younger son of Torii Kiyomasu 鳥居清倍.

[68] The most excellent biography of an ukiyoe artist to be yet produced in a Western language concerns Kiyonaga. It is as follows: Chie Hirano, Kiyonaga, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939. On the one hundred and twentieth

The paintings of Kiyonaga show his transition from the Torii style to that of Koryūsai. It is in the latter that he was most accomplished. Most of these portray women and in particular, courtesans. The figures wear the new hair style which was introduced in the Anei period and are thinner and taller than those of the other artist we have studied. He was the first to commence lengthening the faces of the courtesans. The Torii school normally presented them as plump and rotund. Kiyonaga, however, broke with that tradition. He also readily accepted the growing interest in settings and natural phenomena, but somehow he lacked the skill of Koryūsai in bringing this to fruition.

Two paintings that would well represent his mature style are the Courtesan on a Summer Stroll (Plate L)[69] and Woman Applying Cosmetics (Plate LI),[70] both in the collection of the

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anniversary of his death a special issue of Ukiyoe geijutsu magazine was dedicated to him: Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重 ed. Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪藝術 (Ukiyoe art), Vol. III, No. 4, Tokyo: Ukiyoe Geijutsu Sha 浮世繪藝術社, 1934. The erotic prints and paintings by Kiyonaga of which he produced many are the subject of the following work: Ukiyoe Kenkyū Kai 浮世繪研究會 (Ukiyoe Research Society) compiler, Hihan Kiyonaga 秘版清長 (The erotic works of Kiyonaga), Tokyo: Shishobō 紫書房, 1953.

[69] This painting bears the Freer Gallery of Art registation number 02.101.

[70] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 01.100.

Freer Gallery of Art. In the former, the courtesan wears a pink gauze robe and pauses beneath a willow tree beside a stream to scratch her head with one of the new style hairpins. The transparency of the robe is nicely handled and the willow boughs hang listless in the summer heat. The painting is signed Torii Kiyonaga Ga 鳥居清長画 (Painted by Torii Kiyonaga) and has his seal read Seki Uji 關氏 (Seki family). In the latter example he has painted a woman seated before a chest of drawers with a mirror mounted on it. Behind this is a screen. She holds a pipe in one hand and gazes into the mirror as she brushes her eyebrows. Another woman in a loose sleeping garment and carrying a fan stands and chats with her. The simple fabric of the robes contrasts sharply with the richness and gaudiness of those seen in paintings prior to the Anei period. The painting is signed Seki Kiyonaga Ga 關清長画 (Painted by Seki Kiyonaga) with seal . Not many of his paintings have survived the passage of time and thus we are fortunate to have these two rare specimens of his mature period. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City also posses good examples of his work.

The change in fashion and style which came about in the Anei period is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in a comparison of two pictures by Ishikawa Toyonobu 石川豊信 (1711-1785) (Plates LII and LIII).[71]

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[71] These paintings bear the Freer Gallery of Art registation numbers 03.136 and 04.195 respectively.

He was descended from the Ishikawa family who had faithfully served the great Hōjō 北條 family in the Kamakura period who at that time were the regents of Japan. When Toyonobu was but five years old his father died and his mother remarried. Toyonobu was considered to be a very handsome youth and therefore he married favorably into the family of an innkeeper whose establishment was located at Kodenma-chō Itchome 小傳馬町一丁目 in Edo. The inn was called Nukaya 糠屋 and Toyonobu inherited the name and took to calling himself Nukaya Shichibei 糠屋七兵衛. It is not known when he first commenced studying painting, however, he came directly under the influence of Shigenaga, who, as we have already seen, served as a model for others including Harunobu and Koryūsai. In homage to this man he used the name Nishimura Shigenobu 西村重信 but in about 1747 he changed his name and started to use his rightful family name, Ishikawa, and Toyonobu 豊信 as his personal name. His married life appears to have been happy for during it he produced eight children; five sons and three daughters. One of the sons later became a noted composer of comic odes and scholar of Japanese literature. He is recorded in histories under the name Rokujuen Ishikawa Masamochi 大樹園石川雅望. It therefore appears that Toyonobu was not a poor man and in some ways he compares favorably to Moronobu who was also considered to be a man of above modest means. He was commonly called Magosaburō 孫三郎 and included in the pseudonyms that he used were Soshōdō 口且篠堂 and Shūha

秀葩. Toyonobu's wife, the daughter of the innkeeper, Shichibei 七兵衛, did not die until 1794, but prior to that on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month according to the Lunar calendar in 1785 her husband died. His burial place and that of his wife and children is the Shōkakuji 正覺寺 Temple which is located in Asakusa 淺草 at Kurofune-chō 黑船町. Upon his death he was given the posthumous name Taiyokaku Ō Kyoshi 泰譽覺翁居士.[72]

An examination of the forementioned paintings by Toyonobu not only reveals the style change but also tells us that he was influenced by Harunobu. The Courtesan Reading (Plate LII) is at once recognizeable as being the earlier of the two. The hair style is that of the pre-Anei period and the side locks are pulled back and knotted in a conventional top knot at the back of the head. The proportions of the figure and the full rounded face are typical of the style of Shigenaga. The subdued tone of the uchikake covered with a pine tree pattern and the obi decorated with butterflies are more typical of the tendency towards refinement and away from garishness. The courtesan reads from a letter and on her robe is a crane

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[72] More complete biographies of Ishikawa Toyonobu can be found in the following: Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., pp. 136-138; Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., pp. 716-717; Nishiyama Seitarō 西山清太郎, "Ishikawa Toyonobu no ke" 石川豐信の家 (The Ishikawa Toyonobu family), Ukiyoe shi 浮世繪志 (Ukiyoe magazine) Vol. II, No. 8, op. cit., pp. 13-21.

set in a diamond shaped crest which indicates that she may have been employed in the house called Tsuruya 鶴屋 . The painting is signed Ishikawa Shūha Toyonobu Zu 石川秀葩豊信圖 (Painted by Ishikawa Shūha Toyonobu) and beneath this are two of his seals which may be read Ishikawa and Toyonobu.

The Courtesan and Two Kamuros (Plate LIII), which is the subject of the other painting, shows the woman and girls dressed in the heighth of Anei period fashion. The locks at the side of the head have blossomed out by means of binsashi to form the previously mentioned tōrōbin hair style. The patterns of the robes are much more elaborate than in the former painting and although the colors remain subdued they are much busier in design. The courtesan's face has lengthened, and her wrists are more substantial. She thus resembles the girls of Koryūsai rather than Harunobu. Her hair style with three tortoise shell combs set into it are another fashion note of the Anei period. In comparing the two compositions the change in Toyonobu's style as well as that in fashion, which occurred about 1776, is evident. In both paintings the figures occupy the major portion of the composition. One element of archaism is present for Toyonobu completely ignored the use of any setting. The growing trend was to place the figures of this world into their environment. The latter painting is signed Ishikawa Shūha Toyonobu Ga 石川秀葩豊信画 and has two unusual seals. One reads Sekishin no Shō 石信之章 (The sign of Sekishin)

and is composed of the first and last characters in the artists name. The other seal reads Bōshō 中昌篠 , however, it is not recorded anywhere. Both paintings are in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art.

Ukiyoe painting and print making flourished during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The old academic schools of Japanese art the Kanō and Tosa in contrast had faded and had ceased to produce noteworthy masters. The burden of maintaining the great traditions of Japanese painting became the responsibility of the Nanga 南畫,[73] Shijō 四條,[74] individualist, and Ukiyoe painters.

An artist was born in 1735 who was to provide the foundation of what became the major studio of ukiyoe masters. He was Utagawa Toyoharu 歌川豐春, and the atelier came to be called Utagawa. It spans the history of ukiyoe from the time of the founder until the Meiji period. Artists such as Toyohiro 豐廣 , Toyokuni 豐國 , Kunisada 國貞 , and Kuniyoshi 國芳 were members of it.

The founder, Toyoharu, was born in either Toyooka 豐岡,

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[73] The Nanga 南畫 style is derived from the style favored by the Yüan painters of China. It was the literati style and was favored by the intellectual.

[74] The Shijō 四條 style was founded by Matsumura Goshun 松村呉春 (1752-1811) and is based on his fusion of the Nanga literati style with the Maruyama 圓山 . The latter felt that a direct study of nature was requisite and turned to realism.

which was a town in Tajima 伯馬 Province or in Usuki 臼杵 a town located in Bungo 豊後 Province. Both of these birth places have been suggested. The truth of the matter is, however, that nobody really knows which is correct. In fact, the Ukiyoe ruikō lists his place of birth as being Edo. Quite a bit of confusion also exists as to Toyoharu's early life. It is believed that he studied the Kanō style of painting in Kyoto with Tsuruzawa Tangei 鶴澤探鯨 and came to Edo sometime around 1760. Upon his arrival in Edo he proceeded to produce ukiyoe. His teacher is unknown, but the names of Ishikawa Toyonobu and Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕 (1712-1788) are linked with his. The latter is often given preference, for a painting exists on which Toyoharu wrote that he was Sekien's pupil.[75] We also know that Sekien produced many votive tablets and that Toyoharu was engaged in the same profession early in his life. Again the Ukiyoe ruikō adds to the confusion by stating that Nishimura Shigenaga 西村重長 was his teacher. During his life Toyoharu moved about in Edo and was honored by being asked to assist in the repair work of the Tōshōgū at Nikkō. This task was traditionally assigned to the Kanō artists. He is reported to have dwelt at various placed including Ōsaka-chō 大坂町, Mishima-chō 三島町, Nakabashi 中橋, Akasaka Tamachi-chō 赤坂

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[75] The inscription found on the painting reads Toriyama Sekien Toyofusa Monjin Utagawa Toyoharu Hitsu 鳥山石燕豊房門人歌川豊春筆 (Painted by Utagawa Toyoharu the pupil of Toriyama Sekien Toyofusa).

田町 and Himono-chō 檜物町. He produced theatrical billboards as well as the usual paintings and prints. Late in his life he took the tonsure and died in 1814 after a long, full life. He was buried in Asakusa 淺草 at the Honryūji 本立寺 Temple of Kikuyabashi Minami Matsuyama-chō 菊屋橋南松山町 and his posthumous name was Utagawa In Toyoharu Nichiyō Shinshi 歌川院豊春日要信士.

The paintings produced by Toyoharu were many. One rarely, however, comes upon a number of them which can be examined and compared side by side. Once this is done we can note certain elements of the artist's style and try to justify our calling Toyoharu a founder of a studio. The accomplishment of this feat is not always easy; for we soon find that from the Anei period on the ukiyoe artists became eclectic and borrowed at will.

Four paintings in the Freer Gallery of Art all by the hand of Utagawa Toyoharu assist us in drawing our conclusions. A Winter Party[76] (Plate LIV) depicts a group of two gentlemen and three geisha seated before open shōji which reveals a garden covered with snow. The inside setting is warm and filled with the color of the garments worn by the geisha. The two men are placed between the trio. The younger gentleman speaks to the standing geisha who is tuning her samisen. While the elder man chats with one geisha, another holds a samisen leans against his shoulder and takes a sip of sake from the cup he offers to her. All about them are the props

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[76] Freer Gallery of Art registation number 00.113.

of this moment of relaxation. Tobacco pouches, trays with food, a samisen case, and a hibachi 火鉢 (brazier) with a pan of food cooking upon it are placed upon the floor surrounding the members of the party. The lines of the mats slant at a diagonal as do the bamboo divisions of the verandah. This device plus the open shōji with their vertical frames add a sense of space to the painting. Toyoharu increased this effect by making the garden covered with fresh snow, cold and stark in contrast to the warmth of the interior scene. The exterior is painted in a Kanō style and affirms our conviction that he could also paint in that manner. There is an excellent opportunity to contrast the two styles in this single work. The figures and the setting have been given equal roles. The painting is signed Utagawa Toyoharu Ga 歌川豊春画.

The bustling city of Edo as seen from Ryōgoku Bridge 両國橋 (Plate LV)[77] is the subject of another painting produced by Toyoharu. Hundreds of small figures crowd the approaches to the bridge and make their way across it. All classes of society are represented, and the painting in addition to being a panorama of this area of Edo serves in

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[77] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.217. The Ryōgoku Bridge 両國橋 was a very prominent spot in Edo and continues to play an important role. It is here that a fireworks display is held each year towards the end of July. The bridge was so named because it crosses the Sumida River and originally linked the provinces of Musashi 武藏 and Shimōsa 下總.

a similar manner as a cross section of the inhabitants of the metropolis. Excursion boats and ferries move back and forth under the bridge and in the distance can be seen the pagoda of the Asakusa Sensōji 淺草寺 Temple. Toyoharu's attempt at an uki-e 浮繪 (perspective picture) reveals his concern for achieving realism in his paintings. The figures diminish in size as they recede into the background and he used the old yamatoe device of clouds as ground haze to obscure areas. The residents of the city go about their business in a natural manner and appear to be unaware that an artist's brush has just captured them. The painting is large and is a very rare and unusual specimen of Toyoharu's work. It is signed Ichiryūsai Toyoharu Ga 一龍齋豊春画 and on it are placed his seals read Utagawa 哥川, set in a three legged bronze form, and Shōju 昌樹, placed in a regular square shape.

A standing Courtesan (Plate LVI)[78] is a fine example of Toyoharu's treatment of a single figure without any background as a theme. Although the girl occupies only the right hand portion of the painting her under robe and uchikake billow out as though caught by the wind and fill most of the space. Her hair style is more fan than lantern shaped and suggests that the painting dates from the 1780's for it was after Anei that this became the vogue. Toyoharu consciously parallels the edge of the painting with the straight edge of the courtesan's obi. In doing this he makes the movement of the drapery more

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[78] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.75.

noticeable. The girl's head is large and her features are quite exaggerated. It is a rear view and she turns her head back to glance at us. Her features are not as delicate as were those painted by Toyonobu and may well symbolize the influence of Sekien. The robes appear somber when we recall the brilliance of those in the early days of ukiyoe. On this painting the artist has affixed two of his seals read Utagawa 哥川 and Shōju 昌樹 and signed it Nihon Gako Ichiryūsai Utagawa Toyoharu no Zu 日本畫工一龍齋歌川豐春圖之 (Painting of the Japanese Artist Ichiryūsai Utagawa Toyoharu).

The concern that Toyoharu had for realism can be seen once again in his painting of Women at the Seashore (Plate LVII),[79] produced by him at the age of sixty-six and thus in the year 1800. The three women wade out into the water which appears to be crystal clear for their feet are visible beneath its surface. One girl wears a robe patterned with cherry blossoms alternating with a crest symbolic of the forty-sixth chapter, "Hatsune" 初音, of the Tale of Genji. Her body and a tree behind her in typical Toyoharu fashion frames the right edge of the painting. The robe of the girl is blown back as though caught by a breeze from the sea much as did that of the previously discussed Courtesan (Plate LVI). The three figures are grouped to form a circle, and the water rises vertically almost to the top of the composition. In addition to his age the painting was signed by the artist, Ichiryūsai

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[79] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.113.

Utagawa Toyoharu 一龍齋歌川豊春 and carries his Shōju 昌樹 seal.

Toyoharu had developed a style quite his own. He placed his figures in settings and showed a concern for perspective, realism, and nature. The drapery of his women is almost always in movement, and he had a fine sense of color. He usually placed a vertical, along one edge of his composition to partially frame the scene. When all of this is totaled we can justifiably consider Toyoharu a master in his own right and founder of a studio.

An example of what took place in the atelier of an artist comes to light if we look at a painting of a Courtesan (Plate LVIII)[80] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art by Utagawa Toyonobu 歌川豊信. Very little is known of him, but he is variously reported as having been either Toyoharu's younger brother or pupil. The latter theory is the more logical of the two. He never was able to match Toyoharu's skill, and as he worked in his studio, he turned out some paintings that are almost exact copies of his teacher's work. The courtesan of high rank clad in robes worn only on festive occasions or for processions is his replica of a painting by Toyoharu.[81] His signature placed on it reads Utagawa Toyonobu Ga 歌川豊信画 (Painted by Utagawa Toyonobu), and the seal reads Ichiryūsai 一青

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[80] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.427.

[81] The Toyoharu painting is published in the following: Shiichi Tajima, op. cit., Vol. IV, Plate CXVII.

, which also was borrowed from his master. It was this weakness of the pupils to but mimic their teachers that became a serious problem in ukiyoe. At times the whole school foundered on it and eventually it brought its demise.

A contrast to the pupil who was but a copyist, Utagawa Toyonobu, was one who followed Toyoharu's principles and created his own designs, Utagawa Toyohiro 歌川豊廣. He and Toyokuni 豊國 were the leading disciples of Toyoharu.

Toyohiro had the family name of Okajima 岡島 and was born in Edo in 1773. He was commonly called Tōjirō 藤次郎 but also used the name Ichiryūsai 一柳斎 in signing his paintings. Even here his individuality manifests itself. Toyonobu was content to use not only the same name as his teacher but also the same characters in writing it. Toyohiro, however, used a different character read ryū 柳, meaning willow rather than that meaning dragon. He became a pupil of Toyoharu, but did not slavishly follow him in painting theatrical scenes or actors. He limited himself to other themes and also experimented with the Kanō style as well as that of Hanabusa Itchō. Toyohiro dwelt in Shiba at Katamonzen-chō 片門前町. The story is told that at one point in his career his friendship with Toyokuni abruptly came to an end. The cause was his refusal to paint portraits of actors. As this was Toyokuni's principal contribution he broke with him. Actually the rift was healed, for some years later through the good offices of the noted writer, Shikitei

Samba, they agreed to collaborate in doing illustrations for the same book. On the twenty-third day of the fifth month in 1828 he died.

Toyohiro's paintings closely resemble those of his teacher although the themes vary. He had a great fondness for all of the arts and often illustrated them. The Four Accomplishments - Painting, Calligraphy, Music and Games (Plates LIX and LX)[82] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of art might almost be called "The Loves of Toyohiro." On each kakemono two of the accomplishments are represented. Each painting also contains a poem composed by the poet and author, Santō Kyōden. Instead of writing them across the upper portion of the kakemono, as was often done, Toyohiro refused to permit them to violate the organization and beauty of his composition. He made them natural parts of it. He placed one poem in a framed panel above the passage between two rooms and the other he used as the example of calligraphy in scroll form held in the hands of a seated woman. His figures and his use of space is much like that of his teacher; however, in both stature and features his women commenced the elongation which was to culminate in the work of Utamarō.

It is most rare to find an artist working in the ukiyoe style who was descended from the gentry. Hosada Eishi 糸田田 榮之 is an exception. He was born in 1756 as the eldest son of Hosada Tokiyuki 細田時行, who

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[82] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 03.57 and 03.58 respectively.

was employed by the Bakufu as a police inspector. Eishi's great grandfather, who was known as Hosoda Tamba-no kami 細田丹波守 (Hosoda Lord of Tamba), was a Finance Minister for the government, and Eishi was brought up in that tradition. His family claimed to be descendants of the Fujiwara s 藤原, and Eishi's true name was Tokitomi 時富. He was commonly called Yasaburō 弥三郎, but later changed this to Kyūzaemon 久左衛門. His skill as an artist was encouraged as a youth, and he was permitted to study with Kanō Eisen-in Norinobu 狩野榮川院典信.[83] While still in his youth the tenth Shogun, Tokugawa Ieharu 徳川家治 (1737-1786),[84] appointed him to be an officer in his service and later made him the Official Artist in Attendance. It is said that Ieharu also gave him the name Eishi and generally showered him with favors. Eishi soon tired of this, and when he became ill he was able to gain his freedom. In reaction to his former controlled life, he commenced to study and paint in the ukiyoe manner. The Torii school charmed him and especially the style of Kiyonaga influenced his painting. As an artist he used the name Chōbunsai 鳥文斎. In 1800 the Imperial Priest of the Myōhōin 妙法院 visited Edo and he

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[83] The Kanō artists as was mentioned in Chapter I traditionall had the backing of the Shogun.

[84] Tokugawa Ieharu 徳川家治 (1737-1786) took a very enlightened attitude towards Western studies and promoted the translation of Dutch scientific books.

commissioned Eishi to paint a landscape of the Sumida River. The priest was delighted with it and carried it back with him to Kyoto when he returned to that city. He thought so highly of it that he made a present of it to the then retired Emperor Go Sakuramachi 後櫻町, who also praised the painting. It was a rare tribute paid to an ukiyoe artist, and as a result of it, Eishi was so flattered that on some paintings he placed a seal which may be read Tenran 天覽 (Seen by the Emperor). On the second day of the seventh month of 1829 Eishi died and was buried at the Yanaka 谷中, Rengeji 蓮華寺 Temple.

Eishi was a prolific artist and his portrayals of women and courtesans have an air of elegance and refinement about them. The line he used was a very thin one and it only served to add a touch of delicacy to his work. His women are all stately and are impeccably groomed in the highest fashions of the age. The textile patterns he utilized are intricate and rich in variety. Eishi concentrated his efforts on the portrayal of the geisha and courtesan after his departure from the household of Ieharu. Prior to this time, however, he produced paintings in the Kanō tradition. One of these is a portrayal of the great Battle of Sekigahara 關ヶ原[85] of

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[85] The battle is considered one of the most important events in Japanese history for as a result of it the Tokugawa family rose to supremacy. Its site, Sekigahara 關ヶ原, is located in present day Gifu 岐阜 Prefecture in Fuwa-gun 不破郡 at the place where the former Fuwa 不破 barrier was located.

October 21, 1600 in which the Tokugawa clan decisively defeated the rival Toyotomi clan. This painting is in the author's collection and is composed of two long handscrolls titled Sekigahara Gojin no zu 關ケ原御陣之圖 (Painting of the Battle Camp at Sekigahara). They are signed with the artist's Chōbunsai Eishi 鳥文齋榮之 signature and seal. They are hastily and rather sketchily painted but are very delicate in color and line. In them Eishi fused the yamatoe tradition of narrative painting to that of the Kanō. If we contrast these to the four paintings of beautiful women (Plates LXI-LXIV)[86] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art the change is remarkable. The only elements retained in these later compositions are his fine sense of color and the ever present delicacy of line. The first three paintings are of Beauties of the Seasons. At present only three, Spring, Summer, and Autumn exist; however, I believe that at one time there was a fourth painting of a Winter scene. The seasonal identification is made possible by the trees; the cherry for spring, the willow for summer, and the maple for autumn. Eishi repeated this subject a number of times and it brings to mind Koryūsai's use of the same theme (Plates XLVIII-XLIX). The fourth painting is of a lone figure of a geisha who stands by a samisen case and raises her left hand. She wears a gauze, striped robe over her red flower patterned under robe and Eishi has skillfully captured the effect of its

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[86] These paintings have the Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers of 57.5, 57.6, 57.7, and 98.500.

transparency. All four paintings are signed Chōbunsai Eishi Hitsu 鳥文齋榮之筆 (Painted by Chōbunsai Eishi)[87] and carry his seal. He had many pupils, but none of them ever were able to truly achieve the sense of elegance, refinement, and delicate beauty that he had contributed to ukiyoe.

We have already seen that there was a close relationship between Japanese literature and art. This continued into the Edo period and we find that many of the ukiyoe artists fancied themselves as writers of plays and poetry. One of these in particular was noted for his ability to compose kyōka 狂歌 (satirical odes) which became extremely popular during the second half of the eighteenth century. He is known to us by the name Shunman 俊満 and was of the Kubota 窪田 family, although in signing his paintings he abbreviated the name to read Kubo 窪 . His popular name was Yasubei 易兵衛. While still very young his father died. There is little known about this period of his life but later we find that he studied painting with the Nanga artist, Katori Nahiko 楫取魚彦 (1723-1782). His teacher, in addition to painting, also excelled in composing haiku poems and in all likelihood he taught this art to his pupil. It was Nahiko who is reported as first having given Shunman this name. At this time, however, different characters were used also read Shunman 春満 . One of his contemporaries, Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章

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[87] Some of his pupils were Eishō 榮昌 , Eiri 榮里 , Eishō 榮松 , and Eisui 榮永 .

(1726-1792) whom we will next consider, was very popular and Shunman felt that the use of the character Shun 春 in his name made it appear that he was but a pupil of Shunshō. He therefore changed this first character for another 俊, read the same way.

After Shunman left the studio of Nahiko he studied painting with Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政, (1739-1820) who lived in Edo and was mainly self taught. He had established a studio and had attracted many pupils. Shunman rapidly learned how to paint ukiyoe and adopted a number of names. He used those of Nandakashiran 南陀伽紫蘭 and Kōzandō 薫山堂 in signing his gidayū 義太夫 (a form of ballad drama) and that of Hitofushi Chizue 一節千枝 as a pen name for his comic and satirical odes. Shuman also prided himself on his skill of being able to use his left hand, and in all likelihood actually was left handed. He therefore at times signed his work Shōsadō 尚左堂 (In Honor of the Left Chamber).

His skill at comic odes he gained by studying with Ishikawa Toyonobu's son, the noted Rokujuen Ishikawa Masamochi, who was mentioned earlier. While in Edo he dwelt at a number of places including Torishio-chō 通塩町, and Honjo Kamezawa-chō 本所亀澤町. His contact with Toyonobu's family may have been facilitated by their both worshipping at the same Temple. When Shunman died on the twentieth day of the ninth month 1820, he was buried at the Asakusa Kurofune-chō Shokakuji 浅草黒船町正覚寺 Temple which also was the burial

place of Ishikawa Toyonobu and his family. The posthumous name given to Shunman was Zenyo Shōsa Shunman Kyoshi 善譽尚左俊滿居士.[88]

The paintings of Shunman are numerous and have peculiarities that single them out from most other ukiyoe. The themes are the same, however, it is in his handling of them that the differenc is noticeable. His figures are rather tall and resemble some of those of Kiyonaga. He generally painted them rather small and placed them in a setting. Tsunemasa,whose work we have already examined,also had this peculiarity. Shunman in his painting generally shows a concern for nature and the elements. He often painted snow scenes, rain storms, and moon viewing parties. In all of these he skilfully integrated people. A design of this nature is his Woman and Boy in a Storm (Plate LXV),[89] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. The woman wearing low sandals with her kimono tucked up and her hair covered with a protective cloth walks along the bank of a river. Directly behind her is a young boy who acts as her porter. He carries a heavy pack on his back and walks barefoot although his zori 草履 (straw sandals) are tucked into the sash about his waist. He holds a folded umbrella over his shoulder and it is just as well kept closed, for it is tattered and torn. Both figures turn their faces away from the rain which sweeps diagonally over the water from the left. The details of the robes and hair prove

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[88] Biographical data on Shunman can be found in Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., p. 99.

[89] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 57.2.

Shunman's interest and skill in such matters. On the upper portion of the painting there is a poem by a man who signed himself Todaya 戸田屋 and it refers to figures in low sandals caught in a sudden shower. The painting is signed Kubo Shunman Ga 窪俊満画 (Painted by Kubo Shunman) and carries his round seal, Shunman.

A second painting of his also in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art shows Two Courtesans in the Snow (Plate LXVI).[90] This design became a very familiar theme with later ukiyoe artists and was repeated many times. The girls are extremely tall. They have come out in a snow storm to see some flowers which serve as harbingers of spring. The contrast of a standing and kneeling figure was often used by the ukiyoe artists as was a snow covered plum tree set at one edge of the painting. In addition most paintings of this variety also had a stream which starts at the back and winds through to the foreground. Although the painting is not one of his finest works it is included here because of the design. It appears that Shunman originated it. The painting is signed and sealed in the same manner as the previous one.

Shunman was an experimenter in the execution of near monochrome paintings. They closely approach grisaille works in Western art.[91] He also did a number of prints in this manner.

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[90] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.245.

[91] Some of these prints were formerly in the collection of the late Louis V. Ledoux and were published as follows: Louis V. Ledoux, Japanese prints Buncho to Utamaro in the

Unfortunately I have been unable to secure a photograph of a painting of this variety in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts for inclusion here.

A person credited in a manner similar to that of Toyoharu with the founding of a new studio of ukiyoe artists was Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章. He was born in Edo in 1726 and was a very dynamic artist. He actually took the name from Shunsui and appears to have been one of his pupils. His paintings show a strong influence of his teacher. He is also said to have studied painting with Kō Sūkoku 高嵩谷 (1730-1804), who was a pupil of Hanabusa Itchō. Thus by combining elements gathered from both of his teachers he created a style that although close to others is quite his own.

The evidence for his relationship to Shunsui is further substantiated by his use of the names Miyagawa 宮川 and Katsumiyagawa 勝宮川 as were used by that master. His personal name was Yūsuke 祐助, and he had a variety of pseudonyms including Chihiro 千尋, Kyokurōsei 旭朗井, Yūji 西勇, Ririn 李林, and Rokurokuan 六々庵. During the period from approximately 1751 to 1771 he dwelt in the house of a wholesale book dealer named Hayashiya Shichiemon 林屋七右衛門. While there he had an opportunity to observe all the current illustrated literature being turned out in Edo. He also started to show an interest in designing portraits of actors. It soon became

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collection of Louis V. Ledoux, New York: E. Weyhe, 1948, Numbers 26 A-F.

his forte and took him into a study of the style of the Torii school, who as we have seen were the official artists for the theaters. At this time he started to use a seal which was jar shaped, and in it he placed the character read Hayashi 林 . It was also during this time, as a result of his interest in actor portraits, that his friendship with Shunman lapsed for a number of years. He was a very prolific artist and numbers of his actor portrait prints can be seen in almost any large print collection. He studied haiku poetry composition as did most of the other artists of the age. His teacher was Tōseisai 鳥洲齋 . On the eighth day of the twelth month in 1792 Shunshō died. The posthumous name given to him was Shōyo Shunshō Shinshi 勝譽春章信士 and he was laid to rest in the Sonshin-in 存心院 of the Matsudaira Saifukuji 松平西福寺 Temple located in Asakusa 淺草 at Shinboribata 新堀立端 .

Shunshō's painting style as we have already stated was derived from a fusion of the styles of Shunsui and Sūkoku. The figures, save for the change in fashion since Anei, and the general arrangement of the composition show his reliance on the former. His treatment of the flowers, trees, and birds demonstrate his reliance on the latter, for there is an element of the Kanō school present in them. Two unsigned paintings of the same size in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art are without question by his hand. We might sugges that they were originally meant to be part of a series of four or twelve such compositions depicting either the seasons

or months of the calendar. Seven Women on Their Way to Play Football (Plate LXVII)[92] is the subject of one. The cherry tree in blossom signfies that it is spring and the women of different ages and classes of society proceed on their way to the field. One carries a football tied to a stand and another dangles square toed football shoes from her hands. The women wear the tōrōbin style hairdress and Shunshō took special pains in executing their handsome robes. The use of seven figures and a football calls to mind two possible sources from whence this painting derived. The seven women may be a parody of the Shichiken 七賢 (The Seven Wise Men),[93] for the ukiyoe artists often borrowed such themes. In this instance they could be replaced by courtesans from seven different houses. The football reminds us of a scene in the Tale of Genji which occurs in chapter thirty-two titled Fuji no uraba 藤裏葉, for when the cherry trees were in blossom such a contest took place. The strong diagonals of fences interrupted by the vertical figures were much used by Shunsui and are indicative of his influence. The fenee, trees and delicate flowers which blossom through openings in it are a reminder

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[92] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 05.308.

[93] The original Shichiken 七賢 were the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove who lived in China during the third century A. D. They were Hsiang Hsiu 向秀, Chi K'ang 嵇康, Liu Ling 劉伶, Shan T'ao 山濤, Yüan Hsien 阮咸, Yüan Chi 阮籍, and Wang Jung 王戎.

of Sūkoku. In this painting and its mate, as well as in many others, Shunshō placed birds in flight. It almost stands as a signature.

Airing the Books (Plate LXVIII),[94] the mate to the previous painting, is Shunshō's interpretation of an annual event in Japan. Late every summer after the rains have ceased every householder hangs out his possession to dry and air during a period of clear, sunny weather. Four women and a boy are shown engaged in this chore. Two girls kneel on the floor and sort the books out on a cloth. The young boy hands them to another of the women who stands and places them on a line strung between two pillars. Behind him is a woman in a gauze kimono which in its transparency reveals the outline of the woman's body. She holds a fan and pinwheel toy in her hand which the child obviously discarded when he decided to help the grown ups. Shunchō meticulously wrote out the texts on the pages of some of the books that the girls are sorting and with a touch of humor he shows us what usually happens in such an undertaking. Soon the work is abandoned and one begins to read rather than carry out the task. The same strong verticals and diagonals dominate this painting. In addition another mark of Shunshō is present for he had a peculiar way of depicting bamboo by alternating light and dark strokes. These two paintings are among the best examples to come from the artist's brush.

A third composition by Shunshō is of a different nature.

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[94] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 05.309.

It depicts a Geisha and Chrysanthemums (Plate LXIX)[95] and gives us some idea of how the artist handled single figures. She stands before a brush fence behind which peep chrysanthemums. Indications are present again of his training. The flowers and fence speak of Sūkoku whereas the interest in the detail of the handsome robe and obi speaks of Shunsui. The face, however, is purely Shunshō's contribution. Late in his life he tended to make his figures rather squat and enlarged the face and hairdo so that they almost appear top heavy. He signed this painting Katsu Shunshō Ga 勝春章画 (Painted by Katsu Shunshō). In many of his paintings he also used a kakihan 花押 (a cipher) as did his followers. Shunshō had many pupils and his position as a teacher alone would make him one of the most important ukiyoe artists. As always, it is unfortunate that not more is known about his personal life.

The many pupils of Shunshō continued the traditions established by him. One who is particularly interesting is Shunchō 春潮, for at one point in his life during the early eighteen hundreds he switched his allegiance from Shunshō to Shunman. At the same time he changed the characters of his name to 俊潮 or 俊朝. This switch is especially amusing in the light of the forementioned squabble between Shunshō and Shunman. As a pupil of the former, Shunchō used the Katsukawa family name. The name he was commonly known by was Kichizaemon 吉左衛門. He had

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[95] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.426.

many pseudonyms, however, which he used as an artist and writer. Two of these were Tōshien 東紫園 and Chūrinsha 中林舍. He first dwelt in Bakuro-chō 馬喰町 but later in his life moved to the Nihonbashi 日本橋 district and Daiku-chō 大工町. Neither his birth nor death dates are known. From his illustrated books, however, we have evidence that he was active between 1772 and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. His paintings link him to the Katsukawa studio for there is a noticeable use of diagonals and verticals in the composition. His figures resemble those of Kiyonaga in that the faces are somewhat elongated and the proportions are closer to him than those of his teacher, Shunshō. There is a gentleness in the way he portrayed his figures and his similarity to Kiyonaga is most easily seen in his prints. A painting of a Maid Helping a Woman Remove Her Cloak (Plate LXX)[96] in the Freer Gallery of Art is typical of his work in this media. The two women form a strong central point to which our attention is drawn. The curve of the woman's body as she leans back to assist her maid who is removing her outer robe forms a letter "D". The robes, as was the case with Kiyonaga, are not brilliantly colored and there is a subdued refinement about the painting. It is signed by the artist, Katsukawa Shunchō 勝川春潮, and bears his cipher. Few paintings by this artist are known, and thus, this one may be considered a rare specimen.

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[96] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.56.

Another prominent pupil of Shunshō was the artist Shunei 春英 . Although he took the name Katsukawa from his teacher he really was of the Isoda 磯田 family and was born in Edo in 1768. It is unknown whether or not the family he came from was the same one that brought forth Koryūsai. His paintings, which are very few in number, show great concentration on the phenomena of nature. The skills that he used in achieving the proper effect are such that we are led to believe that there was a direct relationship between the two artists.

Shunei's common name was Kyūjirō 久次郎 and as a pseudonym he used the name Kyūtokusai 九徳斎 . At an early date in his life he entered Shunshō's studio, for by the seventeen eighties he had started to produce prints of actors. He excelled in this, and the artist Toyokuni 豊国 , who was a pupil of Toyoharu, was much impressed by his work. His biographer, Ishikawa Gabō 石川雅望 , wrote a brief sketch of Shunei's life in 1825. In it he is reported to have described the artist as an eccentric old man who loved to paint, recite gidayū and play the samisen. He died on the twenty-sixth day of the seventh month in 1819 and was buried at the Asakusa Honganji Chuzen Shōji 浅草本願寺中善照寺 Temple.

Although he was primarily interested in the theater he also portrayed courtesans. His painting A Courtesan Tying Her Obi (Plate LXXI)[97] in the collection of the Freer Gallery

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[97] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 99.18.

of Art suggests that he was aware of Koryūsai's technique. The courtesan and a boy attendant stand under a willow tree. A windstorm has come up, and she pauses and places her fan in her mouth as she reties her obi. The wind has disarranged her hair. This is one of the few instances in the history of ukiyoe painting where the coiffure is not perfectly arranged. The branches and leaves of the willow tree sway out with the wind as do the sleeves and skirt of the courtesan. Shunei has very successfully and realistically captured the action of the moment. The only other artist so far to achieve such an effect with skill was Koryūsai. An additional attempt by Shunei at realism was found when this painting was remounted recently. The red of the under robe is covered in areas by a gauze garment. To achieve the necessary reduction in tone of the red in these areas he did not paint on the surface of the silk but actually on its reverse side. Thus one actually sees the red through a layer of silk. Experiments of this nature recall to mind Kōkan as well as Koryūsai and show us that the pioneer spirit had not totally vanished from ukiyoe. On the painting is the cipher of Shunei and it is signed Shunei Ga 春英画 (Painted by Shunei).

The last artist that we shall consider who was a pupil of Shunshō is Katsukawa Shunkō 勝川春好. He was born in 1734 and was of the Kiyokawa 清川 family. His personal name was Denjirō 傳次郎, and he dwelt in Hasegawa-chō 長谷川町. He was especially noted for his portraits of actors and would have received the mantle of his master upon his demise. During either 1787 or 1788,

however, he became paralyzed and his right hand was rendered useless. He continued to paint with his left hand and signed some of these Sahitsusai 左筆斎. Eventually he retired and as a result of this Shunrei was elevated and became the principal follower of Shunshō. He took the tonsure and upon his death in the sixth month of 1827 was buried at the Asakusa Honganji Zenshōji 浅草本願寺善照寺.

His contribution to ukiyoe was in the form of continuing the tradition of actor portraits. One of these paintings depicts an actor, probably Ōtani Hiroji 大谷廣次, playing the role of Matsuōmaru 松王丸 in the drama Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami 菅原傳授手習鑑[98] (Plate LXXII). This painting is in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. The actor is shown in the costume and makeup of his role. No setting is shown and thus the painting resembles a woodblock print. The similarity is relieved by a slight attempt at realism, for Shunkō placed shadows along the edges of the drapery folds. He signed the painting with both his cipher and signature read Katsu Shunkō Ga 勝春好画 (Painted by Katsu Shunkō). The studio founded by Katsukawa Shunshō was an important one. It provided many of the ukiyoe artists of the latter quarter of the eighteenth

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[98] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.423. Similar figures from this play in the form of prints are to be found published in the following: Tōhō Shoin 東方書院 compilers, op. cit., Vol. V, Plate LXXXIV and CCLXII.

century and early ninteenth century. Their work varied in quality, but they shared one thing which was a devotion to their teacher and his principles.

At the same time that the Katsukawa studio was flourishing the other studios were not idle. One of these, the Kitao, was quite active. The effort of its artists was directed to illustrations for the popular literature which had begun to flood Edo.

The school was founded by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739-1820) who had served as the source of inspiration for Shunman after he broke with the Katsukawa style. Another artist who joined its ranks was Masayoshi 政美. He was born in Edo in 1761 and was the son of Tanaka Yoshitaka 田中義珍. Early in his life he left this household and was adopted into that of a farmer called Akaba Genzaemon 赤羽源左衛門, who lived in Shimotsuke 下野 Province at the village of Enko 猿子, in the Nasu 那須 district. They later moved to Edo and established a shop in which they made tatami, mats. Masayoshi at this time took the name Akaba 赤羽. Sometime later in his life he changed it to Kuwagata 鍬形. He also used the names Sanjirō 三二郎, Tsuguzane 紹眞, and Sankō 杉阜. Masayoshi did not like the profession of being a maker of mats and turned to painting. He studied the style of Shigemasa and produced many book illustrations and prints in addition to a few paintings. About 1796 he abandoned ukiyoe and turned to the Kanō style. At this time

he changed his name again and chose to call himself Kuwagata Keisai 鍬形蕙斎. Late in his life he took the tonsure and is reported to have died on the twenty-first day of the third month in 1824. He was buried in Asakusa 浅草 at Nagasumi-chō 永住町 in the Shingon Shū Mitsuzō-in 眞言宗密藏院 Temple.

The paintings of Masayoshi closely resemble those that the other studios produced during the same period. Ukiyoe had steadily been losing its individuality. The type of figure he drew could quite easily be mistaken for some of those produced by Katsukawa artists. He made the necks of his women sturdy, and thus they lack the refinement apparent in the graceful ladies of Eishi. He also rarely was concerned with backgrounds for we must always remember that he was principally an illustrator of books.[99] A Geisha and Attendant Waiting for a Boat (Plate LXXIII),[100] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, is an good example of his work in the field of painting. The two women, obviously from the house of entertainment called Tsutaya 蔦屋, wait at a dockside for a boat to call for them. The lantern held by the attendant to light the way

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[99] Masayoshi 政美 illustrated some one hundred and sixty-four books. The titles of these are listed in the following work: Ōmura Fumio 大村文夫, Kinsei fūzoku shi 近世風俗畫史 (The history of modern [recent] genre painting), Tokyo: Hōun Sha 寶雲舍, 1943, pp. 410-419.

