THE COLOR REVOLUTION:

PRINTED BOOKS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN

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To my parents

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ABSTRACT

THE COLOR REVOLUTION:

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Jeannie M. Kenmotsu

Julie Nelson Davis

Beginning in the mid-1760s, images printed in more than five colors in early modern Japan were known as *nishiki-e* 錦絵, or "brocade pictures," an appellation that signaled their visual richness in distinction to prints in monochrome or limited color. Most accounts of full-color printing locate the development of this technology and its visual impact in the medium of the single-sheet print, as part of the genre of *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 (the "pictures of the floating world"). This project revises that view by considering the illustrated books produced in the full-color technique, which predate or appear contemporaneously with the so-called "*nishiki-e* revolution." Closely analyzing the materiality and visual programs of these books reveals how their use of printed color not only constitutes an important shift in technical practices of printing, but also signals a wider engagement with the artistic, social, and scientific discourses of mid-eighteenth century Japan. Ranging from interest in the natural world to painting, from poetry to scientific classification, from elite milieux to commercial publishers, these illustrated books demonstrate the convergence of a diverse set of concerns upon the particular medium of the color-printed, thread-bound book.

The three case studies analyzed in this dissertation take up books differentiated by subject matter, style, and artistic genres. The first two chapters examine a book of fishes

and its sequel, on the theme of plants and insects; both books are genre-bending works that combine concerns of poetry, natural studies, and painting. The third chapter considers two picture books of the floating world (*ukiyo-ehon* 浮世絵本), which feature actors and prostitutes of the pleasure quarter, respectively. Tracing the movement of printed "full color" from its emergence in the context of coterie poetry groups to its later status as a commercial imperative, this study reframes the earliest full-color illustrated books as critical artifacts of technological and epistemological change for picture-making and print in early modern Japan, centered around the materiality and conceptual power of color.

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INTRODUCTION

With flesh at turns stunningly vibrant or subtly toned, a parade of fishy creatures forms an abundant stream of color; they swim below lines of elegantly calligraphed text in a two-volume book of poetry of 1762. Three years later, in 1765, episodic vignettes of plant and insect life capture insects, arachnids, and reptiles creeping quietly around the multihued blossoms and leaves of the four seasons. Five years later, in 1770, two books depicting actors (in one) and prostitutes of the pleasure quarter (in the other), robed in sumptuous and saturated polychrome patterns, advertise the delights and diversions of the entertainment district. Though distinct in subject matter, these four books are linked by their use of the "full-color" printing technique. Together they represent artifacts of a critical moment of technological and epistemological revolution for picture-making in early modern Japan, crystallized around the materiality and conceptual power of color.

This project examines four illustrated books, published between 1762 and 1770, which represent the earliest works of full-color printing. Most accounts of full-color printing locate the development of the technology and its visual impact in a different medium, the single-sheet print, as part of the genre of *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 (the "pictures of the floating world"). In contrast, the three case studies analyzed in this project take up books differentiated by subject matter, style, and artistic genres. The first two chapters closely examine a book of fishes and its sequel, on the theme of plants and insects; both books are genre-bending works that combine concerns of poetry, natural studies, and painting. The third chapter examines two picture books of the floating world (*ukiyo-ehon* 浮世絵本). The main content of all four books is pictorial and printed in color; moreover,

each is unusual, prompting questions of why color was deemed essential to their production.

The origin of full-color printing—defined as the use of five or more woodblocks—is typically located in designs commissioned for the New Year celebrations of 1765.[1] These single-sheet prints have been judged so important, in fact, that their publication date in 1765 has been set as the *nishiki-e* "revolution"—a teleological characterization that has long substituted as an explanation for the significance of color in the history of the Japanese print.[2] This dissertation brings forward illustrated books from other genres that challenge this explanation of the color revolution. Broadly speaking, then, this project aims to re-read the emergence of full-color print culture in the eighteenth century as a development that was neither natural nor inevitable.

Therefore, this study proceeds from a deceptively simple question: why do these objects look the way they do? Using approaches grounded in art history and book history, this dissertation examines these artifacts in terms of their materiality and visual programs. It uncovers in the process how their deployment of printed color both constitutes an important technical practice and also signals a group of period artistic and cultural investigations significant for the later history of art, science, and knowledge formation in Japan. These illustrated books stake out critical zones in which the desire for color was made manifest, ranging from art, science, and literature to commercial entertainment. Not

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[1] For further discussion see Chapter Three and key publications such as Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Nishiki-e no tanjō: Edo shomin no bunka no kaika* 錦絵の誕生: 江戸庶民文化の開花 *(The Birth of Nishiki-e: The Flowering of Edo Commoner Culture)* (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, 1996), 57-78.
[2] See, for instance, David Waterhouse, "The Birth of the Full-Colour Print: Suzuki Harunobu and His Age, Early 1760s to Early 1780s," in *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, ed. Amy Reigle Newland (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 93.

painted but printed, and not merely ink, but color, these works preceded and were contemporaneous with the explosion of color in single-sheet prints that would define the history of the medium in Japan. Ranging from interest in the natural world to painting, from poetry to scientific classification, from elite milieux to commercial publishers, they demonstrate the convergence of a diverse set of concerns upon the particular medium of the color-printed, thread-bound book.

State of the Field: Full-Color Printing in Eighteenth-Century Japan

Single-sheet full-color prints, or *nishiki-e* 錦絵, have been extensively studied in the field of Japanese art history. *Nishiki-e* translates literally as "brocade picture," a term that signals the sumptuous visuality of full-color printing, as if these multiple, vibrant hues rivaled the most richly woven fabrics. Deriving from the period phrase *Azuma nishiki-e* 吾妻錦絵, "brocade prints of the East," this term marked full-color Edo prints as distinct from the famous textiles of Kyoto, marketing them as unique products of the culture of the city of Edo, the "Eastern capital" (東都).[3] This technique is typically defined by the use of at least five separate woodblocks for the printing of distinct colors, in addition to a keyblock printed in black ink (*sumi* 墨). These full-color prints constituted the largest part of *ukiyo-e*, or "pictures of the floating world"—that is, prints and paintings of the Edo period (1603-1868), which primarily depicted beautiful figures, the world of popular entertainment, including theater, and landscape. The categories of

[3] Also written 東錦絵. The use of this terminology for full-color prints is directly attested in the period by writers such as Ōta Nanpo (1749-1823) and Suwa Shichizaemon Yoritake 諏訪七左衛門頼武 (b. 1748); see discussion of these texts by Kobayashi Tadashi in Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Nishiki-e no tanjō: Edo shomin no bunka no kaika*, 8 (see also trans. 10).

ukiyo-e and *nishiki-e* have thus formed the dominant framework for understanding Japanese print culture.

Early modern print culture has been widely studied in the fields of Japanese art history and Japanese history, yet illustrated books have received far less attention than single-sheet prints. Among illustrated books, those designed by artists identified as *ukiyo-eshi* 浮世絵師 (artists of the floating world) are the best known, although hundreds of titles were illustrated by artists of other schools. The gap between full-color single-sheet prints and full-color illustrated books is partly signaled by the modern nomenclature. The term *nishiki-e* is used only for individual sheet prints. Full-color books, meanwhile, are described under the more general term of *tashokuzuri* 多色刷, meaning "printed in many colors." Although both types of object employ the same technique, the terminology used to describe them often serves to bifurcate the two media into separate realms of inquiry.

In addition, scholarship has so far been divided in its focus by making categories of individual artists or their schools and by divisions between media. This distinction parallels the modern field of Japanese art history, which replicates many of the inherited divisions of school or genre from earlier centuries (i.e., "Kano school" versus "Rinpa" versus "*ukiyo-e*"). Many excellent studies of Japanese art focus solely on the work of a specific artist. Exhibition catalogues, which also play an important role in the field, tend to offer new research discoveries within a similar context, focused on either a single artist or individual school. My project takes up neither approach. It brings together a group of objects unified by medium (book), materiality (printed color), and date (1762-1770), representing a diverse array of genres, motivations, techniques, and appearances. The

literature is likewise shaped by divisions between media (i.e., painting versus print), which are rooted in European definitions of the "fine arts."[4] Yet this modern structure in the scholarship occasionally elides the fluidity with which objects and ideas circulated in the art worlds, and the book worlds, of the eighteenth century. This dissertation examines illustrated books that, as a group, conform only loosely to previously established boundaries. By widening the scope of analysis to include not only prints but books, in addition to considerations of painting, an alternative picture of the color story emerges. Each of these books gives evidence of a desire to engage the technology of printed color in service of some larger end and as part of a larger epistemological inquiry. These books likewise engage a number of period concerns about the nature of images.

The objects that I examine in this project have very rarely been brought together for sustained examination as a group. A few previous studies have looked specifically at full-color artifacts without discriminating on the basis of sheet print versus book, or one genre versus another. Fritz Rumpf, a German collector of Japanese books in the first half of the twentieth century, contributed a fundamental overview of color printing, with special attention to color-printed books, to the extent that they were known at the time.[5] The historians of Edo literature Mori Senzō and Kira Sueo uncovered key aspects of the poetry circles and social networks involved in the production of the earliest full-color

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[4] Many of these definitions were consciously adopted or adapted in the late nineteenth century. Even the word *bijutsu* 美術 (art or fine art) was an invention of the Meiji period, as is well-documented. See, among others, Satō Dōshin, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, trans. Hiroshi Nara (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011).

[5] Fritz Rumpf, *Meister des japanischen Farbenholzschnittes, neues über ihr Leben und ihre Werke* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1924); Fritz Rumpf, "Die Anfänge des Farbenholzschnittes in China und Japan," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 17 (1931), esp. 5-7. Since Rumpf's time, additional copies of the works by Katsuma Ryūsui have become known, shedding greater light on the color works that so intrigued him. The general outlines of his account are sound, but descriptions of specific colors in individual works should be considered his evaluation of the physical copies available to him.

books and *ukiyo-e* sheet prints.[6] However, color itself has received little treatment as a major research theme.[7] I do not mean to suggest that the color books analyzed in the chapters to follow are unknown or unappreciated. Quite to the contrary, the literature on color printing often mentions the titles of these books but rarely offers fuller studies. To date, most discussions of these works have taken the form of ancillary treatments to the study of full-color sheet prints or to the artistic figure of Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1725?-1770).