[100] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.430.

for the geisha carries on its side both the crest and name of that house. Although there is little attention paid by the artist to the setting, he showed great skill and concern in executing the details of the robes, hair, and faces. The painting is signed Kitao Masayoshi Ga 北尾政美画 (Painted by Kitao Masayoshi) and below this is set his cipher.

A rather puzzling composition which also bears the signature Masayoshi is that of A Courtesan Writing A Love Letter[101] (Plate LXXIV), in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. It is unusual, for in signing the painting the artist used the character 正 rather than 政 for the one read Masa. The painting also has a seal placed upon it which one normally does not associate with him. It appears to read Kobayashi Shishi 小林士氏 (Kobayashi of a samurai family). The right portion of the painting is devoted to a figure of a courtesan seated before a table on which rests her writing materials. She holds a folded letter in her hand and turns away to look out towards the left. Her hair hangs loose over her shoulders. Her face is elongated which is only natural since this was a development found in the later ukiyoe paintings and prints.

The left hand portion of this painting is devoted to a lengthy inscription by the noted writer, Santō Kyōden,[102]

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101 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.65.

102 A complete biography of Santō Kyōden may be found in the following: Miyatake Gaikotsu 宮武外骨, ed., Santō Kyōden 山東京傳, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1916.

who also became a painter in the Kitao 北尾 tradition and used the name Masanobu 政演 . The inscription is dated and tells us that it was written on the sixth lunar month of summer in 1806. It was undoubtedly done at the same time the painting was completed. The gist of the writing is that it is a parody on the Chinese Five Cardinal Virtures.[103] Kyōden applies them, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and good faith, to the life of the courtesan and her relationship to her clients in the brothel. It was a typical feature of the age for the writers and painters to parody the classics. That they were able to do so tells us that they were not entirely uneducated. This painting thus throws light on the intelligence of Kyōden. It is to be hoped that its inclusion here has shed more light on the artist Masayoshi.

At the start of this chapter I stated that I would venture to sum up the history of ukiyoe painting from the time of Itchō to that of Utamaro. We have covered many years and examined many artists. This has been done with brevity, and at times an artist's work or details of his life have been neglected. Each artist could well form the subject of a

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[103] These are known in China as the Wu ch'ang 五常 and are basic to the Confucian system of relationships and ethics. The five listed by Kyōden 京伝 first appeared in the first century A. D. in a text titled Po hu T'ung 白虎通 (The path of the white tiger) attributed to the hand of Pan Ku 班固 , the noted historian.

monograph but that was not our purpose. The changes and trends in ukiyoe are now clear. The multitudes in early paintings were replaced by individuals or small groups, realism and perspective grew progressively more important and a fine sense of color continued to be a prerequisite. The fashions and styles of each era were accurately portrayed as were the leading actors and beauties. Studios were established by many masters, and about them pupils gathered who continued in the medium of painting to propogate their teacher's style. A tendency over the years to denote refinement by elongating the face took root and finally culminated in the work of Utamaro whom we will consider in the next chapter. Ukiyoe painting had come of age and the seeds for its demise had been sown. The constant repetition of themes with but slight alteration and the actual wholesale copying of one artist's work by another heralded the demise. Prior to that, however, there were a few glorious moments of maturity when the dusk had just begun to settle on the day of ukiyoe.

## V. THE DOZŌ SAGAMI PAINTING OF KITAGAWA UTAMARO

### Kitagawa Utamaro

A problem that often faces an art historian is the assignment of a painting to an artist and the determination of whether or not it is authentic. There are many unusual and unsigned paintings in every large collection. The Freer Gallery of Art possesses its share and among these, there has been one which for a long period of time caught my attention. It is the painting that the Japanese authors of works on ukiyoe have chosen to call the Dozō Sagami Tsuki Shita Yūen 土藏相模月下遊宴 (Plate LXXV)[1] and may be translated as "A Pleasure Party Beneath the Moon at the Dozō Sagami,"[2] located in Shinagawa 品川,[3] southwest of Tokyo. Its authorship and

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[1] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.54. The painting is published in this manner in the following work: Bando Yaichirō 坂戸彌一郎, Ukiyoe taika shūsei 浮世繪大家集成 (A collection of masterpieces of ukiyoe), Tokyo: Taihōkaku Shobō 大鳳閣書房, 1932.

[2] Dozō Sagami 土藏相模 appears to be a name applied to a number of houses of entertainment at Shinagawa for from the open verandah of their second storey one could see the whitewashed dozō 土藏 (warehouse) as well as the water.

[3] Shinagawa 品川 at this time was not incorporated into Edo, but was the first of the fifty-three stations along the Tōkaidō 東海道 (Eastern Sea Road) which extended from Edo to Kyoto.

authenticity have been matters of controversy and to settle that is my purpose, for I hope to establish it as a work produced by Kitagawa Utamaro 北川歌麿, who is known to the layman primarily through his wood-block prints. My attention was not only caught by the above controversies, but also by the size of the painting, for it is truly one of the largest ukiyoe to have been executed excluding the feats of Hokusai 北齋,[4] and it is certainly among the largest to have survived. It measures four feet eight inches in height by ten feet four inches in width. Thus, as you can readily see, it would be difficult to ignore, especially when we think of the more normal sizes of compositions produced by artists of this school.

Before proceeding into a discussion of my theories and findings, I believe it would be advisable to present a biography of the artist concerned.[5]

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[4] These include Hokusai's 北齋 gigantic portraits of Daruma 達磨 (Dharma) in both Edo and Nagoya and will be discussed further in Chapter VI.

[5] The biographical data I rely on has been gathered by sifting through all the major writings on Utamaro 歌麿, as well as discussions in Tokyo with the leading scholars in the field, Fujikake Shizuya 藤懸靜也, Kondō Ichitarō 近藤一太郎, Shibui Kiyoshi 澁井清, Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, and Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二.

As in the case of most ukiyoe masters little is documented about Utamaro. It is known that he was born in 1753 and that he died in 1806 at the age of 53. As to his place of birth, a great deal of confusion exists, and there are five basic theories which are as follows:

1. He was born at Kawagoe 川越, in Musashi 武蔵 Province.[6]

2. He was born in Edo 江戸.[7]

3. He was born in Edo but was the son of Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕.[8]

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[6] The Kawagoe 川越 birth theory is based on the publication of the fact in a book titled Meijin kishin roku 名人忌辰錄 (List of the death anniversaries of people of note).

[7] The manuscript of the Ukiyoe ruikō supports this theory and we must remember that the notes were assembled in 1802 at a time when Utamaro was still alive.

[8] The source for this theory is the epilogue of the book titled Ehon mushi erami 畫本虫撰 (An illustrated book selection of insects) containing Utamaro's designs. It was written by Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕 (1711-1788) and published in 1788. Sekien refers to the artist fondly in the text as Utako 哥子 (the child Uta). The bibliographical data on the book is as follows: Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛, compiler, Ehon mushi erami, two volumes, Tokyo: Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎, 1788. A discussion of it including the epilogue by Sekien can be found in the following: Ochiai Naonari 落合直成, Ukiyoe no kenkyū 浮世繪之研究 (Ukiyoe studies), Vol. V, No. 4, Tokyo: Nihon Ukiyoe Kyōkai 日本浮世繪協會, 1928, pp. 12-19.

4. He was born in Ōsaka 大阪.[9]

5. He was born in Kyōto 京都.[10] At the present time it appears to be that the Kyoto theory is favored for we know that he left that city as a child.

Another problem that intervenes when one discusses a Japanese artist is the number of names used by them.[11] In the case of Utamaro, his most often used family name appears to have been Kitagawa 北川. As a child he was called Ichitarō 市太郎, which he later changed to Yūsuke 勇助, and Yūki 勇記. Another name that he used was Nobuyoshi 信美, and he decided to take as his surname that of the great clan of Minamoto 源. Upon entering the studio of the artist Sekien, he called himself

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[9] This theory is reported by Yoshida Teruji in his Ukiyoe jiten; however, I have been unable to see the book that contains this comment that was available to him. The book was titled Kōshoku ehon 好色繪本, but no other publication statistics are known.

[10] This theory is also published by Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., p. 124. He writes that in a Kamigata 上方 (Kyoto-Osaka) book titled Ehon shuji no hatsumei 繪本手事の發名, the author states the following: "In Kyoto there is an artist called Tsuyuaki 露章. As an adult he went to Kantō 關東 (Edo) and his pseudonym is Kitagawa Utamaro 北川歌麿."

[11] We have already been into this problem a number of times. When we reach Hokusai 北齋, it becomes acute.

Toyoaki 豊章, or Toyoakira 豊章, and in art circles he used the pseudonyms of Toriyama 鳥山,[12] as well as Kitagawa 北川. In about 1782, he changed his name to Utamaro 歌麿, and as a composer of poems, he used the pen names Sekiyō 石要, Mokuen 木燕, Entaisai 燕岱齋, Murasakiya 紫屋, and Hitsu /Fude/ no Ayamaru 筆の綾丸. At other times he called himself Tsuta no Hon no Utamaro[13] 蔦の本の哥麿, and in other books he signed himself Shinobugaoka Utamaro 忍岡歌麿, and Utagawa Utamaro 哥田川哥麿. Moreover, he kept varying the characters he used to write his names.[14]

Let us learn now about this amazing man and I must preface this with the statement that his biography is a combination of the several theories and is especially lacking in dates.

When he was a child he left Kyōto accompanied by his mother. They secured an introduction from a person[15] from Ōmi 近江 Province to a maker of cauldrons in Tochigi 栃木

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[12]It is the use of these names which, when added to Sekien's epilogue to the Ehon mushi erami, made many people believe him to be his son.

[13]This undoubtedly came about through his close connection with, and in respect for, the great publisher, Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎.

[14]Varying the characters used in signing one's name has always been a game with Japanese artists. Thus we see for Kitagawa he at times used the characters 喜多川 and for Utamaro he used うた麿.

[15]The name of this person is not known.

and came under his protection. One of the members of this family of cauldron makers called Zenno Zen'eimon 善野善右衛門 came to Tochigi-chō 栃木町 and started producing farm implements.[16] His business rapidly flourished and it appears that Utamaro joined him. Zenno Zen'eimon as a prospering merchant was acquainted with many of the local notables. He realized the artistic skill of his protégé, who was then called Yūsuke and saw to it that he was introduced to the artists and composers of kyōka 狂歌 (comic odes)[17] of the day. Utamaro appears to have been very fascinated by this, and the next we hear of him he has moved on to the studio of Toriyama Sekien who lived from 1712-1788.[18] It was during his stay in Sekien's studio that he took the name Toyoaki. Sekien became very fond of his pupil and in his epilogue to the book Ehon mushi erabi 繪本虫選 (A picture book selection of insects) written in 1788 and illustrated by Utamaro he refers to the childhood of Utamaro with

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[16]It is reported by Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., p. 125 and in private conversations with me which took place during July, 1957 at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, Japan, that Zenno Zen'eimon 善野善右衛門 hung a large sign in the shape of a cauldron outside of his shop in Edo and Utamaro may have helped him to prepare it.

[17]The kyōka 狂歌 (comic odes) were extremely popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We have already seen that Kubo Shunman and other artists mastered them.

[18]Sekien 石燕, although trained as a Kanō school artist, produced ukiyoe under the name of Toyofusa 豊房.

great affection and to his great skill in representing nature.[19] After entering the studio of Sekien, Utamaro lived at Nezu根津. As his master was an established artist, the pupil became acquainted with all of his colleagues who were the noted popular writers and artists of Edo in the late eighteenth century. Utamaro readily caught the fever of the bustling city and began to show an ever increasing interest in the licensed quarters of the Yoshiwara 吉原 and Shinagawa 品川 districts. As time went on he left the house of Sekien and lived under the roof of the great print publisher, Tsutaya Jusaburō 蔦屋重三郎, who lived from 1750-1797.[20] It is to be hoped that someday the full story of this great publisher will come to light for he influenced many of the artists, authors, and poets of the age. Tsutaya's shop was originally located at Yoshiwara Gojikkendō 吉原五十間道 but later he moved to Toriabura-chō 鳥油町. While staying with him Utamaro became acquainted with the well-known beauty Hanaōgi花扇[21], one of the girls who lived in the Yoshiwara area. As a result of this

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[19]See Ochiai Naonari 落合直成, op. cit.

[20]A good concise biography of Tsutaya Jūsaburō 蔦屋重三郎 is included in Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., p. 643.

[21]Hanaōgi花扇 was one of the most noted beauties and was employed by the house of entertainment called Ōgiya扇屋 which was located in the Shin Yoshiwara 新吉原 (New Yoshiwara) on Edo-chō Itchome 江戸町一丁目.

he ceased going to the houses at Shinagawa. His art of this period reflects his ever present interest in the courtesans and Tsutaya, his publisher, was completely captivated by his work.

Now, another problem arises, for it is reported that Utamaro married.[22] His wife's name is unknown and she is believed to have died at an early date. Kurth in his work Utamaro quotes letters written by her.[23] As a result of this union a daughter was born, but unfortunately she died in 1790.[24] It was during this time that Utamaro met a man called Sasaya Gohei 笹屋五兵衛 of Kanda Shirokane-chō 神田白銀町 and he became a supporter of the Asakusa Kita Matsuyama Senkōji 淺草北松山專光寺 temple. His daughter was buried there.

Utamaro never forgot the kindness of Zenno Zenleimon, his first patron, and as a result left many paintings with him, including three large works titled the Setsugekka 雪月花

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[22]Utamaro's marriage is commented on in the following: Dr. Julius Kurth, Utamaro, Leipzig, Germany: F. A. Brockhaus, 1907, pp. 105-106.

[23]Ibid. In one letter Utamaro's wife complains, for her husband was rarely at home. She also tells of how she assisted him with his work.

[24]The name of Utamaro's daughter is not recorded.

(Snow, moon, and flowers).[25] It is the moon painting of this group of three that is titled the Dozō Sagami Tsuki Shita Yūen and to which we will return shortly.

The downfall of Utamarō came in 1804 when he published a triptych titled Taikō Rakutō go sai yūkan 太閤洛東五妻遊観 (The Taikō [Hideyoshi 秀吉] and his five wives picnicking at Rakutō).[26] As an edict proscribed the portrayal of military heroes in prints and popular works and as he did

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[25]This fact is recorded by Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二 in his writings. He also expressed this opinion to me during conversations in Tokyo during September, 1957. Yoshida Teruji is from Tochigi Prefecture and claims he can substantiate this, but to date he has not divulged his source of information. He at present believes that the snow and flower paintings of this set of three may not be related to the painting in the Freer Gallery of Art. The existence of three paintings, however, seems quite logical and I feel all are by Utamaro's hand. The presentation of the three paintings to Zenno Zen'eimon is also mentioned in the following: Jean Adhémar, Outamaro, Paris: Huguette Berès, 1954, p. 7.

[26]The censorship laws, as we have already seen, were very strict and certainly it was foolhardy of Utamaro to believe he was outside of the general rule. The whole subject of censorship is discussed in Miyatake Gaikotsu 宮武外骨, Hikka shi 筆禍史, op. cit.

not receive the censor's approval prior to publication he was ordered to prison for a brief interlude and placed in handcuffs for a period of fifty days.[27] His health failed from this period on and he died in 1806. His tomb is with that of his daughter in the Senkōji Temple.[28]

The Dozō Sagami Painting

Now that we have some idea of the artist, let us return to the painting. As I originally said, the work has been doubted in terms of authorship and authenticity.[29] In addition it has been questioned as to quality.[30]

On the debit side are the facts that there is no signature or seal of the artist on it and it is not meticulously painted. That, however, seems to be the total substance of the argument against the painting; yet its opponents remain firm.

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[27]The punishment of fifty days in handcuffs was often awarded to artists and writers. Santō Kyōden 山東京傳 also suffered this shame. It must certainly have curtailed the artist's activity, but was much milder than many of the punishments meted out.

[28]Utamaro's posthumous name was Shūen Ryōgyō Shinshi 秋園了教信士.

[29]The painting does not bear the artist's signature.

[30]Two Japanese authorities in art, Matsushita Takaaki and Suzuki Kei, briefly saw the painting during their visit to the Freer Gallery of Art in 1953. They were disturbed by the painting and questioned it. I must state, however, that they did not have an opportunity to carefully study the painting.

On the credit side, however, there is quite a battery of evidence in favor of it. It depicts a scene in the interior of one of the so-called "Dozō Sagami" which were large restaurants and houses of pleasure in Shinagawa and recalls to my mind some of the woodblock prints by Kiyonaga 清長.[31] on a much reduced scale. The composition is curiously western in terms of perspective and shows us that the artist was much influenced by the studies being made by Kōkan 江漢 and others, who in turn were influenced by the Dutch in representing space in three stages, namely foreground, middleground, and background.[32] One peers from the edge of a room into another room on a higher level and then out to sea. The lines of the tatami on the floor and the ceiling beams are all utilized to carry one back into the distance, and although the artist isn't totally successful in achieving his goal he is far superior to many of the other attempts by ukiyoe artists. The figures also decrease in size in relationship to their closeness to the

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[31]The views by Kiyonaga of figures in a pleasure house looking out at the sea are close in design. Some of these are published in Ukiyoe Kenkyū Kai 浮世絵研究会 ed., op. cit. Plate XXXII and in Takahashi Seiichirō 高橋誠一郎, Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長, Tokyo: Kōdan Sha 講談社, 1956, Plates XXIX and XXX.

[32]The ukiyoe artists had difficulty in merging the three stages and often the transition was awkward.

foreground. In all there are nineteen figures and a shadow. We shall examine these more closely as we move along. In the distance are a group of boats in Tokyo Bay and in the very far distance can be seen a moon, setting the time as night. The painting is done on paper with brilliant color and gold. There is a rather extensive use of coarse mineral pigments.[33]

A curious thing about this design is the fact that in 1930 a work was brought to light and published by the Tōkyō Asahi 東京朝日 newspaper which had been mounted as a four fold screen (Plate LXXVI). It has also been published in Volume XII on Utamarō in the series Ukiyoe taika shūsei 浮世繪大家集成 and in the May 1932 issue of the Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪藝術 magazine.[34] On looking at it we see that it exactly

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[33]A technical examination of the pigments used by the artist was made by Mr. Rutherford John Gettens of the Freer Gallery of Art Technical Laboratory. He found the pigments to include a good quality of malachite and azurite. The cost of good painting materials has never been inexpensive. The Japanese at times have felt the painting was done in poster colors. The technical examination once and for all proves this to be false and supports the theory that the painting is authentic and not a copy or forgery.

[34]Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, "Utamaro no Dozō Sagami no rōgetsu" 歌麿の土藏相模の月朧月 (Utamaro's painting of the dim moon at the Dozō Sagami), Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世繪藝術 (Ukiyoe art), Vol. I, No. 4, op. cit., pp. 58-61.

repeats the design of the Freer painting. At the same time we can also note that at one period in its history the central figure of a courtesan had been cut out and mounted in kakemono form. The position of this painting in our story has not been established; however, research by Japanese scholars to date favors the theory that it is either an outright copy of the painting in this collection or else a shita e 下繪 (sketch done as a design for the final composition).[35]

The evidence in support of the Freer painting rests on several points. First, it is known that Utamaro was capable of executing large scale designs, and here I do not mean to evaluate the designs. An illustration taken from his picture book Seirō nenjū gyōji 青樓年中行事 (Plate LXXIX) (A chronology of events in the pleasure houses) which was published in 1804 shows the artist painting a phoenix on the wall of one of the houses.[36] We also know that in his biography

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[35]The current whereabouts of the painting is unknown. During my visit in Japan during 1957 I heard that it had been cut up and was being marketed as separate paintings. I could not substantiate this report, nor was I able to see the painting.

[36]There is no evidence to prove that this actually is a portrait of Utamaro but it has been generally accepted as such. The bibliographical data on the book is as follows: Jippensha Ikku 十返舍一九, compiler, Seirō nenjū gyōji 青樓年中行事 (A chronology of events in the pleasure houses), Edo: Kazusaya Chūsuke 上總屋忠助, 1804.

mention is made of his having painted a series of three works titled the Setsugekka 雪月花 (Snow, moon and flowers) for his first patron, Zenno Zenbeimon.[37] The Freer painting, as was mentioned before, is the moon composition of this series. Recently I have come upon photos of the ka /hana/ 花 (flower) scene of this series (Plates LXXVII and LXXVIII) which until last year was in Paris in the collection of Madame Huguette Berés. It is now in the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut. It at one time left Japan with the other two paintings of the set, and they have since been split up. The flower scene remained in France and passed supposedly via the Aoyama 青山 collection in Paris to Madame Berés and now to the present owner. The snow scene also passed into the Aoyama collection but has since been returned to Japan, and its present whereabouts is unknown.[38] The moon or Dozō Sagami painting (Plate LXXV), as we have mentioned before, was purchased by Mr. Charles L. Freer.[39] Upon examination we can note that although more crowded in composition, this painting is clearly related to the Dozō Sagami one in terms of perspective, size, and color

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[37]Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., pp. 124-125; Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit.

[38]I have heard reports that it was exhibited during the two hundredth anniversary celebration of Utamaro's birth. Photos of the painting are unavailable.

[39]It was purchased by Mr. Freer at the auction of the effects of Hayashi Tadamasa 林忠正 in Paris in 1903.

values. It is my belief, in accordance with the theory that Utamaro painted these for Zenheimon, that they were done at about the age of thirty-five; thus, in about the year 1789. Utamaro was still young and had not attained the perfection shown in his later works, and as he was mainly interested in the production of print designs, his paintings do not show the skill evidenced by an artist who primarily produced paintings.[40] As it is a composition of great scale it is also a composition of rather unfamiliar scale. By this, I don't mean to contradict my previous statement that Utamaro was capable of executing large scale designs. The production of designs for prints required meticulous care in painting, for they also had to be suitable for being carved into a wood-block. A design of this scale was out of the ordinary, for its use and sale would be limited. The great size of the work assists us in accounting for some of the rough spots and weaknesses in detail. The quality of the painting does not rank with the very best, but we must remember that this work was not meant to be observed minutely as a print or smaller kakemono.[41]

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[40] Miyagawa Chōshun and Kawamata Tsunemasa would be notable examples of this for there are no prints known to have been produced by them.

[41] Prints are held in one's hand and there is an intimacy associated with viewing them in Japanese fashion. They can be brought close to one's eyes. The reverse is true of paintings, for once hung they are public.

The left portion of the painting shows a young lady painting on a lantern in the foreground, while a maid holds a tray and a courtesan talks to her. In the middle ground or center there is a stationary floor screen signed by the artist called Kō Sūkoku 高嵩谷 who lived from 1730 to 1804 and was active in Edo. He was trained in the studio of the great master, Hanabusa Itchō 英一蝶 . The signature is quite obviously a crude copy executed by the painter of the Dozō Sagami. The screen painting represents a kara-shishi 唐獅子 (so-called "Chinese lion"). A figure leans over the rail and in the background we can see a storehouse, a group of girls in a neighboring house, and the distant horizon with the bay and the moon.

The faces of individual figures in this painting can be very favorably compared with portraits in other works by Utamaro save for the lacking of detailed perfection. The courtesan and maid mentioned before are familiar types. We might well compare the face of the courtesan to that of another lady of equal rank reading a letter in Utamarō's print series Fujo ninsō jūppin 婦女人相十品 (Plate LXXX).[42] The coiffure and expression are almost identical. The maid holding the tray also compares favorably to a figure from his print series Fujin sōgaku jittai 婦人相學十躰 (Plate LXXXI),[43] and the child writing on the lantern is a theme which the artist used over again in his print series Fūryū kodakara

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[42]This print series was executed about 1790.

[43]Utamaro produced this series in about 1790.

awase 風流子寶合 (Plate LXXXII). This was a common device of the ukiyoe artist to work and rework a successful formula.[44]

There is a framed panel of poetry in the upper right portion of the painting. It is signed by the famous composer of comic odes, Ōta Nampo 大田南畝, and also bears his seal. Ōta Nampo lived from 1749 to 1823 and also signed his works with the name Yomō Akara 四方赤良 and Shokusanjin 蜀山人. It is very likely that Utamarō was thoroughly acquainted with the work of this contemporary and therefore copied one of his poems on the panel. It reads:

Teru tsuki no 照る月の
Kagami o nuite 鏡を抜いて
Taru makura 樽枕
Yuki mo kon kon 雪もこんこん
Hana mo sake sake 花もさけさけ

and may be freely translated as follows:

Opening the barrel of the shining moon,
[Removing the cover of the sake barrel which when open because of its shape and color looks like the moon.]
And using the keg as a pillow,
[Having drained the barrel.]

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[44]The constant reworking of themes was one of the causes for the eventual demise of ukiyoe as was mentioned earlier. If a particular subject sold it was repeated until its sales value had died.

One sleeps deeply as the snow piles up
and the flowers blossom.
/This last portion is really an erotic reference to the embrace of the courtesan./[45]

Further support to show that this is a work by Utamaro can be found in the view of the neighboring house and group of girls in the background. In his book Kyōgetsu bō 狂月坊 (The moon mad monk) which was published in 1789, the almost identical design is repeated (Plate LXXXIII).[46] There is no doubt that the location is the same, and upon careful examination we can observe that the bonsai 盆栽 (potted tree) and ikebana 活花 (floral arrangement) are basically the same as that in the central portion of the Dozō Sagami painting save for the container holding them. Utamaro reused this same area as a theme for a book illustration is his aforementioned work the Seiro nenjū gyōji (Plate LXXXIV). Granted that the designs vary slightly but the similarity is more than coincidental. A similar example of repeating this formula can be found in one of his illustrations for the book Ehon Suruga mai 絵本駿河舞 (Picture book of the dance

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[45]The ukiyoe artists often included suggestive material of an erotic nature in regular works as well as in the standard pornography they turned out.

[46]A fine copy of this book is in the library of the Freer Gallery of Art. It was published by Tsutaya Jūsaburō in 1789.

of Suruga) (Plate LXXXV) where a group of courtesans once again look out over the bay.[47]

Utamaro was known to have delighted in the portrayal of all types and we find them shown in his painting of the Dozō Sagami. The figures are his not only in terms of types but also in terms of proportion.[48] In the central portion of the painting the artist has drawn in the foreground a very elegant figure of a courtesan wearing an extremely handsome robe having a plum blossom and bamboo pattern. Seated at her feet is an elderly woman who is either a manageress or go-between who represents the courtesan and house in the preliminary negotiations with a client. In the middle ground there is a group of musicians and a young kamuro 禿 (a young girl employed by a house of pleasure) as well as the aforementioned bonsai. Along the verandah a young girl is shown running. In the background is the bay and boats with their sails caught by the breeze. The ranking beauty of the house is really very wonderfully painted for a work of this size (Plate LXXXVI). She is tall and majestic and has a certain out-of-this-world quality /perhaps I should claim that she appears to float in the world

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[47]The Ehon Suruga mai 絵本駿河舞 (Picture book of the dance of Suruga) was published in 1790 by Tsutaya Jūsaburo. A discussion of it can be found in Ochiai Naonari 落合直成, op. cit., pp. 40-42.

[48]Utamaro's women were tall and their faces were extremely elongated. He is the culmination of a trend towards this throughout the development of ukiyoe.

and thus is the essence of ukiyo7. Once more, however, we can find this same type in the wood-block prints by Utamaro. All we need do is look at this portrait of Wakaume 若梅 from the Tamaya 玉屋 (Plate LXXXVII) to see the direct relationship. Not only are the face and coiffure identical but also the general arrangement of the robes and obi 帯 (sash).[49]

The left portion of the painting Utamaro has filled by placing a courtesan writing a love letter in the foreground while another one leans over her shoulder and sticks out her tongue. Behind them is a standing screen with a dragon painted in sumi 墨 (charcoal black) on gold and it bears an interpolation of the signature of the artist Kanō Yoshinobu 狩野業信, who was also a contemporary of this period and lived from 1747 to 1797. Beside this screen and running along the verandah is the figure of another young girl and she holds in her hand a kibyōshi 黄表紙 (yellow covered book) which we know reached the zenith of popularity in the period from 1772 to 1817. This corresponds in time with the general period in which I consider this work to have been executed as do the compositions of the artists and poets represented. An amusing note is found in that it has been claimed in the Japanese journals that the shadow in the upper left is a self portrait of Utamaro enjoying himself at the Dozō Sagami.[50] This, of course, can't be substantiated.

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[49] I feel the courtesan in the Freer Gallery of Art painting is also Wakaume 若梅. The plum blossom patterned robe as well as the similarity with the print informs us of this.

[50] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit.

The face of the girl reading the love letter also assists us in assigning this work to Utamaro for it corresponds to his print in the Fujin sōgaku jittai series of a girl holding a fan (Plate LXXXVIII).

One of the principal reasons why I have been led not to doubt this work came to light as a result of a close examination of the painting with our Oriental Picture Mounter at the Freer Gallery of Art, Mr. Takashi Sugiura. As we examined the painting we found it to be painted and mounted on old paper.[51] This I do not consider conclusive evidence, but I add that the major portion of this work, an area of approximately three feet, eight inches in height and ten feet, four inches in width, is painted on a single sheet of paper. The production of paper of this scale is quite a task and would require a special screen.[52] It appears to me most unlikely that a person desiring to copy or forge a work would go to the trouble and expense of having this special paper produced. The paper is made from bamboo and is of a tōshi 唐紙 or so-called "Chinese" variety.

Last but not least I believe that the past background of this work serves as a substantial reference for it. It left

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[51]The quality of paper changes with the passage of time. Aging greatly affects it and although artificial aging is possible it would be difficult, costly and unlikely for a composition of this size.

[52]Our examination shows the paper to be handmade and not factory produced.

Japan in the 1880's and thus before ukiyoe collecting as well as large scale forging reached its peak.[53] We must remember that the Japanese collectors from the Meiji period on until almost recent times shunned ukiyoe. It was reported to have been in both the Kobayashi Bunshichi 小林文七 and Hayashi Tadamasa 林忠政 collections which in general appear to have been collections of quality, and it was purchased by Mr. Freer from the Hayashi sale in 1903.

It is for all of these reasons that I believe the painting of the Dozō Sagami may be established as a most important authentic work produced by Kitagawa Utamaro.

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[53] Forging of ukiyoe became a very popular pastime in Japan in the early twentieth century. Yata Michio 矢田三千男 "Shinsetsu Shunpōan gisaku jiken" 眞說春峰庵僞作事件 (The truth about the Shunpōan forgery incident), Geijutsu shinchō 藝術新潮 (New currents in art), Vol. VIII, No. 12, Tokyo: Shinchō Sha 新潮社, 1957, pp. 194 - 208.

## VI. KATSUSHIKA HOKUSAI

### Katsushika Hokusai's Biography

One of the great rewards in a study of art history is to be able to trace the historical and chronological development of an artist's work. In terms of the Western world, this is not unusual. In Far Eastern art, however, that opportunity rarely arises, for seldom do we have a sufficient volume of established work or adequate documentation whereby we can trace them. In Hokusai, this challenge is met for, although the documentation is not always complete, we have a large volume of work to examine and compare. The majority, excluding the great woodblock print collections in Boston, Chicago, the Metropolitan, and the British Museums, are to be found in the collection of Hokusai paintings and drawings now housed in the Freer Gallery of Art and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. At the Freer we have over 200 paintings and drawings attributed to him, and Boston has an equally sizeable number. The dimensions of these collections readily attest to the popularity of this master in the Western world. It is very interesting to note that this man, who is now recognized by world art historians as one of the great masters of all time, was not fully appreciated in his homeland until recent years.[1] We in the United States are truly fortunate to have

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[1]The same may be said of most ukiyoe masters. By this I do not mean to imply that they were not popular. The difference between popularity and acceptance by the connoisseur is a great one and it has only been in modern times that the latter has occurred in Japan.

become heirs and protectors of his work for no such assemblage of his paintings could be viewed in his homeland today.

Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 was one of the last great masters of the ukiyoe school. He was a skilled draftsman and was also an extremely prolific artist. His biography, although still incomplete, furnishes us with many details of his life in which over seventy years were spent as an active artist.[2]

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[2]Excellent biographies of the artist exist in the form of the following: Narazaki Nuneshige 楢崎宗重, Hokusai ron 北斎論 (A treatise on Hokusai), Tokyo: Atorie Sha アトリエ社, 1944; Iijima Hanjuro 飯島半十郎, Katsushika Hokusai den 葛飾北斎傳 (A biography of Katsushika Hokusai), two volumes, Tokyo: Kobayashi Bunshichi 小林文七, 1893; Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, ed., Hokusai no kenkyū 北斎の研究 (Studies on Hokusai), Vol. I, Tokyo: Hokkō Shobō 北光書房, 1944; Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, "Hokusai kenkyū dampen" 北斎研究斷片 (Fragmentary studies of Hokusai), Ukiyoe shi 浮世繪志, Vol. I, nos. 1-4, op. cit., part 1 pp. 19-23, part 2 pp. 28-32, part 3 pp. 35-38, and part 4 pp. 10-14; Oda Kazuma 織田一磨, Hokusai 北斎, Tokyo: Sogen Sha 創元社, 1957; Hokusai Kenkyū Kai 北斎研究会 (Hokusai Research Society), compiler, Hihan Hokusai 秘版北斎 (Erotic works by Hokusai), Tokyo: Nihon Bijutsu Shuppan Sha 日本美術出版社, 1952; Jack Hillier, Hokusai, London: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1955.

Some of these details are as follows: In the ninth month of the tenth year of Hōreki 寶暦 (1760) Hokusai was born in Edo at Honjo Warigesui 本所割下水 . In the past, Honjo was a part of Shimōsa 下總 Province, Katsushika Gun 葛飾郡 , and it was from this that the artist took his studio name of Katsushika 葛飾 . As far as can be ascertained, his real family name was Kawamura 川村 . As a child, he was called Tokitarō 時太郎 , but this was later changed to Tetsuzō 鉄蔵 . When he was four or five years old, he became the adopted son of a man who was employed by the Bakufu as a maker of mirrors, Nakajima Ise 中島伊勢 .[3] This contact with craftsmanship stood Hokusai in good stead, for he was rapidly thrown into the world of pattern and design. At this time, his family name was changed to Nakajima

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[3]In later life Hokusai's eldest son Tominosuke 富之助 rejected his father's profession and became a mirror maker in the household of the family that had adopted his father. Nakajima Ise's 中島伊勢 wife was a grandchild of a retainer of Kira Yoshinaka Kōzuke-no-suke 吉良義央上野介 who figured prominently in the Tale of the Forty-seven Ronin. The retainer's name was Kobayashi Heihachirō 小林平八郎 . Hokusai thus is at times reported to be of the Kobayashi family as well as the other two, and although untrue Heihachirō's granddaughter is often reported as being Hokusai's real mother. This information is reported in Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄 , op. cit., Vol. I, no. 1, part 1, p. 20.

中 島 , and it is usually reported that he was of that household. At about the age of fourteen, he was apprenticed to an engraver and studied the technique of carving wood blocks. Thus he had an opportunity to learn the nature of one of the principal media in which he was to produce work. Few of his predecessors had been favored with the chance to truly understand their material. One might well compare it to a designer of pottery who has never touched clay in contrast with one who knows the peculiarity of his raw material, the wheel, the kiln, and glazes. Surely the latter would be more likely to produce skilled pieces.

During the year 1778, at age eighteen, he left his position with the engraver, whose name remains unknown, to enter the studio of the ukiyoe master Katsukawa Shunshō (1726-1792), and took the name of Katsukawa Shunrō 勝川春朗 . Evidently all was not well in this alliance, for an argument ensued. Various factors are given for this, including the jealousy of Shunshō's other pupil, Shunkō (1743-1812), and without a doubt great rivalry did exist in the struggle for survival.[4] At the same time, however, we know that Hokusai was not altogether satisfied with the ukiyoe style produced

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[4]One theory for the break with Shunshō that is put forth is that Shunkō one day observed a signboard that Hokusai had painted without the knowledge of his teacher and in a style not resembling his. Shunkō informed Shunshō of this and Hokusai was ousted from the studio. There is no accurate or verified account of this occurrence although it is logical.

by Shunshō and that he had taken to shopping around in other styles for innovations. He especially turned to Kanō style painting.[5] In 1785, he, therefore, once again changed his name. This time the one he selected was Sō Shunro 叢春朗, and it is believed to mark his exit from the studio of Shunshō.

After Hokusai left the protecting wing of his teacher, there followed a progression of names and go 号 (pseudonyms) used by him. He had fallen upon hard times, and is even reported to have been found in the streets hawking pepper. He also took to selling his names, which kept him from starvation.[6] This in itself shows us that his name was not without value, and that there was

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[5] The Kanō teacher Hokusai studied under has been reported as being Kanō Yūsen 狩野融川 (1777-1815) who dwelt in Edo and was the son of Kanō Kansen 狩野閑川 (1748-1793). A full discussion of this artist and his relationship with Hokusai is provided in Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 105-108. The fact that he was seventeen years younger than Hokusai leads me to question the advisability of accepting this theory.

[6] During most of Hokusai's life he appears to have had financial difficulty. He obviously was a popular artist and his works sold rapidly, but he had no concern for money and looked upon it as an intruder in his way of life. The sale of the name Sōri 宗理 by him to his pupil Sōni 宗二 is just one such incident. This transfer of names is reported in Iijima Hanjūrō 飯島半十郎, <u>op. cit.</u>, Vol. I, p. 126.

a market for his work. As soon as he disposed of a name, he selected another.[7] Fortunately, most of those who acquired his names were utterly incapable of producing works even closely resembling those of the master. Otherwise, the confusion that would exist in trying to identify his productions would make the task totally impossible. Following the use of the name Shunrō, his most often used signature was that of Sōri 宗理,[8] which he borrowed from descendants of artists who had previously used the name and who were trained in the style of Kōrin, one of the great developers of this decorative style. Hokusai was actually the fourth Sōri. The seal he selected to use imitated theirs, which, in fact, was an imitation of the type of seal used by Sōtatsu and Kōrin. Later he disposed of this name, but he used it for quite a while with various combinations.

It appears that he first used the name Hokusai 北斎 in 1798, in doing some illustrations for a book which included the work of Shigemasa, Eishi, and Utamaro, as well as that of his

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[7] Thirty one names are listed by Narazaki Muneshige 楢山寺宗重, op. cit., pp. 34-36. In addition to this, Professor Narazaki includes a chart giving the approximate dates when each of these names appears. We must keep in mind that there were additional combinations of names and that the Narazaki lists are based principally on prints.

[8] The name of Sōri 宗理, appears to have been used first by Hokusai in combination with that of Hishikawa 菱川 during the year 1788.

own hand. It was titled Dan to ka 男踏歌, which literally means songs of the male treading, but which probably could be more freely translated as a collection of poems titled the Dancing Man. In this instance, however, the name appeared as Hokusai Sōri 北齋宗理.[9] He does not appear to have used Hokusai 北齋, alone as a name until he produced the illustrations for a book titled Azuma asobi 東遊[10], which I will very freely translate as On the town. The town in question was Edo. This work appeared in the following year, 1799, when Hokusai was thirty nine years old.

During 1804, Hokusai executed a painting of Daruma in the compound of the Otowa Gorokuji 音羽護國寺 Temple in Edo[11] and later, in 1817, repeated the feat in Nagoya.[12] It was a mammoth work some eighteen yards long by eleven yards wide.

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[9] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., Vol. I, no. 2, part 2, p. 28.

[10] Ibid.

[11] The painting was produced in commemoration of a viewing of a Buddhist image of Kannon 觀音 (Avalokitésvara). This event is discussed by Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, op. cit., pp. 201.

[12] The Nagoya 名古屋 painting was done in 1817 by Hokusai at the Saikei-in 西掛院. It is reported by Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, Ibid, pp. 324-328. The same information including illustrations is mentioned by Iijima Hanjūrō 飯島半十郎, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 386-416.

Hokusai also produced other large paintings during his life time. One of these was executed as part of a competition with Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1764-1840),[13] ordered by the then Shogun, Tokugawa Ienari 徳川家斉 (1773-1841). Hokusai's painting had come to the attention of Ienari and he wished to compare the work of the two artists, so they were summoned to paint before him. It was at this competition that Hokusai produced his painting of Maple Leaves Floating on the Tatsuta 立田 River. He took a long sheet of paper and with a broad brush painted a line to symbolize the river. After this was finished, he took a rooster and dipped its feet in red paint and let it walk across the painting. The shape of the rooster's tracks corresponded with those of maple leaves and the assembled people were startled by Hokusai's originality.[14]

It was not until the year 1811 at the age of fifty one that he first appears to have used another of his favorite names, that

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[13] Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1764-1840) was an artist of the Nanga School. Thus he was a classicist in comparison to the ukiyoe artist, Hokusai. He was an extremely prolific painter and was considered during his life time to be one of the greatest masters in Edo.

[14] The painting by Hokusai with the aid of a rooster of the Maple Leaves Floating on the Tatsuta 立田 River is discussed by Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, op. cit., p. 203-204. The date on which this feat was accomplished is not known.

of Taito 戴斗. His usage of this name was in connection with illustrations for a three-volume work by Tanehiko, titled Atsuta hashi ryūjo honji 熱田橋龍女本地, that may be freely translated as The dragon lady of Atsuta bridge. Hokusai's signature in this work is interesting, for it reads: Shin Musashi Kuni Katsushika Jū Fuji Hokusai Taito ga 新武藏國葛飾住藤北齋戴斗画, and thus tells us more about the artist, as it means: Drawn by Fuji, and here I must add /wara/[15] to create the noble designation of the Fujiwara clan, Hokusai Taito who lives in Katsushika in the new Province of Musashi. It was during this same period of his late forties and early fifties that Hokusai fought with his former friend, the great author Bakin 馬琴.[16]

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[15] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op. cit., Vol. II, no. 2, part 2, p. 30.