Since so much *ukiyo-e* scholarship locates the "color revolution" in the work of Harunobu, that part of the story is highly advanced. Every publication that includes Harunobu mentions the subject, from introductory textbooks to exhibition catalogues to scholarly studies, and is thus too large to be reviewed in full here. Of these, the contributions of scholars David Waterhouse and Fujisawa Murasaki are worthy of special mention. In English, David Waterhouse has added greatly to our knowledge of the contributions made by Harunobu and his contemporaries to the development of the full-

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[6] Mori Senzō, "Katsuma Ryūsui" 勝間龍水, in *Mori Senzō chosakushū* 森銑三著作集 *(Collected Writings of Mori Senzō)*, vol. 4, (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1971), 337–48; and in the same volume, "Harunobu hanga no Kyosen to Sakei 春信版画の巨川と莎鶏," 308-313; Kira Sueo, "Tashokuzuri ebaisho ni tsuite 多色摺絵排書について," in *Shiika to imēji: Edo no hanpon ichimaizuri ni miru yume*, ed. Nakano Mitsutoshi and Kōno Minoru, Shohan (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013), 1–22; Kira Sueo, "Katsuma Ryūsui to Hanabusa Ippō" 勝間龍水と英一蜂 (Katsuma Ryūsui and Hanabusa Ippō), in *Eiri haisho to sono gakatachi*, ed. Kakimori Bunkō (Itami-shi: Kakimori Bunko, 1992), 74–78; Kira Sueo, *Haisho no hanashi* 排書の話, Nihon shoshigaku taikei 60 (Musashimurayama-shi: Seishōdō Shoten, 1989); Kira Sueo, "Shoshi to naiyō o chūshin toshite 書誌と内容を中心として (Focusing on Bibliography and Contents)," in *Eiri haishoshū* 絵入排書集, Nihon koten bungaku eiin sōkan 31 (Tokyo: Nihon Koten Bungakkai, 1986), 363–82, among others.

[7] Allen Hockley is among those writers who have questioned the status of color as a defining attribute for describing Suzuki Harunobu's contributions to *ukiyo-e*. See Allen Hockley, "Suzuki Harunobu: The Cult and Culture of Color," in *Designed for Pleasure: The World of Edo Japan in Prints and Paintings, 1680-1860*, ed. Julia Meech and Jane Oliver (New York: Asia Society and Japanese Art Society of America, in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), 83–99.

color print.[8] His two-volume descriptive catalogue of Harunobu's prints in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which was recently published after several decades of research and preparation, is an exemplary study of its kind by the leading scholar of Harunobu writing in English today.[9] The scope of this work does not encompass detailed consideration of Harunobu's illustrated books. However, Fujisawa Murasaki, the leading expert on the subject of Harunobu's illustrated books, fully explores these volumes in *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū* 鈴木春信絵本全集 (The Complete Works of Suzuki Harunobu's Picture Books).[10] Yet Fujisawa's exhaustive three-volume study of Harunobu's illustrated books does not include the artist's erotic books. Studies by Hayashi Yoshikazu, Hayakawa Monta, Ishigami Aki, and others have examined these erotica in terms of their compositions, humorous content, and relationship to the wider literary culture of some of these works.[11]

Although significant to our understanding of the development of full-color printing and the visual culture of *ukiyo-e* in the 1760s, all of the aforementioned studies take an artist-centered approach. Many of these studies follow a life-and-works model, to the extent that biographical data are available for Suzuki Harunobu. However, this artist-centered approach, with its privileging of the sheet print, has meant that the earlier use of

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[8] See, for instance, David Waterhouse, *Harunobu and His Age: The Development of Colour Printing in Japan* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1964); Waterhouse, "The Birth of the Full-Colour Print: Suzuki Harunobu and His Age, Early 1760s to Early 1780s."

[9] David Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade: A Catalogue of Woodcuts by Suzuki Harunobu and His Followers in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2013).

[10] Fujisawa Murasaki, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū* 鈴木春信絵本全集 (The Complete Works of Suzuki Harunobu's Picture Books) (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2003).

[11] See Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Harunobu: enpon kenkyū* 春信: 艶本研究 (Tokyo: Yūkō Shobō, 1964); Hayakawa Monta, *The Shunga of Suzuki Harunobu: Mitate-e and Sexuality in Edo*, trans. Patricia J. Fister, 1st English ed, Nichibunken Monograph Series, no. 4 (Kyoto, Japan: Nichibunken, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2001; Ishigami Aki, *Nihon no shunga, ehon kenkyū* 日本の春画・艶本研究 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2015), among others.

printed color in illustrated books has been overlooked. When it is discussed, it is done only as a passing mention. For example, the pioneering exhibition catalogue *Nishiki-e no tanjō: Edo shomin no bunka no kaika* 錦絵の誕生: 江戸庶民文化の開花 (The Birth of Nishiki-e: The Flowering of Edo Commoner Culture) mentions *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*, but does not pursue the analysis further.[12] Similarly, Jack Hillier's two-volume study, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, though an excellent survey of the medium, is nevertheless organized largely by artist and school, which restricts analysis and interpretation across period networks and ideas.[13]

Yet such models do not credit how earlier color-printed books were developed through collaboration, in circles not confined to the floating world. *Umi no sachi* offers evidence of how *haikai* networks formed an essential part of the background story for color: full color "brocade" printing before it became codified as the domain of the sheet print and the *ukiyo-e* artist. In one exception, Kira Sueo has written on the genre sometimes called *ebaisho* 絵排書 (literally, "illustrated *haikai* documents") with specific address to the question of *haikai* poetry groups' role in the development of multiple-color printing (*tashokuzuri* 多色刷).[14] A few other *ukiyo-e* scholars have also addressed the relationship between *haikai* publishing and the development of the full-color sheet print,

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[12] Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Nishiki-e no tanjō*; see further discussion in Chapter One.
[13] Jack Ronald Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 2 vols. (London; New York: Published for Sotheby's Publications by Philip Wilson Publishers; Distributed in the U.S. by Harper & Row, 1987).
[14] On the genre of *haikai* books, see Kira Sueo, "Haikai shoshi no tanjō 俳諧書肆の誕生," *Bungaku* 49, no. 11 (1981): 95–111; Kira Sueo, "Shoshi to naiyō o chūshin toshite"; Kira Sueo, *Kyōhō Hōreki haikaishū* 享保宝暦俳諧集 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1995). On the topic of single-sheet illustrated prints with haikai poetry (*haikai ichimaizuri* 俳諧一枚摺), see Kira Sueo, *Haikai ichimaizuri no sekai* 俳諧一枚摺の世界 (The world of haikai ichimai-zuri) (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Bungakubu, 2001); Kira Sueo, "Tashokuzuri no rekishi to haikai ichimaizuri o megutte 多色摺の歴史と俳諧一枚摺をめぐって," *Edo bungaku* 25 (2002): 1–5.

but these have been mostly passing references rather than close studies.[15] And unfortunately, most of these works either postdate *Umi no sachi* or contain no color, meaning that the story of color has previously been inadequately addressed. Although my project takes up the story of color printing in the 1760s, when it was part of a sustained engagement with this multiple-block technology, it does so with an awareness that one might begin this study with its earliest precedents. One of the earliest-known books to incorporate color printing is a seventeenth-century calculation manual published in Kyoto.[16] In addition, a few works from the 1730s to 1750s might be used as another starting point.[17] While these are significant predecessors, they might be regarded as early prototypes rather than part of the sustained engagement with color that is the subject of this study.

Rather, my focus is on the how the materials, aesthetics, and subject matter of the first full-color books signal specific concerns of eighteenth-century taste and intellectual inquiry, even as they served as tools of self-fashioning. As these books demonstrate, poetry networks of the early 1760s looked to full-color printing as part of their social and

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[15] Recent studies have begun to address *haikai* books of the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, such as Asano Shūgō, "Nishikie ga ehon ni naru toki: Urokogataya, Tsutaya to sono shūhen 錦絵が絵本になる時ー鱗形屋・蔦屋とその周辺," in *Shiika to imēji: Edo no hanpon ichimaizuri ni miru yume*, ed. Nakano Mitsutoshi and Kōno Minoru, Shohan (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2013), 97–120.

[16] The 1631 second edition *Jinkōki* 塵却記, authored by Yoshida Mitsuyoshi 吉田光由, a member of the Suminokura family and close associate of Suminokura Sōan, publisher of the much-acclaimed Sagabon in Kyoto. For more on this manual, see Annick Horiuchi, "The Jinkōki Phenomenon: The Story of a Longstanding Calculation Manual in Tokugawa Japan," in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 253–87.

[17] Locating the origins of full-color printing in poetry culture, one might particularly turn to *Chichi no on* 父の恩 (A Father's Love, 1730) or to *Wakana* わかな (Young Leaves, 1756); see Chapter One. Linking full-color printing to Chinese color prints is another approach, as exemplified in Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan and Ōshajō Bijutsu Hōmotsukan, eds., *Nishikie to Chūgoku hanga ten - nishikie ha kōshite umareta* 錦絵と中国版画展ー錦絵はこうして生まれた (Nishiki-e and Chinese Prints - The Birth of Nishiki-e) (Tokyo: Ota Memorial Museum of Art, 2000).

leisure practices. Sociologist Eiko Ikegami has advanced the argument that *haikai* groups of the eighteenth century grew out of voluntary, horizontal social organizations, or *za* 座, which emerged in medieval Japan as rural or village-level political organizing bodies, later adapted in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by samurai class literati (*bunjin* 文人).[18] Such circles became inextricably linked to aesthetic pursuits, at the same time that the military status of the warrior classes was more or less converted into an honorary, hereditary rank, and when samurai turned to art forms such as poetry, music, painting, flower arranging, and dance as cultural pursuits. Many of these art forms were modeled by the warrior classes on accomplishments of the aristocracy and the imperial court. In time, the warrior class made these arts their own, and during the seventeenth century *za* aesthetic associations expanded to include growing ranks of urban commoners, especially wealthy merchants.