[16] Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848) together with Santō Kyōden and Shikitei Samba were the great novelists of the period. They all periodically ran afoul of censorship. Hokusai had collaborated in doing the illustrations for a number of Bakin's books. A good biography of this author may be found in the following book: Honma Mitsunori 本間光則, ed., Zōho ukiyoe ruikō-gisakusha ryakuden 增補浮世繪類考戲作者略傳 (A supplement to Ukiyoe ruikō and brief biographies of novelists), Tokyo: Suhara Tetsuji 須原鐵二, 1889, pp. 43-55.

Hokusai produced paintings primarily for the love of doing them, and the same reasoning applied to his sketches, book illustrations, and prints. In 1818, he travelled to Osaka and Kyoto, and while there he tried to sell his paintings. Unfortunately, at this time, the artist Ganku 岸駒 (1749-1838) was in great vogue in Kyoto. The work of Hokusai was shunned, and it was only through the aid of the artist Tani Buncho 谷文晁, who was at that time was employed by the influential Matsudaira 松平 family,[17] that he was saved from complete disaster. He was ready to give up hope and return to Edo when Buncho saw one of his paintings of a dragon and personally praised it. He hung this painting in his own tokonoma 床の間, a niche reserved for the hanging of paintings or the display of flower arrangements and decorative objects. It is the portion of the room considered to be most beautiful. Visitors to Buncho's quarters were much taken by this painting of a dragon, and Hokusai financially survived the ordeal of his travels.

Another important incident in the artist's life occurred in 1829 when he was sixty nine. At that age he suffered from what is reported as palsy. He, however, regained his strength and health, and lauded Chinese medical technique as having assisted his cure. He relied largely on the use of citrons which he sliced and boiled in sake. This, when it reached the proper consistency, he drank with hot water. He was so proud of his

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[17] Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, Ibid., pp. 334-335.

cure that he jotted down the formula in his notebook.[18] During this period, Hokusai's grandson had become ensnarled in debt, and Hokusai came to his assistance.[19] Obviously connected with this was his move from Edo to Uraga 浦賀 in the year 1834, where he remained for two years. This appears to be the time when the greatest financial pressure against him began to ease.

He was a very versatile artist, and in addition to ukiyoe, he had a great knowledge of works done in true Kanō style, which was the variety favored by the Shogun; the Tosa, which was the traditiona Imperial Court style; the Kōrin or decorative style; Western painting and Chinese paintings. Hokusai used numerous pseudonyms, and in fact almost fifty may be counted. A few of these were: Shunrō 春朗, Sōri 宗理, Kakō 可侯, Gakyōjin Hokusai 畫狂人北齋, Gakyōrōjin 畫狂老人, Taito 戴斗, Zen Hokusai 前北齋, Iitsu 爲一, and Manji 卍. Throughout his life he lived in poverty, and his correspondence shows his constant interest only in his art and his great annoyance with any interruptions to his work. A happy factor in his life was that one of his daughters, Ōei 應爲, after her divorce from her father's pupil, Yanagigawa Shigenobu 柳川重信, returned to live with and care for her

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[18] Hokusai wrote the recipe for his palsy cure in his notebook and this came into the possession of a man called Tozaki 戸崎, who preserved it. The information concerning this may be found in the following: Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, Ibid, pp. 337-338; Iijima Hanjūrō 飯島半十郎, op. cit., pp. 496-506.

[19] His grandson's name is unknown, but he was the child of Hokusai's daughter Ōei 應爲, and his son-in-law, Yanagigawa

father. She, in fact, became a skilled artist in her own right. One of the astounding facts is that in eighty nine years of his existence, Hokusai changed his residence at least ninety three times. He appears to have been one step ahead of the bill collector. In thinking of Hokusai, we must not forget his posthumous influence on modern European painting. This has been the subject of separate studies.[20]

The mark Hokusai left was great and lives on until today. One of the best summaries is Hokusai's evaluation of his own work which can be found in his note written at the end of the Fugaku hyakkei 富嶽百景 (One hundred views of Fuji). He wrote:

> Ever since the age of six I have had a mania for drawing the forms of objects. Towards the age of fifty I published a very large number of drawings, but I am dissatisfied with everything which I produced before the age of seventy. Itwas at the age of seventy three I nearly mastered the real nature and form of birds, fish, plants, etc. Consequently, at the age of eighty, I shall have got to the bottom of things; at one hundred I shall have attained a decidedly higher level which I cannot define, and at the age of one hundred and ten

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Shigenobu 柳川重信 . He was often in debt and in his letters, Hokusai periodically comments on the situation.

[20] One of these studies is the following: Kobayashi Taichirō 小林太市郎 , Hokusai to Doga 北斎とドガ (Hokusai and Degas), Tokyo: Zenkoku Shobō 全國書房 , 1946.

> every dot and every line from my brush will be alive. I call on those who may live as long as I to see if I keep my word. Signed, formerly Hokusai, now Gakyō Rōjin (the old man mad about painting).[21]

This great master died in the year 1849 on the eighteenth day of the fourth month. Shortly before his death, he is reported to have composed a letter which read:

> King Emma 閻魔 (Yama, who is the Buddhist ruler of Hell) being very old, is retiring from business, and he has built a fine country home and has asked me to go and paint a kakemono for him. I am obliged to leave and, when I go, I shall carry my drawings with me. I am going to take a room at a corner of Hell Street and shall be happy to see you whenever you pass that way.[22]

On his deathbed, Hokusai is said to have asked Heaven to grant him ten more years, and, as he realized that he was losing life's battle, he changed the request to one for five more years

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[21] A facsimile of the text for this passage is published in Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, op. cit., p. 417.

[22] This statement attributed to Hokusai appears in almost every book written in a Western language on Hokusai. I have been unable to trace the source, however. It has been published by C. J. Holmes, Hokusai, London: Unicorn Press, 1899, p. 12.

in which he might actually achieve his goal of a skilled artist.[23] His tomb is located in present-day Tokyo in the compound of the Seikyōji 誓教寺[24] Temple in Asakusa Nagazumi Chō 浅草永住町.

The Paintings of Hokusai

No artist in the history of Japanese art has been the subject of so much attention in the Western world as Katsushika Hokusai. Not only abroad, but in his homeland he has been the subject of many volumes. The interest in him in the West is founded on the ease with which his type of art may be understood. It is surprising, however, in all that has been written about the artist that nobody has carefully examined his paintings. The authors in the past have almost unanimously been concerned with his prints and book illustrations. Only Professor Narazaki Muneshige has attempted to examine the paintings, but he has been faced with a great handicap, for as we mentioned earlier, most of Hokusai's paintings are no longer in Japan. American collections are very rich in his work and that is especially true of the Freer Gallery of Art. Most of the Hokusai paintings in that collection have never been exhibited.[25]

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[23] Yoshida Teruji 吉田暎二, op. cit., p. 163; Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, op. cit., pp. 339-340.

[24] A drawing of his tombstone and commentary on it can be found in Iijima Hanjūrō 飯島半十郎, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 676-686.

[25] Of the over two hundred works by Hokusai, only about six have ever hung on the Freer Gallery of Art walls.

None of the Japanese scholars in the field of ukiyoe have had the chance to see them and the Western authorities have not availed themselves of the opportunity to do so. Thus, everything that has been written on his works and paintings, in particular, ignore one of the largest collection of these in the world. It is only in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art that one may trace the development of Hokusai's painting from about the age of twenty until his death some sixty nine years later.

This comprehensive view of his most important works, all in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, is included to rectify that past error and to trace the changes in style which occurred during his long life.

1. The first painting in our chronology is one in which Hokusai has shown two courtesans (Plate LXXXIX).[26] One is seated and one stands. The seated girl holds notepaper in her hand and also a writing brush. Before her on the floor is a suzuribako 石見箱 (an ink-stone case). Outside an open window cherry trees are in bloom. This painting is quite a mystery for it is unsigned. Recently I have been trying to establish it as definitely being his work. Unfortunately, that process of research is not yet completed, but I still prefer to call it Hokusai's. What are the problems that must be faced in examining it? The first is that there is a signed work by Shunshō, his teacher, exactly like it.[27] The only variation is that in Shunshō's work there are two

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[26] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.128.

[27] Fujikakē Shizuya 藤懸靜也, Ukiyoe no kenkyū 浮世繪の研究 (Ukiyoe research) Vol. II, Yuzankaku 雄山閣, 1943, Plate CCXLI.

figures rushing along outside the window and they carry a palanquin. There is also a somewhat similar work which is signed Gakyō-jin Hokusai 画狂人北斎 , and which was produced by him at a much later date.[28] It is in the Atami Art Museum in Japan. In this latter work the hair style and arrangement is changed. The background has also vanished. The black, fan patterned kimono, however, keeps repeating.

The Freer Gallery of Art painting was exhibited in Tokyo in 1901, and thus, only fifty two years after Hokusai's death.[29] Its position has never been established, but I must state that I have been unable to prove it wrong. At the time of its exhibition, the Japanese authorities in the field accepted it. If it is correct, this composition would be the earliest painting produced by Hokusai still extant.

It is quite logical that the artist produced it as a study of his master's style while in his studio, for it was traditional to copy one's teacher's work as practice. It is quite skilfully executed and the faces bear a close resemblance to those produced by Shunshō, although they vary slightly in shape. It is not as heavy or as full a face as was typical of Shunshō. The figures

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[28] Jack Hillier, Hokusai, London: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1955, Illustration no. 75, p. 87.

[29] Ernest F. Fenollosa, Catalogue of the exhibition of paintings of Hokusai, held at the Japan fine art association, Ueno Park, Tokyo, from 13th to 30th January, 1900, Tokyo: Kobayashi Bunshichi, 1901.

are also taller than those usually painted by him, and are much more in agreement with the proportions which were coming into vogue under the leadership of Utamaro. As Hokusai was active in the studio of Shunshō between 1778 and 1785, we can consider this a product of his hand during his early twenties or shortly thereafter.

A further difference is noticeable when we compare the Hokusai painting with the known work of Shunshō. In the upper portion of the former there are two poems which are absent in the latter. They present us with an interesting observation, in that they are protests against the courtesans and also include a note of compassion for the sadness found in the lives of these poor beings. The poems may be freely translated as follows:

They brush their eyebrows and comb their hair from
morn till eve.
Ever sending away the old loves and welcoming the
new from the West and the East.
Can light-hearted young men discern the sorrows
that the lives of these charming beauties conceal?
Signed Mokkō Kin 木公琴 .

Shameless as a famous flower and adorned with charms,
they are ruining the country.
Signed Hōzan Mokusaien 峯山木妻園 .[30]

This poet's identity is as yet unknown.

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[30] The text of the poems may be seen in Plate LXXXIX. I have searched the literature on poets of the period to try and identify the authors of the two found on this painting, but to no avail. Consultations with Japanese ukiyoe authorities have also not

2. The second period of Hokusai's work was the one in which he relied largely on the use of the signature Sōri. It occurred following the break with Katsukawa Shunshō. A courtesan who has just come from a bath house (Plate XC) is the subject of one painting.[31] She has her hair done up and holds a cloth in her mouth and paper in her hand. The robe and proportions of this figure, even more than in the previous work, closely resemble those of Utamaro.[32] The work is signed Hokusai Sōri Giga 北齋宗理戲畫, and thus it would be a product of our artist's mid-thirties when he made use of this signature.

3. Another form of painting which Hokusai produced during his thirties was the landscape (Plate XCI).[33] It shows a winter

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revealed anything as to their identity. If this can ever be established, we may have additional information to help us in verifying the painting or in excluding it as a work by Hokusai.

[31] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.129. This painting of a courtesan who has just left a bath house was published in Ernest F. Fenollosa, op. cit., p. 19-20.

[32] The figure closely resembles that of the maid holding the tray in the large Dozō Sagami painting by Utamaro (Plate LXXV). The resemblance to anything produced by Shunshō is very slight.

[33] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.97. Pure landscape is contrary to the nature of ukiyoe. For as we have seen, man and his goings and comings in his environment was what concerned this school. Hokusai's experiment of this variety shows his concern in not denouncing the other traditions of Japanese art.

scene with a river and a boat. The painting is signed Hishikawa Sōri Ga 菱川宗理画 . The scene represented is probably that of Mount Tsukuba 筑波, which is close to Tokyo. It is an area that is considered traditionally cold in the winter and Hokusai has very well captured the atmosphere. The light wash and mild colors are typical of the Sōri style.

4 and 5. Other landscapes painted by Hokusai at about the same time are a pair of screens, which depict the four seasons (Plates XCII and XCIII).[34] Once again the signature is that of Hishikawa Sōri 菱川宗理 , and the colors, as in the previous work, are cool and not brilliant. The painting is,in truth,poorly executed and the figures are much better than the landscape portions. The overall design, however, is good, and shows us that Hokusai was on his way to becoming a great landscape artist. The four seasons are divided with spring and summer on one screen, and fall and winter on the other. There is a faint trace of Hanabusa Itchō's style of painting landscapes, and that of the Kanō school present in these screens.

6. Works signed Hyakurin Sōri 百琳宗理 , are rather rare. One of those is what the Japanese call an ukie 浮繪 (perspective study) (Plate XCIV).[35] Hokusai acquainted himself with the work of Shiba Kōkan, the great experimenter in Western painting techniques. The painting is much closer in terms of color to the figure of the courtesan coming from the bath house (Plate XC)

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[34] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 06.233 and 06.234, respectively.

[35] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 05.270.

than the works that normally bear the Sōri signature. The perspective is distorted. The site is that of large houses of assignation at Shinagawa 品川. There were a great number of such houses there, and the area resembled that of the well-known Yoshiwara in Tokyo. Utamaro had also done numerous studies of the Shinagawa area[36] and his influence is once again seen. Tokyo Bay is visible to the far left and in the distance there is a mountain which may mark the start of the artist's use of Fuji as a theme. The painting is not well done,[37] and has suffered through wear and tear, but I believe that, regardless of its inferior quality, it is one of his rare examples of perspective experiments.[38]

7. A courtesan standing before symbols of the New Year (Plate XCV)[39] is the subject of another painting executed in the second period while Hokusai used the Sōri signature. These symbols are

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[36] This was the same area that Utamaro's large composition depicted.

[37] It is this type of painting that the Japanese refer to as a doroe 泥絵 (inferior painting-literally, mud picture). Most often in these paintings inferior materials were used. The pigments most often resemble our poster paints.

[38] On the back of the painting there is a statement saying that it was presented by an unnamed, retired person to another on request on the eighth day of the sixth month of 1833.

[39] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.106.

the pine and bamboo which are placed beside the doorway of Japanese homes during this season.[40] Its usage is symbolic, as is our practice and use of the Christmas tree. The work is hastily executed and in the light use of color, is clearly related to the previously discussed landscapes. It often seems puzzling as to why an artist who was capable of the most meticulous brushwork, which he had learned under Shunshō, relied on broad wash areas in this period. The explanation can partially be found in the fact that, as we have stated in the biography, the Sotatsu and Kōrin styles from which the Sōri artists descended made great use of a technique called tarashikomi 溜込 , in which they used a very wet brush and washes.[41] Hokusai copied this as well as their name.

8. The same period of Hokusai's late thirties and forties is represented by another painting (Plate XCVI)[42] and, as we can tell by the pine and bamboo, it is also of the New Year's season. The figures are very charmingly executed, and mark a start for Hokusai's great love of depicting every sort of being. The figure shown wearing a variety of hat called an eboshi 烏帽子 is a

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[40] The pine and bamboo are eternally green and do not shed their leaves in winter. Thus, they are symbolic of longevity and prosperity which are traditional New Year's wishes throughout the world.

[41] Mention of the technique of tarashikomi 溜込 , was made in Chapter I in reference to the Rimpa 琳派 artists. It consists of painting in one color and, while that is still wet, touching fresh color to the same area.

[42] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.178.

man of rank, and he is accompanied by a youth who carries a pack on his back. The boy turns to look at a puppy. The man is making his New Year's rounds, much as we do at Christmas, and he presents gifts to his friends and the poor. Thus, in this work, we have a Hokusai equivalent of Saint Nick. The colors, brushwork, and use of wash place this as an early work of the master.

9. Still another painting produced while Hokusai was using the name Sōri is one in which he has depicted the Rokkasen 六歌仙 (The Six Master Poets) (Plate XCVII).[43] They were one of the principal themes used by Japanese artists from the Kamakura Period, twelfth century on. The court life in the tenth century was one of great elegance and refinement. As one of the pastimes, the nobles and courtiers would hold poetry contests. Poems by the Thirty-six Master Poets or One-Hundred Master Poets were assembled into anthologies. The six poets shown in this painting are considered to be among the all-time favorites. They can be identified from left to right as Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880), Ono no Komachi 小野小町 (834-900), Bunya no Yasuhide 文屋康秀 (ninth century), Sōjō Hensho 僧正遍昭 (816-890), Ōtomo no Kuronushi 大伴黒主 (ninth century), and Kisen Hōshi 喜撰法師 . They are hastily and

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[43] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.188.

[44] Biographical sketches of the poets may be found in Suzuki Tomotarō 鈴木知太郎 and Fujita Tomoe 藤田朝枝, Ogura hyakunin isshu 小倉百人一首 (The Ogura collection of one hundred master poets), Tokyo: Tōhō Shobō 東寶書房 , 1954.

spontaneously done. Once again they demonstrate Hokusai's use of wash which is atypical of ukiyoe. In this period, prior to his fifties, when he used the Sōri signature in various combinations, he also normally made use of a very limited palette. This is especially true of this painting of the Master Poets. In addition to the Sōri signature on this painting, he placed below it one of his seals which may be read Kanchi 完知.[45]

10. To prove that Hokusai had a fine sense of color and design even at this early period, we need but look at his painting of Courtesans Dressing (Plate XCVIII)[46] He has shown three courtesans and a young attendant. One is seated before her dressing table and arranges her hair, while another stands and ties her obi about her waist. This painting has the same signature as the pair of landscape screens of The Four Seasons (Plates XCII and XCIII), and it reads Hishikawa Sōri 菱川宗理. It also carries the Kanchi 完知 seal. The thing for us to note here, in addition to the interest in color, is the artist's sudden concern about detail as shown in the coiffure, the fabric designs, and the blue-and-white bowls. Of even more importance is the almost grotesque elongation of the figures. We must again recall that Utamaro at this time had taken to stretching the Japanese form and face. Obviously Hokusai was influenced by him, but appears to show his individuality even in this, and carries it

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[45] The placement of the characters of a seal within a ring was typical of the Rimpa artists and Hokusai copied them in this manner as well as their style.

[45] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.74.

one step beyond that of the popular master, Utamaro. It is my belief that this style just precedes his use of the name Hokusai 北斎, which, as we stated earlier, was in 1799 when he was thirty nine years old.

11. We now come to a pair of kakemono (Plates XCIX and C)[47] in which we can notice a change from the previous works. Hokusai has begun to mature and on these paintings he has used that name. The subject which he most commonly portrayed during his forties and fifties is the courtesan. Oddly enough, however, Hokusai did not depict a number of types, but a very specific one, and her face appears over and over again. It is a long and squarish face with a very straight nose and small eyes. The first painting (Plate XCIX) also carries another mark of the artist's brush. That is the handsome landscape painted on the blue-and-white bowl. If you think back to the previous kakemono, you will remember the same type of bowl there. We can also clearly see a marked change in the proportions of his figures. They are monumental, but have come down to earth and do not appear to soar and stretch for the sky. The courtesan shown here holds a water container and is carrying out one of the rituals connected with the New Year. She is about to wash in water into which she has sliced lemons. This strengthens the body in accordance with the ritual, and is believed to make it free throughout the coming year from illness. The other painting (Plate C) shows a courtesan tying a sketch of a takarabune 寶舟 (treasure boat) on to her pillow. This ceremony is performed on New Year's eve with the hope that in the New Year the treasures in the boat will become

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[47] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 03.53 and 03.52, respectively.

reality. The strength of Hokusai's brush in both of these works is outstanding.

12. I wish to interrupt the parade of beauties here to present one work with the plain Hokusai 北斎 signature (Plate CI).[48] It is a hastily executed sketch much in the style of an Ōtsue 大津絵 (an Ōtsu painting) [a painting in folk style].[49] It is obviously Buddhist in subject matter as the deity Fudō 不動 (Acala) is shown as the central theme. He holds a sword in his right hand to fight off evil, and a rope in his left to save the faithful; a woman has grabbed hold of the rope, on the right, and she is balanced on the left by a figure of a man who acts as the third corner of this pyramidal composition. This painting was done hastily with a very wet brush and washes were used. In contrast to the works produced under the Sōri signature, however, there is now much more color and I believe it can be considered a rarity produced during his forties or fifties. The seal reads Manji Rōjin 卍老人 (the old man Manji).

13. A similar work in terms of broad washes and color is a sketch of a Courtesan (Plate CII).[50] The face is the same as in the first

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[48] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.135.

[49] There are many books dealing with Ōtsue 大津絵. The most recent and also one of the most complete is the following: Asahi Masahide 旭正秀, Ōtsue 大津絵, Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan Sha 美術出版社, 1957. These paintings in the past were often associated with, and by a few, considered to be the earliest form of ukiyoe. That theory is obviously erroneous, and their link to ukiyoe is that both were popular forms of painting.

[50] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.126.

two paintings with the Hokusai signature (no. 11, Plates XCIX and C); however, this and the following five works bear Taito 戴斗 as part of the name. This work was quite obviously a study for another composition. The seal on the painting as yet has not been deciphered.

14. A more complete specimen of Hokusai's wet brush technique is another kakemono of a Courtesan (Plate CIII).[51] It is marked from the earlier Sōri style not only by the coiffure, but by the addition of much more color. The figure stands with her head gracefully bent under a flowering cherry tree. The painting is signed Taito 戴斗, and carries a seal reading the same. Both of these are typical of Hokusai's fifties.

15. The same face so typical of the artist's late forties and fifties is repated in a portrait of a Courtesan (Plate CIV).[52] Hokusai had now begun to show much more interest in representing the actual fabrics of the robes. The women are usually shown with their heads bent either fore or back; this particular figure holds a love letter behind her back. The painting is signed Katsushika Taito Ga 葛飾戴斗画, and has a peculiar and undecipherable seal.[53]

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[51] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.100.

[52] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.185.

[53] Hokusai delighted in creating unusual seals and in varying them on his paintings. There are a number which even today have not been deciphered. This particular one appears to have elements of to 斗, and rō 老 present.

16. Although the hair style varied slightly, Hokusai's courtesans were the same person (Plate CV).[54] The face is repeated over and over as a cold, cut formula. There has been a great deal of argument as to whether or not Hokusai used a model. Some claim that his daughter, Ōei お栄,[55] was that model; however, there is no real evidence to either support or disprove that theory. There is a poem by the great poet of comic odes, Ota Nampo 太田南畝, at the top of the painting. Another trademark of Hokusai's brush from his fifties on is the crinkled crepe of the undergarment of the figure. The brushwork of this particular garment is jagged and appears nervous, as though the artist's hand shook while painting it. The lines of the hair and the outer robes, however, clearly show this to be intentional. Hokusai Aratame Taito 北斎改戴斗, is the signature found on this painting of a Courtesan Holding a Pipe. The seal again is unusual and is written in kana 假名 (Japanese syllabary) and reads Fumoto no Sato ふもとのさと.

17. Once again the familiar face and stance appears in this portrayal of a Courtesan Holding a Fan (Plate CVI).[56] Katsushika Hokusai Ga 葛飾北斎画 is the signature and the seal reads Raishin 雷震. The square collar is very typical

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54 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.107.

55 The dates of Ōei's お栄, life are unknown. She was a skilled artist in her own right and is also known by the name Ōi 應爲.

56 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.183.

of Hokusai's portraits of women and the painting is almost an exact repeat of the stance we saw in the courtesan with the love letter (Plate CIV).

18. Paintings of this stereotyped figure, and face of which I have purposely included several, indicate how very well established the formula was. This particular work (Plate CVII)[57] which is signed Zen Hokusai Taito 前北齋戴斗 (Formerly Hokusai: Taito) and bears a seal read Yoshinoyama よしのやま, is one of the greatest masterpieces produced by Hokusai. How elegant is this courtesan in her winter robes as she steps forth. From the repeated pine pattern, we can conclude she is about to set out to pay her New Year's calls. The artist imparted great majesty to the courtesan. When one examines the painting, one finds it is a miracle of the master's brush. There is not a misplaced line, and one can almost feel the movement and hear the rustle of the heavy silk robes.

19. Hokusai did not only produce female portraits during the first and second decades of the nineteenth century. A bird (Plate CVIII)[58] which appears to be related to the crow family, walks among falling maple leaves. The painting is just a hasty sketch and is the sort of thing that an artist might do as a gift to a friend in honor of his visit. It is interesting to note that this fan carries another of the artist's many signatures, which in this instance, reads Fusenkyō Iitsu 不染居爲一.[59] This name appears to have been used by the artist but rarely.

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[57] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 54.19.

[58] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.135.

[59] Narazaki Muneshige 楢山崎宗重, op. cit., p. 182.

20. Art historians have usually spoken of Hokusai not so much in terms of his figure painting, but as a great landscape master of the ukiyoe school.[60] He is often classed with Hiroshige. Obviously, from what we have already seen, we know that he did not limit himself to landscapes. One work of his mature period in this form produced in his late forties should satisfy us that he was capable of turning them out. It is a pure landscape without figures (Plate CIX)[61] and is charmingly and skilfully executed. If we follow our original definition, such a painting is really not an ukiyoe for no reference is made to the current scene. The artist has once again turned to using a very wet brush and washes. The pigments are not heavily applied, and it reminds us of things he painted under the signature of Sōri back in his thirties. Hokusai, although he constantly moved forward in developing his technique, never forgot what he had learned in the past. His versatility is overwhelming, for he could change from style to style, and mood to mood, without loss. Another popular signature appears on this painting. He has signed it Gakyōjin Hokusai 画狂人北斎 . (The man mad about painting, Hokusai). The seal may be read Kinshu Dasoku 龜手蛇足 , and is the artist's commentary on his existence at the time. It means hands numbed and cracked by the cold

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60 Hokusai's popular studies of Mount Fuji have placed him in that category. It is only in recent years and in a book such as tha by Jack Hillier, op. cit., we approach a more complete picture of the artist.

61 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.174.

and superfluous. Hokusai often bemoaned his poverty.

21. It was also during his late forties and fifties that he started to produce what was to become fifteen volumes of sketches titled the Manga 漫畫.[62] The final volumes of this series were not published until long after Hokusai's death. The next group of paintings we consider were done while he was working on these volumes, as well as on his plans for his great Fuji prints and other series. The subject matter keeps varying. A two-fold paper screen of Various Scenes (Plate CX)[63] is typical of this style and of his sketches in general. He has crowded his paper with all sorts of subject matter and exhibits his mastery of various techniques in one work. There is a wonderful scene of a priest painting a torii 鳥足 (Shinto gate) while on the ground a passerby has stretched out as a sidewalk superintendent. It recalls to my mind Mark Twain story of Tom Sawyer and the whitewashed fence. With but a few brush strokes the artist has told a complete story. A falcon peering from behind a post and a courtesan and prancing horse are all expressively done. In the upper left corner Hokusai placed a mandarin duck in a plum tree. His brush strokes in representing the feathers would be hard to surpass. He truly caught the spirit of this feathery creature.

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[62] James A. Michener, The Hokusai sketch-books, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1958. The publishing date for these volumes of the Manga 漫畫 are as follows: Vol. I, 1814; Vol.II,1815; Vol. III, 1815; Vols. IV and V, 1816; Vols. VI-IX, 1817; Vol.X,1819; Vol.XI, [no date]; Vol. XII, 1834; Vol.XIII, preface,1849; Vol. XIV [no date]; Vol. XV, 1878.

[63] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.3.

22. Another product of this period, which includes Hokusai's sixties, is a painting of two Court Ladies (Plate CXI).[64] The figures, which are dressed and wear the hair style of the tenth century, are painted with meticulous care. They very closely resemble Tosa School productions and show us that Hokusai was well acquainted with that type of painting, probably via contact with the Sumiyoshi artists.[65] His placement of the figures in the composition and use of color is once more remarkable. The verticals and diagonals call to mind this element so much a part of his teacher's (Shunshō's) work. The painting carries the Hokusai Taito signature and Fumoto no Sato seal.

23. His painting of a Bee and a Squash Plant (Plate CXII)[66] contrasts sharply with that done in Tosa style. The colors are light and delicate, and the bee is caught in mid-flight. Its fragile wings are blurred in movement as it hovers above a leaf. He again used the tarashikomi technique which often appeared on paintings signed Sōri in his thirties. This painting, however, is signed Zen Hokusai Iitsu 前北齋爲一 (Formerly Hokusai: Iitsu). The seal has never been read, but is a common one used by him and I feel it may read Fujiwara.

24. Similar to the previous work in technique, he did a study of

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64 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.184.

65 Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, op. cit., pp.114-115.

66 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.111.

varieties of Crustaceae (Plate CXIII).[67] The signature is similar, but the seal varies.

25. Hokusai also showed an ability to handle groups of people and to be able to fit them into a landscape setting. His most typical formula can be seen in a painting of Cherry Blossom Viewing Along the Sumida River (Plate CXIV).[68] It places a group of people in the foreground and the landscape almost as a set of projecting stage flats behind them. The group shown in this work is about to cross the Sumida River and set forth on a picnic to view the cherry blossoms. The confusion and bustle of the scene as well as all types of people are shown. At this period, Hokusai was rapidly approaching a hard and, at times, almost mechanical looking representation of the human figure. His skill, however, did not vanish, and with but a few lines he could capture most every known gesture or expression. The painting has no signature, but on it is placed what I term his "Fujiwara" 藤原 seal.

26. Let us return and see how Hokusai treated the same theme of the Six Master Poets that he had painted in his thirties (Plate XCVII). At least thirty years had passed and the artist now selected to represent the poets singularly and in monumental form. It is possible that these panels had once been mounted as a six-fold screen. Although he continues to use washes, his brush strokes have become bolder and his colors more brilliant. The poets shown are Ariwara no Narihira (Plate CXV),[69] Ōno no Komachi

[67] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.254.

[68] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.2.

[69] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 07.368.

(Plate CXVI),[70] Bunya no Yasuhide (Plate CXVII),[71] Sōjō Henshō (Plate CXVIII),[72] Ōtomo no Kuronushi (Plate CXIX),[73] and Kisen Hōshi (Plate CXX).[74]

27. We know Hokusai's love of painting Mount Fuji was intense. He seemed to find great solace in the mountain as a foil for his compositions and painted or drew it from almost every possible point of the compass and under almost all climatic conditions.[75] A pair of two-fold screens (Plates CXXI and CXXII)[76] depicts Mount Fuji, Sagami 相模 Bay, and Enoshima 江島, which is a small island dedicated to the goddess Benten 弁才天 (Sarasvati)[77] not far off-shore from Kamakura 鎌倉. As Enoshima is close to

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[70] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 07.369.

[71] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 07.370.

[72] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 07.371.

[73] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 07.373. This kakemono is the only one of the six representing the Six Master Poets that is signed. The signature reads: Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎, and also has the Kinshu Dasoku 錦手蛇足 seal.

[74] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 07.372.

[75] The famous print series, Thirty-Six Views of Fuji, and the book titled A Hundred Views of Fuji produced late in his life are known throughout the world.

[76] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 04.176 and 04.175, respectively.

[77] Benten 弁才天 (Sarasvati) is one of the Seven Lucky Gods and, among other things, is the patron deity of musicians, geisha, and courtesans.

Uraga 浦賀, whence Hokusai fled in 1834, it is possible that this work was not done until the artist was in his seventies and about that date. Although the paintings are now mounted as screens, a close examination shows us that they were actually fusuma 襖 (sliding doors). The thatched huts, ocean, and trees are wonderfully drawn. Hokusai in his later landscapes relied heavily on the use of greens, blues, yellows, and sumi 墨 (ink) for his color values. The trees which soar into the air and are clothed with leaves of green, yellow and blue dots, are typical of his hand. His concern with the water is also a preview of what was to happen in later paintings and especially in the great wave print of the Fuji series. It also demonstrates the strong influence that Kōkan and Western art had on the artist.

28. As we know from his biography, Hokusai suffered a severe attack of palsy at the age of sixty nine. That his recovery was complete can well be vouched for by even the briefest examination of the previous work and another one. In this later one, he has depicted a Shinto Ritual performed by a priest (Plate CXXIII).[78] The ceremony actually is one of healing. For before the priest come women suffering from various ailments including infertility. On their heads they carry iron pots and pans. One mother, in addition to the struggle to balance the pot on her head, is trying to hold on to her reluctant and impish child. The priest recites his prayers and waves his gohei 御幣 (staff composed of cut paper) and the women are thus cured. Hokusai, in this work,

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[78] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.177.

has used brilliant opaque colors and the contrast between the crisp and hard figures and the wet brushed tree is worthy of note. Once again in this painting Hokusai uses a new name. This one may be read Tōyō Hokusai 東陽北斎 . The Tōyō is the same designation that the great fifteenth century Ashikaga priest-artist Sesshū used.[79] The character read tō, however, varies. The seal used by him is another variety read Gakyōjin.

29. We once again return to the ukie or perspective style of painting in Hokusai's depiction of Shell Gatherers (Plate CXXiV).[80] How far he has advanced over the work he produced in his thirties (Plate XCIV) which in reality was crude, is at once evident. The perspective is good now save that one might argue that the figures in the mid-ground decrease in size too rapidly. His subject of portraying people out at the seashore gathering clams continues to prove his unfailing interest in all stages of life. The stooped figures and surf are nicely drawn, and the portrayal of Fuji and

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[79] The artist Sesshū used the character 等 , for his tō rather than the 東 character read in the same manner used by Hokusai.

[80] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.2. This painting is very puzzling and there is some question as to whether or not it can be trusted. A painting almost exactly like it exists in the Takeoka Tadao 武岡忠夫 Collection and has been published in Shiichi Tajima, op. cit., Vol. IV, Plate CXXIV. This painting has not been available for study or comparison with the one in the Freer Gallery of Art. It is perfectly possible that both are correct, and until such time that I can prove one wrong, I prefer to consider both his work. It was not uncommon for an ukiyoe

the clouds in the background makes one think more of Western painting than that of the Far East. There is an all-over use of blue and green in the painting, and his placement of touches of red on the robes brings the whole painting to life. His figures, although the musculature is often grotesque, seem to move without stiffness. The use of Fuji clearly relates this work to the prints portraying the same subject which he repeated over and over again in his later life. He was now reaching the age in which he had said he was first to understand the nature of things, thus his early seventies. The painting is signed Katsushika Hokusai and has the Kinshu Dasoku seal.

30. The interest in sketching all sorts of beings and under all kinds of conditions which Hokusai undertook when he started his previously mentioned Manga series at the age of fifty four continued to dominate his work from that time on. The Twelve Months (Plates CXXV and CXXVI)[31] on a pair of six-fold screens shows January commencing on the right, and six months are depicted on each screen. Hokusai, as we can see, was a very shrewd observer of nature and natural phenomena. April is shown as a cuckoo in flight against the moon above a blue-and-white and a pure white iris. June is represented by an egret and lotus. The matching screen contains the months of July through December. A haughty and proud cock is July's symbol.[82] Geese and chrysanthemums are

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artist to paint the same subject twice.

[81] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 04.179 and 04.180, respectively.

[82] This same bird was used a number of times by Hokusai in single kakemono. One of these is in the collection of the Atami Art Museum, Atami, Japan, and is published in the following: Narazaki Muneshige 楢崎宗重, and Yamamoto Kenkichi 山本鎌吉, Hokusai 北斎, Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō みすず書房, 1957, Plate XXIII

representative of September, and puppies in the snow protected by an up-turned barrel under a camellia bush signify December. In the painting of all these creatures, his brush is sure. It is difficult to believe that these screens were produced by a man who but a few years before suffered severely from palsy.

31. Another specimen which displays Hokusai's skill in his seventies is a pair of six-fold screens titled Six Views of the Tama River (Plates CXXVII and CXXVIII).[83] The brushwork is strong and bold. The individual portraits contain not only nobility, but also simple peasants and a priest. First, there is a court lady and probably poetess; second, a party crossing the river; Hokusai's interest in natural phenomena is shown in the transparency of the water; third, a noble, and probably a poet, gazing at the moon; fourth, two peasant women preparing silk; fifth, a woodsman stopped to rest. This panel bears the title inscription Six Views of the Tama River. In addition to that, however, it is very important to us, for it marks the earliest use I have been able to find of the artist's age on a painting; here it is given as seventy-four and thus, the year is 1833. Hokusai became very proud of his age and, especially during his eighties, dated most work not only with an era and cyclical date, but also with his age. The sixth panel is of a priest beside a clump of reeds. The other screen includes views of the river and related items. The first panel on the right

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[83] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 04.204 and 04.205, respectively. The Tama 玉 River enters Tokyo Bay near Kawasaki 川崎. Scenes along it have often provided themes for Japanese poets.

may be called an underwater fish-eyes' view; the second shows chidori 千鳥 (plovers) diving earthward toward the bank of the river, and we may call it a bird's-eye view; and in the fourth panel from the right we have an actual landscape or boatman's view. The typical thatched cottages and green trees and the splendid brushwork place this screen high in the ranks of Hokusai's production.

32. Hokusai never tired of painting Mount Fuji (Plate CXXIX).[84] This particular work is signed Gakyōrōjin Manji 画狂老人卍 (The old man mad about painting, Manji), and the artist's age is proudly stated as being eighty. A tone of cool greens and blues prevails in this representation of a youth seated on a willow tree above a cascading river. He is playing a flute and gazes at the solitary majesty of Fuji in the snow. Again the master's skill is evident in the draftsmanship and the brushwork and the painting immediately calls to mind Hokusai's great print in the Thirty-six Views of Fuji series showing Fuji in clear weather. How great Hokusai's love of this mountain must have been that it led him to devote so much of his life to it!

33. Rarely does one know for whom a painting of the ukiyoe variety was created. A pair of small six-fold screens showing A Picnic Party (Plates CXXX and CXXXI)[85] are very unusual for the person for whom they were produced is known. They show such an

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[84] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 98.110.

[85] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 03.143 and 03.144, respectively.

event during cherry blossom time, and the picnickers are well drawn. The work, however, lacks the strength of some of the artist's other screens. The person who commissioned this work was a man called Matsunari 松成,[86] and Hokusai in his signature clearly states that it was produced on his order. Another peculiarity of this work is that the figures and landscapes in both halves are done on a different scale.

34. A much greater, and possibly the greatest, pair of screens produced by Hokusai in his late seventies, by which time he considered himself on the way to maturity, is that titled Country Scenes[87] (Plates CXXXII and CXXXIII). The season is winter, and once again Fuji plays a prominent role. The subject matter appears to be the various occupations in the country. In one scene (Plate CXXXII) a falconer sets forth across a bridge, while farmers are at work repairing the roof of a thatched house. Before the house two women are seated beating silk to soften it, and a man appears to be grinding pigments to be used in dyeing the cloth. In the other screen (Plate CXXXIII) we have a scene set before a river with a boatman poling along. On the third panel from the left a group of musicians and dancers are shown performing the Echigo Jishi 越後獅子 (Echigo lion) dance. The dancers stand on their hands and wear lion masks.

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[86] Unfortunately, the name Matsunari 松成 is all we have to go on. The identity of the man remains unknown.

[87] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers 02.48 and 02.49, respectively.

The villagers squat on the ground and watch the performance. Above this group three men are shown at work dyeing and putting patterns on cloth. The figures burst with energy in performing their tasks and Hokusai's peculiar portrayal of musculature is very noticeable in this work. He has wonderfully contrasted the warmth of the figures and their robes with the cold wintry landscape. A fisher reclining on the bank, a woman bowed down with her child strapped to her back as she moves along the river, and an impish boy in a blue robe are all typical specimens of mankind as seen by the Old Man Mad about Painting.

35. We know Hokusai painted hanging scrolls and screens, but rarely does one encoutner his work in the form of a handscroll. One of the many items by him in the Freer Gallery of Art is a long makimono of sketches in color produced when he was seventy nine years old. The sketches contain, among other things, birds and plants humorously portrayed; fish of all varieties, and a cat with a bell and ribbon about its neck. It is seated and follows the movements of a butterfly. Another humorous sketch is one of a fox in a Buddhist priest's robes (Plate CXXXIV).[88] Hokusai's paintings appeal to all ages and levels. The final portion of the scroll shows Jurōjin 壽老人, one of the Seven Lucky Gods and the deity concerned with longevity examining a kakemono. It is interesting to note that next to this Hokusai placed the date Tempo 天保 10 (1839), the cyclical date, the season, winter, and his signature Gakyō Rōjin Manji Hitsu 画狂老人卍筆,

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[88] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 02.42.

(Painted by the old man mad about painting, Manji) and his age according to the Japanese system, eighty. It is one more indication of his great pride in his age which obsessed him as he became older.

36. That Hokusai was acquainted with Chinese literature we know from his prints and illustrated books[89] and we find further evidence of it in his painting of one of the Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety (Plate CXXXV)[90] produced by him at the very end of the Tempo era, 1844, and thus in his eighties. His hand was firm and, although the tiger that springs forth is peculiarly formed, the painting comes to life as the youth, Yang Hsiang 楊香, stands forth to protect the elder (his father) from the attack.[91] The painting is signed Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北齋, and has an unusual seal.

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[89] One of the important books of this variety is the following: Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北齋, Ehon Tōshi sen shichigon ritsu 繪本唐詩選七言律 (A picture book of a selection of Chinese poetry of a seven word rhyme variety), Five Volumes, Edo; Kobayashi Shinbei 小林新兵衛, 1836.

[90] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 06.51.

[91] The story of Yang Hsiang 楊香, usually appears as the eleventh paragon in Japanese editions of the Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety. At the age of fourteen, he is said to have sacrificed himself to a tiger which had sprung on his father and thus saved his life.

37. We again return to the artist's favorite theme, Fuji, in his painting of a Ferry Boat (Plate CXXXVI).[92] Here we see how he treated the subject at the age of eighty two. Once more he used blues and greens and lighter values. At times it is amusing to experiment and discover that not only does the whole painting form a noteworthy composition, but that the individual parts as well can be separated and yet hold together. The peasant figures in the boat were a subject close to Hokusai's heart for they, as he, were without funds or luxury. His genius shines in this painting in gathering a few lines together to create a realistic impression of the group huddled in the boat. Fuji, as always, remains serene and majestic. The village across the lake and the trees when brought together with the view of Fuji are calculated to create a feeling of nostalgia in the mind of anyone who has visited the lakes about that mountain in Japan. This upper portion of the painting is a perfect landscape, and Hokusai's formula in relating it to the human figures in the boat by means of the lake and mist was a great success. The painting is signed Gakyō Rōjin Manji 画狂老人卍 , and has the "Fujiwara" seal which are typical of the later portion of his life.

38. At long last, we come to the artist's drawings. They are very difficult to date, and I feel that the majority are from his late seventies and eighties. As we know, Hokusai suffered the loss of many of his sketches in his constant moving, and by fire.[93] We shall mention the drawings but briefly for I feel

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[92] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.109.

[93] Narazaki Muneshige 楢山崎宗重 , Hokusai ron

in most instances they speak for themselves. The majority of them are unsigned. The world is flooded with drawings attributed to Hokusai, but it would have been physically impossible for him to do all. The largest portion of those usually encountered are of very poor quality and certainly not his work. His skill in handling the brush and his spontaneity is verified over and over again. The first drawing of a strolling courtesan (Plate CXXXVII)[94] with slight color added, is of early date. It is probably a product of his thirties and the period when he made use of the signature Sōri. The proportions and face of the figure verify the date as do the wave, rocks, and plovers.

The drawings were produced for many reasons, ranging from studies for other work, studies believed to have been produced for his pupils' use, drawings made for friends, and final sketches for wood-block prints. His use of line from the thickest to the thinnest, his incomparable draftsmanship, and his ability to impart life and emotion, has, since his death, stirred artists and moved laymen to the greatest admiration. They are the qualities that define his work.

39. Two men who have just finished a bout with a bottle of sake (Plate CXXXVIII)[95] is the humorous subject of another drawing.[96]

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北斎自画 (A treatise on Hokusai), op. cit., pp. 315-317.

[94] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.73.

[95] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.269.

[96] It is often stated that Hokusai strongly disapproved of drink and yet we know he made use of sake in his palsy cure.

One is sprawled on the floor while the other mops his brow. The expressions which Hokusai was able to accomplish with a few lines are one of his major trademarks. In this work, as in the others, we can see his peculiar attempt at musculature, which was so noticeable in the painting. This was often masked by the pigments.

40. To Hokusai every scrap of paper was sacred, and he would cover every portion of it. One theory has been put forth that sketches of this nature were done on both top and bottom so that pupils could simultaneously work from the same paper. A procession of old men leaning on their staffs and strolling along is the theme of the drawing (Plate CXXXIX).[97] Some are accompanied by youths. Here Hokusai has shown us the old, the lame, the halt, the proud, and the smug. He did similar groups of blind men much as Bruegel did in Flemish painting.[98]

41. Another drawing depicts a Kabuki dancer (Plate CXL)[99] in the various stages of his performance.

42. A handsome drawing is one of a man walking along a street with a squirrel in a box; before him is a boy with a turtle on a leash (Plate CXLI).[100] In this single sketch we can see many

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[97] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.281.

[98] The Pieter Bruegel (The Elder) painting of The Blind Beggars dates 1568 and is in the collection of the National Museum, Naples, Italy.

[99] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.239.

[100] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.232.

varieties of brushwork ranging from the soft areas representing the hair and fur to the broad and firm strokes which represent the folds of drapery. The contrast of figures and animals is charmingly handled. There is not a wasted or misplaced line in the drawing.

43 and 44. Just as in the former drawing, nobody can deny the charm of this seated girl and her cat (Plate CXLVII)[101] or of a woman tuning her samisen (Plate CXLIII).[102] From her expression, she is obviously striking a sour note. Once again we can see how Hokusai, with but a line or two, was able to relate a full story. He produced a number of drawings of this nature. In all of them the head, face, and limbs are executed in fine line whereas the robes are done with a heavier and bolder brush stroke.

45. Further evidence of his skill in depicting the body in various moods can be seen in a sketch of Two Men (Plate CXLIV)[103] It is fairly clear that the gentlemen in question had just completed a drinking bout. In fact, the upper gentleman very closely resembles the man sprawled on the floor shown in the first drawing of this series (Plate CXXXVIII).

46. Two other gentlemen who might well join the former group are those on the bottom of another page of sketches (Plate CXLV).[104] They gesture wildly and, on looking at this drawing, one almost

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101 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.256.

102 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.241.

103 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.277.

104 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.245.

feels transported to the actual scene. On the upper portion of the paper Hokusai drew an old man and a warrior in armor. His convention of two comma-shaped marks to designate the nose is very easily discernible here.

47. I know of few examples where an artist has so thoroughly captured an expression as in a Hokusai drawing of a smug character who sits with his hands and legs crossed (Plate CXLVI).[105] The mastery of the turned down mouth and projecting chin tells us the story of a spirit immovable and self-centered. Also on the drawing there are companions of the other character and a large sake bottle. There is a definite element of the grotesque in his treatment of the hands and feet.

48. That which he saw in everyday life was transferred by Hokusai to paper via ink and his brush(Plate CXLVII). Scenes of people bowing to a samurai or a family group seated on the verandah in the summer with a child trying to look under the platform, were undoubtedly common sights in Edo. With an economy of line, he tells all.

49. There is a drawing that has become somewhat of a pet and a problem child. I have decided to title it "George Washington's Father?"[106] (Plate CXLVIII) for the angry elder, axe, and branch of a cherry tree are all visible. I am at present trying to establish the date when this legend, related by Parson Weems, first reached Japan via Europe.[107] Regardless of the story, the

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[105] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.251.

[106] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.220.

[107] The legend was known in Europe shortly after its introduction in the United States. It appears to have been the fabrication of Mason Locke Weems (ca.1760-1825) who included it in

drawing, in color, is well executed.

50. Without a doubt Hokusai had great sympathy for the simple peasant girl who ties a cloth about her hair preparatory to dusting which he depicted in another drawing (Plate CXLIX).[108] His drawing of the movements necessary to perform this task is natural, and he has imparted a sense of sweet simplicity to the figure.

51. Hokusai also did sketches for his prints. One of these was for the Hyaku monogatari 百物語 (The hundred tales) and depicted various spirits or demons (Plate CL).[109] The series was never completed,[110] although this particular one was executed as a print. Hokusai on the drawing has indicated the colors and at the top, has redrawn the gory head of a child which the horned, laughing spirit holds.

52. Another specimen of a sketch for a print that was later completed is one of six horses (Plate CLI).[111] In the completed print three more horses were added plus landscape elements.

53. A graceful study by Hokusai is that of the back view of a

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his popular Life of Washington.

108 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.248.

109 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.413.

110 Actually only five prints of the Hyaku monogatari 百物語 (The hundred tales) series were completed. They were published in 1830.

111 Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.257.

woman playing a samisen (Plate CLII).[112] It is thrilling to examine these drawings first hand and see how his brush moved and changed from light to heavy. He never appears to have hesitated. We must never cease to remember that these were produced primarily when Hokusai was in his late seventies and eighties. The firmness of his hand in creating these recalls to my mind the stories told of Matisse whose hand would shake as he approached the canvas, but once in contact with it, never quivered. In these drawings there is no trace of Hokusai's palsy.

54. Another drawing in color depicts a Cloth Merchant (Plate CLIII)[113] measuring out cloth for a customer. In his drawings Hokusai used a limited color range. This one is done in warm brown tones. The color areas are enclosed by the outline of the figure.

55. The story of an additional drawing is uncertain, but it appears as though a peasant has taken to burning a Buddhist image to keep warm (Plate CLIV).[114] It may well be a parallel to Hokusai's own life, for he was continuously complaining in his correspondence about the lack of funds, food, and above all, warmth. He often wrote he did not even have a cloth to place over his shoulders, but, although chilled with the bitter cold, his hand remained steady to produce works of this nature.

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[112] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.421.

[113] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.215.

[114] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.210.

56. One of the final print series that Hokusai was to undertake was that titled Hyakunin Isshu Ubaga Etoki 百人一首乳母が繪解 (The Poems of One hundred Master Poets as Related by a Wet-nurse). He commenced this series in 1839; however it never was completed. We know that only twenty seven of these designs for a series of one hundred were originally completed into print form, and the rest at one time were a mystery. We were not certain as to whether or not all of the proposed one hundred had even been drawn. Various accounts reported the existence of others in the form of hanshita-e 板下繪,[115] but never went into detail and always gave an erroneous figure. The hanshita-e is a final sketch produced on almost tissue paper. In the process of producing the print, it is pasted on the wood block and, in creating the block, the lines are carved through it. Thus, it is destroyed. Through recent research, I have had

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[115] An article which goes furthest into detail on this series and reports the existence of forty hanshita-e 板下繪, is the following: Satō Shōtarō 佐藤章太郎, "Hokusai hyakunin isshu ubaga etoki sue kaihan hanshita yonjū shu" 北齋百人一首うばが玄とき末開版々下四拾種 (Forty final sketches and some later prints made therefrom of the Hokusai Poems of One hundred Master Poets as Related by a Wet-nurse series), Ukiyoe kai 浮世繪界 (The ukiyoe world), Vol. I, no. 9, Tokyo: Ukiyoe Dōkō Kai 浮世繪同好會, 1936, pp. 20-21.

the good fortune of tracing and locating eighty eight of the designs for this series thus expanding the number known by at least twenty items. The Freer Gallery of Art now possesses thirty eight of the final sketches and ten of these are included as Plates CLV through CLXIV.[116] They are very carefully done and the brushwork certainly gives no hint of Hokusai's being in

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[116] Freer Gallery of Art registration numbers for these final sketches and the poets represented are as follows:

Plate CLV — Yūshi Naishinnō Ke no Kii 枕子内親王家紀伊
Freer Gallery of Art 55.3.

Plate CLVI — Ekei Hōshi 恵慶法師
Freer Gallery of Art 07.558.

Plate CLVII — Shikishi Naishshinnō 式子内親王
Freer Gallery of Art 07.575.

Plate CLVIII — Junii Ietaka 従二位家隆
Freer Gallery of Art 07.579.

Plate CLIX — Ōe no Chisato 大江千里
Freer Gallery of Art 07.552.

Plate CLX — Kisen Hōshi 喜撰法師
Freer Gallery of Art 07.548.

Plate CLXI — Bunya no Yasuhide 文屋康秀
Freer Gallery of Art 07.551.

Plate CLXII — Ryōsen Hōshi 良遍法師
Freer Gallery of Art 55.5.

Plate CLXIII — Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部
Freer Gallery of Art 55.4.

Plate CLIX — Kōtaigō Gūdaifu Toshinari 皇太后宮大夫俊成
Freer Gallery of Art 55.6.

his eighties. On one in particular (Plate CLV) Hokusai wrote in red instructions to the engraver as to how to cut the block to achieve the effect he desired. His inscription may be translated as follows: "Is it not possible to use a thin wash of ink along the shore line?" The poet who is represented by this sketch is Yūshi Naishinnō Ke no Kii 祐子内親王家紀伊 (1038-1105). His poem may be translated as follows:

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Hearing the sound of a light wave at the beach of Takashi,
It splashed me,
Indeed, my sleeve is wet.

An interpretation of the meaning of it leads us to a longer and freer translation:

There is a great rumor and it is not like that of a light wave against the beach of Takashi.
I was able to hear the sound of it, and the words which you spoke declaring that I was the possessor of a fickle heart; however, I never took heed of it.
Bearing this in mind, I am at last so implicated that it is like the wetness of a sleeve splashed by a wave.
Undoubtedly I looked distressed and my sleeve as usual will be wet with tears of sorrow.

Perhaps the scene represents the beach at Takashi. It depicts a servant handing a letter to a maiden and pointing to a palanquin

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117 Takashi 高師, is a noted beach which is located in present day Ōsaka 大阪 City Prefecture at Hamadera 浜寺.

in which the writer of the note is seated.

All of the poems are delightful and it is my intention at some date in the near future to publish all eighty eight of the hanshita-e and completed prints accompanied by a new translation of the poems. The poem of Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部, who is often said to have died at the age of thirty nine in 1016, speaks of sorrow and longing. The poetess is thought to be the authoress of the Tale of Genji and the Diary of Murasaki Shikibu. Two groups of travellers parted by a river and bridge are the way Hokusai illustrated the poem (Plate CLXIII). It may be translated as follows:

Meeting again after a long absence,
While ascertaining whether or not I knew you,
The midnight moon was hidden by the clouds.

An interpretation of the poem is as follows:

Meeting again by chance after a long absence, and not
knowing whether or not you were my friend of old,
I paused to make up my mind.
While in the process of doing so, suddenly you went
away as the midnight moon hidden by clouds.
Truly, the parting is most sorrowful.[118]

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[118] The interpretations of the poems are very difficult and a comparison of commentaries shows much variation. I have chiefly relied on that suggested by Suzuki Tomotarō 鈴木知太郎 and Fujita Tomoe 藤田朝枝, Ogura hyakunin isshu 小倉百人一首 (The Ogura Collection of Poems by the One Hundred Master Poets), Tokyo: Tōhō Shobō 東寶書房, 1954.

A sample of a sketch entirely unrelated to the poem is that which accompanies the composition of the priest, Ryōzen Hōshi 良暹法師 (Plate CLXII). The drawing shows a procession of figures walking before a signboard set in the fields. Some of the figures carry percussion instruments and may be calling attention to the government edicts on the signboard. The poem in a totally unrelated manner may be translated as follows:

In lonesomeness,
I went forth from my home, and though I glanced no
matter where,
The autumn evening was the same.

There are cartouches in the upper right of each sketch or print which contain the title and a poem by one of the One-hundred Master Poets. Often there is little if any relationship between the poem and the scene shown. Most of the poems have love and longing as their theme.

In another sketch Hokusai drew a fine farmyard setting utilizing one of his often repeated themes of a horse being bathed (Plate CLVI). The contrast of curves which he used in the horse's head and neck, and the flight of birds in the sky opposed to that of the bow and arrow and bent figures is indeed the product of a skilled designer and draftsman. Beneath the eaves of the farm house, tobacco hangs out to dry. The rustic setting is reminiscent of his Country Scenes screens (Plates CXXXII and CXXXIII). In a similar manner we cannot deny his ability in portraying an interior with sleeping figures as in his illustration for the

poem by Shikishi Naishinnō 式子内親王(died 1201) (Plate LVII). We can but stop and wonder at the horse painted on the wall with but a few lines. The One hundred Poets are usually placed in a traditional order by the Japanese. The sketch which contains the poem of the ninety-eighth poet, Junii Ietaka 従二位家隆 (1158-1237) is very interesting (Plate CLVIII). It depicts a misogi 禊 (purification ceremony). In the background there is a procession of minute figures against the horizon. On the left, Hokusai drew an old man and I believe it to be a self-portrait of the great master. Descriptions of him at the age exist, and without a doubt, this parallels them in terms of staff, garment and features. It is also like the well-known drawing of the artist leaning on a staff of which printed copies exist in the Louvre, Paris, and in the Freer Gallery of Art. Hokusai had begun to turn his back on life and walk toward his rendezvous with Emma 閻魔 (Yama, God of Hell).

Before concluding our consideration of the Hyakunin Isshu Ubaga Etoki series, I would like to list the known whereabouts of the eight eight designs so far discovered. Some of these exist in completed print form, while the remainder are in the form of hanshita-e. We should be greatly indebted to the English medical man, Dr. Ernst Hart, who kept these drawings in his collection from being scattered until the late nineteenth century when

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119 Shikishi Naishinnō 式子内親王 was the second or third daughter of the Goshirakawa 後白河天皇 Emperor (reigned 1156-1158) and a noted poetess.

they were divided among various collections. Almost every final sketch has an additional mark of pedigree, for on the back of each, there is placed the seal of the artist, Kawanabe Gyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831-1889) who was profoundly influenced by Hokusai and collected his works.[120] The seal reads Gyōsai Shujin 暁斎主人. A full selection of the twenty-seven completed prints may be seen in either the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, or the British Museum, London, England, and in the list I shall but refer to them as prints. Others in the series present an additional problem for although we know they were hanshita-e, the present whereabouts are unknown. Fortunately in the Freer Gallery of Art there is a group of reproductions of most of the known designs made from zinc blocks which were made by the nineteenth century engraver, Gillot, in Paris. The date that these were done is unknown, but it is certain that he saw the hanshita-e before they were dispersed or destroyed. Thus, although the current whereabouts may not always be known, the design is. The abbreviations FGA will be used for the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., and BMFA for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts. The list of the Hokusai Hyakunin Isshu Ubaga Etoki series in order of the traditional arrangement of the poets is as follows:

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120 Many of the Hokusai paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, carry the seal of Kawanabe Gyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831-1889) attesting to his ownership of these paintings.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Tenchi Tennō 天智天皇 | Print. |
| (2) | Jitō Tennō 持統天皇 | Print. |
| (3) | Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麿 | Print. |
| (4) | Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 | Print. |
| (5) | Sarumaru Taifu 猿丸大夫 | Print. |
| (6) | Chūnagon Yakamochi 中納言家持 | Print. |
| (7) | Abe no Nakamaro 安倍仲麿 | Print. |
| (8) | Kisen Hōshi 喜撰法師 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (9) | Ono no Komachi 小野小町 | Print. |
| (10) | Semimaru 蟬丸 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (11) | Sangi Takamura 參議篁 | Print. |
| (12) | Sōjō Henshō 僧正遍昭 | Print. |
| (13) | Yōseiin 陽成院 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (14) | Kawara no Sadaijin 河原左大臣 | Final sketch, BMFA. |
| (15) | Kōkō Tennō 光孝天皇 | Design unknown. |
| (16) | Chūnagon Yukihira 中納言行平 | Design unknown. |
| (17) | Arlwara no Narihira Ason 在原業平朝臣 | Print. |
| (18) | Fujiwara Toshiyuki Ason 藤原敏行朝臣 | Print. |
| (19) | Ise 伊勢 | Print. |
| (20) | Motoyoshi Shinnō 元良親王 | Print. |
| (21) | Sosei Hōshi 素性法師 | Gillot reproduction and Satō Shōtarō 在藤章太郎 print.[121] |

(22) Bunya no Yasuhide 文屋康秀 Final sketch, FGA.

(23) Ōe no Chisato 大江千里 Final sketch, FGA.

(24) Kanke 菅家 Print.

(25) Sanjō no Udaijin 三條右大臣 Final sketch auctioned July 22, 1914, by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, England, from the Collection of W. O. Danckwerts, Esq., K.C., Gillot reproduction.

(26) Teishin 貞信 Print.

(27) Chūnagon Kanesuke 中納言兼輔 Final sketch.

(28) Minamoto no Muneyuki Ason 源宗于朝臣 Print.

(29) Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 Design unknown.

(30) Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 Gillot reproduction and Satō Shōtarō 左藤章太郎 print, in black and white.

(31) Sakanoue no Korenori 坂上是則 Final sketch in British Museum, London, England.

(32) Harumichi no Tsuraki 春道列樹 Print.

(33) Ki no Tomonori 紀友則 Final sketch, FGA.

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[121] In 1921, Satō Shōtarō 左藤章太郎, copied a number of hanshita-e and reproduced them in the form of completed prints. This is reported in the following: Satō Shōtarō, op. cit.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (34) | Fujiwara no Okikaze 藤原興風 | Gillot reproduction. |
| (35) | Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 | Gillot reproduction. |
| (36) | Kiyohara no Fukayabu 清原深養父 | Print. |
| (37) | Bunya no Asayasu 文屋朝康 | Print. |
| (38) | Ukon 右近 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (39) | Sangi Hitoshi 參議等 | Print. |
| (40) | Taira no Kanemori 平兼盛 | Final sketch, British Museum. |
| (41) | Mibu no Tadami 壬生忠見 | Design unknown. |
| (42) | Kiyohara no Motosuke 清原元輔 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (43) | Chūnagon Atsutada 中納言敦忠 | W. O. Danckwerts' Auction, July 22, 1914. Gillot reproduction. Satō Shōtarō print. |
| (44) | Chūnagon Asatada 中納言朝忠 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (45) | Kentoku Kō 謙徳公 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (46) | Sone no Yoshitada 曾根好忠 | Design unknown. |
| (47) | Ekei Hōshi 恵慶法師 | Final sketch, FGA. |
| (48) | Minamoto Shigeyuki 源重之 | Design unknown. |
| (49) | Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu Ason 大中臣能宣朝臣 | Print. |

(50) Fujiwara no Yoshitaka 藤原義孝 Print.

(51) Fujiwara no Sanekata Ason 藤原実方朝臣 Gillot reproduction.

(52) Fujiwara no Michinobu Ason 藤原道信朝臣 Print.

(53) Udaijō Michitsuna no Haha 右大将道綱母 Gillot reproduction.

(54) Gidōsanshi no Haha 儀同三司母 Design unknown.

(55) Dainagon Kintō 大納言公任 Final sketch, FGA.

(56) Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 Final sketch, FGA.

(57) Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 Final sketch, FGA.

(58) Dainі no Sanmi 大弐三位 Design unknown.

(59) Akazome Emon 赤染衛門 Gillot reproduction. Danckwerts' Auction, July 22, 1914. Satō Shōtarō print.

(60) Koshikibu no Naishi 小式部内侍 Final sketch, FGA.

(61) Ise no Taifu 伊勢大輔 Gillot reproduction.

(62) Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 Final sketch, FGA.

(63) Sakyō Daibu Michimasa 左京大夫道雅 Gillot reproduction.

(64) Gon Chūnagon Sadayori 権中納言定頼 Final sketch, FGA.

(65) Sagami 相模 — Final sketch, FGA.

(66) Saki no Daisōjō Gyōson 前大僧正行尊 — Design unknown.

(67) Suō no Naishi 周防内侍 — Final sketch, FGA.

(68) Sanjōin 三條院 — Print.

(69) Nōin Hōshi 能因法師 — Final sketch, FGA.

(70) Ryōzen Hōshi 良暹法師 — Final sketch, FGA.

(71) Dainagon Tsunenobu 大納言經信 — Print.

(72) Yūshi Naishinnō Ke no Kii 祐子内親王家紀伊 — Final sketch, FGA.

(73) Gon Chūnagon Masafusa 権中納言匡房 — Gillot reproduction. Satō Shōtarō print.

(74) Minamoto no Toshiyori Ason 源俊頼朝臣 — Final sketch in British Museum, London, England.

(75) Fujiwara no Mototoshi 藤原基俊 — Final sketch in British Museum, London, England.

(76) Hōshōji no Nyūdō Saki no Kampaku Daijōdaijin 法性寺入道前関白太正大臣 — Final sketch in Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England.

(77) Sutokuin 崇徳院 — Final sketch, FGA.

(78) Minamoto Kanemasa 源兼昌 Final sketch, FGA.

(79) Sakyō no Daibu Akisuke 左京大夫顕輔 Final sketch, FGA.

(80) Taikenmonin no Horikawa 待賢門院堀河 Final sketch, FGA.

(81) Gotoku Daiji no Sadaijin 後徳大寺左大臣 Final sketch in the collection of Philip James, London, England.

(82) Dōin Hōshi 道因法師 Design unknown.

(83) Kōtaigō Gudaibu Shunsei 皇太后宮大夫俊成 Final sketch, FGA.

(84) Fujiwara no Kiyosuke Ason 藤原清輔朝臣 Final sketch, FGA.

(85) Shunie Hōshi 俊恵法師 Final sketch, FGA.

(86) Saigyō Hōshi 西行法師 Final sketch, FGA.

(87) Jakuren Hōshi 寂蓮法師 Final sketch, FGA.

(88) Kōkamonin no Betto 皇嘉門院別当 Final sketch in the British Museum, London, England.

(89) Shikishi Naishinnō 式子内親王 Final sketch, FGA.

(90) Inbumonin no Taifu 殷富門院大輔 Final sketch, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.

(91) Gōkyō Gokusesshō Saki no 後京極攝政 Final sketch,
Daijō daijin 前太正大臣 FGA.

(92) Nijōin no Sanuki 二條院讃岐 Final sketch,
FGA.

(93) Kamakura Udaijin 鎌倉右大臣 Final sketch,
FGA.

(94) Sangi Masatsune 參議雅經 Design unknown.

(95) Daisōjō Jien 大僧正慈円 Final sketch,
Hayashi Tadamasa 林忠正
Collection. Gillot reproduction.

(96) Nyūdō Saki no Daijōdaijin 入道前太政大臣 Final sketch,
FGA.

(97) Gon Chūnagon Teika 權中納言定家 Print.

(98) Junii Ietaka 從二位家隆 Final sketch,
FGA.

(99) Gotobain 後鳥羽院 Final sketch,
FGA.

(100) Juntokuin 順德院 Design unknown.

Only twelve designs remain unknown. There is a possibility of that number being reduced to eleven, for in the collection of Philip James of London, England, there is another sketch. Unfortunately, Mr. James has been unable to furnish a photograph of it to the author and has not been able to determine which poet is represented. It is to be hoped that the future will provide us with the missing twelve designs and thus complete our knowledge of this long missing and important series.

Before proceeding further, I feel that no consideration of

Hokusai's paintings would be complete without the inclusion of the sketches of lions he did as a daily exercise. These were produced over a period extending from 1842 until December, 1843. Hokusai had gone to visit a pupil of his, Takai Sankurō 高井三九郎, in Shinshū 信州 Province and while there, he executed a painting of a shishi 獅子 (lion) every day. These were done with the intention that they would expel any evil spirit and aid in prolonging the life of the artist. Many were produced; however, only two hundred and nineteen remain today and these are in the collection of Miyamoto Naka 宮本仲, in Japan. They are usually referred to as the Nisshin Joma 日新除魔 (The daily expeller of demons). The versatility of Hokusai in handling a single theme such as this is a delight to behold.

57. The final drawing we shall consider shows many faces (Plate CLV).[122] It contains a self-portrait of the artist and this one is signed Katsushika no Okina 葛飾の翁 (The old man Katsushika).[123] The trial of the years certainly shows in the face of

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[122] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.268.

[123] A discussion of self-portraits of Hokusai can be found in the following: Ozaki Hisaya 尾崎久弥 "Hokusai shōzō no kenkyū" 北斎肖像の研究 (Studies on portraits of Hokusai), Ukiyoe geijutsu 浮世絵藝術 (Ukiyoe art), Vol. I, no. 6, op. cit., pp. 47-56. Mr. Ozaki questions the Freer Gallery of Art portrait. He has never seen it and his theory is based on the use of the word okina 翁 (old man) in the signature. He feels Hokusai would never have used this in referring to himself. Okina, on the contrary, was used by the artist in his illustrated books.

the old man mad about painting.

58. We now return to a final group of compositions which lead up to Hokusai's death. One is a painting of a Dragon (Plate CLXVI)[124] produced in 1844. It swirls through the clouds and speaks well of his skill during this period. It is also important for it contains an inscription once again showing his pride in his age, which was eighty four, and stating the date of his birth, Horeki 宝暦 10 (1760). He signed it Gakyō Rōjin Manji Nakajima Tetsuzō Fujiwara Iitsu 画狂老人卍中島鉄蔵藤原爲一.

59. It was in his eighties that he began producing paintings related to the symbols of the year and month. Rats climbing over bales of rice (Plate CLXVII)[125] was the subject of a painting done when he was eighty four. The rats and bales of rice were also a symbol of one of the Seven Lucky Gods, Daikoku.

60. At the age of eighty eight he produced another painting, which is in brilliant color, of a musical instrument, the biwa 琵琶, placed in its case (Plate CLXVIII).[126] The biwa was a symbol of another of the Seven Lucky Deities. This time the one in question is the goddess Benten. Curling about it is a white serpent, and the inscription states that it was done in the first hour of the snake day of the snake month of the year 1849.

61. Another product of this eighty-eighth year is a painting of a priest standing by a tree on the roadway (Plate CLXIX).[127] The

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[124] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.133.

[125] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.132.

[126] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.134.

[127] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.186.

seal he used at this time read Hyaku 百 (One hundred).

62. Waves dashing against the shore (Plate CLXX)[128] were painted by Hokusai many times. They are very similar to those in the great wave print of the Fuji series.

63. One of his last great triumphs in painting is that of The Thunder God (Plate CLXXI)[129] rushing through the heavens. He stands on a storm cloud and appears to be executing a mad dance as he beats out thunder-claps on his drums. Lightning flashes about him. Once more it is difficult to believe that this is the work of an eighty seven year old man. It carries the Hyaku seal and is an unusual theme for an ukiyoe artist to attack.

64. At last, we come to the close of Hokusai's work on this earth, for at the age of eighty nine, he painted portraits of A Wood-gatherer (Plate CLXXII)[130] and A Fisherman (Plate CLXXIII).[131] In eighty nine years, his brush had not faltered. He had painted all that came into view and had successfully captured the essence of all living things.

On his tombstone there is carved a poem, a haiku of seventeen syllables, which he is said to have composed on his deathbed.[132]

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[128] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 05.276.

[129] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 00.47.

[130] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.182.

[131] Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.181.

[132] The Japanese text of the poem is as follows: 悲と云魂でゆくきさんじや夏の原.

It may be translated in two manners. Speaking of his coming death, he wrote, "With a sad heart: I go forth to picnic on the summer plain." In the other translation, he jests and writes, "As a spirit: I go forth to picnic on the summer plain." With this last thought the life of this Titan, who was literally mad about painting, came to an end. With his departure from the scene, the twilight of ukiyoe advanced toward night.

## VII. TWO LAST ARTISTS - THE END OF UKIYOE

### Utagawa Toyokuni

The late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, as was stated earlier, were the time when ukiyoe reached its zenith of popularity. This was due in a large part to improvements in the printing technique and the establishment of studios of trained artists. Paintings also felt the effect of the growth in demand for ukiyoe. As they were costlier it was not as great as that for the inexpensive prints or illustrated books; however, it was noticeable. The demand eventually led to a decline in standards and finally to the end of production of ukiyoe of quality.

One of the last and most important great artists who participated in and witnessed the decline was Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊國. He was born in 1769 and his father, Gorobei 五郎兵衛, a carver of puppets,[1] lived in Edo at Shiba Mishima-chō 芝三島町. Toyokuni's childhood was spent there and he grew up in an artistic atmosphere. His father's profession meant that he saw wood carving tools in use, but his fascination with them led him away from the preparation of wood to the finished product that could result from its proper handling. His father's friends must have included some of the other wood carvers of Edo. This early contact may well have inspired Toyokuni in his maturity to produce hundreds of prints.

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[1] Inoue Kazuo 井上和雄, op.cit., p. 132.

The family name of Toyokuni was Kurahashi 倉橋 and he was commonly known as Kumakichi 熊吉. As an artist he used the pseudonym Ichiyōsai 一陽齋. Once he set his mind on being an artist, he entered the studio of Utagawa Toyoharu 歌川豊春, the founder of the great Utagawa atelier. Once again Toyokuni was fortunate for Toyoharu dwelt in the same area of Edo, and the convenience of this made the contact between artist and pupil strong and the influence deep. Toyokuni also studied the style of Hanabusa Itchō 英一蝶 and even looked into the other great rival studio, the Katsukawas, and especially the work of Shunʻei. His first books appeared in 1786 and about the same time he commenced turning out prints of actors. Toyokuni changed his residence a number of times and one of the other places he dwelt in was Owari-chō 尾張町. He marks a resumption of the old theme of an artist in trouble with the authorities for in 1804 he was tried and sentenced to fifty days in handcuffs for the publication of his book Ehon taikōki 繪本太閤記 (A picture book of a chronicle of the Taikō).[2] The artist Shunʻei was tried and punished in a like manner at this hearing. After the sentence had been carried out Toyokuni returned to creating new designs for his prints with intense fervor. He gathered numerous

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[2]The title of Taikō 太閤 was the name given to the highest official at the Imperial Court after he had retired and been succeeded by his son in office. It was most often used in reference to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

pupils about him including those who called themselves Kunimasa 國政, Kunimaru 國丸, Kuniyoshi 國芳, Kunisada 國貞, Kuninao 國直, Kuniyasu 國安, and Yoshitora 芳虎, to list but a few. On the seventh day of the first month in 1825, he died and was buried at the Mita Hijirizaka Kōunji 三田聖坂弘運寺 Temple.

Although the prints produced by Toyokuni are common, his paintings are rarely seen. If one were to judge him by paintings alone, the impression would be that he was not a prolific artist and thus be very deceptive. A Courtesan and Attendant Waiting for a Boat (Plate CLXXIV)[3] is the subject of a painting by him in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. It is a common enough theme for we have already seen it in a painting by Kitao Masayoshi (Plate LXXIII). Toyokuni was not very original in his designs, although the quality of his painting is very fine. He was more content to borrow than to spend time thinking up new themes. The two women in this painting stand out on the dock. The courtesan holds her obi up to prevent it from dragging along the water's edge. She wears a gauze robe and carries a roll of paper, the Japanese equivalent of Kleenex, tucked into her sash. Her attendant raises a lit lantern high and signals for the boat to come in and call for its passenger. The painting is signed Utagawa Toyokuni Ga 歌川豊國画 and bears two seals reading Ichiyōsai 一陽斎 and Toyokuni 豊國. The painting tells us that although originality

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3Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.72.

had all but vanished from ukiyoe, there were moments of greatness left.

Andō Hiroshige

The artist Andō Hiroshige 安藤廣重 is the last great master of ukiyoe we will briefly consider. He is one of the best known artists of this school to the layman, for his landscape print series of the Tōkaidō 東海道 (The East Sea Road), which extended from Edo to the Imperial City of Kyoto, and views of Edo, have flooded the world. In studying Hiroshige's paintings, one problem is always present and it is basic. Why should a man who often produced pure landscapes be considered a master of ukiyoe? Hiroshige's biography[4] helps to reveal the reason for this. Hiroshige was born in 1797 as the son of a man called Genbeimon 源右衛門. His grandfather is believed to have been a maker of bows and archers' equipment. At some unspecified date early in his life, he was adopted by the Andō 安藤 family and entered into their registry. His actual personal name was Motonaga 元長, but in his youth he was called Tokutarō 德太郎. This name, however, was later changed to Jūemon 重右衛門, Jūbei 重兵衛, and finally to Tokubei 德兵衛. As an artist he used the pseudonyms Ichiryūsai 一立齋 and Ryūsai 立齋 in signing his paintings.

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[4]Uchida Minoru 内田實, Hiroshige 廣重, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1930. This is one of the few thorough investigations carried out in regard to an ukiyoe artist, his life and work.

Hiroshige at the age of ten made some sketches of a procession of Korean envoys who were in Edo, and this marked the start of his interest in art. His adopted mother died in 1809 and his father also passed on shortly thereafter. Hiroshige wanted very much to be an artist and sought out Toyokuni in 1811 to secure permission to study with him. For some unknown reason Toyokuni refused to grant permission. Perhaps the fact that Hiroshige was but fourteen years old at the time may have conditioned the negative reply. He therefore joined the studio of Toyohiro, who was trained by the same master as was Toyokuni. It was Toyohiro who gave him his name and he first used it in 1812. He also at this time studied the Kanō style with an artist trained in that school, Okajima Rinsai 岡島林齋 (died 1865).[5]

Following the death of Toyohiro in 1829, Hiroshige assisted his grandchild, a girl who used the name Toyokuma 豊熊 , for a brief interlude. He had also been employed by the government as a minor police officer and early in the 1830's he left Edo as an aide to an officer on a mission despatched by the

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[5]Okajima Rinsai 岡島林齋 was trained in the Kanō school and was in the service of the government as a fire fighter. A very brief biography of this man is included in the following: Ikeda Tsunetarō 池田常太郎 , Nihon shoga kottō daijiten 日本書畫骨董大辭典 (Great dictionary of Japanese artists, calligraphers, and antiques), third printing, Tokyo: Seikōkan Shuppanbu 成光館出版部 , 1929, p. 1240.

Bakufu. The purpose of the mission was the presentation of a horse to the Emperor Ninkō 仁孝 (reigned 1817-1846). All along the way Hiroshige made sketches and it marks the start of his landscape style. From that successful trip he travelled about the land sketching the scenery that he saw. On the sixth day of the ninth month in 1858 Hiroshige died and his remains were interred at the Asakusa Shin Tera-machi Tōgakuji 淺草新寺町 東岳寺 Temple.

Andō Hiroshige was trained in the ukiyoe tradition and in his early years prior to the journey to Kyoto produced paintings of this variety. One of these depicts a Courtesan (Plate CLXXV).[6] The woman is seated on the floor and is swathed in robes. Her feet and hands are not shown, and the pattern of the robe is much like that of the Genroku era. It is an extremely rich and handsome fabric. On it are scattered maple leaves, and since this was the special mark of the courtesans using the name Takao 高尾, we may conclude that she is the person depicted. Her hair hangs loose, instead of being placed in an elaborate coiffure, and is another indication of an attempt on the part of Hiroshige to paint in the archaic style. At the top of the painting a cuckoo flies off into space and, although this was also a device used by Shunshō (Plates LXVII and LXVIII), its appearance here I believe is another reference to the poem by an earlier Takao which was discussed in connection with Okumura Masanobu's

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[6]Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.63.

painting of that courtesan (Plate XL). There is no question about this work being an ukiyoe. It is signed Hiroshige 廣重 and carries the Ichiryūsai 一立齋 seal.

A Landscape (Plate CLXXVI)[7] in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art is a good and typical example of Hiroshige's work in landscapes, and an impure ukiyoe style. The majority of his landscape paintings are feeble affairs. He did not completely understand them and, although he attempted to keep the ukiyoe element present by including figures, they do not blend well. This painting is one of the few instances where the result is good. The cold snow scene with a man on a raft poling his way up the river has a lyrical quality to it. It is obviously a late work and was done after his journey to Kyoto, for the influence of the artists working in that area is evident. The splashy wet brushwork to delineate the trees is very typical of his work and unlike that of any other great ukiyoe master. The painting is signed Hiroshige Ga 廣重画 (Painted by Hiroshige) and on it he has placed his seal.

Probably the finest specimens of Hiroshige's paintings are contained in his sketch books. One of these in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art in the form of an Album of Miscellaneous Sketches (Plate CLXXVII)[8] is superior to any others I have seen. There are seventy-five paintings in the

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[7]Freer Gallery of Art registration number 03.291.

[8]Freer Gallery of Art registration number 04.357.

book and almost everyone is fresh and delightful. The themes alternate from pure landscapes to figures. The courtesan Takao appears on the second page of the album represented in the same manner as she was in the before-mentioned painting (Plate CLXXV). Animals acting the roles of humans also appear in this truly charming and never before recorded collection of paintings in ink and colors by Hiroshige. His passing brought darkness and an end to the world of ukiyoe.

Conclusion

When I first embarked on presenting a study of ukiyoe painting and some related problems, I was frightened. That fear has not vanished, for one always thinks of how little is known and how much remains to be done. At the same time one must reflect on what has been accomplished. We set forth to give a definition to ukiyoe, for in the past it has been clouded. Our finding was that it means paintings of the Japan in which the artists lived. This led us to a further and more important conclusion, for we noted that the ukiyoe is not a new tradition, but is only another word applied to the yamatoe style of painting of the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods. It was a revival of that yamatoe tradition.

The history of ukiyoe was traced back to the sixteenth century and the late Ashikaga period. Following this the logic to support the inclusion of Matabei in the realm of ukiyoe was presented. In the course of this, statistics on a very rare and possibly the earliest known manuscript copy of the basic source book for all ukiyoe studies, the Ukiyoe ruikō, was recorded.

Once the ukiyoe style of painting had been established, many unidentified artists came upon the scene. The type of works they produced were shown and the first of many ukiyoe paintings in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art were presented. Most of these were published for the first time by their inclusion here. They were all typical and representative of the style. Some of them were the only known specimens of an artist's work, and others were their finest compositions.

The leading early master of ukiyoe in Edo, Hishikawa Moronobu, was discussed. His death date was established and his self-portrait was introduced and fully published for the first time. From this point the trends in the development of the school were traced. Numerous artists, their biographies, and the peculiarities of their style were brought to light. The crowded and busy early composition became simple and uncluttered. The styles and fashions of Japan changed with the passage of time, and they are all reflected in the ukiyoe of these many artists. The paintings are pages in the chronicle of the social and cultural history of Japan from the late sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.