The significance of these mixed-demographic, informal groups of association in the eighteenth century, and of the parallel development of a massive publishing industry, is well documented.[19] Of particular relevance for this study is the interwoven web of connections forged by *haikai* poetry circles with professional practitioners of the visual arts. Cross-disciplinary linking of this kind has been studied to an extent, usually in specific examples where elaborated cases of special patronage can be identified.[20]

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[18] See Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), particularly 170-203.
[19] For a concise overview see Takehisa Moriya, "Urban Networks and Information Networks in the Edo Period," in *Tokugawa Japan*, ed. Nakane Chie (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1990), 97–123.
[20] For example, *haikai* poet and painter Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1783) has been the subject of several studies that locate the artist within a wider network of patronage and culture, such as Cheryl A. Crowley, *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), and Mark Morris, "Group Portrait with Artist: Yosa Buson and His Patrons," in *18th Century Japan: Culture and Society*, ed. C.

The inventive and colorful works discussed in the chapters that follow are almost certainly the product of these diverse urban social networks. We lack data that would give a full picture of this social world, but certain cases give us a glimpse. For example, the activity of the *haikai* enthusiast and shogunal retainer who went by the pen name Kyosen 巨川 is a perfect example of this kind of social mixing, as discussed in Chapter Three. Kyosen's circle of associates encompassed fellow samurai in official service to the Tokugawa shogunate such as Abe Sakei 阿部, *ukiyo-e* publishers and artists, Yoshiwara brothel owners like Kasaya Saren 笠屋左簾, and others.[21]

This case, and others, are taken up more closely in the subsequent chapters, but as an overall characteristic, these were networks defined by an increasingly heterogeneous mix of officially-defined social ranks, cultural interests, and social ambitions. *Haikai* poetry, for example, was not merely an act of individual composition, focused on the solitary writing of text, but rather a performative poetic practice and a social practice, in which samurai and educated townspeople mixed.[22]

As demonstrated in the case studies of this dissertation, poetic meanings redolent of classical literature reverberated throughout the world of high culture, pervading the literary, visual, and plastic arts of premodern Japan. Virtually any learned person in early

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Andrew Gerstle (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989), 87–105. For selected case studies of other artists, see Julie Nelson Davis, *Partners in Print: Artistic Collaboration and the Ukiyo-e Market* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015, 47-53; Miriam Wattles, *The Life and Afterlives of Hanabusa Itchō, Artist-Rebel of Edo* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 13-151; Naitō Masato, *Katsukawa Shunshō to Tenmeiki no ukiyoe bijinga* 勝川春章と天明期の浮世絵美人画, Shohan (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2012), 124-153.

[21] For discussions of Kyosen's circle, see Hara Fumihiko, "Okubo Kyosen to Abe Sakei," in *Nishiki-e no tanjō: Edo shomin no bunka no kaika* 錦絵の誕生：江戸庶民文化の開花 (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, 1996), 14–17; David Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade* 1:18-20; see also discussion in Chapter Three.

[22] Such social mixing within *haikai* groups was the ideal, at least, but of course the practical reality may have differed.

modern Japan would have been able to claim knowledge of at least a limited range of poetry's seasonal topics (*kidai* 季題) and seasonal words (*kigo* 季語), and poetry practitioners would have been especially sensitive to the seasonal and cultural connotations of named items from the natural world. In particular, elements of nature and seasonality were deeply imbricated in the fabric of classical Japanese poetic categories and concepts, as well as various interrelated visual arts. Edo-period *haikai* poets inherited and further developed this lexicon of meaningful topics and pivot words. This cultural sphere is treated in greater detail in individual chapters.

This project is grounded in art historical questions, while at the same time informed by the fields of the history of the book and material texts.[23] Recent scholarship on the history of the book in East Asia has expanded the conversation, bringing a more inclusive, wide-ranging approach to the global history of the book.[24] In addition, a number of scholars since the 1980s have productively reinvigorated critical, bibliographic studies of East Asian print and manuscript culture.[25] In the case of Japan, Peter

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[23] In context of Western book history, I am grateful to Peter Stallybrass for introducing me to the major issues and debates of material texts in the history of the book in the West. For a recent, transnational approach, see Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *The Book: A Global History*, First edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[24] Cynthia Brokaw and Peter Kornicki's recent co-edited volume, *The History of the Book in East Asia*, is a collection of reprinted essays on key topics related to the history of the book in China, Korea, and Japan by many of the field's most distinguished scholars. See Cynthia Brokaw and Peter Kornicki, eds., *The History of the Book in East Asia* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).

[25] Amongst other recent contributions, see Linda H. Chance and Julie Nelson Davis, "The Handwritten and the Printed: Issues of Format and Medium in Japanese Premodern Books," *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 90–114; Julie Nelson Davis, *Partners in Print*; Yuming He, *Home and the World: Editing the "Glorious Ming" in Woodblock-Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 82 (Cambridge, MA: The Harvard University Asia Center, 2013); Laura Moretti, "The Japanese Early-Modern Publishing Market Unveiled: A Survey of Edo-Period Booksellers' Catalogues," *East Asian Publishing and Society* 2 (2012): 19–308; J. P. Park, *Art by the Book: Painting Manuals and the Leisure Life in Late Ming China*, A China Program Book (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012); P. F. Kornicki, "A Transnational Approach to East Asian Book History," in *New Word Order: Transnational Themes in Book*

Kornicki's wide-ranging scholarship on various aspects of publishing culture is one of the most influential of these models.[26] By combining these disciplines, my project offers a new approach to the study of the illustrated book in Japan.

The extraordinary refinement of polychrome printing techniques, combined with widespread and sustained use well into the nineteenth century, are features that distinguish the history of Japanese print culture from similar explorations of color in other printmaking traditions. However, color printing in Japan was by no means a unique phenomenon within the global history of prints or book illustration. A brief discussion of earlier color printing in Japan, preceded by some comparative examples of early Chinese and European color printing, highlights the substantial differences in these other contexts for color.

In China, the earliest extant example of printed color in a bound book is an annotated copy of the Diamond Sūtra (C. *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經) printed in 1341.[27] This book of textual, as opposed to pictorial, color printing, shows the main text printed in red with commentary printed in smaller black characters; however, whether the colors are printed using multiple blocks or selective inking on the

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History, ed. Swapan Chakravorty and Abhijit Gupta (Delhi: Worldview, 2011), 65–79; See also pioneering exhibition catalogues and technical studies such as Ōta Shōko, ed., *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imēji kakumei - ehon, edehon shinpojiamu hokokusho* 江戸の出版文化から始まったイメージ革命 - 絵本・絵手本シンポジウム報告書 (Kanazawa-shi: Kanazawa Geijutsugaku Kenkyūkai, 2007); Philip K. Hu, *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York; Beijing: Queens Borough Public Library; National Library of China in association with Morning Glory Publishers, 2000); Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, edehon ten* 近世日本絵画と画譜・絵手本展 *(Exhibition of Early Modern Japanese Paintings, Painting Manuals and Copybooks)* (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990); and Sören Edgren, "Chinese Rare Books and Color Printing," *East Asian Library Journal* 10, no. 1 (2001): 24–52.

[26] Peter Kornicki, *The Book In Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

[27] A copy is preserved in the collection of rare books of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. The book was printed at Zifusi, a Buddhist temple in modern-day Hubei province.

same block is a matter of debate among specialists.[28] Polychrome textual printing was practiced more extensively in Chinese editions than in Japan. Non-pictorial books from the late Ming (1368-1644) and early Qing dynasties (1644-1911) are attested that display two or three, and up to as many as five colors (black, red, yellow, blue, and light purple), generally used for commentaries, marginal annotations, and punctuation.[29] Like this example, many specimens of color printing in Chinese books are believed to employ multiple blocks for the printing of separate colors (C. *taoban yinfa*).[30] These textual polychrome-printed books imitated manuscript annotation practices, and represent an elite audience of reader-buyer; they are extremely rare today.

Another rare but better known body of Chinese color printing artifacts can be found in late Ming pictorial prints and illustrated books. The *Cheng shi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (*Ink Garden of the Cheng Family*) is the earliest and one of the best-known examples of polychrome illustrated albums, first printed in 1606. This compendium of designs for ink-cakes was published by a prominent ink manufacturer, Cheng Dayue (1541-1616?), and is thought to represent a kind of competitive one-upsmanship, following as it did an

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[28] There is some debate about whether the book was printed with multiple blocks or whether it was "twice-printed" (C: *shuangyinfa*) using a single woodblock, by printing first the red portions of the text, then wiping the block clean and printing the commentary in black ink. For more on the 1341 Diamond Sutra, as well as close consideration of the bibliographic significance of color printing in Chinese book history, see Edgren, "Chinese Rare Books and Color Printing," 26-32. For a concise overview of the history of the book in China, see J. S. Edgren, "The History of the Book in China," in *The Book: A Global History*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, First edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 573–92.

[29] For a clear example of five-color textual printing, see the 1710 *Imperially Commissioned Profound Mirror of Ancient Essays, 64 juan* (*Yu zhi Guwen yuanjian (64 juan)* 御製古文淵鑒六十四卷) illustrated and described in Hu, *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China*, 82–85.

[30] There is only one extant example of an unillustrated Ming book printed in five colors, the edition of *Wenxin diaolong* (an ancient work of literary criticism) published by Min Shengchu after 1612. Textual color printing was dominated in Huzhou by two lineages from c. 1615 by two lineages, the Min and Ling families, in Wuxing, Huzhou. Typically, the main text is given in black, with punctuation and facsimiles of handwritten annotation in other colors (usually red and blue).

acclaimed book of ink-cake designs of 1588 published in monochrome by Fang Yulu, Cheng's rival and former student.[31] The use of at least five colors in Cheng's extensive catalogue was as much a statement of affluence by a late Ming merchant as it was an important development in the history of color printing. However, the technique used in *Cheng shi moyuan* probably was not multiple-block printing, but rather multiple colors that were dabbed onto a single block or printing matrix, which was then printed successively.[32] In Western printmaking terms, this technique is akin to the process of printing *á la poupée*, a technique that will be considered below as well as in more detail in Chapter Two.

Two later pictorial books are even better known than Cheng's ink-cake compilation, and they are significant not only in technique, size, and materials, but also for their reception history in Japan. The first, *Shizuzhai shuhuapu* 十竹齋書畫譜 (*Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting*) is renowned for its depiction in print of painting practices, but color is limited in this book; it was so favored that it appeared in editions dating from 1633 to 1644 and was printed from original blocks until 1703.[33] Likewise the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* (C. *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥

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[31] The *Fang shi mopu*. Cheng commissioned most of the designs for *Cheng shi moyuan* from a well-known Anhui painter, Ding Yunpeng. Fang also commissioned designs for his book from established painters. In addition to hundreds of ink-cake designs, both books include commentary by famous literati and examples of calligraphy. For a detailed study of the two books and the story of their production, see Li-chiang Lin, "The Proliferation of Images: The Ink-Stick Designs and the Printing of the Fang-Shih Mo-P'u and the Ch'eng-Shih Mo-Yuan" (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1998); see also Hu, *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China*, 39–43.

[32] This technique is called *shuangyin* 雙印 ("twice-printed") in Chinese by some modern bibliographers and differs from similar techniques—even closer to *á la poupée*—which involve different colors applied selectively and printed via a single pull from the block.

[33] Compiled and selected by Hu Zhengyan 胡正言 (1582-1672). See, among others, discussions in Thomas Ebrey, "The Editions, Superstates, and States of the Ten Bamboo Studio Collection of Calligraphy and Painting," *East Asian Library Journal* 14, no. 1 (2010): 1–119; Ebrey, "Printed to Perfection: The Colour-

子園畫傳), in both its Chinese and later Japanese editions, offers an important precedent, as discussed in Chapter Two.[34] Chinese erotic color prints are similarly significant in this discussion.[35] However, none of these Chinese precedents achieved the high technical level that became the standard in Japan by 1765.

These color-printed albums are significant not only for China, but also for Japanese print history.[36] The topic of commercial publishing of printed books in Ming China has come to interest scholars, and these studies offer useful comparative perspectives for thinking about Edo-period publishing in Japan.[37] In certain cases, the transmission of specific Ming texts and pictorial albums, as discussed in more detail with respect to color printing, opens up larger questions about trade, reception, and adaptation.

Picture Album," in *The Printed Image in China: From the 8th to the 21st Centuries*, ed. Clarissa Von Spee (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 28–32; M. Brigitte Yeh, "Chinese Color Printing Technology and History in the 'Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Painting and Calligraphy,'" in *The Broad Spectrum: Studies in the Materials, Techniques, and Conservation of Color on Paper*, ed. Harriet K. Stratis and Britt Salvesen (London: Archetype Publications, 2002); and Kobayashi Hiromitsu, *Chūgoku no hanga: Tōdai kara Shindai made* 中国の版画: 唐代から清代まで *(Chinese woodblock illustrations: from the Tang through the Qing dynasty)* (Tokyo: Tōshindō, 1995), 105–107. On Hu Zhengyan, see Suzanne E. Wright, "Hu Zhengyan: Fashioning Biography," *Ars Orientalis* 35 (2008): 129–54. For images, see the Cambridge University Library copy, FH.910.83-98, http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-FH-00910-00083-00098/1 (accessed 10 November 2016).

[34] Color printing in late Ming and early Qing manuals, letter-papers, and single-sheet prints also have a reception history and diffusion beyond print; see for example, Kashiwagi Mari, "Kōki gosai no kachō, sansui ishō to tōban tōin gafu: sono zōkei to kyōju no tokushitsu ni tsuite 康熙五彩の花鳥・山水意匠と板套印畫譜—その造形と享受の特質について (Bird and Flower and Landscape Motifs on Kangxi Period Wucai Wares and Chinese Color Prints: Regarding the characteristics of their forms and their reception)," *Kokka* 1304 (2004): 7–24.

[35] See the special issue "Ming Erotic Colour Prints from the Muban Foundation—The Shibui Collection," *Orientations* 40, no. 3 (April 2009), 20-67. Essays by Christer von der Burg, Sören Edgren, Craig Clunas, James Cahill, Wang Chao, Song Pingsheng, and Kobayashi Hiromitsu consider the bibliographic and cultural significance of this rare collection of late Ming printed erotica, and the potential inspiration such works may have offered to later *ukiyo-e* artists in Japan. See also J. S. Edgren, "Late-Ming Erotic Book Illustrations and the Origins of Ukiyo-e Prints," *Arts Asiatiques* 66 (2011): 117–34.

[36] Ōba Osamu is the authority on the reception of Ming books in early modern Japan. See Ōba Osamu, *Kanseki yunyū no bunkashi: Shōtoku Taishi kara Yoshimune e* 漢籍輸入の文化史 : 聖德太子から吉宗へ, Shohan (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1997).

[37] Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004); Cynthia Joanne Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, eds., *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); J. P. Park, *Art by the Book*; He, *Home and the World*.

Like the textual polychrome publications, all of the pictorial color prints and books of Ming China are understood to be works intended for a wealthy, educated class of consumer. At the risk of belaboring the point, I think it wise to stress from the outset of this study that any normative art historical and bibliographic hierarchies that hold the medium of print to be later, more secondary and reproductive, less costly, or less elite than painting or manuscript have failed to account for the historical and material evidence of color printing. Painting, of course, remained an elite form of picture-making in Edo-period Japan, but since full-color printing likewise emerged as part of coterie group patronage, it too held significant cultural weight in the period. Misconceptions about the status of print in relation to East Asian color printing are similar to, and likely inherited from, more established fields of book history and art history, treating early modern Europe. However, just as those assumptions have been overturned in European studies, so must they be treated likewise in the East Asian context.

The presumed absence of printed color in European printmaking before the sixteenth century is the focus of recent challenges by several scholars.[38] The examples of bicolor (usually red and black) text, heraldry, frontispieces, and small pictorial diagrams examined in these studies represent important developments for the history of color and print. On the other hand, these uses of color were generally of limited scope: one or two colors, seen in a frontispiece or a single leaf within a book, or red initials punctuating a

[38] See, for instance, the essays in Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage, eds., *Printing Colour 1400-1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*, Library of the Written Word 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), esp. chapters 2-7.

black text block, for example.[39] The limited application of printed color in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century in Europe therefore bears closer similarity to the examples of textual color printing in late medieval and Ming China, discussed above, than to the elaborate application of polychrome printing in early modern Japan.

Chiaroscuro woodcuts of the sixteenth century display greater exploration of the pictorial uses of color, especially in color's modulation through use of a tone block. The chiaroscuro prints of Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) and Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531) in Germany and Ugo da Carpi (c. 1480-1532) in Italy are superlative examples from early practitioners of the technique.[40] Chiaroscuro was an adaptable technique—tone blocks could be combined with intaglio printmaking, for example—and it continued to be used in various forms into the eighteenth century, but specialists were few, and the number of resulting prints relatively small compared to the plenitude of black and white prints over the same period. Still, chiaroscuro held appeal as a "color" technique not only for color's sake. Its tonal as opposed to linear qualities made possible alternative explorations of line, light, and shadow in the medium of print.[41] Like prints in black and white, chiaroscuro woodcuts often served the purpose of reproducing painting, or imitating a pen and wash drawing, but the range of color values tend to stay within a specific hue. The extraordinary variety and plenitude of color found in eighteenth-century

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[39] For relief printing, see the examples collected in Elizabeth Savage, "Colour Printing in Relief before c.1700: A Technical History" in Stijnman and Savage, *Printing Colour 1400-1700*, 23-41.

[40] See, among others, the three recent technical studies of Ugo da Carpi's impressions by Naoko Takahatake; Liber Stiber Morenus; and Beth A. Price, Nancy Ash, Haddon A. Dine, Shelley Langdale, Ken Sutherland, Lucia Burgio and Jo-Fan Huang in Stijnman and Savage, *Printing Colour 1400-1700*, 116-150; see also Achim Gnann, *Chiaroscuro: Renaissance Woodcuts from the Collections of Georg Baselitz and the Albertina, Vienna* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2014).

[41] See, for instance, the discussion of the Siena artist Domenico Beccafumi (1486-1551) in Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), ch. 2.

Japanese printmaking has a closer European analogue in eighteenth-century European intaglio prints inked *à la poupée*, such as those by Jacob Christoff le Blon (1667-1741) from about 1710, using a method developed by printmaker Johannes Teyler (1648-c.1709).[42]

Of course, all of these developments in printing color bore close relationship to a long tradition in Europe, as in East Asia, of coloring printed images by hand.[43] Although the history of hand-colored prints is beyond the scope of this project, coloring by hand represents an important visual and manual practice, at times alternative and at other times complementary to the practice of color printing. One must particularly acknowledge its significance to the history of natural history illustration. Although not "painted prints," the examples of painting discussed in the chapters that follow are brought forward to give specific consideration to the relationships between painting and print. It may also be argued that this seemingly simple relation between two media is intensified in power and meaning with the introduction of printed color.

Materials: Issues of Format, Paper, and Colorants

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[42] See David Acton, "The Virtuoso Printmakers of Eighteenth-Century France," in *Awash in Color: French and Japanese Prints*, ed. Chelsea Foxwell and Anne Leonard (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2012), 73–89; Margaret Morgan Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003), cat. nos. 85, 86, 88-91; Ad Stijnman, "Colour Printing in Intaglio before c.1700: A Technical History" (42-50), and Stijnman "Jacob Christoff Le Blon and the Invention of Trichromatic Colour Printing, c.1710" (216–18), in Stijnman and Savage, *Printing Colour 1400-1700*; among many others.

[43] For good discussions of the handcoloring tradition in Northern Renaissance printmaking and excellent color reproductions, see Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002). On fifteenth-century colored woodcuts, see Doris Oltrogge, "Illuminating the Print: The Use of Color in Fifteenth-Century Prints and Book Illumination," in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts; Studies in the History of Art 75 (London; New Haven: National Gallery of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2009).