The verification of a major painting by Utamaro was our next objective and it was followed with the first presentation of the most complete collection of Hokusai's paintings in chronological sequence. After this it was pointed out that with Hiroshige's death night came to ukiyoe. The demise was not one of vanishment in totality, for a few artists continued to

work. The quality, however, became inferior and the compositions had altered so much that we cannot truly consider them in the same category. I firmly feel that the tradition of yamatoe, which ukiyoe represents, is not dead. It is but in eclipse, and some day in the future the artists of Japan will once again take up their brushes to paint the charming life of their own land.

There is inscribed on the tombstone of Hiroshige a poem composed on his deathbed.[9] I would like to quote my free translation of it in conclusion: "I have left my brush on the Eastern road and travel forth to view the noted places of the Western Paradise."

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[9]The Japanese text for this poem by Hiroshige is as follows: 東路へ筆をのこして旅のそら西の御國の名ところを見む

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Plate CXXXV. Katsushika Hokusai: THE STORY OF YANG HSIANG FROM THE TWENTY-FOUR PARAGONS OF FILIAL PIETY. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Plate CXXXVI. Katsushika Hokusai: THE FERRY BOAT. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXXXVII. Katsushika Hokusai: A COURTESAN. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXXXVIII. Katsushika Hokusai: SUMMER SAKE SIPPERS. Freer Gallery of Art.

Plate CXXXIX. Katsushika Hokusai: THE LAME AND THE HALT. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXL. Katsushika Hokusai: DANCERS. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLI. Katsushika Hokusai: MAN AND BOY. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLII. Katsushika Hokusai: GIRL AND CAT. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLIII. Katsushika Hokusai: TUNING THE SAMISEN. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLIV. Katsushika Hokusai: TWO MEN. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLV. Katsushika Hokusai: VARIOUS FIGURES. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLVI. Katsushika Hokusai: A SAKE BOUT. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLVII. Katsushika Hokusai: VARIOUS FIGURES. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLVIII. Katsushika Hokusai: "GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FATHER?". Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CXLIX. Katsushika Hokusai: A MAID PREPARING TO DUST. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CL. Katsushika Hokusai: A SPIRIT. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLI. Katsushika Hokusai: HORSES. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLII. Katsushika Hokusai: A SAMISEN PLAYER. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLIII. Katsushika Hokusai: A CLOTH MERCHANT. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Plate CLIV. Katsushika Hokusai: BURNING A BUDDHIST IMAGE. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLV. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-YŪSHI NAISHINNO KE NO KII. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLVI. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-EKEI HŌSHI. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLVII. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-SHIKISHI NAISHINNO. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLVIII. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-JUNII IETAKA. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLIX. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-ŌE NO CHISATO. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLX. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-KISEN HŌSHI. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXI. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-BUNYA NO YASUHIDE. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXII. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-RYŌSEN HŌSHI. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXIII. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-MURASAKI SHIKIBU. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXIV. Katsushika Hokusai: FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-KŌTŌ IGŌ GŪDAIFU TOSHINARI. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXV. Katsushika Hokusai: SELF-PORTRAIT AND OTHERS. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXVI. Katsushika Hokusai: DRAGON. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXVII. Katsushika Hokusai: RATS AND RICE BALES. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Plate CLXVIII. Katsushika Hokusai: SERPENT AND A BIWA. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXIX. Katsushika Hokusai: A PRIEST. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXX. Katsushika Hokusai: WAVES. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington,D. C.

Plate CLXXI. Katsushika Hokusai: THE THUNDER GOD. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXXII. Katsushika Hokusai: A WOOD GATHERER. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXXIII. Katsushika Hokusai: A FISHERMAN. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXXIV. Utagawa Toyokuni: COURTESAN AND ATTENDANT WAITING FOR A BOAT. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXXV. Andō Hiroshige: COURTESAN. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXXVI. Andō Hiroshige: LANDSCAPE. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Plate CLXXVII. Andō Hiroshige: ALBUM OF MISCELLANEOUS SKETCHES-ENOSHIMA. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE I



何者前世諸罪若言
外諸國觀昏等无異
如刀刺天歡喜之國
王又勅言太子前出
已從東門今者可令
從南門出余時太子
百官導從出城南門
時淨居天化作病人
身癘腹大喘息呻吟
骨消皮竭顏貌塵黃
舉身戰悼不能自持
兩人扶腋在於路側
太子即問此為何人
從者答曰此病人也
太子又問何謂為病
答曰夫謂病者皆由
嗜欲飲食无度四大
不調轉變成病百節
苦痛氣力虛極飲食
羸少眠卧不安雖有
身手不能自運要假
他力然後坐起余時
太子以慈悲心看病
人自生愁憂又復問

SUTRA OF PAST AND PRESENT KARMA

Jobon Rendaiji Temple, Kyoto, Japan

PLATE II



HOROKAKU MANDALA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE III

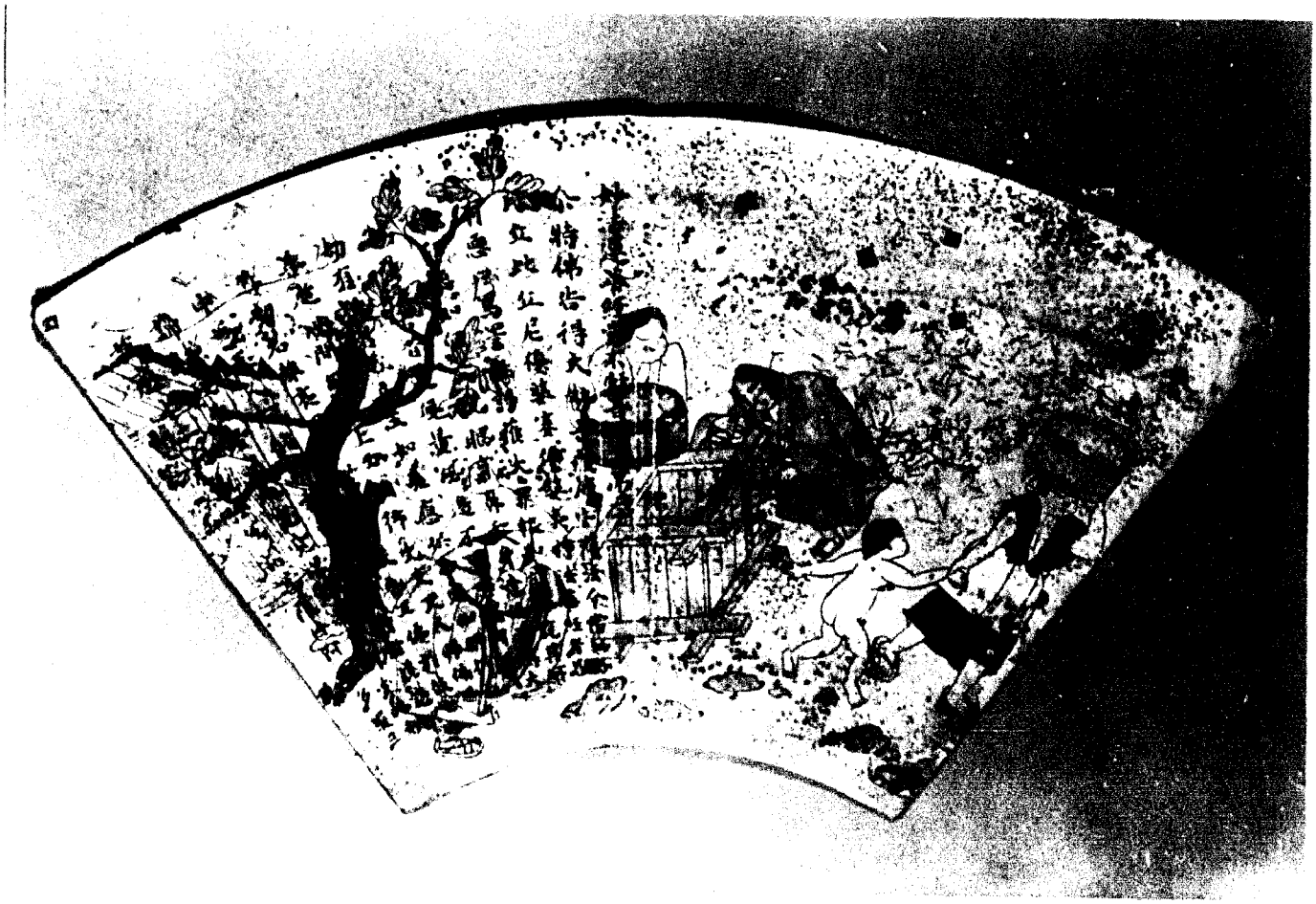


Attributed to Fujiwara Takayoshi

TALE OF GENJI PICTURE SCROLL

Collection of Masuda Yoshinobu, Japan

PLATE IV



FAN-SHAPED LOTUS SUTRA

Shitennoji Temple, Osaka, Japan

PLATE V

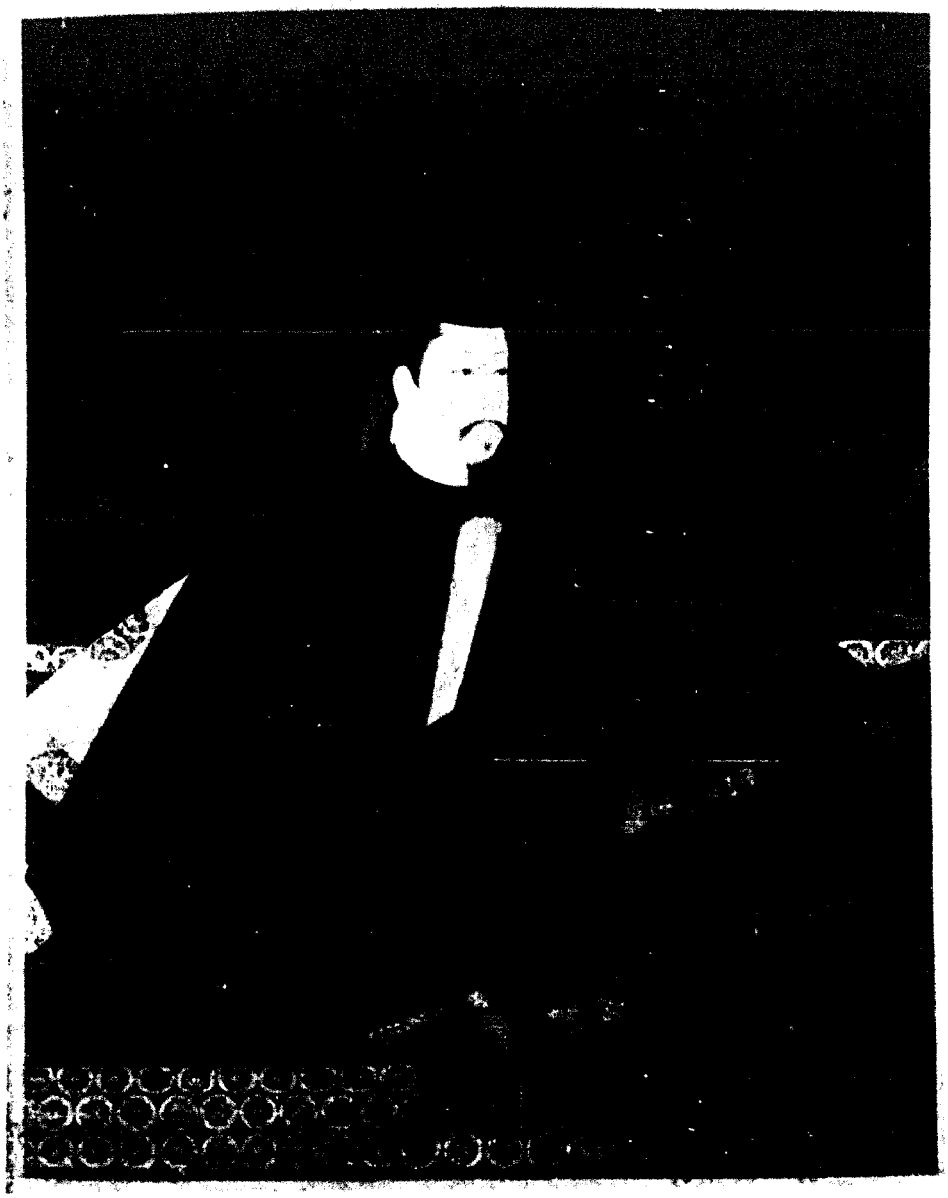


Attributed to Toba Sōjō Kakuyū

THE FROLICKING BIRD AND ANIMAL SCROLL

Kōzanji Temple, Kyoto, Japan

PLATE VI



Attributed to Fujiwara No Takanobu

PORTRAIT OF MINAMOTO NO YORITOMO

Jingoji Temple, Kyoto, Japan

PLATE VII



En-i

PICTURE BIOGRAPHY OF THE LIFE OF PRIEST IPPEN

Dated 1299

Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, Japan

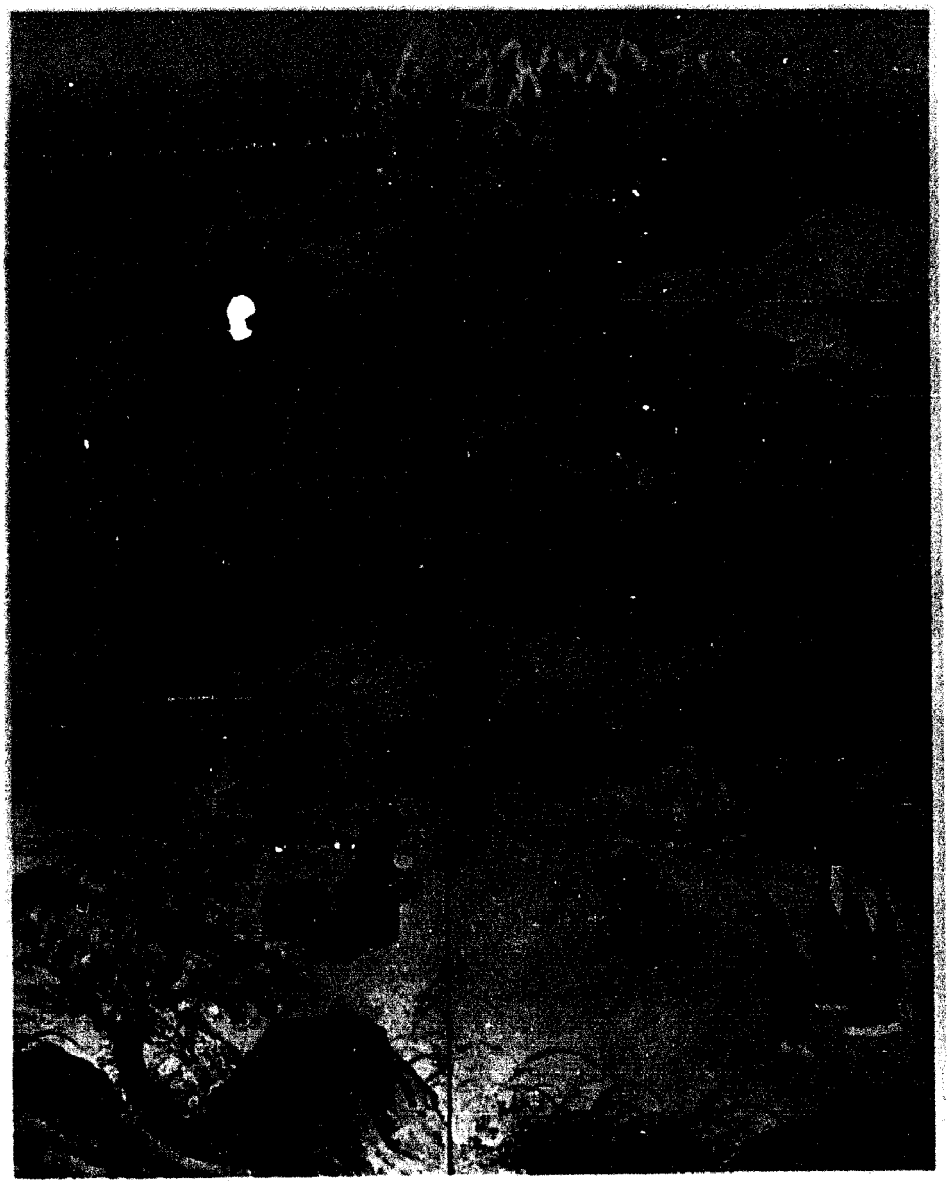
PLATE VIII



SCREEN OF THE SHIJŌ KAWARA SECTOR OF KYOTO

Seikadō Foundation, Tokyo, Japan

PLATE IX

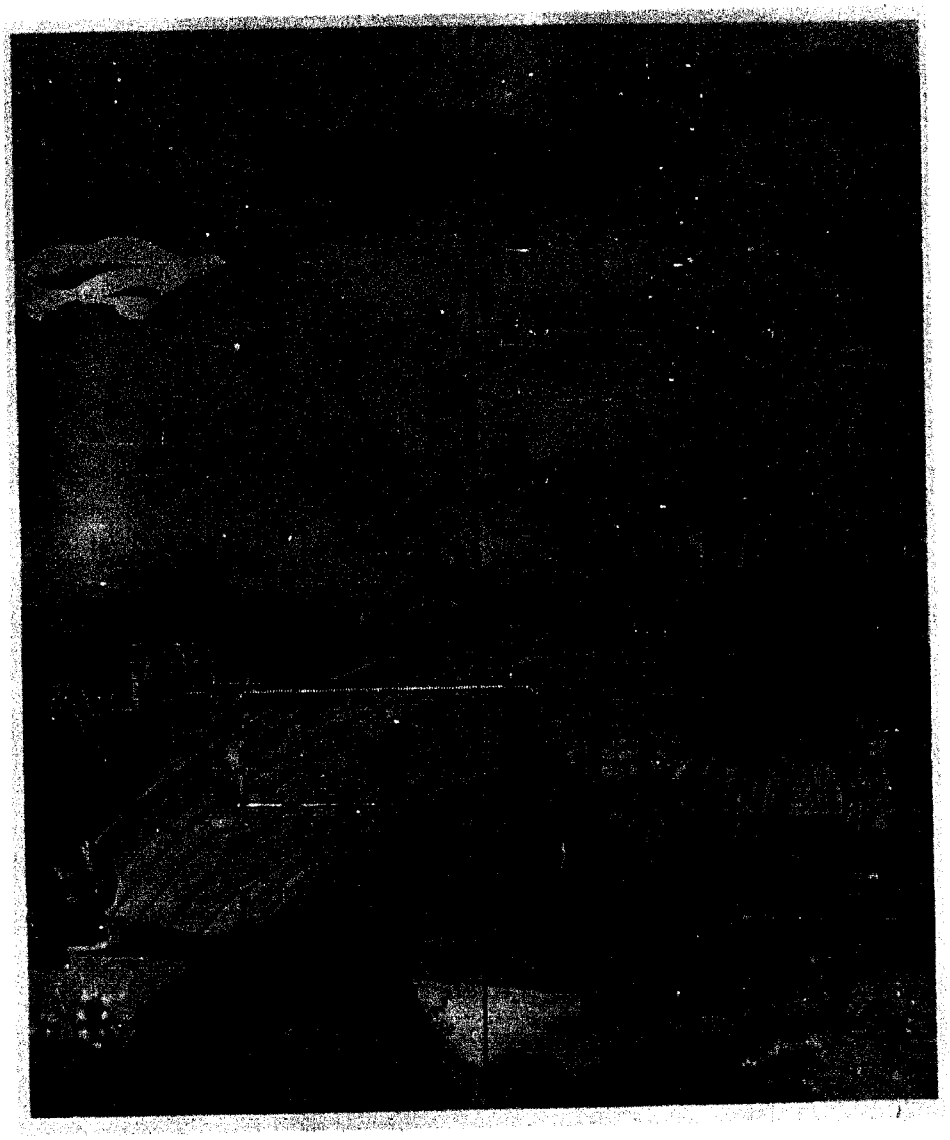


Kanō Hidéyori

A MAPLE VIEWING PICNIC (detail)

Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, Japan

PLATE X

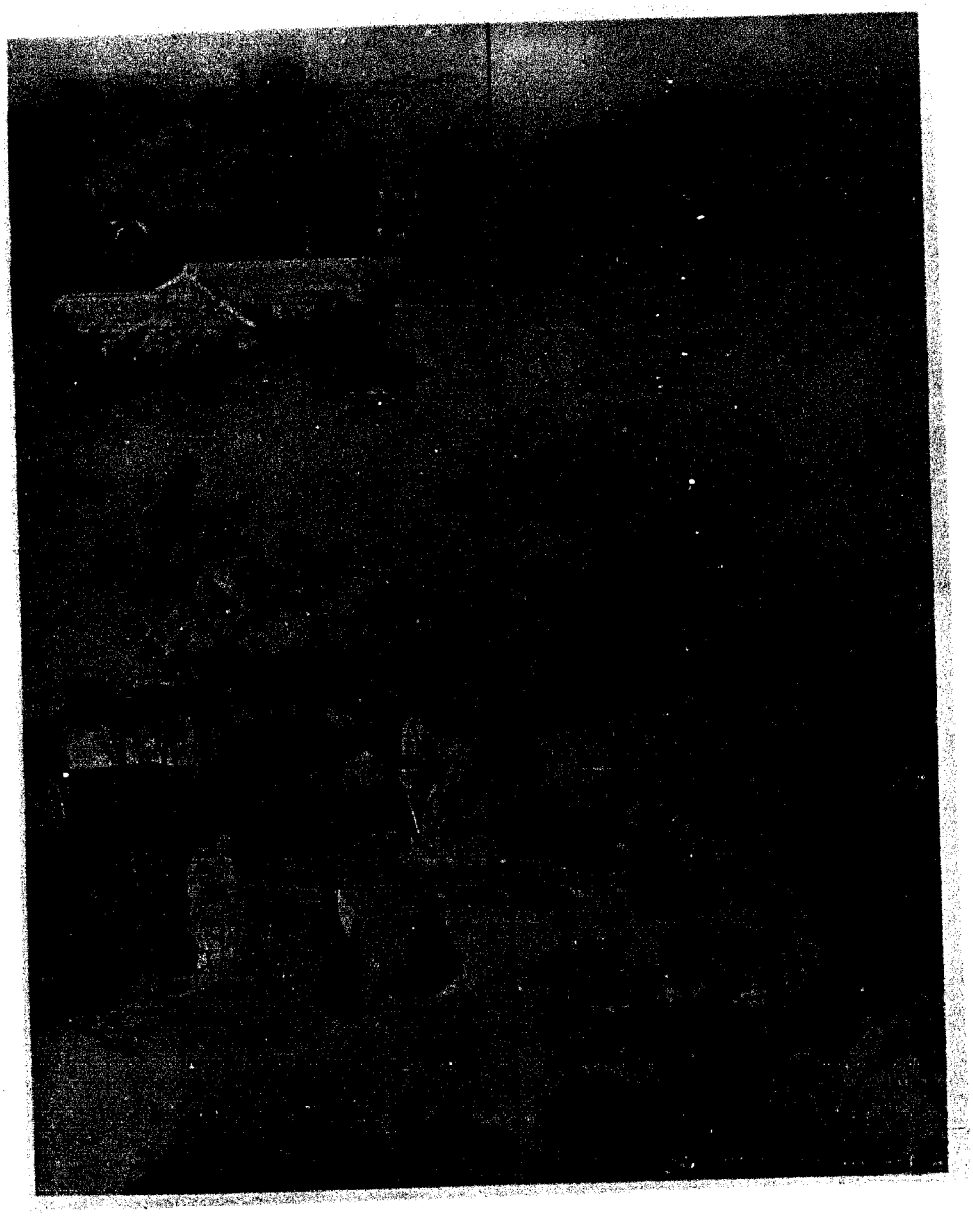


Kanō Hideyori

A MAPLE VIEWING PICNIC (detail)

Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, Japan

PLATE XI



Kanō Hideyori

A MAPLE VIEWING PICNIC (detail)

Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, Japan

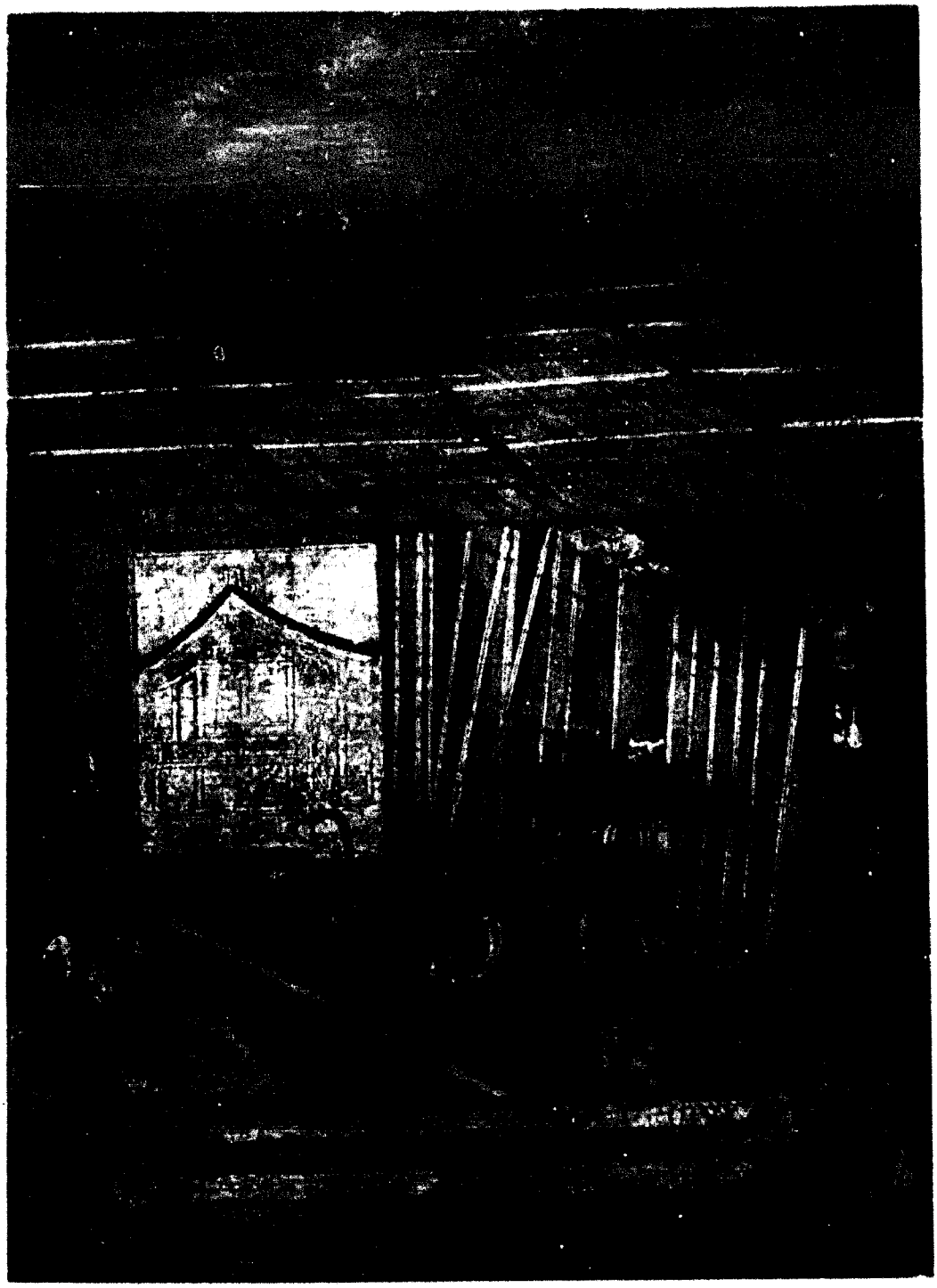
PLATE XII



DANCER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XIII



VARIOUS PROFESSIONS - A SHINTO SHRINE ARCHITECT

Author's Collection, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XIV



A PLEASURE HOUSE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XV



COURTESANS AND SAMURAI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XVI



SCENES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF KYOTO

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XVII



A PICNIC TO VIEW THE CHERRY BLOSSOMS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XVIII



WRESTLERS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XIX



A PLEASURE HOUSE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XX



A MAPLE VIEWING PICNIC

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXI



A PARTY AT A PLEASURE HOUSE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington 25, D.C.

PLATE XXII



FESTIVAL AT THE SUMIYOSHI SHRINE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXIII



FESTIVAL AT THE SUMIYOSHI SHRINE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXIV



Hishikawa Moronobu

PORTRAIT OF MORONOBU

Hishikawa Moronobu. Shikabuzaemon kuden hanashi, Vol. I, pp. 3b and 4a

Author's Collection. Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXV



Hishikawa Moronobu

TEXT

Shikabuzaemon kuden hanashi, Vol. I, Chap. I, p. 3a

Author's Collection, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXVI



Hishikawa Moronobu

TEXT

Shikabuzaemon kuden hanashi, Vol. I, Chap. I, p. 4b

Author's Collection, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXVII



Hishikawa Moronobu

THE CHERRY BLOSSOMS AT UENO

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXVIII



Hishikawa Moronobu

THE MAPLES AT ASAKUSA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXIX



Hishikawa Morofusa

COURTESAN AND KAMURO

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XXX



Hishikawa Moroshige

WOMAN READING

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XXXI

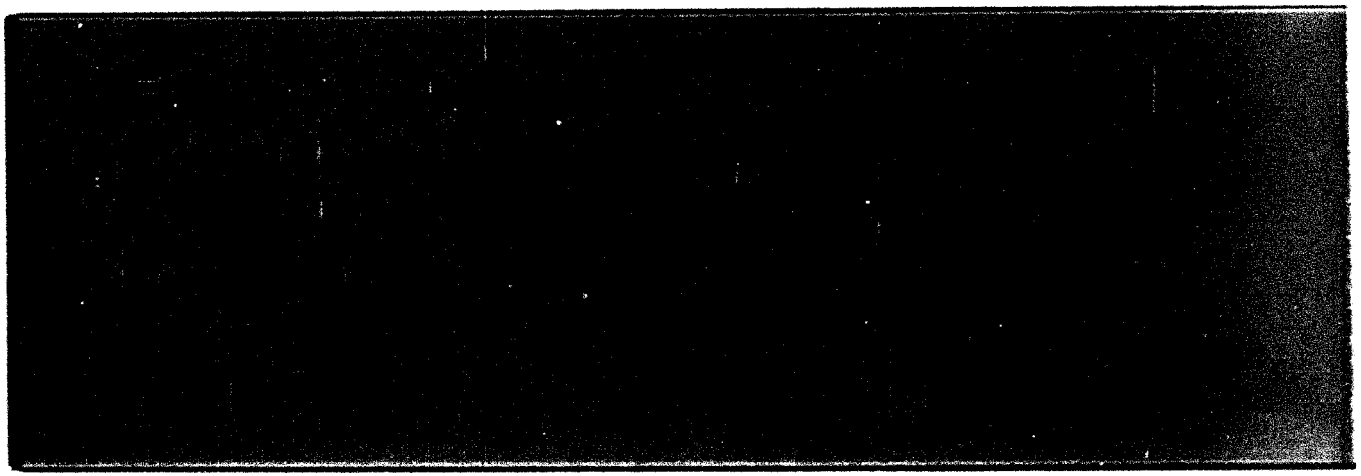


Hishikawa Moroyasu

COURTESAN ARRANGING HER HAIR

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXXII

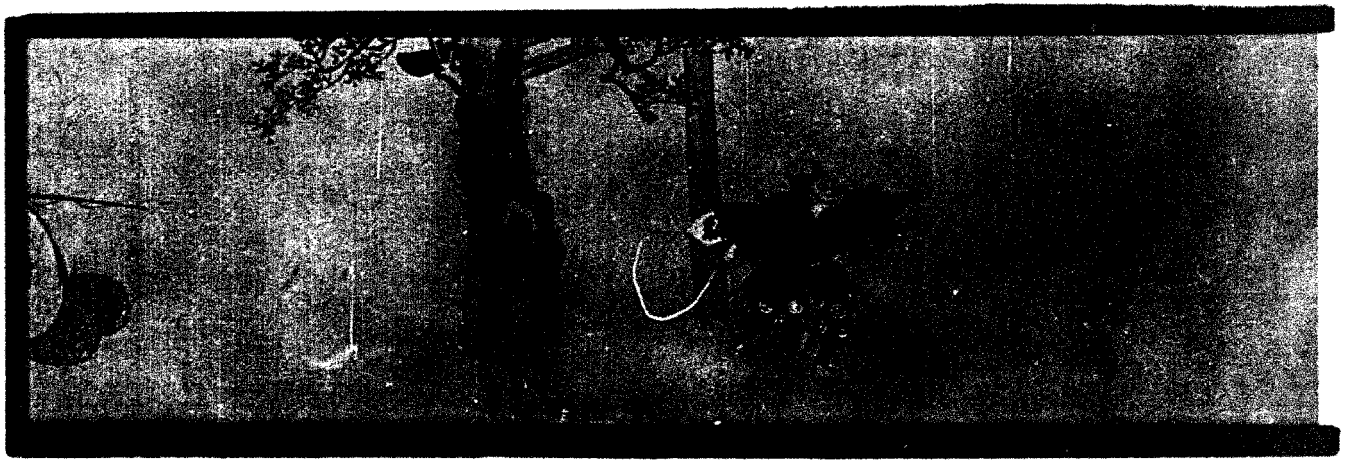


Hanabusa Itchō

PASTIMES OF THE TWELVE MONTHS---JANUARY /detail/

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXXIII



Hanabusa Itchō

Figure Scroll---A HYOTTOKO (A clown dancing) /detail/

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XXXIV



Hishikawa Sukenobu

PRESENTATION OF A BABY AT A SHINTO SHRINE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXXV

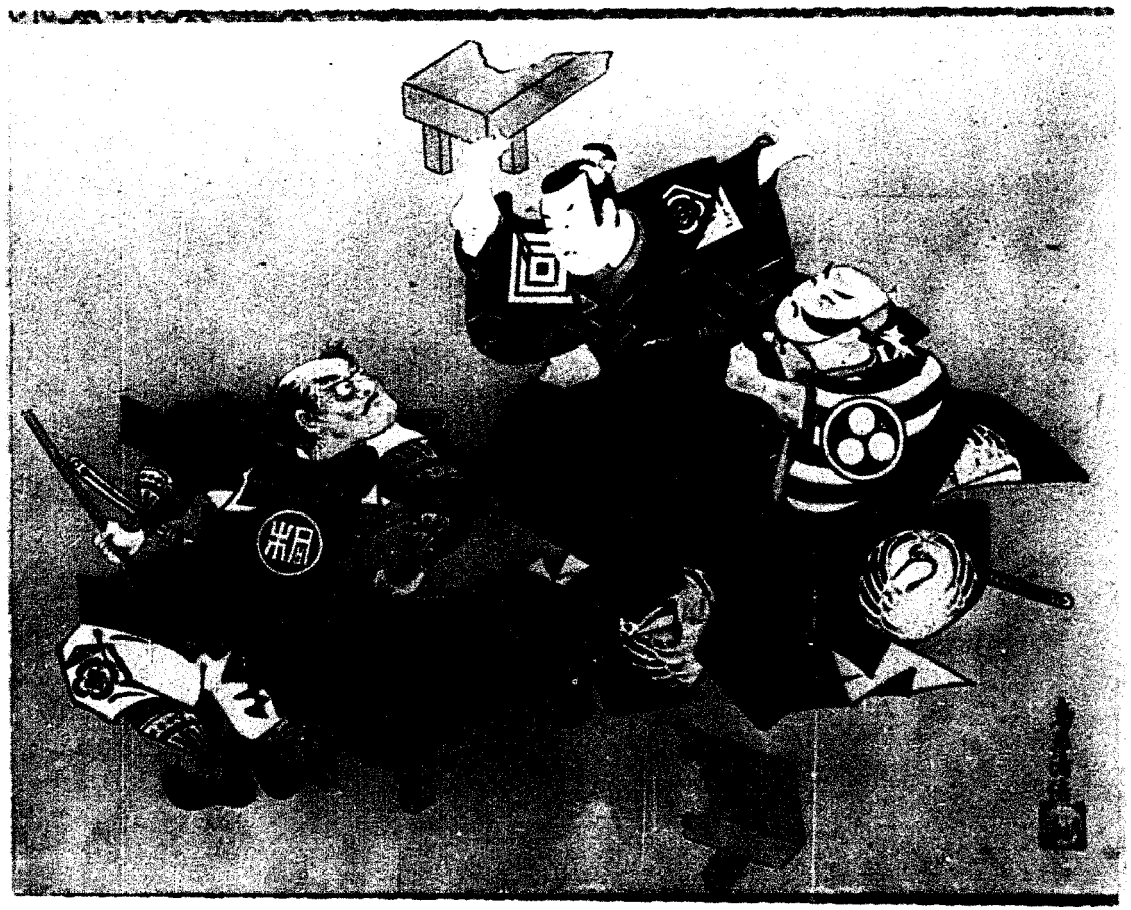


Kaigetsudō Ando

A COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXXVI



Torii Kiyonobu

A SCENE FROM THE PLAY "BANDŌ ICHI KOTOBUKI SOGA"

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXXVII



Miyagawa Chōshun

COURTESAN SMOKING UNDER A WILLOW TREE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XXXVIII



Okumura Masanobu

AN AUTUMN VISIT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XXXIX



Okumura Masanobu

A PRIVATE PUPPET SHOW

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XL



Okumura Masanobu

THE COURTESAN TAKAO AND ATTENDANTS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XLI



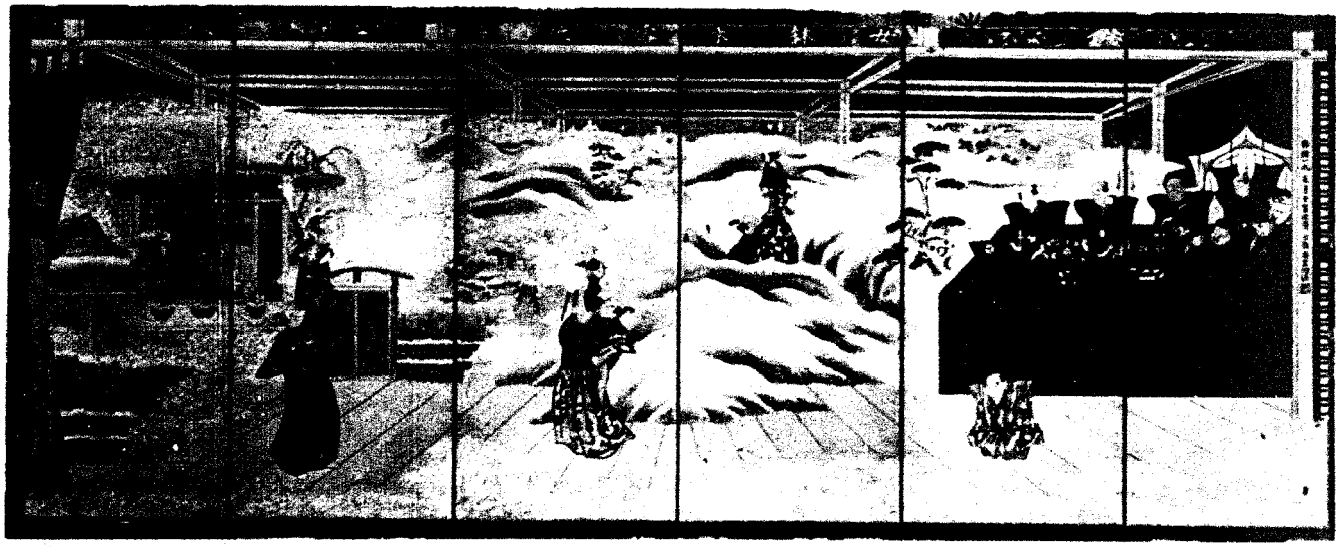
Okumura Masanobu

THE BRIDGE OF MAPLES-ACT II

Bandō Ichi Kotobuki Soga

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XLII

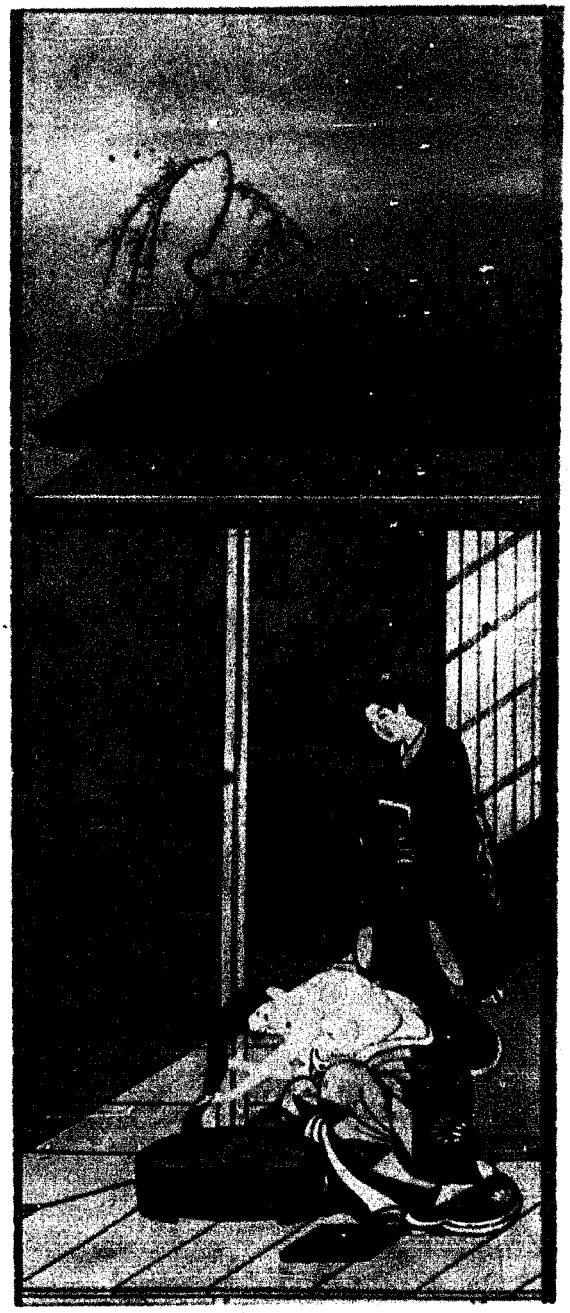


Tōgetsudō Mantokusai Bunkaku

SNOW SCENE FROM THE PUPPET PLAY ONNA HACHINOKI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XLIII



Miyagawa Shunsui

WOMAN WASHING HER HAIR [detail]