The materiality of the books discussed in the pages that follow is central to my analysis and interpretation. Each book displays physical features particular to itself, but certain characteristics of paper, size, and, to some extent, pigment are also shared. Summarizing these common features of materials provides a background for the analyses to follow. The format of printed, illustrated books in the Edo period varies, but many printed books—including the four case studies to follow—were bound in the *fukuro-toji* 袋綴じ or "bound-pocket" style, meaning that pages were folded in half and then sewn with stab-stitch binding along the loose edge.[44] The paper used in these Edo-period illustrated books is never the so-called "rice paper."[45] All of the eighteenth-century Japanese books and prints discussed in detail in this study are printed on varieties of *kōzo* paper, known as *choshi* or *kōzogami* 楮紙, made from the inner bark of the paper-mulberry tree. *Kōzo* paper is appreciated for its softness, strength, and the length of its fibers, and is still cultivated for high-quality handmade papers today. Other materials used for Japanese paper include the barks of the shrubs *gampi* (or *ganpi* 雁皮) and *mitsumata* 三椏, which produce glossier, smoother papers with considerably shorter fibers.[46] Different qualities of paper are achievable even with the same raw material, and fibers of one variety, like *kōzo*, can be combined with fibers from other plants.

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[44] Illustrated books of the period could also be published in album binding (*gajōsō* 画帖装), with an accordion-style or "butterfly" binding (*kochōsō* 蝴蝶装). Many *gafu* 画譜 of the Edo period are bound in the album format.

[45] On the production of Japanese papers in English, see David G. Chibbett, *The History of Japanese Printing and Book Illustration*, 1st ed. (New York: distributed by Harper & Row, 1977), 18-20, and especially Timothy Barrett, *Japanese Papermaking: Traditions, Tools, Techniques* (Abingdon: Marston, 2005). For a comprehensive historical study from ancient times to the Edo period, see Jugaku Bunshō, *Nihon no kami* 日本の紙, Rev. ed. (Shinsōban) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1996).

[46] Kōzo fibers on average are about 10 millimeters in length. By contrast, gampi fibers are about 3 millimeters, and mitsumata about 4 millimeters. For a comparison of these three varieties for making

The paper industry in the eighteenth century, though highly developed, was not centralized nor fully regulated.[47] Various domains around the country carried out the production of paper. The production of particularly high-quality papers was concentrated in a few regions. Accordingly, the physical makeup of paper varies across Japanese printed objects of the seventeenth to nineteenth century; for example, it would not be unusual to compare different editions of the same work and to discover paper of a different texture, color, or tensile strength, even accounting for variations in condition due to the history of the individual object.

Paper sizes for printing, on the other hand, were fairly standardized. Useful charts and diagrams of paper sizes for *ukiyo-e* prints as well as various kinds of printed book (*hanpon* 版本) can be found in a number of publications.[48] Just two major points about paper size and format concern us here. First, the four illustrated books that are the focus of the chapters to follow represent the largest of the standard printed book sizes: the *ōbon* 大本, literally "large book." This format measures approximately 27-30 centimeters high by approximately 17-20 centimeters wide when the volume is closed.[49] The second point is that *ōbon*, as might be presumed from the name, is a substantially larger book size than

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handmade Japanese paper, including a sample of each, see Eishirō Abe, *Hand-Made Papers by Eishiro Abe: Living National Treasure of Japan = Tesuki Washi, Abe Eishirō* (Tōkyō: Arō Āto Wākusu, 1976). For a scientific study comparing the durability of four types of paper (made from kōzo, mitsumata, gampi, and hemp) when using different sizing agents, see M. Inaba and R. Sugisita, "Permanence of Washi (Japanese Paper)," *Studies in Conservation* 33, no. Supplement: Kyoto Congress Preprints: The Conservation of Far Eastern Art (January 1988): 1–4.

[47] For a detailed study of Japanese paper in historical context, see Jugaku Bunshō, *Nihon no kami*.

[48] A key study of the Edo-period printed book is Nakano Mitsutoshi, *Edo no hanpon: shoshigaku dangi* 江戸の板本: 書誌学談義 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010).

[49] There is a larger bibliographic designation, 特大本 *tokudaibon* (lit., "extra-large book"), the size of which is less standard because these are less common, though it is not unusual to come across them. The term generally is used for any book that is substantially larger than the *ōbon* format.

the majority of popular illustrated books published throughout the Edo period.[50] By contrast, all of Harunobu's monochrome books, for example, are in the smaller formats of *hanshibon* 半紙本 ("half-sheet book"), approximately 23 by 14 centimeters, and *chūbon* 中本 ("medium book"), approximately 18 by 13 centimeters.

Compared with research in other geographical areas and other media or genres, pigments in Japanese prints and *ukiyo-e* paintings have not been the theme of extensive scholarship thus far, although they are gradually becoming a subject of renewed scientific and art historical interest.[51] Textile studies have been more at the forefront of the study of historical pigments, and they have offered us tantalizing glimpses of Edo's color culture and changing fashions, pieced together from period sources like pattern books and

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[50] There are certainly a number of *ōbon* format works that postdate the period 1760-1770, particularly deluxe full-color *ukiyo-e* books, as well as many thousands of *ukiyo-e* prints on large paper sizes. However, Nakano (*Edo no hanpon*, 61) suggests that *hanshibon* may have been the book size most commonly used by publishers in the Edo period. Even smaller sizes were typically used for particular genres: *kobon* 小本 (half the size of *hanshibon*) for light fiction centering on the pleasure quarter (*sharebon* 洒落本), *chūbon* 中本 (half the size of *ōbon*) for *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 ("yellow covers") and other types of light fiction that placed great emphasis on the interaction of text and image (the category of *kusazōshi* 草双紙, lit. "grass books").

[51] In addition to the Shimoyama, Smith, and Leona studies mentioned below, see also John Winter, *East Asian Paintings: Materials, Structures and Deterioration Mechanisms* (London: Archetype Publications in association with the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 2008); Robert L. Feller et al., eds., *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1986); Elisabeth West FitzHugh, "A Database of Pigments on Japanese Ukiyo-e Paintings in the Freer Gallery of Art," *Studies Using Scientific Methods: Pigments in Later Japanese Paintings* Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, new ser. 1 (2003): 1–52; Elisabeth West FitzHugh, "Pigments on Japanese Ukiyo-e Paintings in the Freer Gallery of Art," in *Scientific Research in the Field of Asian Art: Proceedings of the First Forbes Symposium at the Freer Gallery of Art*, ed. Paul Jett (London: Archetype Publications in association with the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 2003), 150–56; John Winter, "'Lead White' in Japanese Paintings," *Studies in Conservation* 26, no. 3 (August 1981): 89–101; Kazuo Yamasaki and Yoshimichi Emoto, "Pigments Used on Japanese Paintings from the Protohistoric Period through the 17th Century," *Ars Orientalis* 11 (1979): 1–14; Kōno Motoaki, "Waga kuni no hansaishiki no gijutsuteki gensen o motomete 我が国の版彩色の技術的源泉を求めて," in *Edo no hana ukiyoeten: nishiki-e hanga no seiritsu katei* 江戸の華浮世絵展: 錦絵版画の成立過程, ed. Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1999), 280–85.

anecdotes from popular literature, to say nothing of color prints.[52] In addition, color as a discursive category has itself received significant attention in Japanese scholarship, but this work on color has tended to focus on color's deep cultural values, as expressed above all in Japanese literature.[53] To duplicate or echo this work is not the aim of this project, which seeks instead to contribute a historically situated account of material color's meaning within the context of a specific culture, as expressed in a specific group of objects.

Our understanding of period colorants is still evolving. First, a word on terminology. Colorants can be made from both organic and inorganic materials. Organic colorants are also called dyes or dyestuffs; these can be made from grinding the petals of flowers, or from other organic materials. Colorants made from inorganic minerals are known as pigments. Throughout the body of the dissertation I strive to use these terms appropriately. Some colorants used in color printing changed over the course of the Edo period; perhaps their shorter history in Japan is precisely what has made them a locus for the study of color in Japanese prints. Of particular interest to this project is the blue colorant produced from the dayflower plant, *tsuyukusa* 露草. Dayflower was a popular

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[52] Terry Satsuki Milhaupt, *Kimono: A Modern History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 31-55; Monica Bethe, "Color: Dyes and Pigments," in *Kosode: 16th-19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection*, ed. Amanda Mayer Stinchecum (New York: Japan Society and Kondansha International, 1984), 58–76; Monica Bethe, "Reflections on Beni: Red as a Key to Edo-Period Fashion," in *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan*, ed. Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992), 133–53; and for a concise overview, Joyce Denney, "Japan and the Textile Trade in Context," in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, ed. Amelia Peck and Amy Elizabeth Bogansky (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; distributed by Yale University Press, 2013), 56–65.

[53] See, for example, Ōoka Makoto, ed., *Nihon no iro* 日本の色, Asahi sensho 139 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1979); Ihara Aki, *Bungaku ni miru Nihon no iro* 文学にみる日本の色, Asahi sensho 493 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994). In addition, at the time of writing I am aware of some current interdisciplinary work being done on the topic of color, including Ayako Kano's study of the discursive history of sexuality and color as refracted through terms like *iro* 色.

choice for printing shades of blue (as well as green and purple, when mixed with yellow and red, respectively) during the early years of full-color printing in the 1760s. However, dayflower blue is highly fugitive when exposed to humidity, often fading to a pale beige or brown color.[54] (Unless one knows to look for this shifted color, in fact, it can be difficult to spot.) It seems likely that *tsuyukusa*'s solubility in water and rates of fading contributed to its less extensive use on later prints and illustrated books.