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XLIV

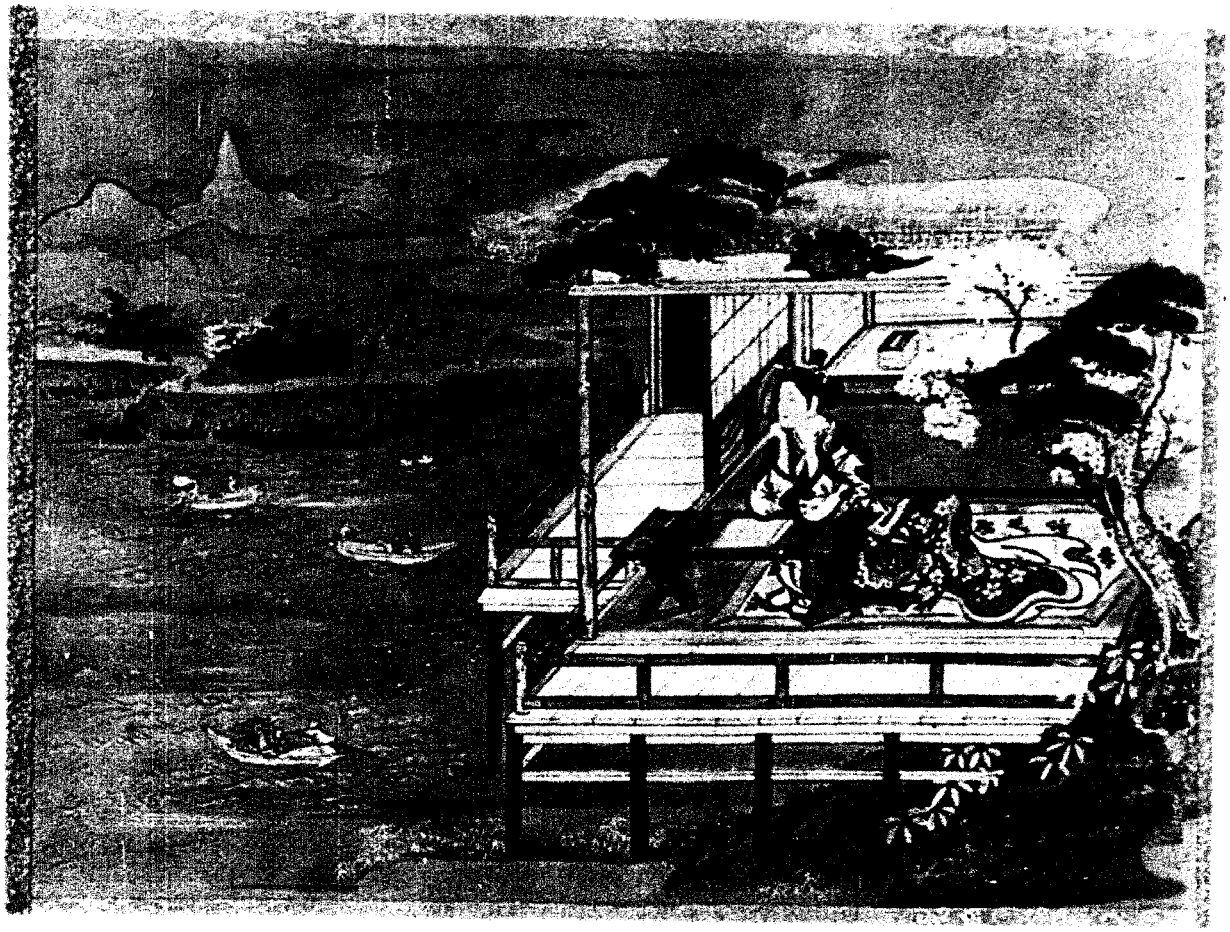


Katsukawa Shunsui

WOMAN ON A VERANDAH

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XLV



Attributed to Suzuki Harunobu

WOMAN WRITING

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XLVI



Shiba Kōkan

GIRL HOLDING A FIREFLY CAGE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XLVII



Kawamata Tsunemasa

THE BRINE MAIDENS OF SUMA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XLVIII



Isoda Koryūsai

BEAUTIES OF THE SEASONS-AUTUMN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XLIX



Isoda Koryūsai

BEAUTIES OF THE SEASONS-WINTER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE L



Torii Kiyonaga

COURTESAN ON A SUMMER STROLL

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LI



Torii Kiyonaga

WOMAN APPLYING COSMETICS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LII



Ishikawa Toyonobu

COURTESAN READING

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LIII



Ishikawa Toyonobu

COURTESAN AND TWO KAMURO

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LIV



Utagawa Toyoharu

A WINTER PARTY

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LV

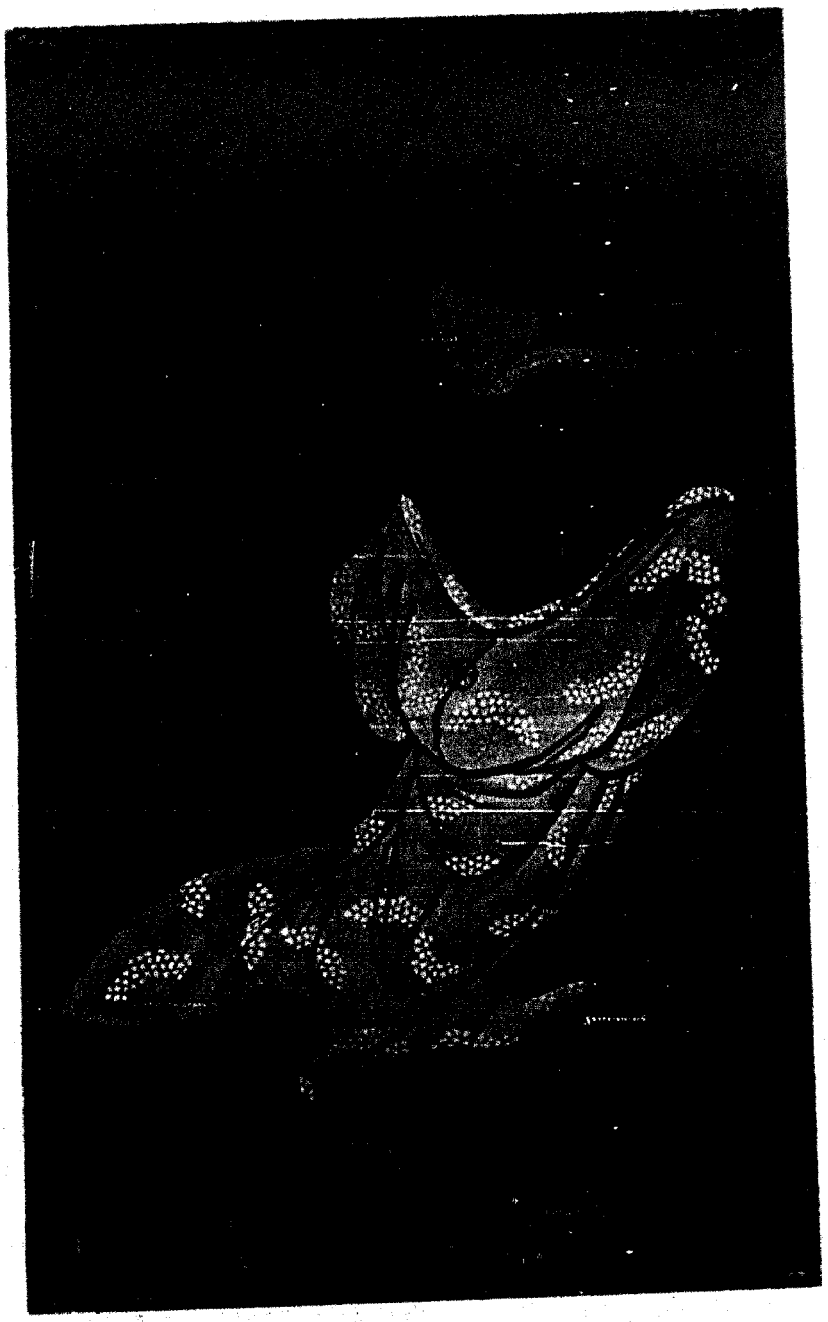


Utagawa Toyoharu

RYŌGOKU BRIDGE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LVI



Utagawa Toyoharu

COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LVII



Utagawa Toyoharu

WOMEN AT THE SEASHORE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LVIII



Utagawa Toyonobu

COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LIX



Utagawa Toyohiro

THE FOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS-PAINTING AND CALLIGRAPHY

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LX

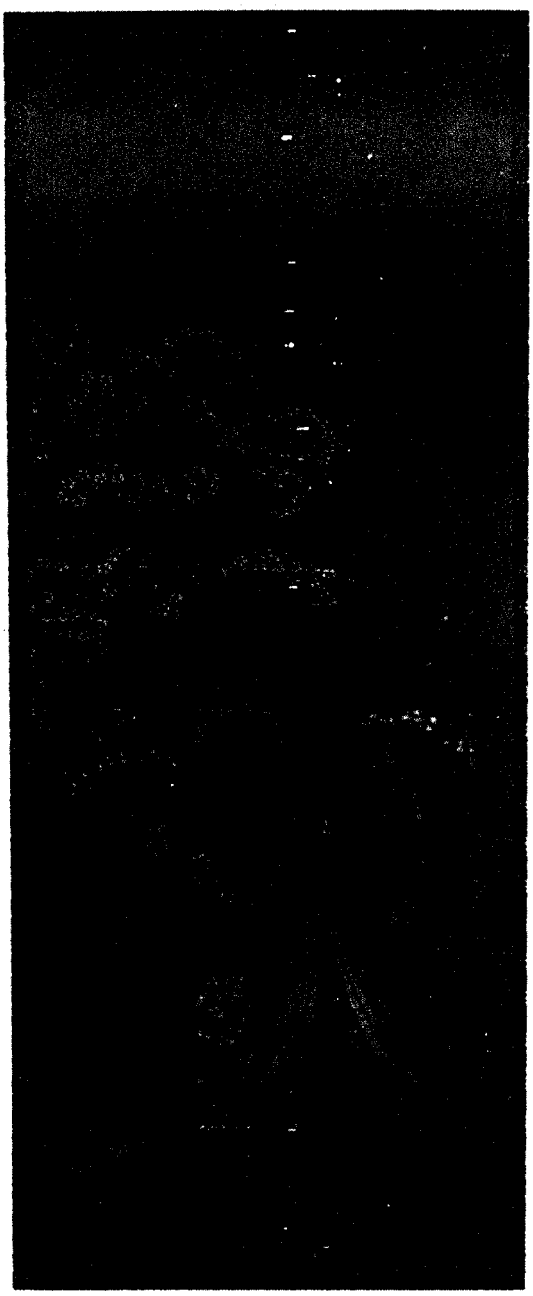


Utagawa Toyohiro

THE FOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS-MUSIC AND GAMES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LXI

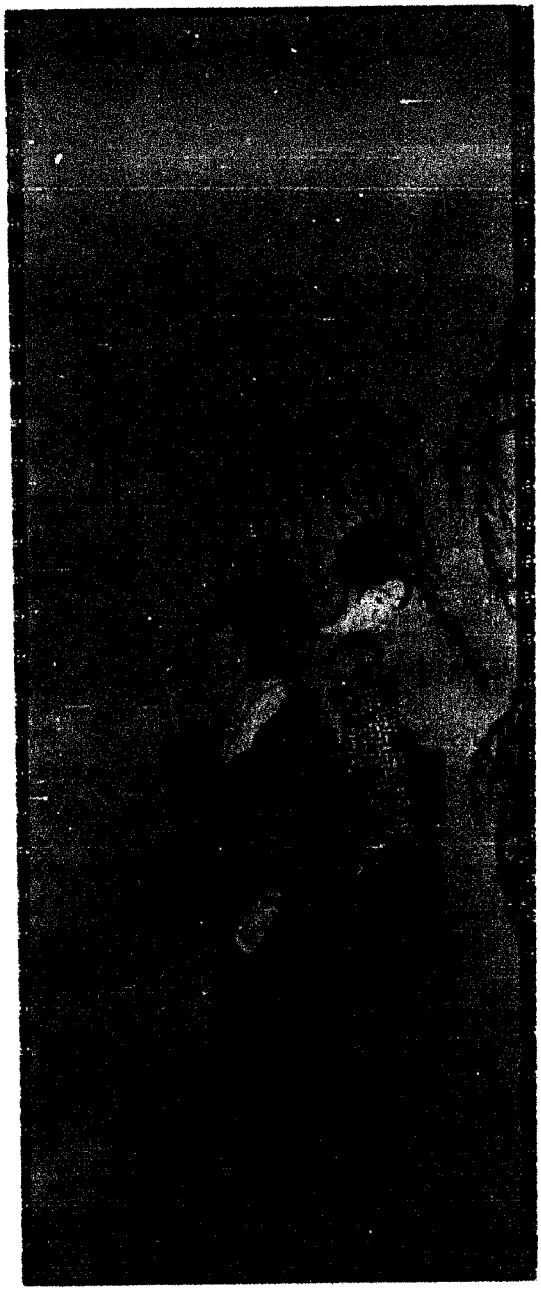


Hosoda Eishi

BEAUTIES OF THE SEASONS-SPRING

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LXII



Hosoda Eishi

BEAUTIES OF THE SEASONS-SUMMER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXIII



Hosoda Eishi

BEAUTIES OF THE SEASONS-AUTUMN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXIV



Hosoda Eishi

COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXV



Kubo Shunman

THE STORM

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LXVI

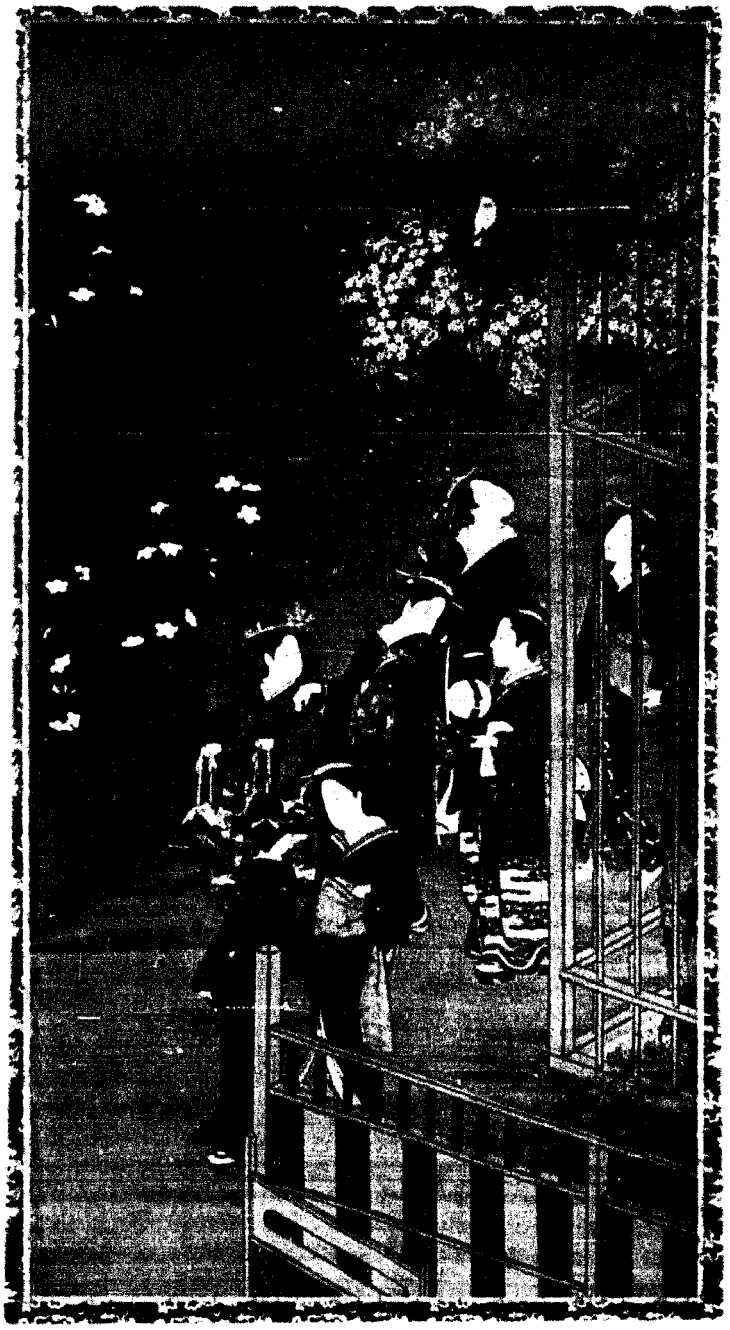


Kubo Shunman

TWO COURTESANS IN THE SNOW

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXVII



Katsukawa Shunshō

SEVEN WOMEN ON THEIR WAY TO PLAY FOOTBALL

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXVIII

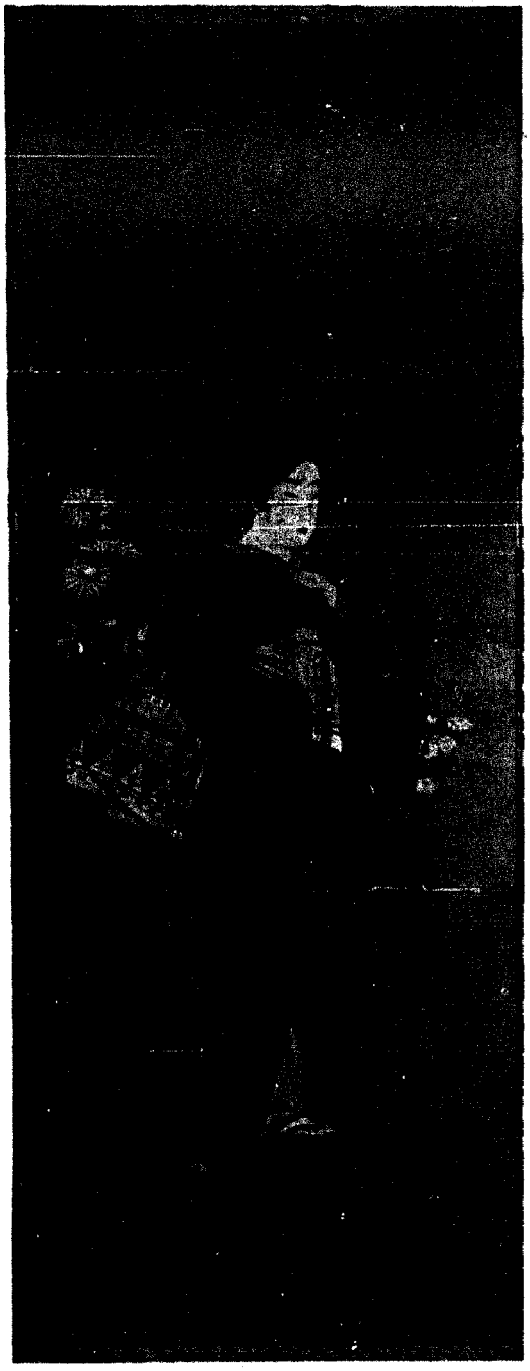


Katsukawa Shunshō

AIRING THE BOOKS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXIX



Katsukawa Shunshō

A GEISHA AND CHRYSANTHEMUMS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXX



Katsukawa Shunchō

MAID HELPING A WOMAN REMOVE HER CLOAK

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXXI



Katsukawa Shunei

COURTESAN TYING HER OBI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXXII



Katsukawa Shunkō

AN ACTOR

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LXXIII



Kitao Masayoshi

A GEISHA AND ATTENDANT WAITING FOR A BOAT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXXIII



Kitao Masayoshi

A GEISHA AND ATTENDANT WAITING FOR A BOAT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXXIV

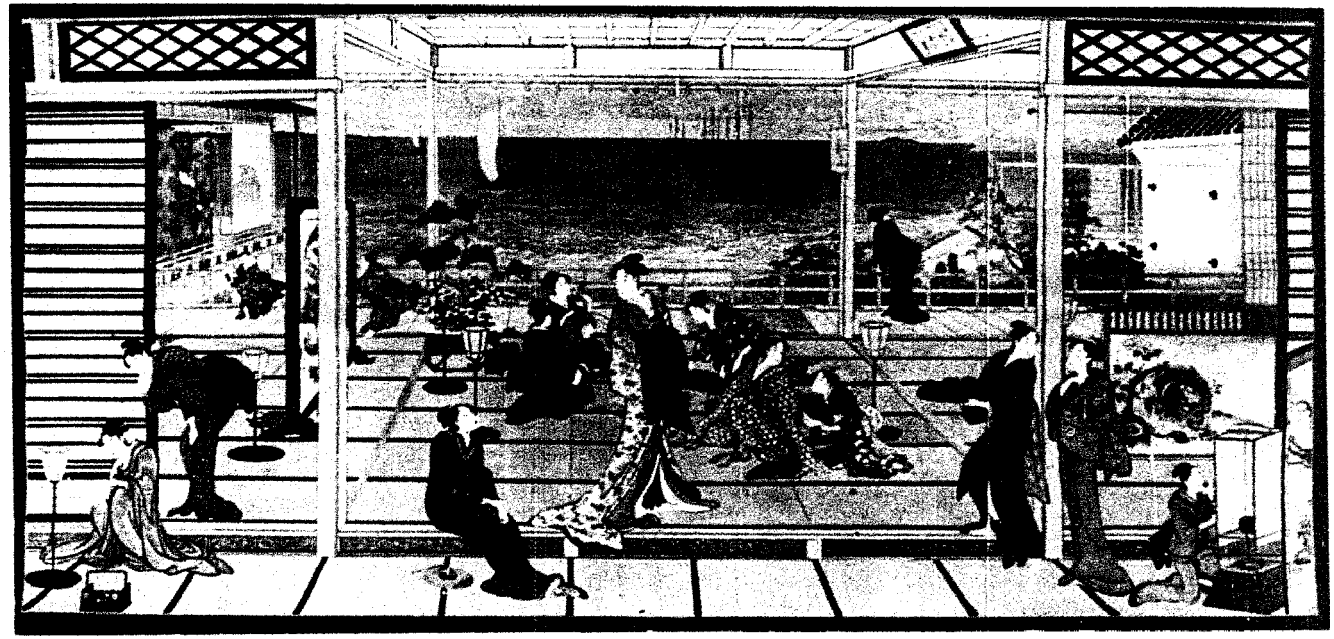


Kitao Masayoshi

A COURTESAN WRITING

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXXV

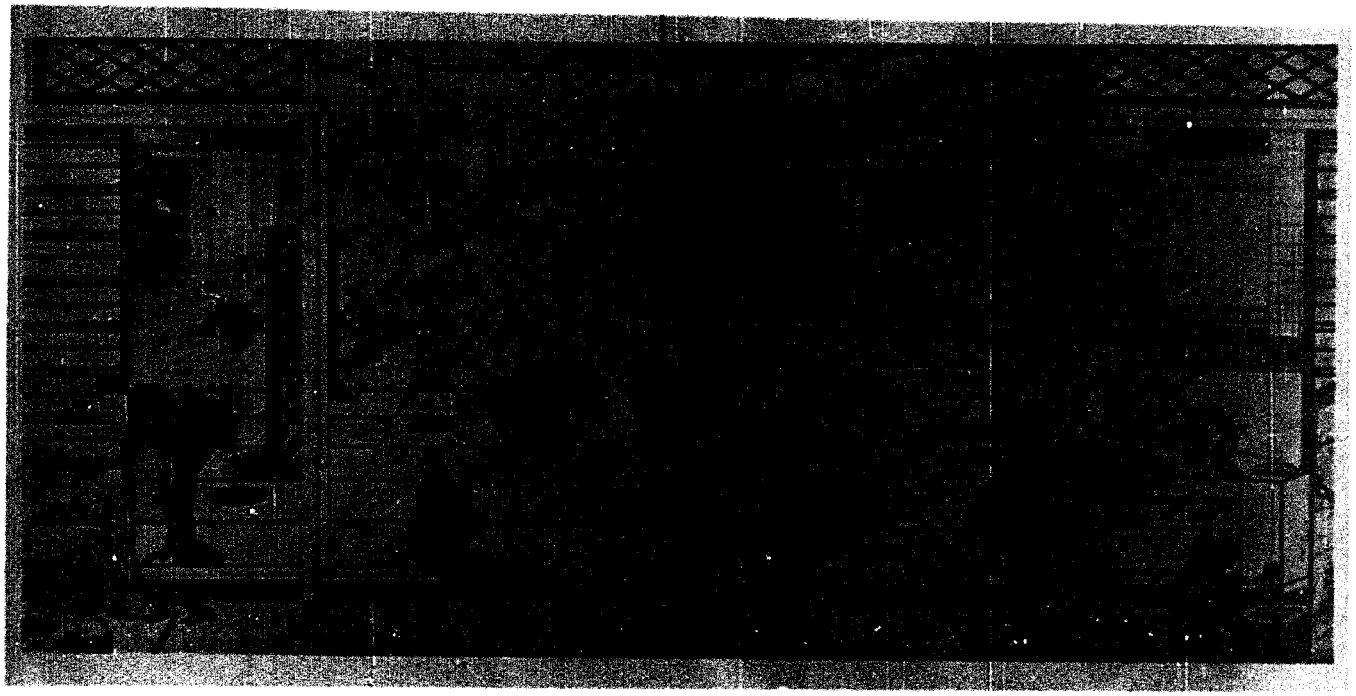


Kitagawa Utamaro

A PLEASURE PARTY BENEATH THE MOON AT THE DOZŌ SAGAMI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE LXXVI

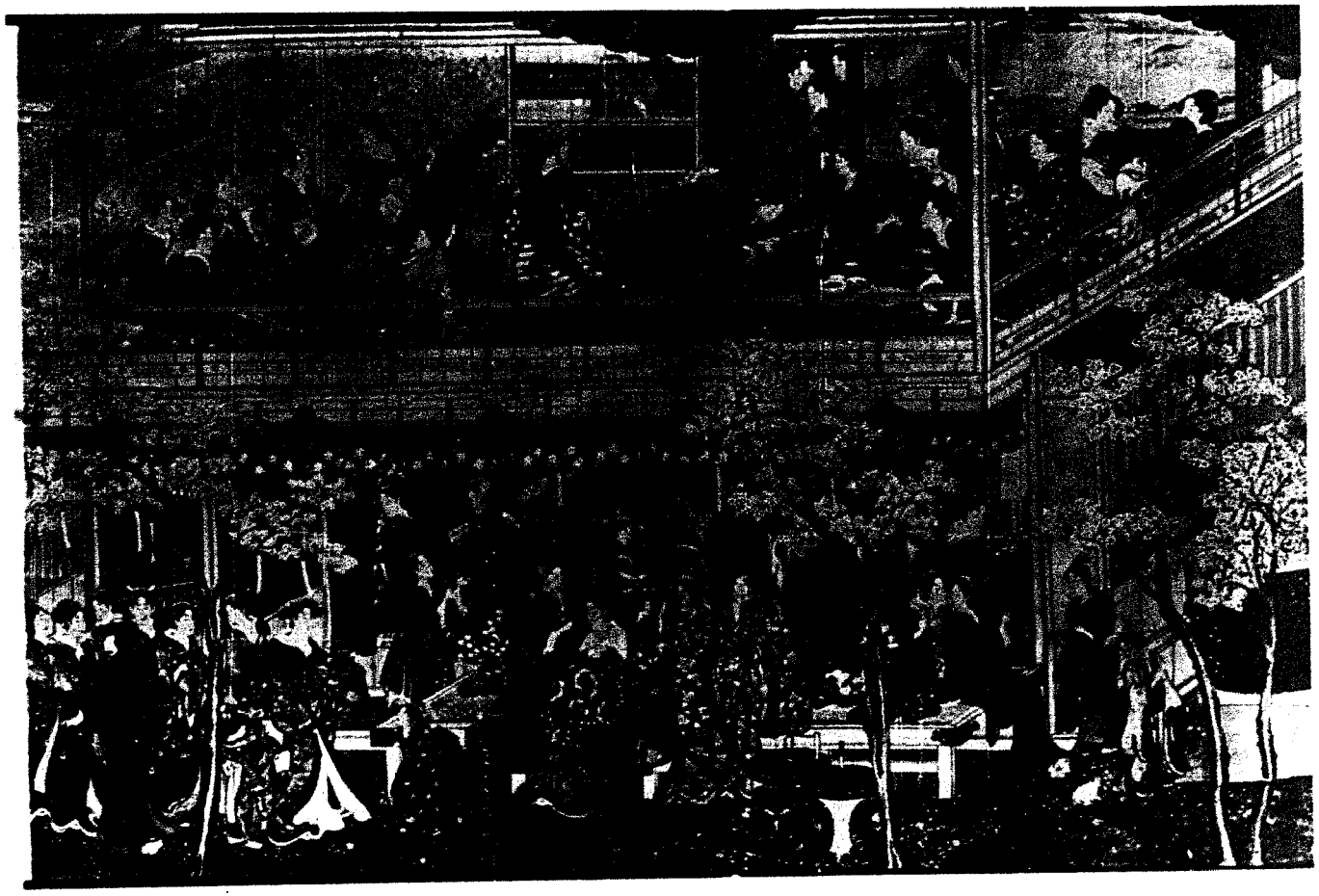


Attributed to Kitagawa Utamaro

A PLEASURE PARTY BENEATH THE MOON AT THE DOZŌ SAGAMI

Private Collection, Japan

PLATE LXXVII



Kitagawa Utamaro

A CHERRY BLOSSOM CELEBRATION IN A PLEASURE HOUSE

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

PLATE LXXVIII



Kitagawa Utamaro

A CHERRY BLOSSOM CELEBRATION IN A PLEASURE HOUSE /detail/

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

PLATE LXXIX



Kitagawa Utamaro

ARTIST PAINTING

Illustration from the book, Seirō nenjū gyōji

PLATE LXXX




Kitagawa Utamaro

READING A LETTER

From the print series, Fujo Ninsō Jūppin

PLATE LXXXI

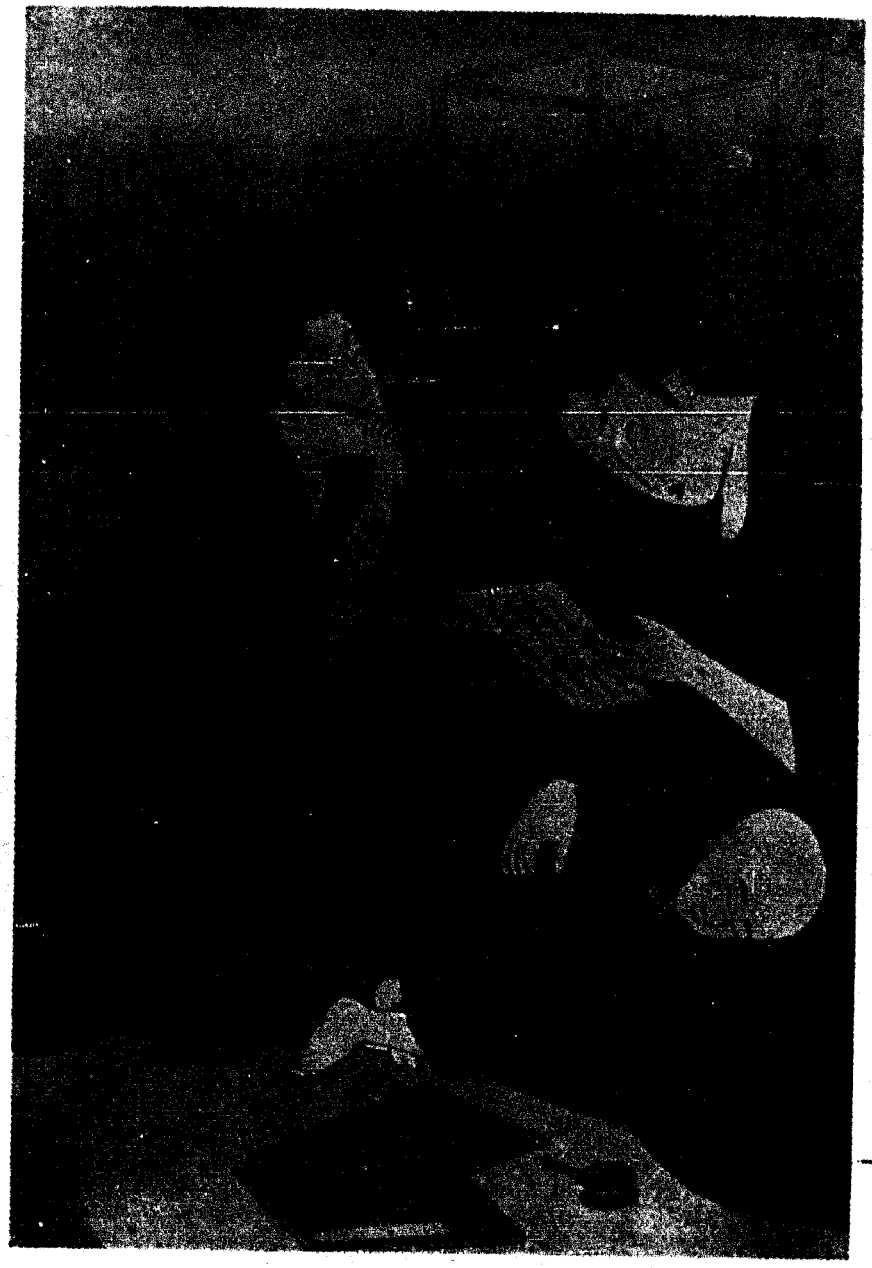



Kitagawa Utamaro

WOMAN BENDING HER FINGERS

From the print series, Fujin Sōgaku Jittai

PLATE LXXXII



第二七一圖　喜多川歌麿　風流子寶合　行燈

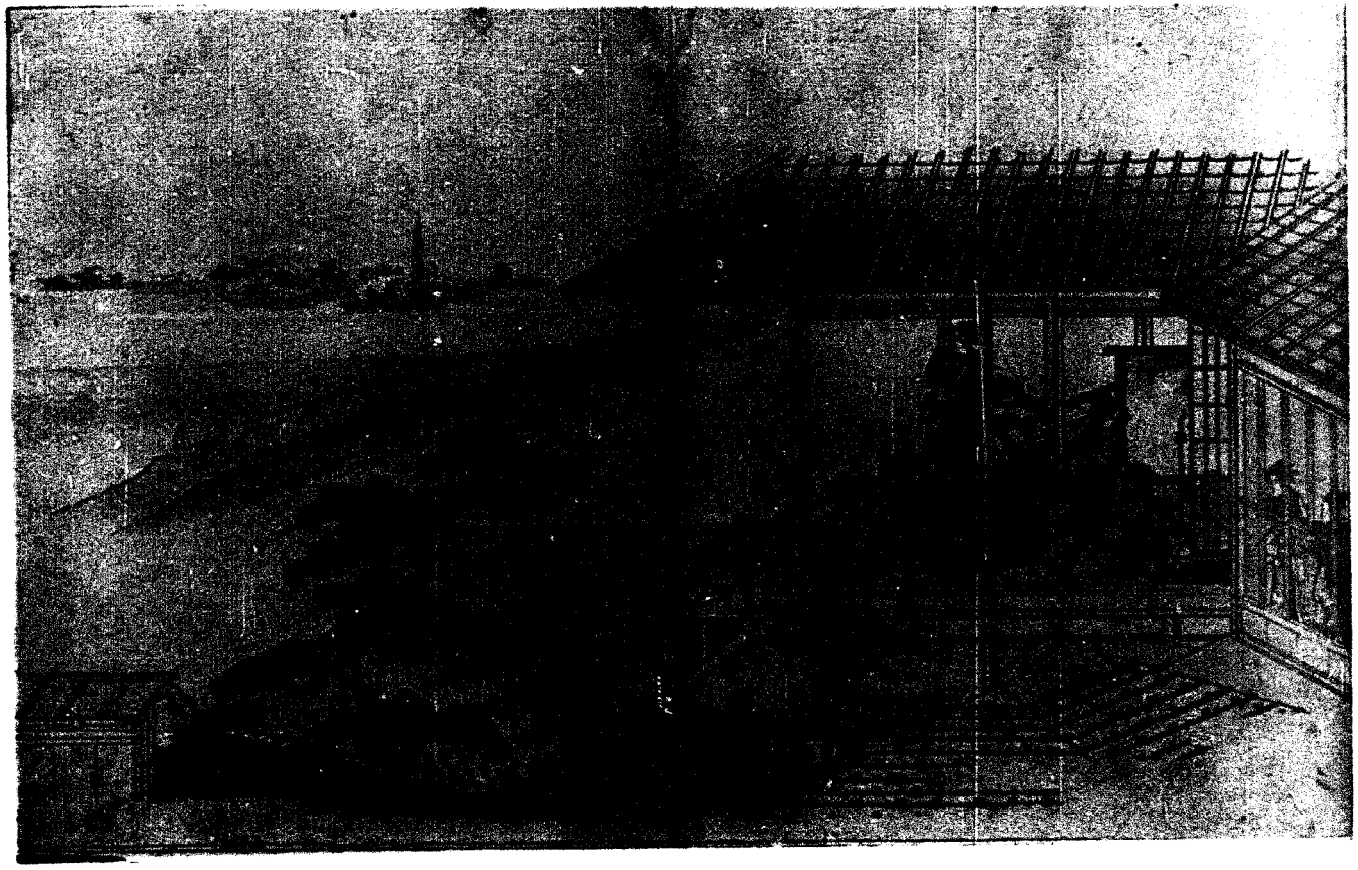
大錦

Kitagawa Utamaro

WRITING ON A LANTERN

From the print series, Fūryū Kodakara Awase

PLATE LXXXIII

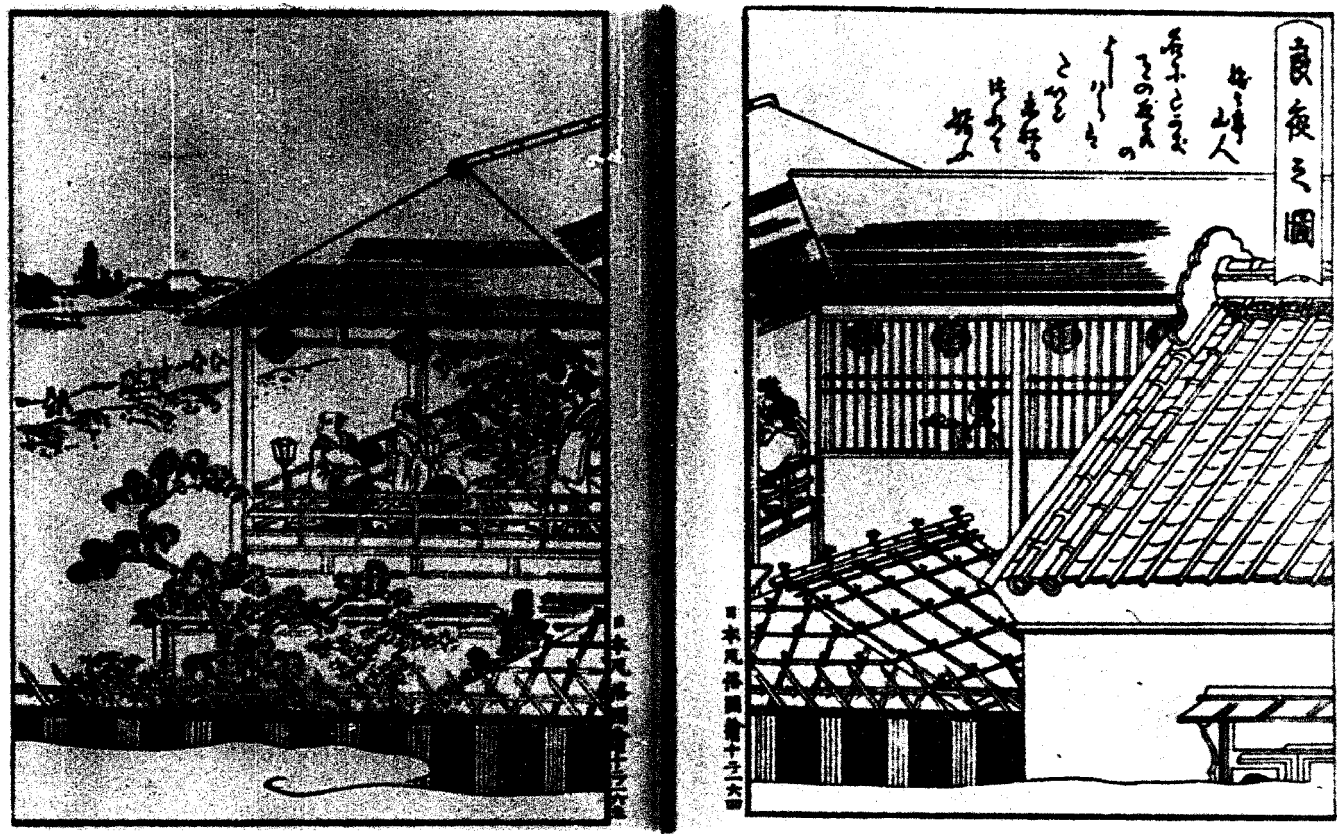


Kitagawa Utamaro

A PARTY IN A PLEASURE HOUSE

Illustration from the book, Kyōgetsu bō

PLATE LXXXIV

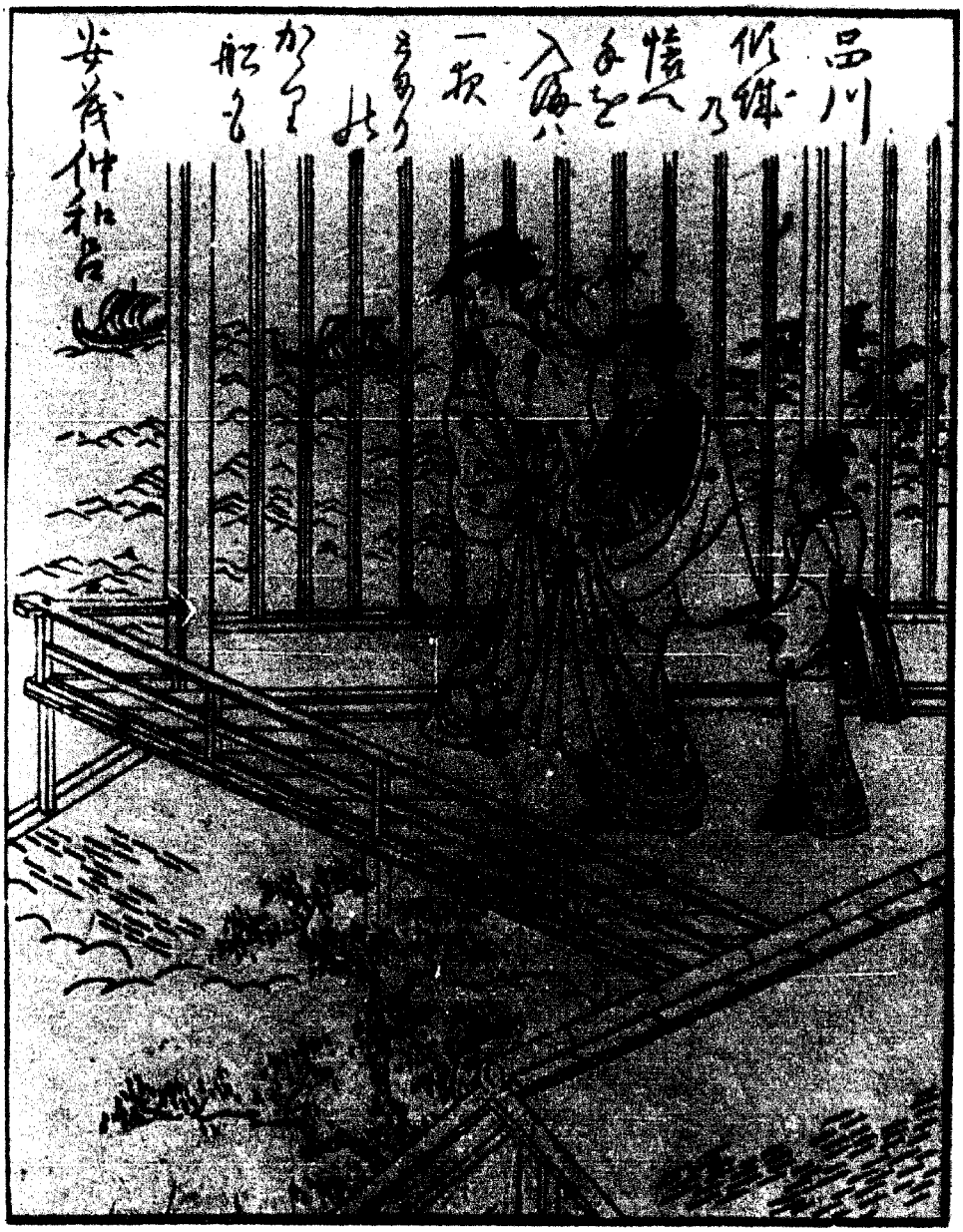


Kitagawa Utamaro

A PARTY

Illustration from the book, Seirō Nenjū Gyōji

PLATE LXXXV

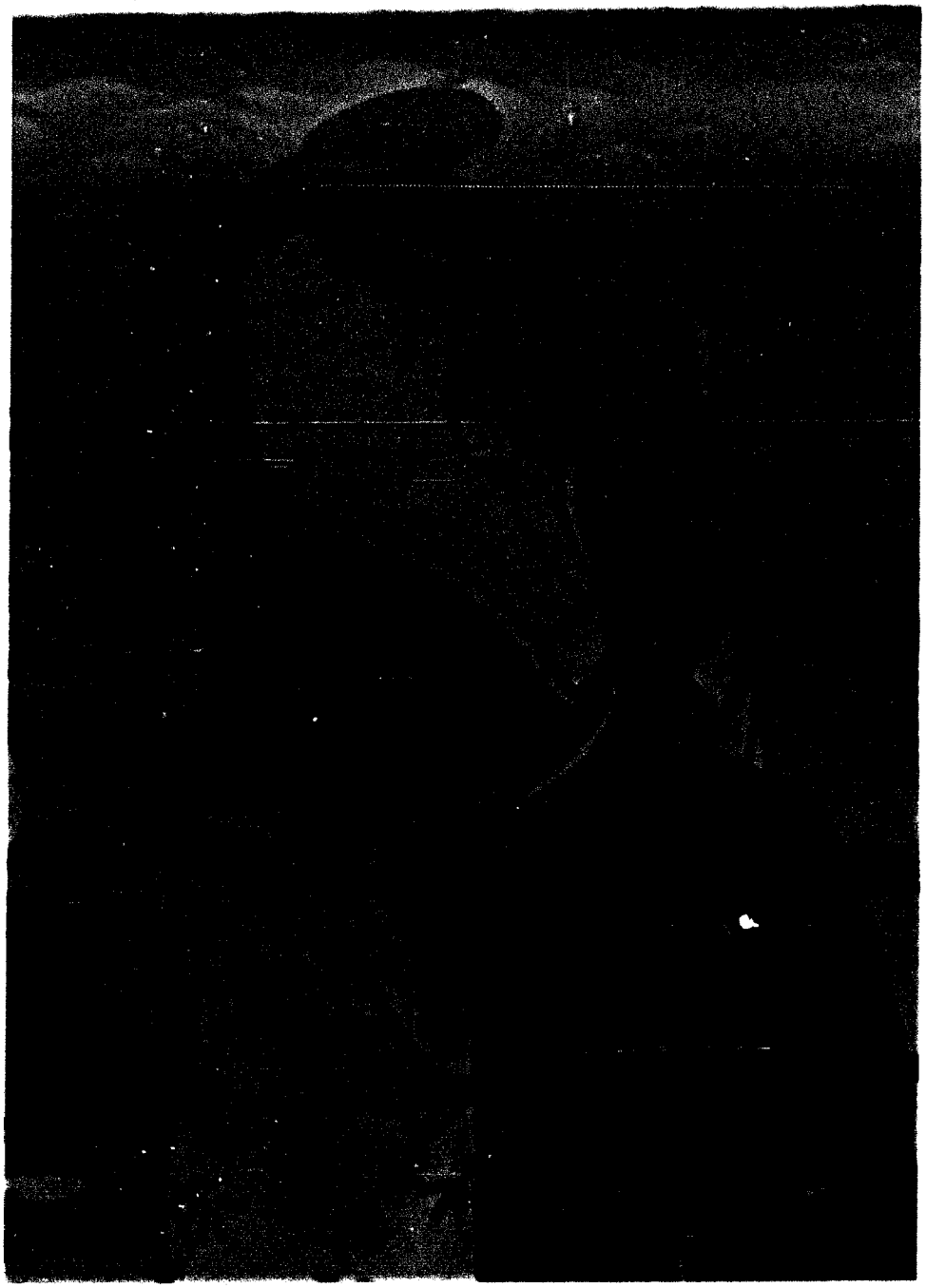


Kitagawa Utamaro

COURTESANS OF SHINAGAWA

Illustration from the book, Ehon Suruga Mai

PLATE LXXXVI



Kitagawa Utamaro

A PLEASURE PARTY BENEATH THE MOON AT THE DOZŌ SAGAMI /detail/

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE LXXXVII




Kitagawa Utamaro

THE COURTESAN WAKAUME OF THE TAMAYA

PLATE LXXXVIII



Kitagawa Utamarō

COURTESAN HOLDING A FAN

From the print series, Fujin Sōgaku Jittai

PLATE LXXXIX



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN WRITING

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XC



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XCI

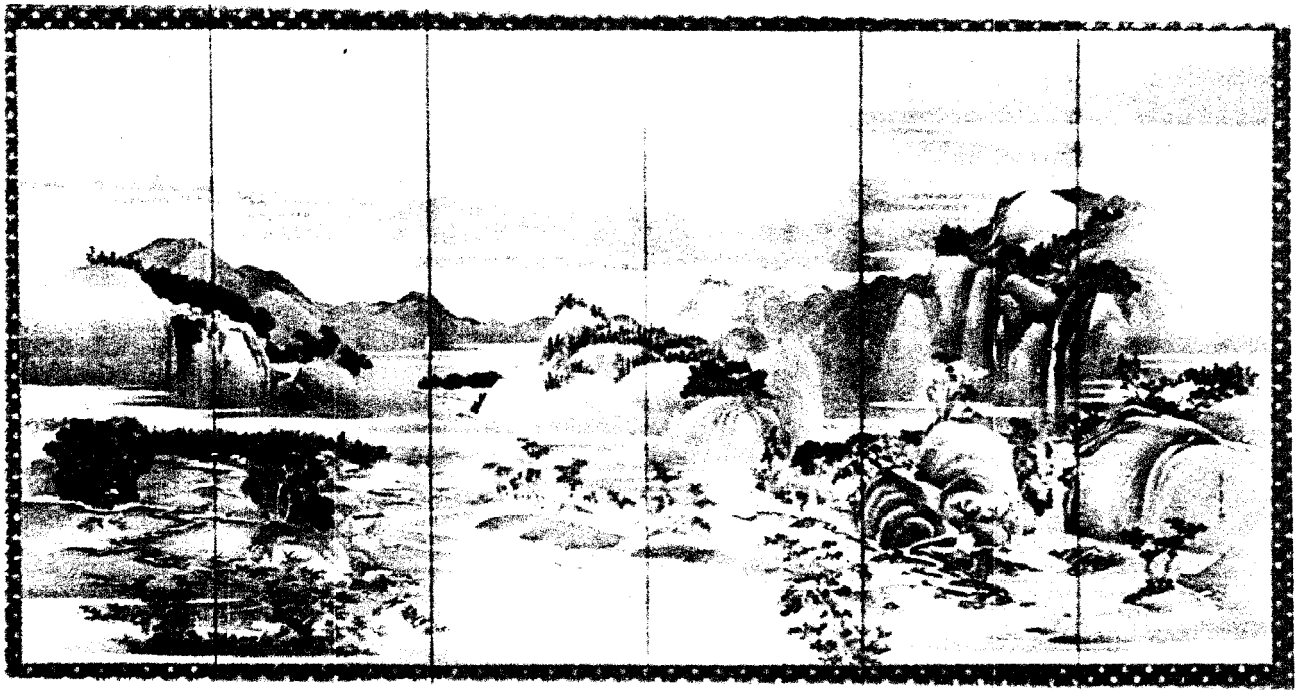


Katsushika Hokusai

WINTER LANDSCAPE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XCII

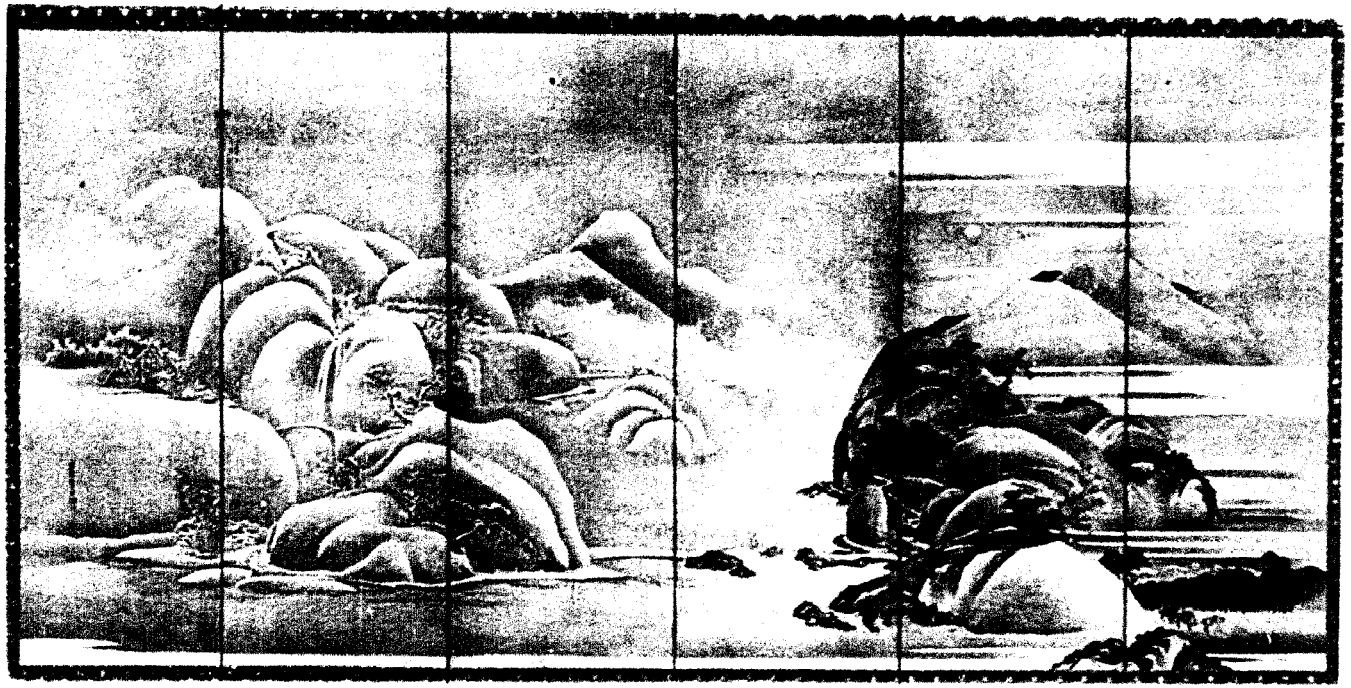


Katsushika Hokusai

THE FOUR SEASONS-SPRING AND SUMMER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XCIII



Katsushika Hokusai

THE FOUR SEASONS-FALL AND WINTER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XCIV



Katsushika Hokusai

PLEASURE HOUSES BY THE SEA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XCV



Katsushika Hokusai

A COURTESAN AT NEW YEARS TIME

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XCVI



Katsushika Hokusai

MAN AND BOY MAKING NEW YEARS ROUNDS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XCVII



Katsushika Hokusai

THE SIX MASTER POETS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE XCVIII



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESANS DRESSING

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE XCIX



Katsushika Hokusai

NEW YEARS RITUALS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE C



Katsushika Hokusai

NEW YEARS RITUALS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CI



Katsushika Hokusai

FUDŌ

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CII



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CIII



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CIV



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN HOLDING A LETTER BEHIND HER BACK

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CV



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN HOLDING A PIPE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CVI



Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN HOLDING A FAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CVII

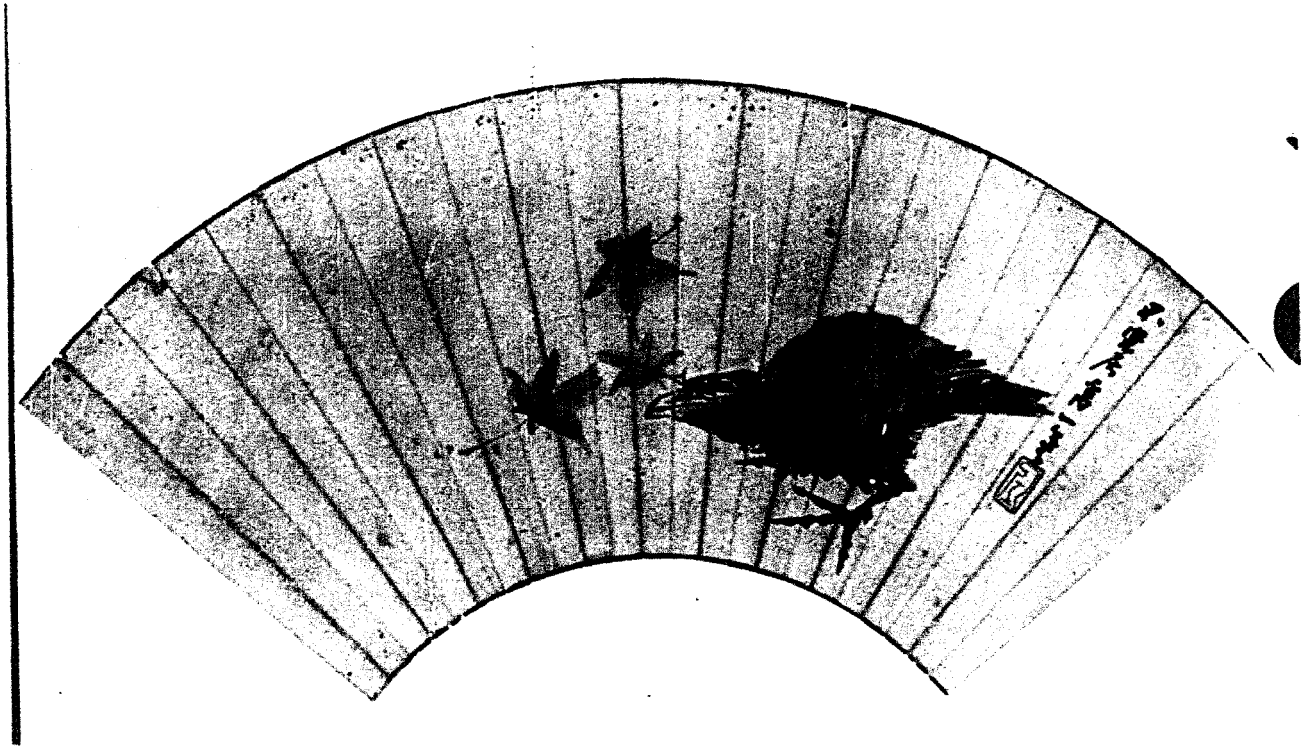


Katsushika Hokusai

COURTESAN MAKING A NEW YEARS VISIT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CVIII



Katsushika Hokusai

CROW

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CIX



Katsushika Hokusai

LANDSCAPE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CX



Katsushika Hokusai

VARIOUS SCENES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXI



Katsushika Hokusai

COURT LADIES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXII



Katsushika Hokusai

BEE AND SQUASH PLANT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXIII



Katsusnika Hokusai

CRUSTACEAE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXIV



Katsushika Hokusai

CHERRY BLOSSOM VIEWING ALONG THE SUMIDA RIVER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CXV



Katsushika Hokusai

THE SIX MASTER POETS-ARIWARA-NO-NARIHIRA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington,D.C.

PLATE CXVI



Katsushika Hokusai

THE SIX MASTER POETS-ŌNO NO KOMACHI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXVII



Katsushika Hokusai

THE SIX MASTER POETS--BUNYA-NO-YASUHIDE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CXVIII



Katsushika Hokusai

THE SIX MASTER POETS-SŌJŌ HENSHO

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXIX



Katsushika Hokusai

THE SIX MASTER POETS-ŌTOMO-NO-KURONUSHI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CXX

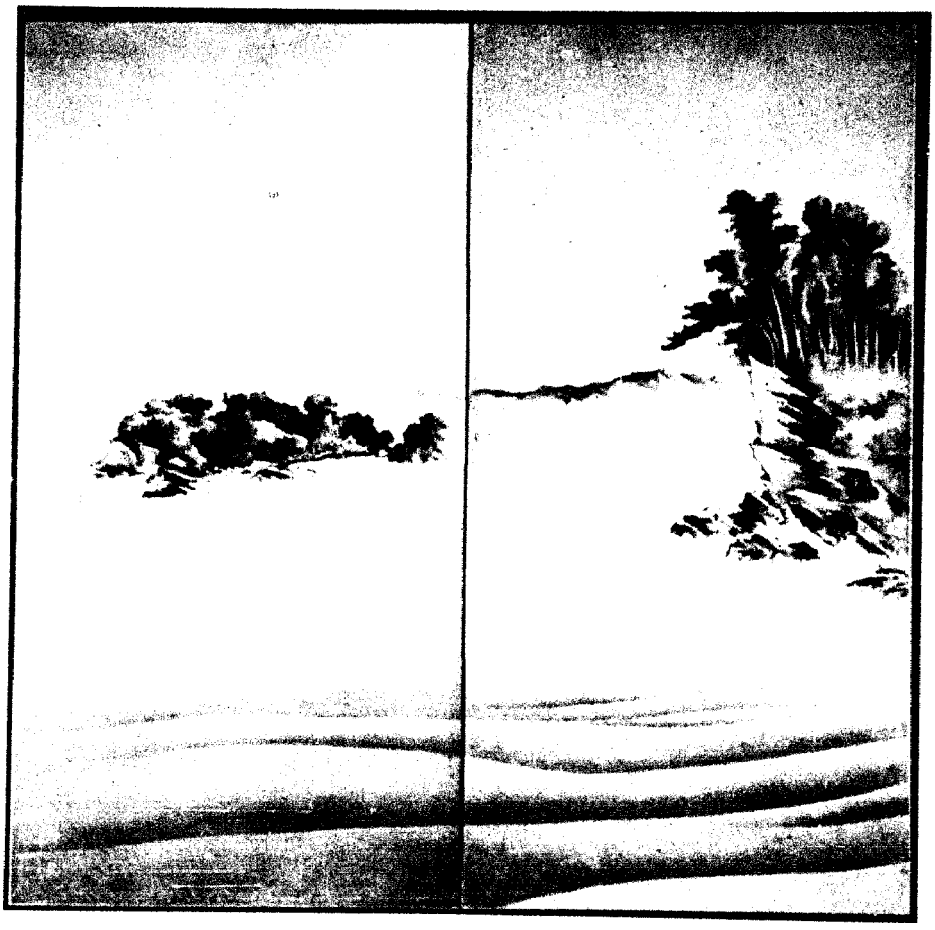


Katsushika Hokusai

THE SIX MASTER POETS-KISEN HŌSHI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXI

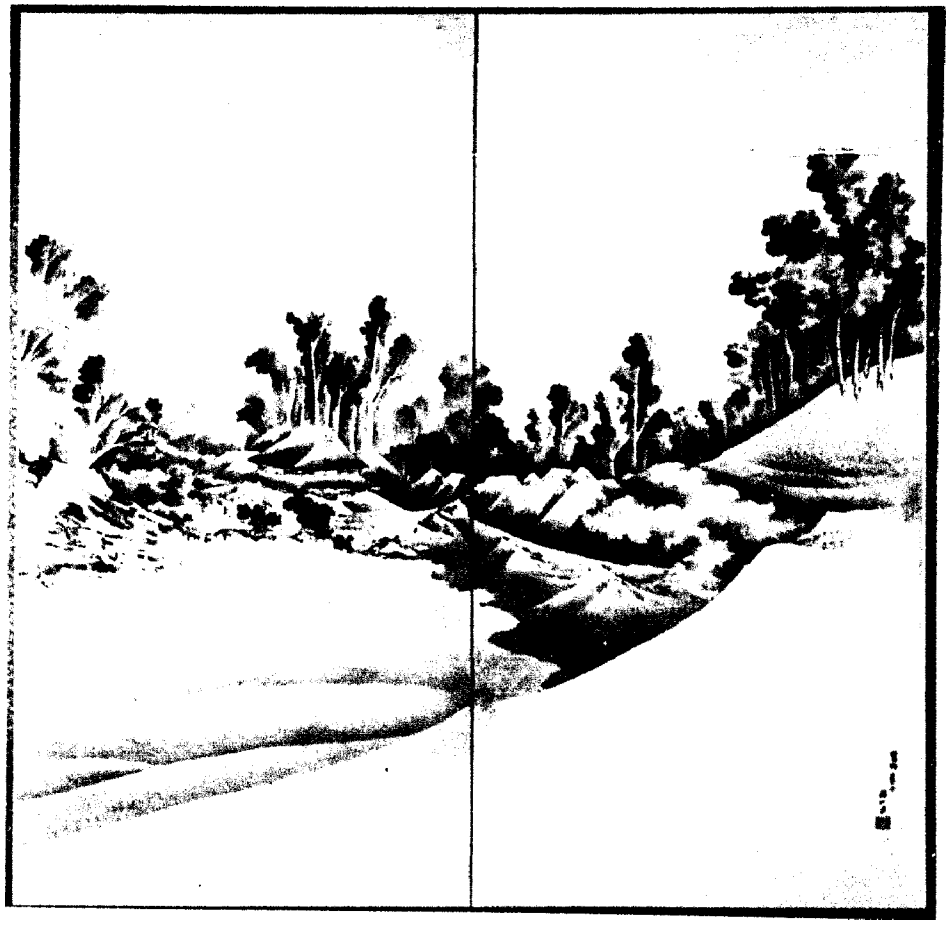


Katsushika Hokusai

SAGAMI BAY-ENOSHIMA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CXXII



Katsushika Hokusai

SAGAMI BAY-MOUNT FUJI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXIII



Katsushika Hokusai

A SHINTO RITUAL

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXIV



Katsushika Hokusai

SHELL GATHERERS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXV



Katsushika Hokusai

THE TWELVE MONTHS-JANUARY-JUNE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington,D.C.

PLATE CXXVI



Katsushika Hokusai

THE TWELVE MONTHS-JULY-DECEMBER

FREER GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

PLATE CXXVII



Katsushika Hokusai

SIX VIEWS OF THE TADA RIVER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXVIII

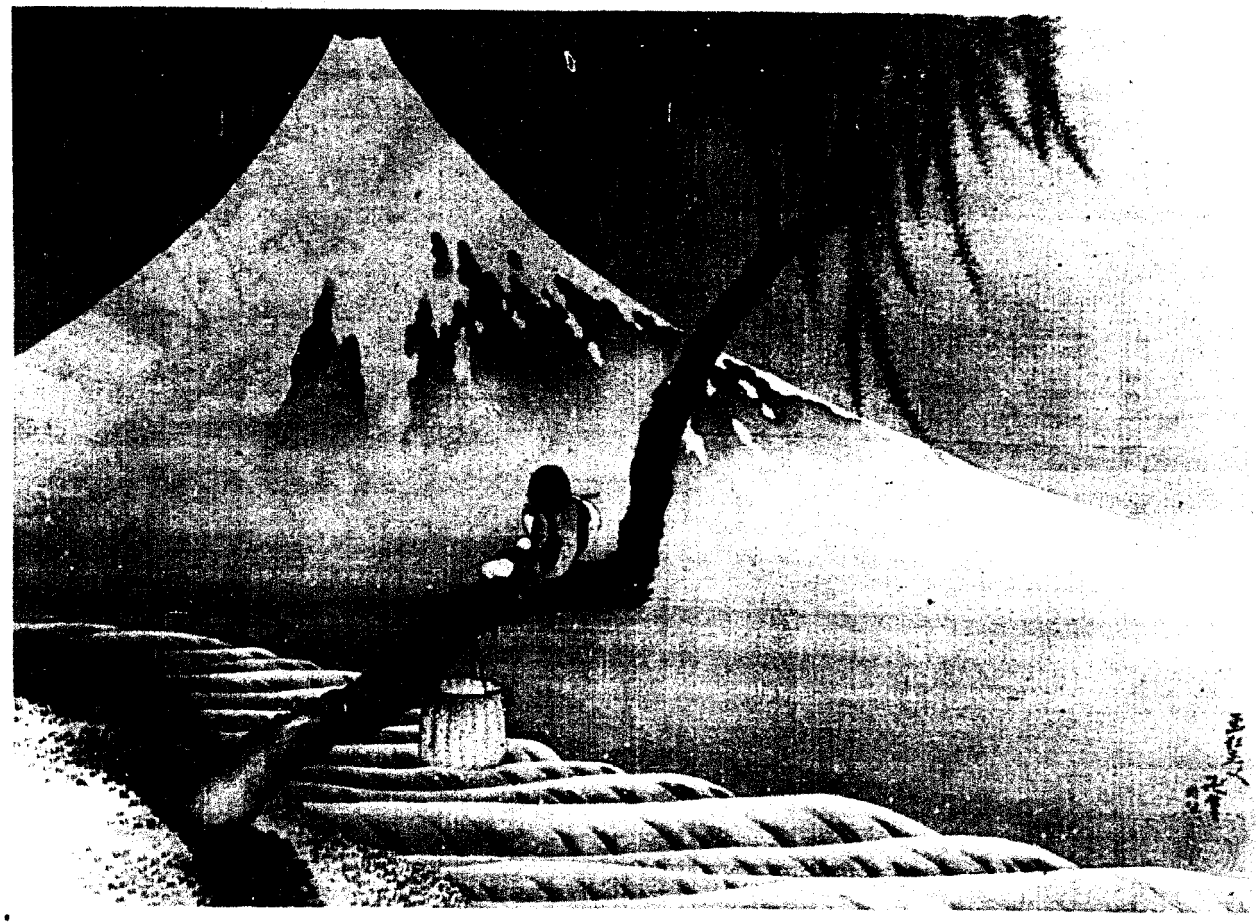


Katsushika Hokusai

SIX VIEWS OF THE TAMA RIVER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CXXIX

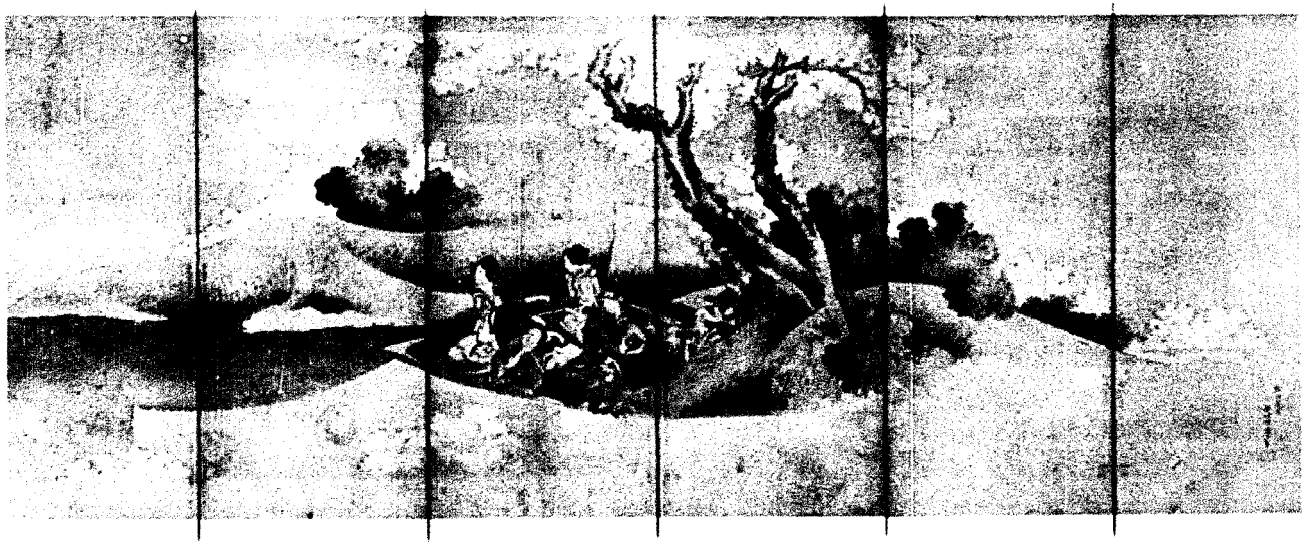


Katsushika Hokusai

MOUNT FUJI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXX

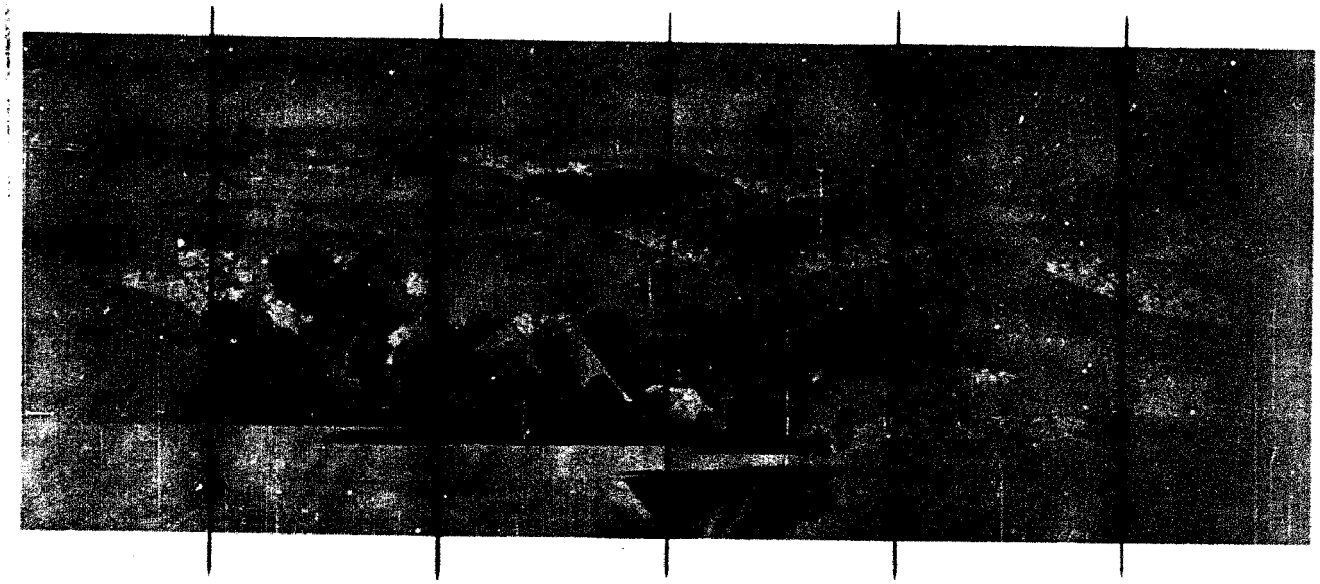


Katsushika Hokusai

A PICNIC PARTY

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXXI



Katsushika Hokusai

A PICNIC PARTY

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXXII



Katsushika Hokusai

COUNTRY SCENES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXXIII

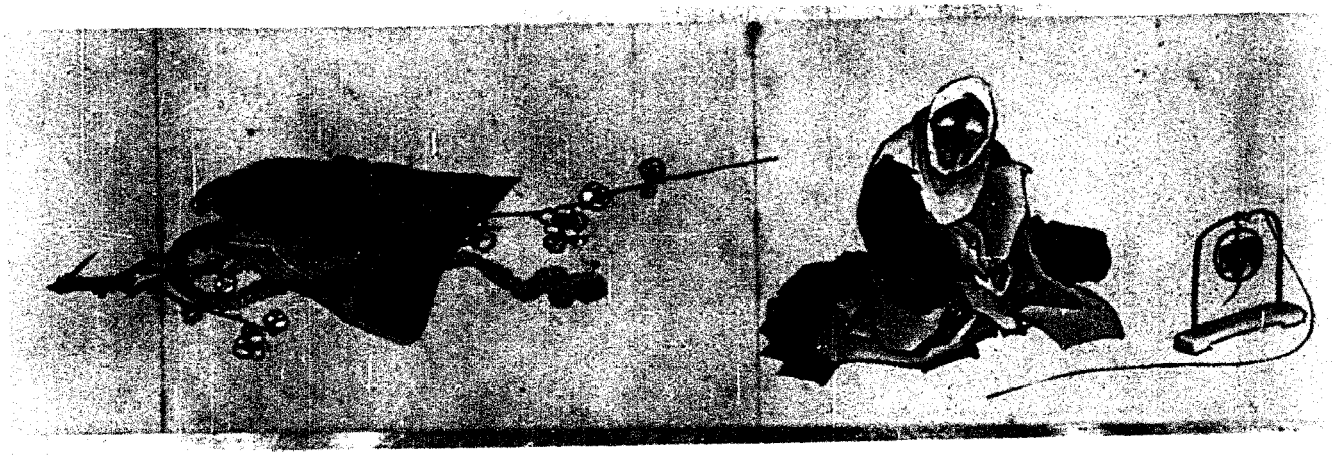


Katsushika Hokusai

COUNTRY SCENES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXXIV



Katsushika Hokusai

MISCELLANEOUS SCENES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXXV



Katsushika Hokusai

THE STORY OF YANG HSIANG FROM THE TWENTY-FOUR PARAGONS OF FILIAL PIETY

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CXXXVI

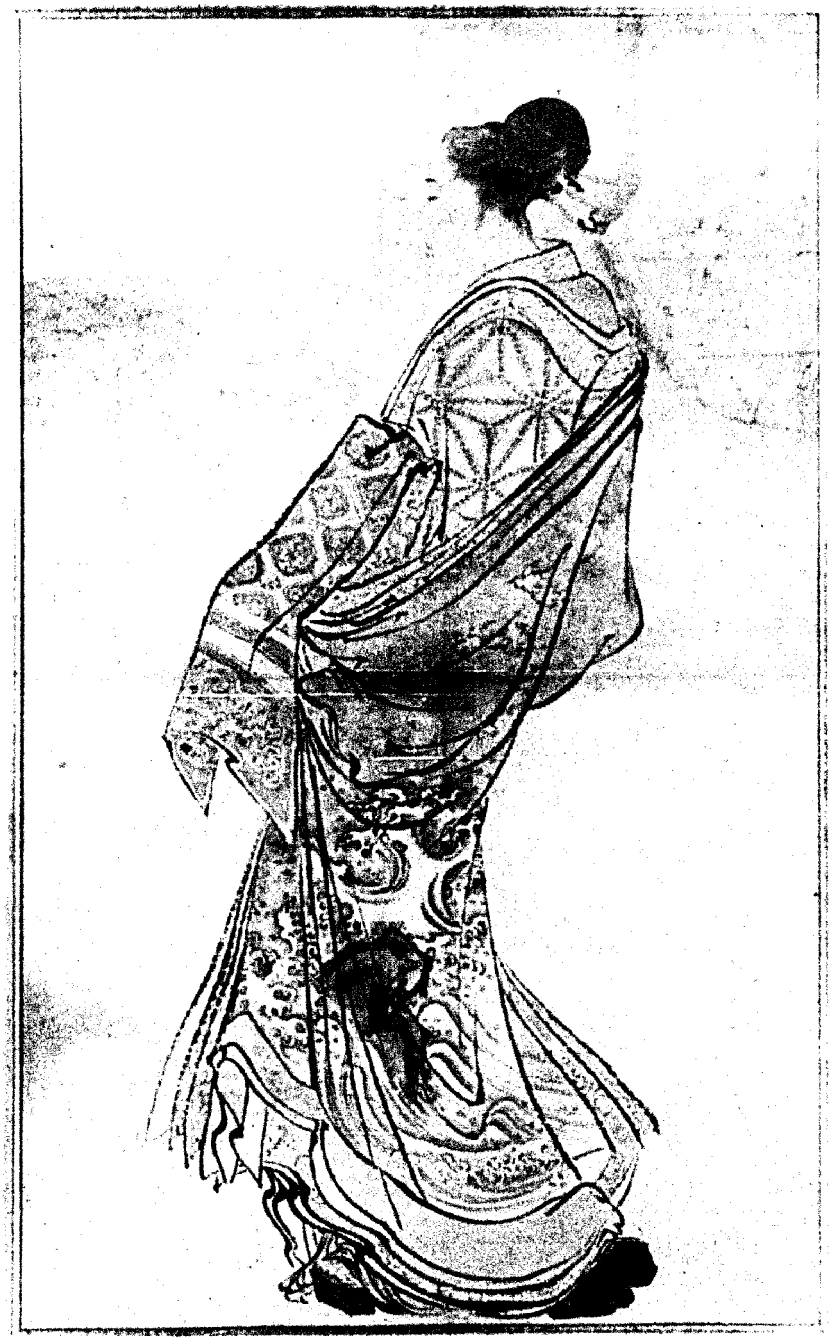


Katsushika Hokusai

THE FERRY BOAT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CXXXVII



Katsushika Hokusai

A COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXXVIII



Katsushika Hokusai

SUMMER SAKE SIPPERS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXXXIX



Katsushika Hokusai

THE LAME AND THE BLIND

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXL



Katsushika Hokusai

DANCERS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLI



Katsushika Hokusai

MAN AND BOY

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLII



Katsushika Hokusai

GIRL AND CAT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLIII



Katsushika Hokusai

TUNING THE SAMISEN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLIV



Katsushika Hokusai

TWO MEN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLV



Katsushika Hokusai

VARIOUS FIGURES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLVI

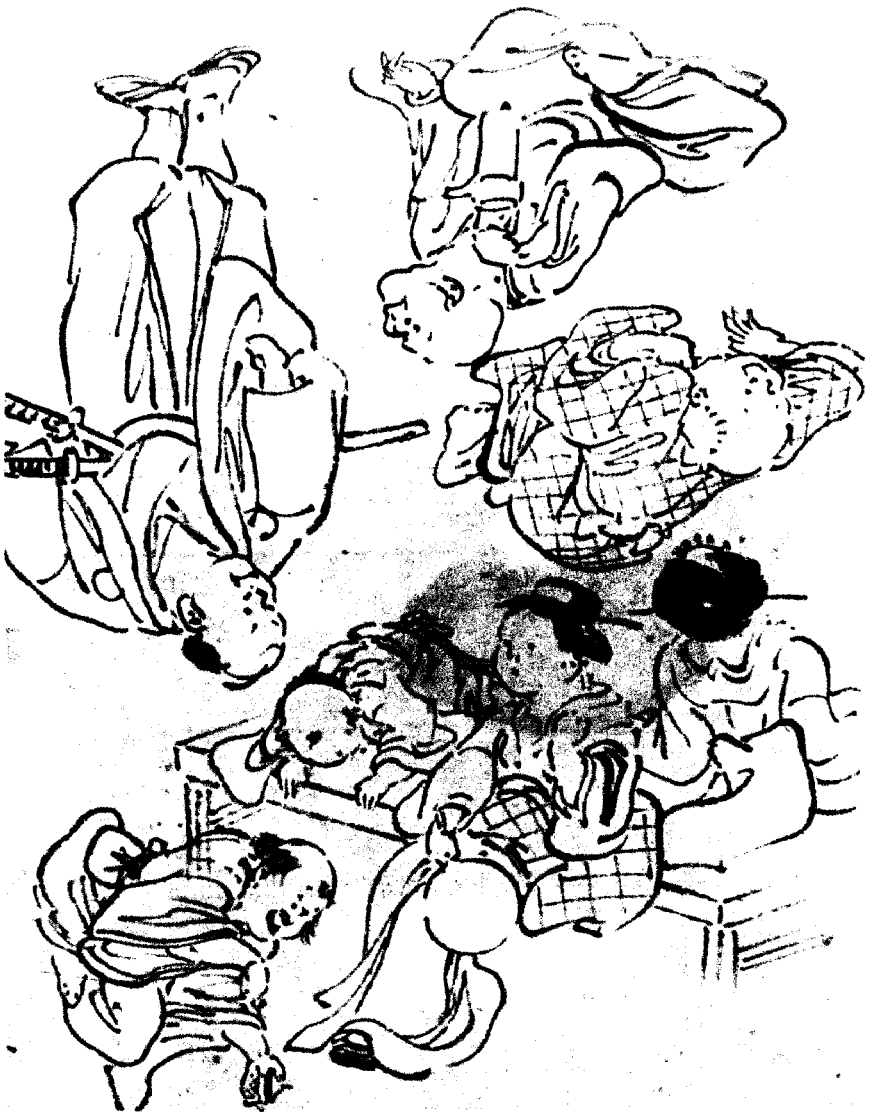


Katsushika Hokusai

A SAKE BOUT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLVII



Katsushika Hokusai

VARIOUS FIGURES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLVIII



Katsushika Hokusai

"GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FATHER?"