More extensively discussed in the literature are the introduction of the synthetic pigment *Bero ai* ベロ藍 (Berlin or Prussian blue), used from the second decade of the nineteenth century onward, and the aniline dyes that produced bright, saturated hues of vermilion and purple, in the later nineteenth century. Recent and current scholarship, however, is revising long-held notions of when and where these synthetic pigments first began to appear on Japanese prints, as well as pointing out that traditional blue pigments, like indigo, were not replaced by the new synthetic Berlin blue, but continued to be used

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[54] For differing views on dayflower's sensitivity to light, see Shiho Sasaki and Elizabeth I. Coombs, "Dayflower Blue: Its Appearance and Lightfastness in Traditional Japanese Prints," in *Scientific Research on the Pictorial Arts of Asia: Proceedings of the Second Forbes Symposium at the Freer Gallery of Art*, ed. Paul Jett, John Winter, and Blythe McCarthy (London: Archetype Publications, 2005), 48–57 and Robert L. Feller, Mary Curran, and Catherine Bailie, "Appendix: Identification of Traditional Organic Colorants Employed in Japanese Prints and Determination of Their Rates of Fading," in *Japanese Woodblock Prints: A Catalogue of the Mary A. Ainsworth Collection*, ed. Roger S. Keyes (Oberlin, Ohio: Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1984), 253–66. On the production of dayflower colorant, see Shiho Sasaki and Pauline Webber, "A Study of Dayflower Blue Used in Ukiyo-e Prints," in *Works of Art on Paper: Books, Documents and Photographs: Techniques and Conservation*, ed. Vincent Daniels, Alan Donnithorne, and Perry Smith (London: International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 2002), 185–88. See also in *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu* an instructive visual reproduction of organic colorants by Shimoyama Susumu, 261, and in the same volume, Tanabe Masako, "Harunobu hanga no kami to iro: miyabi no nazo 春信版画の紙と色: 雅の謎 (The Enigma of Elegance: Colorants and Paper in the Woodblock Prints of Suzuki Harunobu)," 279. Note that the studies by Feller, et al., and de Tristan refer to dayflower blue as *aigami* (藍紙), another historical name for *tsuyukusa* that literally means "blue paper," based on the traditional transferal of dye from flower petals to a paper carrier, as the colorant is so susceptible to moisture.

in great quantities.[55] Somewhat less attention has been paid to the traditional minerals and natural dyestuffs that were used in the making of polychrome woodblock prints in Japan throughout the Edo period. The names of these pigments and their sources are documented in other studies, so I will avoid a technical catalogue of them here.[56] However, mention will be made of several key pigments in later chapters in addition to dayflower blue, such as the reddish pigment known as *beni* 紅, produced from the safflower plant, which could produce hues ranging from pink to deep red.[57]

In sum, these works required substantial quantities of raw materials, as well as significantly time-consuming processes of refinement in their production. They would

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[55] In Japanese, see Shimoyama Susumu, Matsui Hideo, and Shimoyama Yasuko, "Hikari faibā setsuzoku kan'i keitaigata bunkōki o mochiiru kashi: Kinsekigai hanshi supekutoru ni yoru ukiyoe hanga aoiro chakushokuryō no hihakai dōtei 光ファイバー接続簡易携帯型分光器を用いる可視近赤外反射スペクトルによる浮世絵版画青色着色料の非破壊同定 (Non-Destructive Identification of Blue Colorants in Ukiyo-e Prints by Visible-Near Infrared Reflection Spectrum Obtained with a Portable Spectrophotometer Using Fiber Optics)," *Bunseki Kagaku* 55, no. 2 (2006): 121–26. Among scholars publishing in English, Henry D. Smith II has been especially active in pursuing these questions. See Henry D. Smith, "Hokusai and the Blue Revolution in Edo Prints," in *Hokusai and His Age: Ukiyo-e Painting, Printmaking, and Book Illustration in Late Edo Japan*, ed. John T. Carpenter (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 234–69. On the conservation side, see Shimoyama Susumu, "Suzuki Harunobu 'Zashiki hakkei Daisu no yau' to 'Sanjūrokkasen' ni shiyōsareta chakushokuryō ni tsuite (Colorants employed in Suzuki Harunobu's prints 'Night Rain on the Daisu' and 'Ki no Tomonori': A Report on a Non-destructive Analysis)," in *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu--Edo no kararisuto tōjō* 青春の浮世絵師鈴木春信一江戸のカラリスト登場, ed. Kobayashi Tadashi (Chiba: Chiba City Museum of Art and Hagi Uragami Museum, 2002), 262–65, 298–99; Marco Leona and John Winter, "The Identification of Indigo and Prussian Blue on Japanese Edo-Period Paintings," *Studies Using Scientific Methods: Pigments in Later Japanese Paintings* Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, new ser. 1 (2003): 57–81. At the time of writing, Henry Smith and Marco Leona, conservation scientist at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, are overseeing a multi-year research project combining historical and technical analysis of pigments that promises to be fruitful for further scholarship.

[56] For a concise table of names with helpful color reproductions of the pigments in use during the 1760s, see the study of Harunobu's pigments by Shimoyama in Kobayashi Tadashi, ed., *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu--Edo no kararisuto tōjō*, 261. In English, an informative translation of a descriptive list of painting colors written by the artist Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671-1750) can be found in Hendrik Kerlen, "Sukenobu's Colours," *Andon* 70 (2002): 17–25.

[57] On this colorant, see Bethe, "Reflections on Beni"; Shikōsha, et. al., ed., "Benibana," *Senshoku no bi* 染織の美 *(Textile art)* 21 (Early Spring 1983): 93–104; and Yoshioka Tsuneo, *Tennen senryō no kenkyū: riron to jissai senshoku hō* 天然染料の研究: 理論と実際染色法 *(Research on Natural Dyes: The Theory and Practice of Dyeing Methods)* (Kyoto: Mitsumura Suiko Shoin, 1974), 89-93.

have been expensive to produce, compared with monochrome publications. Pigment, colorant, and paper—as material investments—were only part of the total costs of these projects. In all cases discussed here, the producers would also have needed to provide compensation for the labor of the artists, calligraphers, block carvers, and printers, to name the most significant contributors.

This project thus proceeds from an understanding of the visual color of these works as an embodied, material fact. This materiality cannot be disassociated from their status as physical objects, meant to be opened, held in the hand, their pages turned in an interactive encounter with the viewer.[58] By giving greater attention to materiality and its meaning for the full-color Japanese illustrated book, this project offers a new approach for the fields of art history, the history of the book, and Japanese studies.

Plan of the Dissertation

The methods discussed above are employed in several case studies over the following chapters. In Chapter One I focus on the 1762 two-volume work *Umi no sachi* 海の幸. I consider how this book—a study of fish—invokes poetic interpretations of nature, even as it engages different conceptions of "naturalism" from the fields of natural history (*honzōgaku*) and painting theory. I argue that the organizational strategies of this

[58] Many scholarly works have addressed the relationship of the physical book to the reader/viewer in the fields of book history and material texts. See, for one example, Peter Stallbyrass on the "discontinuous reading" engendered by the codex: Peter Stallybrass, "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible," in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 42–79. As parallel (or perhaps antidote) to book history's focus on the codex format, it is helpful to consider the similarities and differences in reading and viewing other kinds of physical books, such as the illustrated handscroll (*emaki*) in Japan. See, among others, Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

book—how it presents knowledge about nature in visual and textual terms—are crucial to the larger claims made by its artist, Katsuma Ryūsui 勝間龍水 (1697-1773), about the purposes of pictures.

Chapter Two makes a careful study of the sequel to this book of fish—moving from the "treasures of the sea" to the "treasures of the mountain"—in the poetry album titled *Yama no sachi* 山の幸. Here I examine the basic evidence for *Yama no sachi*'s relationship to its predecessor, focusing on its continuities in technique and materials, the explicit connection identified by the producers of the book in the prefaces, and its closely related approach to the subject matter of plants and insects. While *Umi no sachi*'s novel use of the full-color printing technique appears to relate directly to the book's unusual subject matter and its deluxe self-presentation, *Yama no sachi*'s use of the technique presents both a continuation and an even greater level of sophistication in printed color. Analyzing the book's selection of subjects, their presentation through text and image, and a new degree of standardization in the organization of the book reveals the important role of printed color in achieving the aims of the book's producers. Expanding on the questions raised by *Umi no sachi,* I consider how these books represent emblematic markers of the meeting between full-color printing and contemporary notions of "naturalism," as explored in the pictorial arts. With comparisons to woodblock books from Ming China, imported to Japan in the early eighteenth century, and to a contemporary painting manual of 1765, my study focuses on how *Yama no sachi*'s use of printed color suggests a similar mode of grappling with the relationships among painting, print, and nature.

Chapter Three returns to the *ukiyo-e* picture book, addressing the commercialization of color through sheet prints and illustrated books of the floating world. It follows this process through multiple editions of a well-known set of prints by *nishiki-e*'s most famous early practitioner, Suzuki Harunobu, and outlines the expansion of printed color in sheet prints. It proceeds to locate the commercialization of "full color" in two multivolume, deluxe books: a five-volume compendium of courtesan profiles (*Ehon seirō bijin awase* 絵本青楼美人合) and a three-volume collection of actor "portraits" (*Ehon butai ōgi* 絵本舞台扇), both dating to 1770. By engaging both the technical evidence for skilled carving and printing, together with the content and mode of presentation of these two *ukiyo-e* books, I argue that the "color revolution" was by this point complete. Here, I consider how the *ukiyo-e* full-color books engage with reflexive questions of authentic or "truthful" representation and deluxe self-presentation, compared with similar motivations displayed in the earlier books of full-color printing.

Thus, in this dissertation I shift the discussion of color from a single artist to a coterie; from an understanding of materials and technique as a historical given to an insistence on printed color's deliberate engagement by and meaning for period producers and viewers; and from an art historical investigation to one encompassing (and benefiting from) engagement with multiple methodologies. The collision of color and print in Japan—as in China or Europe—is highly disruptive to established forms of understanding the history of art, of books, and of cultural production and intellectual inquiry generally. How it troubles hierarchical and diachronic views of historical development will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER ONE

The Poetry Book of Fish: *Umi no sachi*

In the second month of 1762, Edo publisher Kameya Tahē 龜屋太兵衛 (active 1750s-1760s) issued a book of *haikai* 誹諧 poetry illustrated in full color (Fig. 1.1).[59] The publication date alone marks the book as significant and as a watershed event: it precedes by three years the works typically thought to represent the earliest use of the full-color printing technique, Suzuki Harunobu's 鈴木春信 (1725?-1770) first *nishiki-e* 錦絵 prints (single-sheet "brocade pictures"). However, its expensive materials and unusual subject make it even more important in the history of color printing in Japan. Titled *Umi no sachi* 海の幸, or *Treasures of the Sea*, the book contains poems and pictures of a wide variety of aquatic life. Although fish had long been a subject for East Asian poetry and painting,[60] the combination of the piscine theme with poetry and pictures, printed using multiple color woodblocks and applications of metallic dust like mica, was far from typical in the period. No book combining all these elements had ever before been published in Japan.

In addition, the sheer quantity of marine and freshwater species named and depicted in these two slim volumes is unusual, if not unprecedented, in non-scholarly

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[59] All illustrations and page references given in this chapter to *Umi no sachi* refer to the impression held by Special Collections, Getty Research Institute (acc. 2598-446), unless otherwise noted. This copy dates to the first printing, published in the second month of 1762 (Hōreki 12).

[60] Hou-mei Sung states that fish was fully established as a Chinese painting subject by at least the tenth century; see her detailed discussion of fish painting from the Song through Ming dynasties in Hou-mei Sung, *Decoded Messages: The Symbolic Language of Chinese Animal Painting* (Cincinnati, OH: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2009), 207–244. For example the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (preface dated 1120), the painting collection catalogue of Emperor Huizong (r. 1101-1126), provides "Dragons and fish" (C. *longyu* 龍魚) as one of ten painting genres. See Yu Haiyan 于海晏, *Hua shi cong shu* 畫史叢書, facsimile ed., (Taibei: Wen shi zhe chu ban she, 1974), 1:465–472.

book publications of the period. Amounting to more than one hundred species in total, every single fish, mollusk, and crustacean is identified through names and images, giving the collection the flavor of a natural compendium or encyclopedia, rather than a typical poetry anthology or "picture book" (*ehon* 絵本). Further, as a book published in 1762, *Umi no sachi*'s use of the full-color printing technique disrupts the standard modern scholarly narrative, which posits single-sheet brocade pictures (*nishiki-e*) as the site of color innovation.

This chapter begins by reviewing previous literature on *Umi no sachi*, followed by a brief discussion of the category of fish in eighteenth-century Japan. After setting this background in place, the chapter then examines the technical and aesthetic accomplishments of *Umi no sachi* in three key points: materiality, allusion, and meaning.

In the first key point of investigation, the chapter analyzes *Umi no sachi*'s technical mastery of multiple-block color printing and the quality and quantity of its fine materials, such as colorants and paper. As I demonstrate, the sumptuousness of these materials and the skill with which they were put to use are matched by the book's elegant arrangement of text and image.

Next, the chapter explores at length how *Umi no sachi* skillfully weaves together multiple layers of cultural and artistic associations. I first consider the poetic context that informs the book: the aesthetics of *haikai*, including the large corpus of seasonal imagery in Japanese poetry, and the social network of Edo poets who contributed to the book and likely sponsored its publication. Next I discuss the symbolic value of fish in East Asian visual and literary arts as well as in early modern cuisine. Beyond concerns of poetic taste

or long-standing cultural associations, the sophisticated circle that produced *Umi no sachi* was responding also, I argue, to other currents in eighteenth-century culture. Some elements of presentation in *Umi no sachi* echo the traditionally elite place of fish in East Asian poetry and painting or in Japanese food culture, for instance, while others suggest the status of fish as contemporary, consumable commodities, hawked daily in the city of Edo's thriving Nihonbashi fish market. To better examine these layered associations, I take up the specific case of the carp in *Umi no sachi*. I explore the carp's literary, cultural, and gustatory meanings in relation to its representation in both text and image.

Finally, the chapter considers how the concerns of painting may have motivated the production. *Umi no sachi*'s prefaces reference divergent approaches to the depiction of natural subjects, a tension that is also mirrored in the book's pictorial language. On the one hand, the book refers to long-standing concepts of East Asian painting theory that prescribe how to depict items from nature. On the other hand, the book engages newer concepts of working from physical specimens as opposed to pictorial models, aligning it with the concerns of an emerging field of natural science in the later eighteenth century. Thus, not only does *Umi no sachi* make innovative use of color in depicting its aquatic subjects, it also activates key ideas circulating in the fields of eighteenth-century art and science. From poetic resonance to cuisine to new ideas of how to "paint life," this rich and complex web of motivations represents the diverse interests that help to explain the publication of this unusual work in 1762.

By examining *Umi no sachi* through these three points—its novel, polychromatic materiality; its layered web of aesthetic, social, and cultural associations; and its address

to painting and natural history—this chapter seeks to demonstrate the complexity and sophistication of this unprecedented work of eighteenth-century Japanese print culture.

Existing Literature on *Umi no sachi*

Umi no sachi is widely known among specialists of Japanese illustrated books, but it has not received sustained attention as an object of analysis in its own right. Its appearance in the publication record is most prominent in accounts of early color printing, where the book is brought in as a comparative or ancillary work.[61] However, typical citations in the literature on Japanese prints make clear the fact that scholars are aware of *Umi no sachi* and appreciate the fineness of its materials and color printing. For example, *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 ("pictures of the floating world") scholar Tanabe Masako argues that the book's use of color suggests a new consciousness of the expressiveness of specific materials, as also evidenced by the use of mica to draw out the "brilliance of the fish."[62] Her brief comments about *Umi no sachi* echo—in tone and length—writings that span the twentieth century, published by scholars in Japanese as well as other languages. In 1931, for instance, the German collector Fritz Rumpf asserted the importance of *Umi no sachi*'s artist, Katsuma Ryūsui 勝間龍水 (1697-1773), in the development of color printing, and used the example of *Umi no sachi*'s multiple printed colors—which signaled the

[61] See, for example, Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Nishiki-e no tanjō*, entries 4-92 and 4-93, on 136-137. In this important exhibition catalogue, *Umi no sachi* appears at the end of the fourth chapter, "The Birth of Nishiki-e" (p. 79-140), thereby anachronistically placing *Umi no sachi* after the full-color sheet prints by Harunobu that the book predates. Though the sequence likely was determined by the format of the objects (this chapter divides sheet prints from illustrated books, which are given a separate section at the end of the chapter), the anachronistic sequence nevertheless gives pride of place to Harunobu's later sheet prints.
[62] Asano Shūgō and Yoshida Nobuyuki, *Ukiyoe o yomu: Harunobu* 浮世絵を読む: 春信 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1998), 83.

technical ability to print a theoretically unlimited number of blocks—as evidence for Ryūsui's precedence as a color pioneer over *ukiyo-e* artists like Harunobu.[63] Historian Mori Senzō, also writing in the first half of the twentieth century, called *Umi no sachi* a "gorgeous publication" on account of its color printing, which paved the way for the later poetry albums on natural themes illustrated by *ukiyo-e* artists.[64]

In fact, most of the literature locates *Umi no sachi* within an *ukiyo-e* trajectory—as a kind of protohistory to the full-color *nishiki-e* sheet prints of the floating world. Tanabe's astute observations were published, for example, as part of a recorded dialogue with *ukiyo-e* scholar Asano Shūgō and Edo historian Yoshida Nobuyuki, under the title "The Birth of Harunobu's *Nishiki-e*" (春信の錦絵の誕生).[65] *Umi no sachi* also appears in a number of modern exhibition catalogues, signaling its recognition by curators, collectors, and art historians. However, these entries are nearly always limited to a recitation of the same basic information of date, artist, and perhaps a short description of the book's contents.[66] For example, the 1996 *Nishiki-e no tanjō* catalogue, noted above, contains a short descriptive paragraph by *ukiyo-e* scholar (and expert on Harunobu's illustrated books) Fujisawa Murasaki. David Waterhouse also provides a brief descriptive

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[63] Fritz Rumpf, "Die Anfänge des Farbenholzschnittes in China und Japan," 10. Rumpf's argument here repeats some of the same ground covered in his earlier writings of the 1920s. Another early source was Mori Senzō's "Katsuma Ryūsui" 勝間龍水 first published 1937; reprinted in *Mori Senzō chosakushū* 森銑三著作集 (Collected Writings of Mori Senzō), vol. 4, (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1971), 337–48.

[64] Mori specifically locates *Umi no sachi*'s importance in the history of publishing in relation to the 1788 album of *kyōka* 狂歌 poetry, *Ehon mushi erami* 絵本虫えらみ (*Illustrated Book: Selected Insects*) illustrated by the *ukiyo-e* artist Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (1753?-1806). See "Katsuma Ryūsui," 345.

[65] See Asano Shūgō and Yoshida Nobuyuki, *Ukiyoe o yomu: Harunobu*, 82–95.

[66] As the majority of these catalogues contain only basic tombstone information—title, artist, date, dimensions, and occasionally a basic description of contents appended—I do not provide an exhaustive list. Occasionally one also finds references to *Umi no sachi* as a comparative work, not as a main catalogue entry. For example, see its mention as a precedent in an entry on Hiroshige's later series of fish prints in Matthew Welch and Yuiko Kimura-Tilford, *Worldly Pleasures, Earthly Delights: Japanese Prints from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2011), 288.

entry in his exhibition catalogue *Harunobu and His Age: The Development of Colour Printing in Japan*.[67] Beyond exhibitions, *Umi no sachi* also appears as a bibliographic entry in databases and special collections catalogues.[68] In short, the book's innovative use of printed color features consistently in the remarks of *ukiyo-e* scholars, but few commentators have addressed other aspects of its production. My own study of *Umi no sachi* seeks to reframe the discussion of its achievements—analyzing its color printing and materiality, while also addressing questions of how and why such a pioneering book might be produced in the first place, and how that was significant for the wider history of color print culture.