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CXLIX



Katsushika Hokusai

A MAID PREPARING TO DUST

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CL



Katsushika Hokusai

A SPIRIT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLI



Katsushika Hokusai

HORSES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CLII

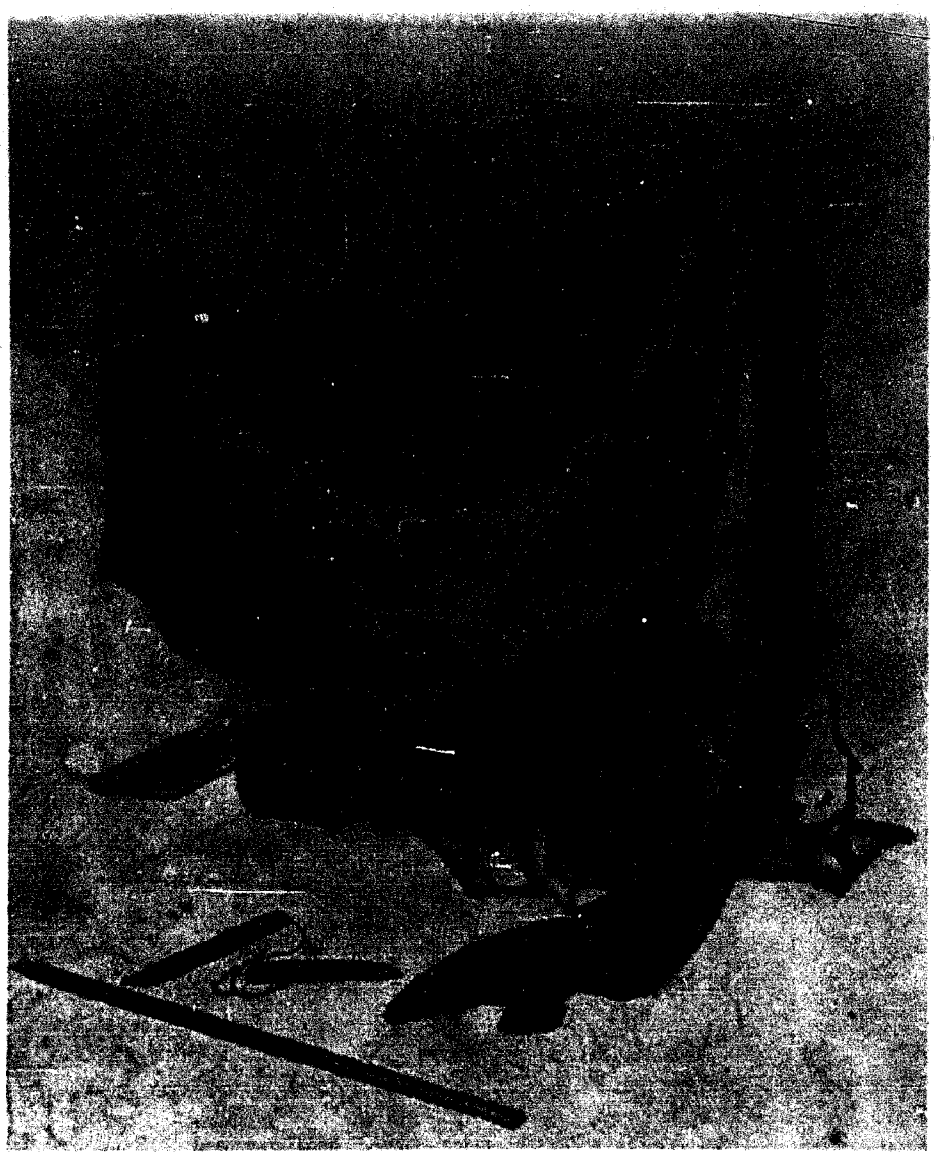


Katsushika Hokusai

A SAMISEN PLAYER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLIII



Katsushika Hokusai

A CLOTH MERCHANT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLIV



Katsushika Hokusai

BURNING A BUDDHIST IMAGE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CLV



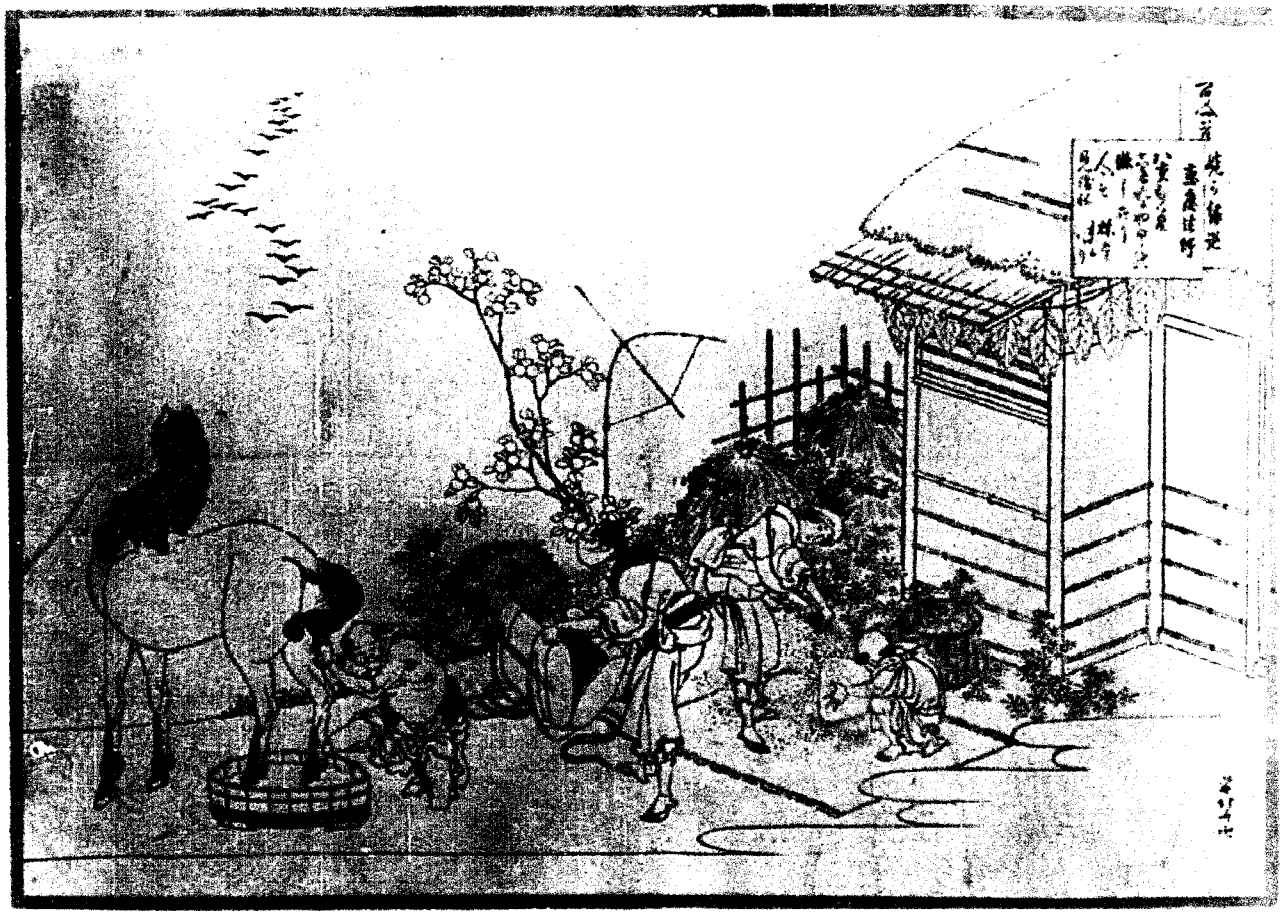
Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-YŪSHI HAISHINBO KE NO KII

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLVI



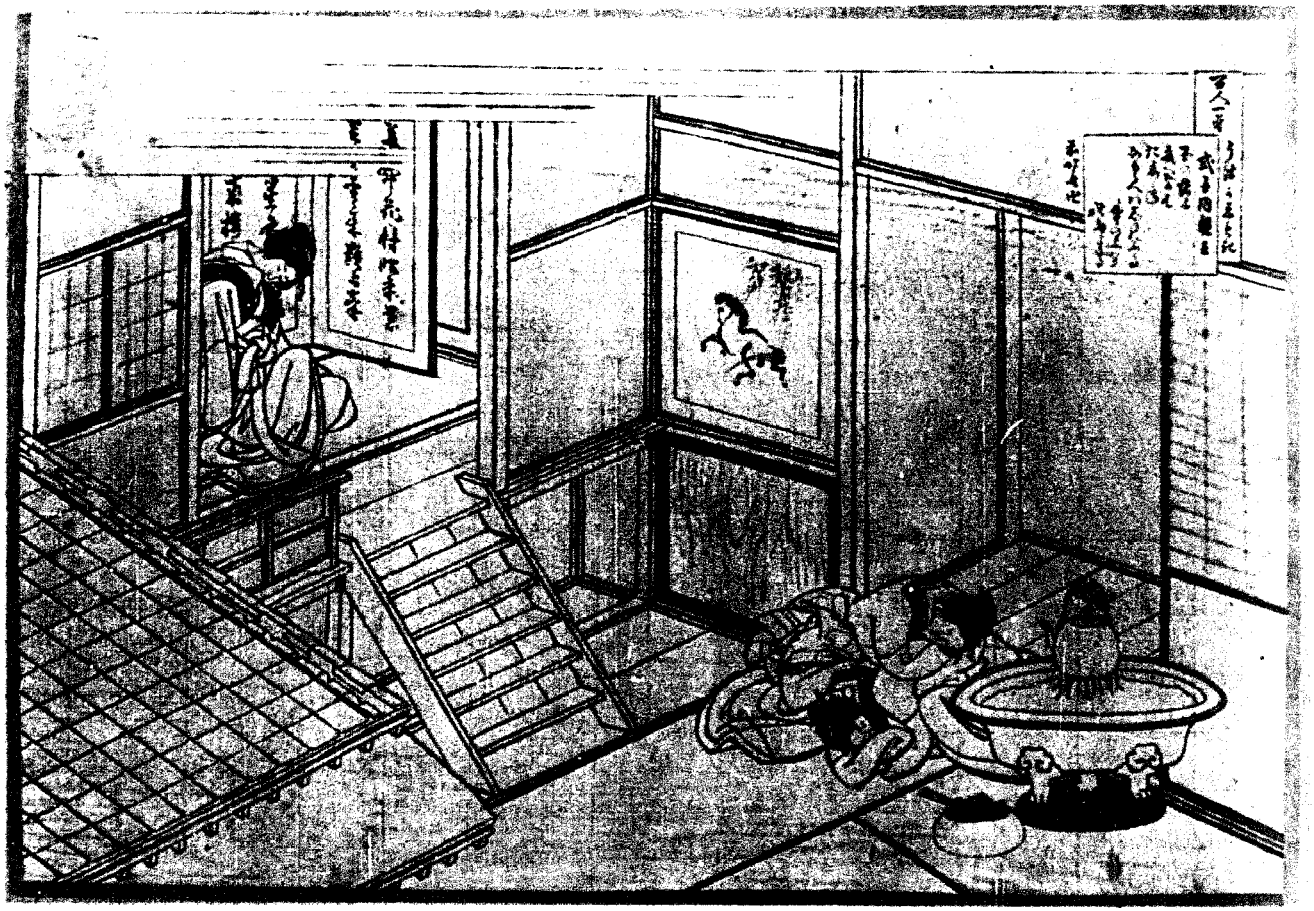
Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-EKEI HŌSHI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLVII



Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-SHIKISHI NAISHINNŌ

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLVIII



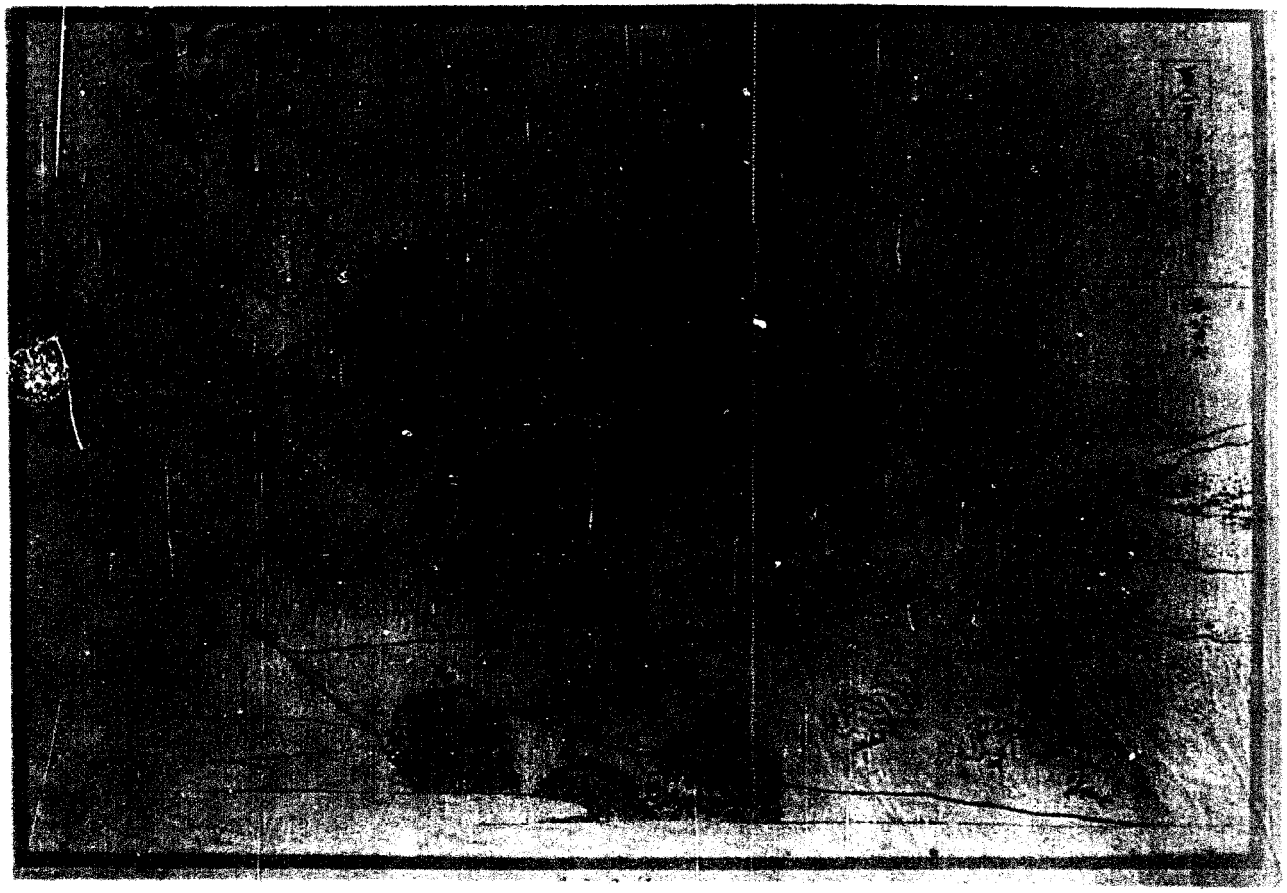
Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-JUNII IETAKA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLIX



Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-ŌE NO CHISATO

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLX



Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-KISEN HŌSHI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXI



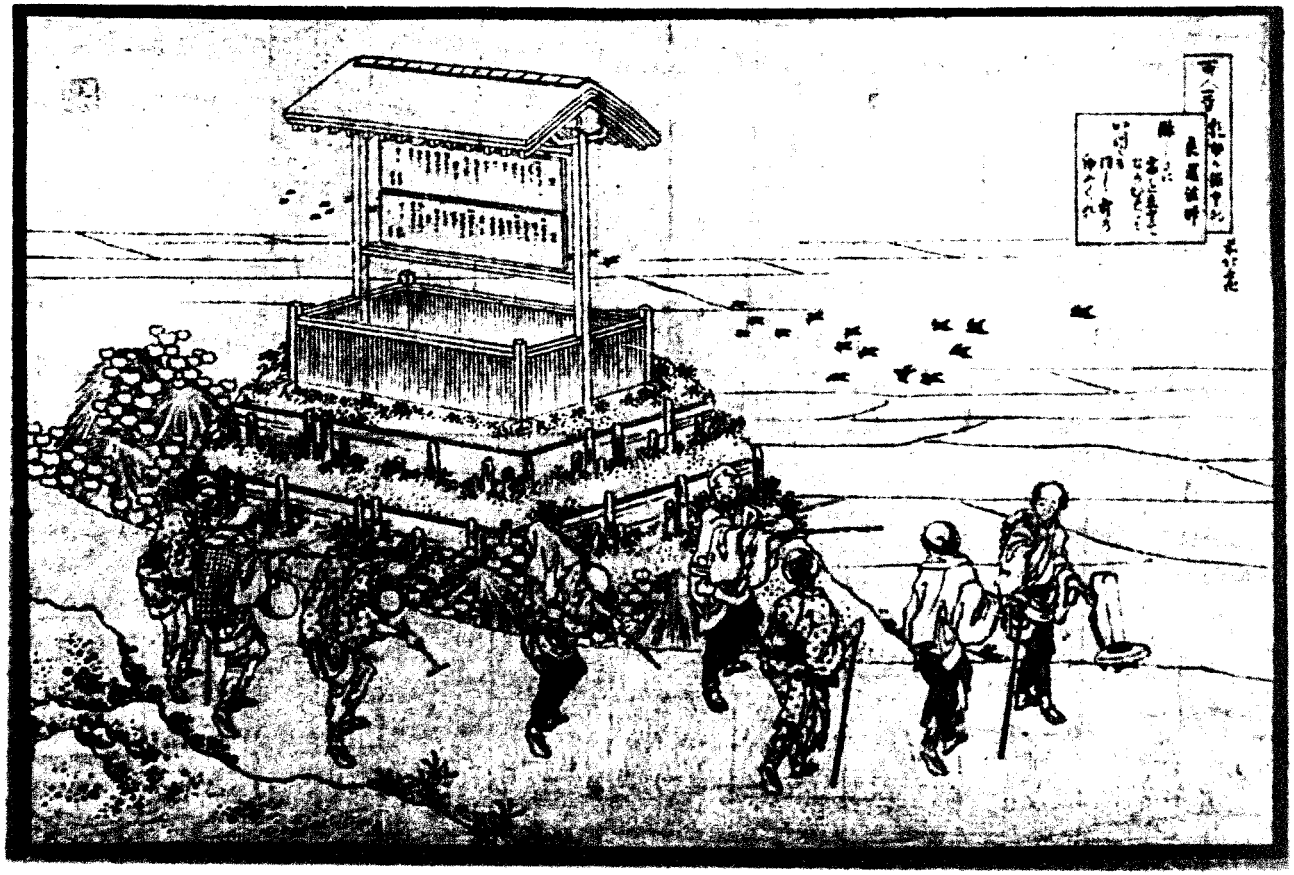
Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-BUNYA NO YASUHIDE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXII



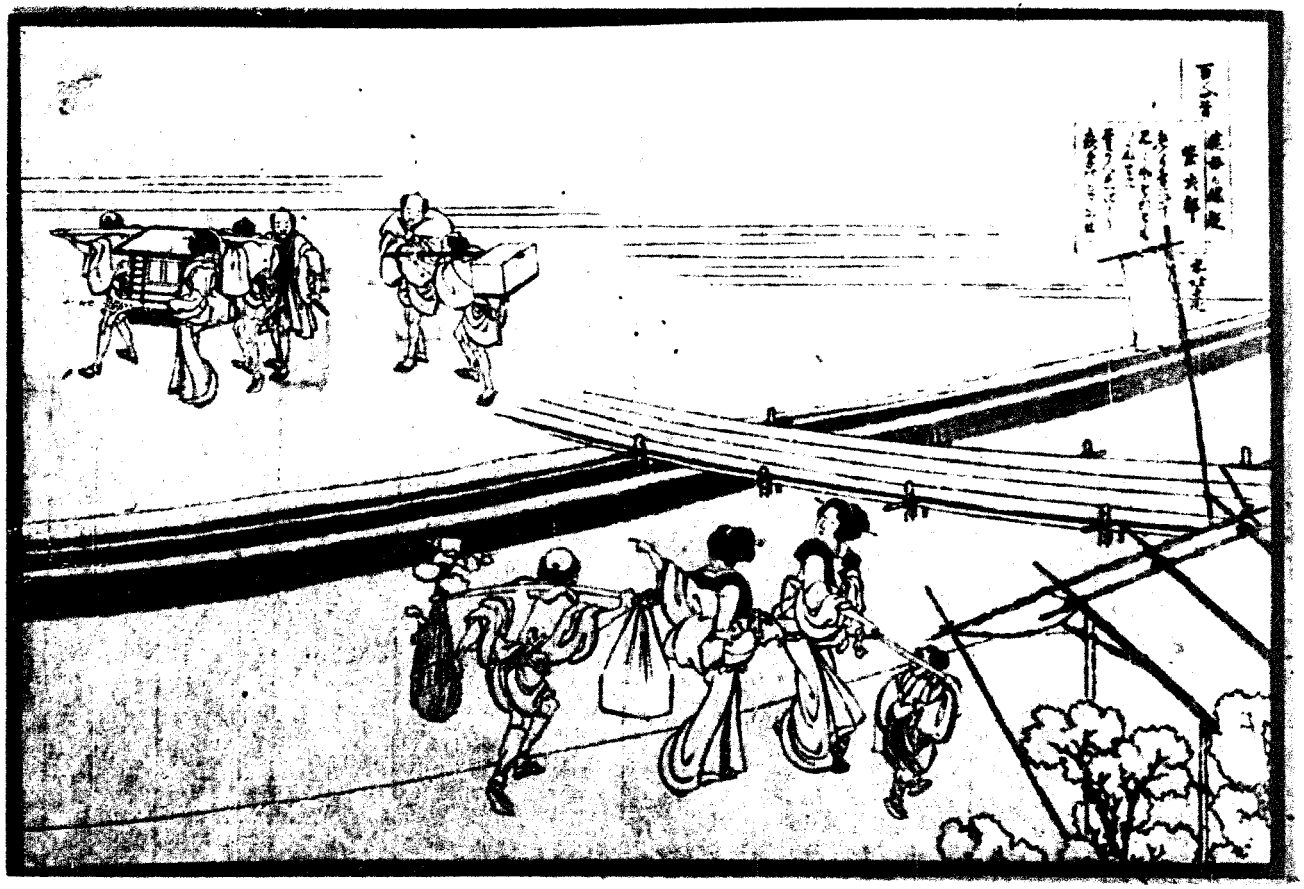
Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-RYŌSEN HŌSHI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXIII



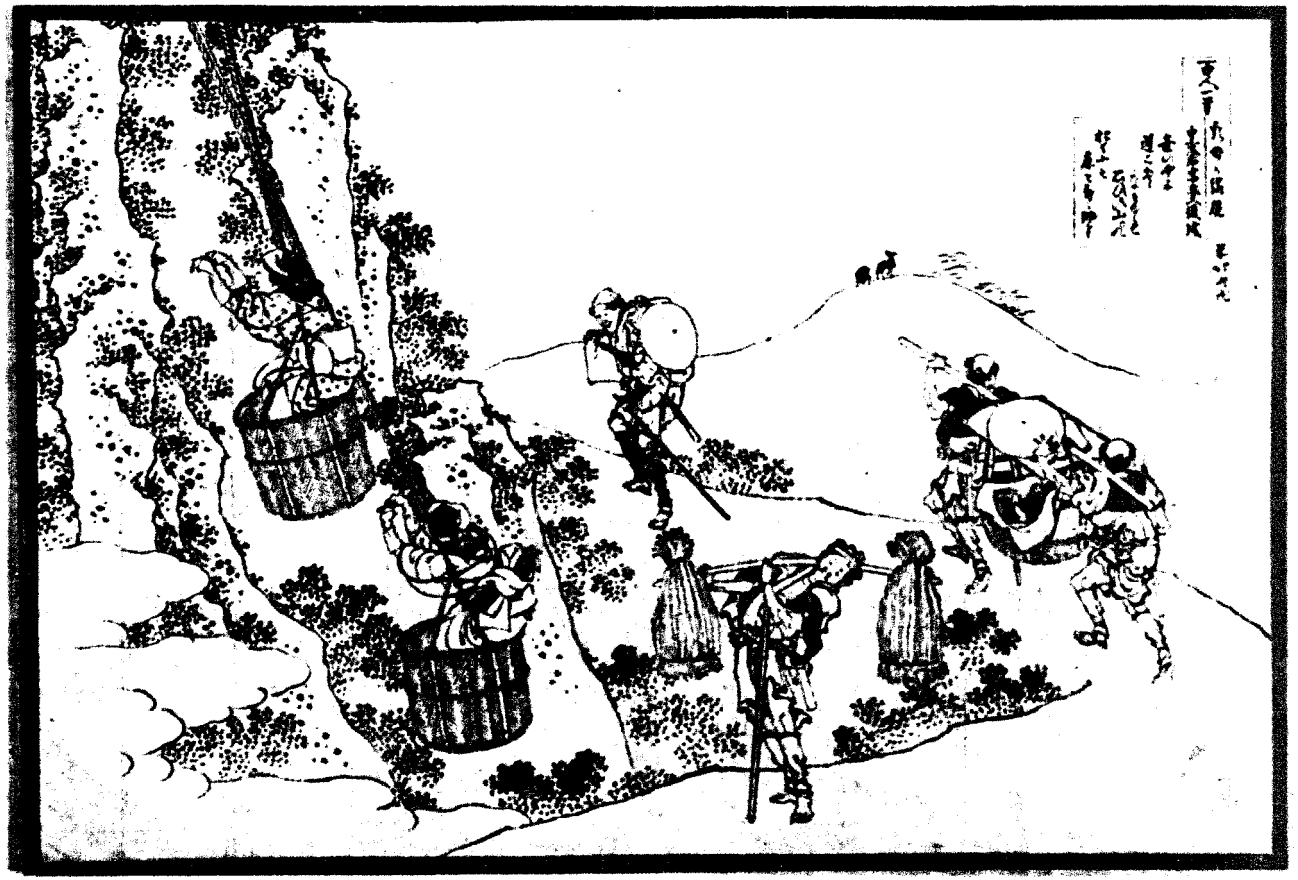
Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-MURASAKI SHIKIBU

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXIV



Katsushika Hokusai

FINAL SKETCH FOR THE PRINT SERIES

THE POEMS OF ONE HUNDRED MASTER POETS AS RELATED BY A WET-NURSE-KŌTAIGŌ GŪDAIFU TOSHINARI

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXV



Katsusnika Hokusai

SELF-PORTRAIT AND OTHERS

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXVI

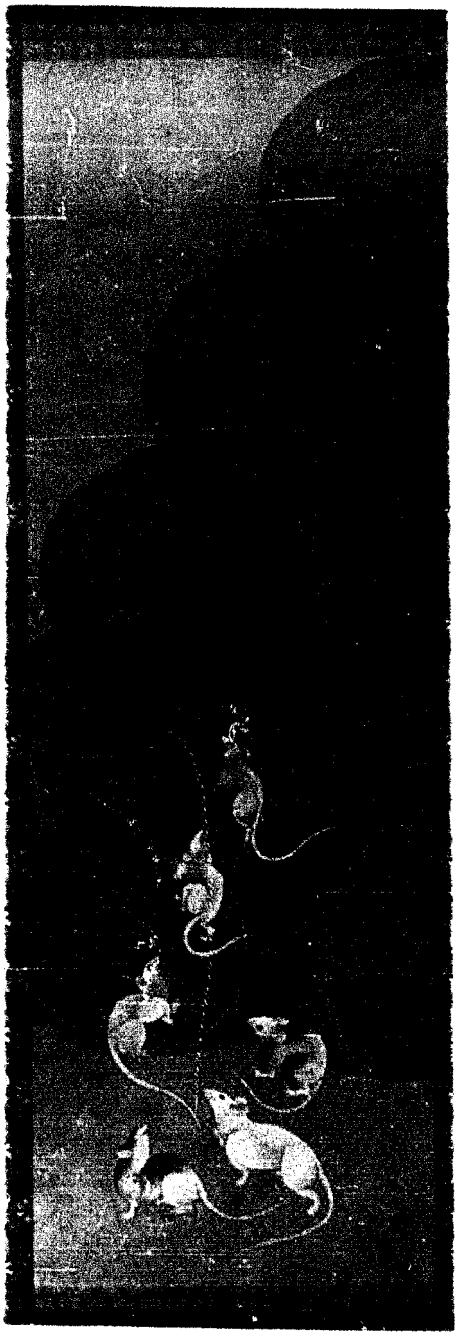


Katsushika Hokusai

DRAGON

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXVII



Katsushika Hokusai

RATS AND RICE BALES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXVIII



Katsushika Hokusai

SERPENT AND A BIWA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

PLATE CLXIX



Katsushika Hokusai

A PRIEST

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXX



Katsushika Hokusai

WAVES

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXXI



Katsushika Hokusai

THE THUNDER GOD

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXXII

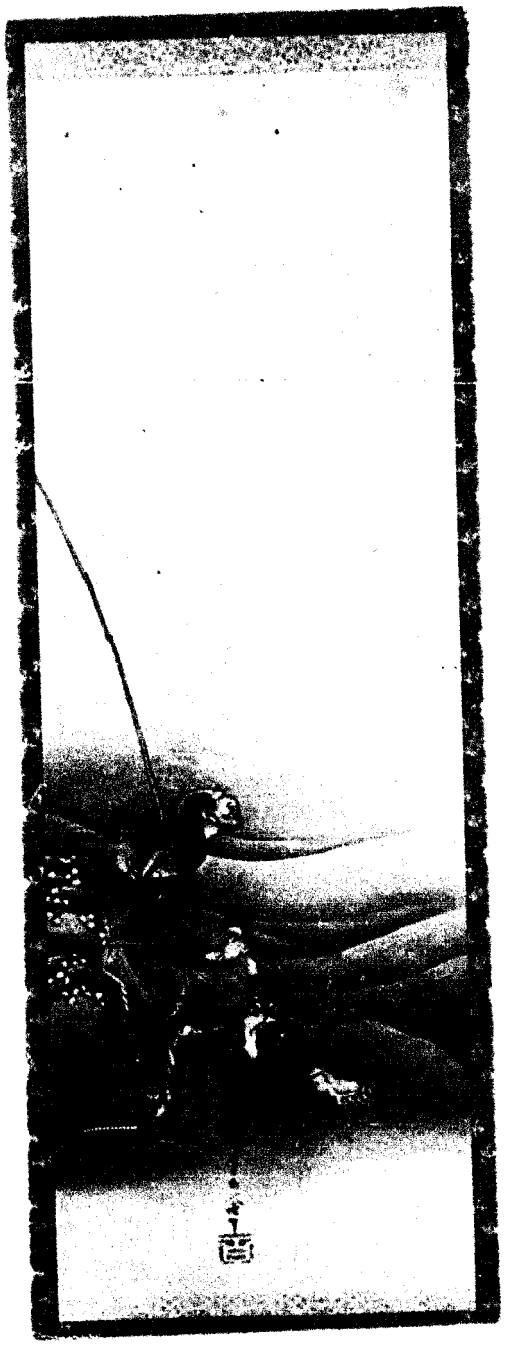


Katsushika Hokusai

A WOOD GATHERER

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXXIII



Katsushika Hokusai

A FISHERMAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXXIV



Utagawa Toyokuni

COURTESAN AND ATTENDANT WAITING FOR A BOAT

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXXV

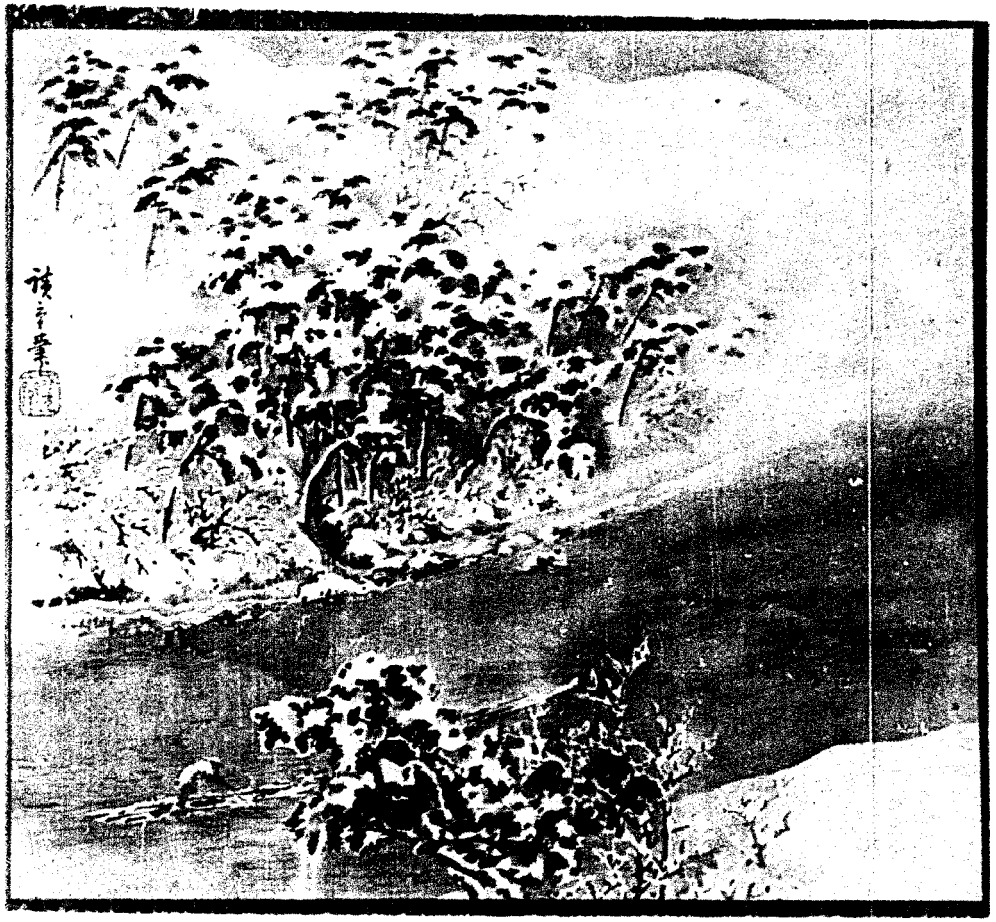


Andō Hiroshige

COURTESAN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXXVI

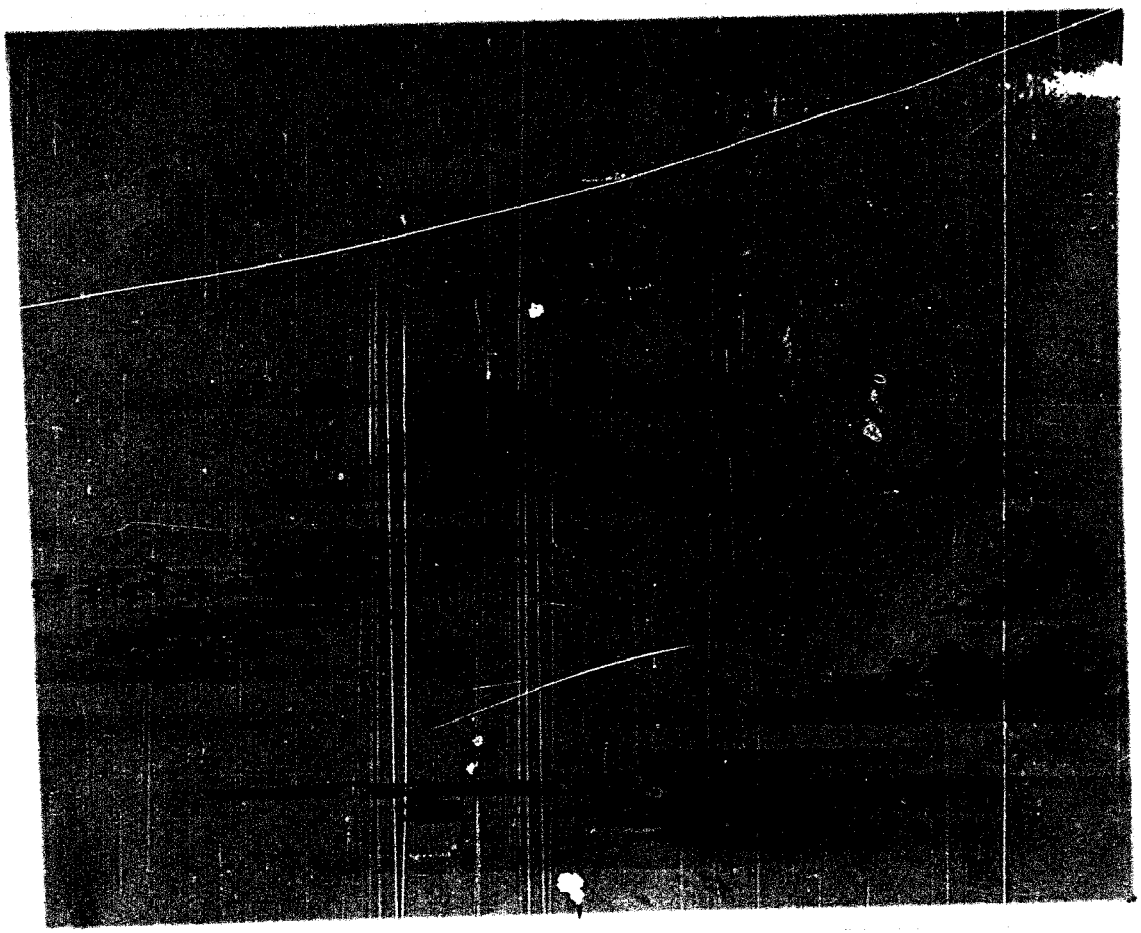


Andō Hiroshige

LANDSCAPE

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

PLATE CLXXVII



Andō Hiroshige

ALBUM OF MISCELLANEOUS SKETCHES-ENOSHIMA

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.