In this regard, the remarks of Imahashi Riko stand out. In her book on Edo-period *kachōga* 花鳥画, or flower-and-bird painting, specific discussion of *Umi no sachi* itself is fairly brief, but she points to the book's role as a noteworthy precursor to later developments in natural history prints.[69] Specifically, Imahashi situates *Umi no sachi* as an unusual but key work in the origin and development of *ukiyo-e* flower and bird prints and illustrated books on natural history themes by *ukiyo-e* artists like Kitao Shigemasa 北

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[67] See Waterhouse, *Harunobu and His Age,* no. 134, 292–93. *Umi no sachi* is not mentioned in Waterhouse's exhaustive study of Harunobu's prints at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *The Harunobu Decade*; Katsuma Ryūsui is briefly discussed (as Ryōsui) in conjunction with a *haikai* publication edited by Harunobu patron Kikurensha Kyosen 菊廉舎巨川 (19-20, reprinted from a previous article by Waterhouse); and Ryūsui is mentioned in an entry on Sō Shiseki's sheet prints, as an "Edo man" who would have been aware of *nishiki-e* and perhaps played a role (355).

[68] These standard references provide information like title, date of publication, number of volumes, alternate spellings of the title, names of artist, editor, sometimes publisher, carver, and printer (as printed in the book's colophon), and provenance, but no further substantive information. See for example, entry no. 407 in Ōta Shōko, ed., *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imēji kakumei*, 304. See also Kawase Kazuma and Okazaki Hisaji, *Daiei Toshokan shozō wakansho sōmokuroku* 大英図書館所蔵和漢書総目録 (Tokyo: Kodansha, in cooperation with the British Library, 1996), 240.

[69] Imahashi Riko, *Edo no kachōga: hakubutsugaku o meguru bunka to sono hyōshō* 江戸の花鳥画: 博物学をめぐる文化とその表象, Dai 3-han (Tokyo: Sukaidoa, 1999), 317–323.

尾重政 (1739-1820).[70] In one respect her work echoes a dominant print narrative of a progressive evolution within the genre of *ukiyo-e*—much like the story of color that is so often recited. Nevertheless, she makes a key contribution by arguing that illustrated poetry books, including *Umi no sachi*, were significant to the larger history of natural history images in the Edo period. Thus Imahashi's discussion provides a model for my own study, which seeks to trace the wider range of eighteenth-century cultural flows activated by *Umi no sachi.*

However, the generally limited treatment of *Umi no sachi* is a feature not just of art historical studies, but also of the wider field of publishing and literary history in Japan. Essays on *haikai* publishing by writers such as Matsudaira Susumu, Kira Sueo, and Claudia Waltermann have noted *Umi no sachi*'s status as a milestone within the larger history of Japanese illustrated books.[71] Matsudaira, for instance, writes of *Umi no sachi*'s "magnificent 'brocade picture printing' (*nishikie-zuri* 錦絵摺り)" as a key development in the history of color printing in illustrated books, although he immediately turns to a discussion of later works.[72] Literature scholar Kira Sueo introduces *Umi no sachi* in a number of essays on the topic of *ebaisho* 絵排書 (illustrated *haikai* writings), his area of specialty; however, the book is never given full explication in terms of its elaborate

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[70] In particular, Imahashi posits Shigemasa's *Haikai na no shiori* 誹諧名知折 (1781), edited by Tani Sōgai, as a jumping off point for artists like Utamaro and Hiroshige. See ibid., 323–328.

[71] See Matsudaira Susumu, "Ehon shi no naka no eiri haisho 絵本史の中の絵入り俳書 (Illustrated haikai publications within the history of illustrated books)," in *Eiri haisho to sono gakatachi*, ed. Kakimori Bunkō (Itami-shi: Kakimori Bunko, 1992), 65; Kira Sueo, "Shoshi to naiyō o chūshin toshite," 375 and 379; Kira Sueo, *Haisho no hanashi*; and Claudia Waltermann, *Die bebilderte "haikai"-Anthologie "Kageboshi" (1754)*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 32–35.

[72] Matsudaira's use of the term *nishiki-e*—usually reserved for prints by *ukiyo-e* artists—in place of the more general term *tashokuzuri* 多色摺 or "multiple color printing," suggests his intention to place the techniques of *Umi no sachi* on par with those of *ukiyo-e* color printing. See Matsudaira Susumu, "Ehon shi no naka no eiri haisho," 65.

imagery, the context of its production, or even partial transcription of the text into modern Japanese.[73] In English, Jack Hillier devoted a chapter of his deluxe two-volume work, *The Art of the Japanese Book,* to works by Ryūsui and related color-printed books.[74] Although he offers a series of sensitively described observations about *Umi no sachi*'s subtle color printing and the composition of its pages, even Hillier's treatment amounts to just a few paragraphs of visual description, complemented by large and stunning reproductions.[75]

In sum, appreciative evaluations of *Umi no sachi* appear throughout the scholarly literature, but they constitute a staccato series of short, summary statements, which generally repeat basic facts of publication date, identify the artist and occasionally the publisher, carver, and printer, and note the book's use of color printing techniques. No transcriptions or translations have been published of the book's text, which is difficult to read due to both its early modern orthography and its especially complex calligraphy. Also missing from the scholarly literature is any extensive analysis of the book's materiality, the arrangement of text and image on the page, or—especially—the extraordinary web of associations raised by its contents. What follows is a discussion that redresses some of these omissions in the literature, taking account of *Umi no sachi*'s

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[73] Kira Sueo appears to have known *Umi no sachi* well, however. A partial copy of the book (first volume only, and not from the first printing), once belonging to Kira is now in the collection of Waseda University (where he was professor of Japanese literature). (Acc. no. 文庫 31 A0352). In Kira's longest published discussion of *Umi no sachi*, two paragraphs within a longer article on the topic of color printing in illustrated *haikai* publications, he gives bibliographic description for a specific copy—based on his description of the colophon and prefaces, this copy from the second printing—and names a few of the poets. See Kira, "Tashokuzuri ebaisho ni tsuite," in *Shiika to imēji*, 15–16 (parts of this essay were published originally in Machida Shiritsu Bijutsukan, *Edo no hana: ukiyoe ten, Nishikie hanga no seiritsu katei* 江戸の華　浮世絵展ー錦絵版画の成立過程, 1994).
[74] See Jack Ronald Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, ch. 18, "Katsuma Ryūsui and Further Developments in Colour-printing," 1:235-249.
[75] Ibid., 1:237–239.

contributions to Edo period visual culture, beginning with a short explanation of how the pictorial and poetic subjects of *Umi no sachi*—fish of all kinds—were produced and received in the period.

The Category of Fish in the Edo Period

Before turning to the book itself, it is useful to establish a working definition of what constituted the class of "fish" in Edo-period Japan. Proceeding from the understanding that the terminology used to describe or group natural species, like taxonomy itself, is historically and culturally contingent,[76] I seek here not to define a transhistorical East Asian conception of fish, but simply to sketch a sense of what kind of knowledge period viewers might have brought to *Umi no sachi*'s pages. How would they have interpreted the topic of this book?

Among eighteenth-century sources, the widely referenced encyclopedia *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 *(Illustrated Chinese-Japanese Encyclopedia of the Three Realms*) offers a standard text for parsing this taxonomy.[77] First compiled in 1712, with further volumes published over a period of several decades, the encyclopedia's author

[76] As Brian Ogilvie has written of the Renaissance, "Natural history was not merely a collection of books that the encyclopedists could arrange tidily in their imaginary libraries: *it was a cultural form, situated above all in a specific community*, though like all cultural forms it was at least partially accessible to certain others," (emphasis mine) Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 5. On the production of knowledge and the development of the discipline of natural science in early modern Japan, see historian Federico Marcon's fascinating and expansive study, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

[77] Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才圖會, 17th ed. (Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970). For the four "fish" volumes of the encyclopedia (also discussed below), see in this facsimile edition, 1:534-570.

Terajima Ryōan 寺島良案 (fl. early eighteenth century), a doctor in Osaka,[78] took as a model the late Ming encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 *(Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, 1607).[79] Like its Chinese precedent, Ryōan's encyclopedia is divided into three chief sections: heaven (*ten* 天, volumes 1-6), humanity (*jinrin* 人倫, volumes 7-54), and earth (*chi* 地, volumes 55-105), an ancient division of the "three realms" codified in East Asia by about the second century CE.[80] In this classification scheme, animals, including fish, are found within the realm of "humanity" (*jinrin* 人倫). *Wakan sansai zue* organizes animals of various types within volumes 37 to 54, beginning with categories like "domestic" and "four-legged" animals, followed by varieties of birds, reptiles, aquatic creatures, and finally insects.

A closer look at these last few volumes suggests that the East Asian taxonomy in the early modern period was not so radically different from modern ways of defining the category of fish. Immediately after birds, volume 45 provides entries for reptilian creatures classed under the category of "dragons and snakes" (*ryūja no bu* 龍蛇部): first, the dragon (*ryū* or *tatsu* 龍), followed by other reptiles including lizards and snakes.[81] The next volume is devoted to the category of *kaikōrui* 介甲類, or animals covered by a

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[78] Ryōan's life dates are unknown, and his biography is scant. Carol Gluck suggests that his reasons for compiling the massive encyclopedia may have been as much a matter of professional practice as intellectual inquiry, under "the premise that one first had to understand heaven, earth, and man before one could treat the sick." See Gluck, "The Fine Folly of the Encyclopedists," in *Currents in Japanese Culture: Translations and Transformations*, ed. Amy Vladeck Heinrich (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 230.

[79] Ryōan adapted title and structure directly from Wang Qi's *Sancai tuhui*, and also drew on seventeenth-century Japanese encyclopedias like *Kinmōzui* 訓蒙図彙 (1666) and *Honzō kōmoku* 本草綱目 (imported from China and first printed in Japan 1637). See, among others, Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 105–108, and Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature,* 81.

[80] Gluck, "The Fine Folly of the Encyclopedists," 229.

[81] See Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue*, 509-516.

hard shell.[82] This volume catalogs primarily turtles and tortoises, but also includes at the end ten different kinds of crabs. Next, volume 47 brings together varieties of shellfish (*kaikairui* 介貝類), such as abalone (*awabi* 鰒) and *hamaguri* 蛤, a type of clam.[83] Then comes the category explicitly delimited as "fish" (*sakana* or *uo* 魚).

Unlike the preceding categories, fish occupy four consecutive volumes of *Wakan sansai zue*, signaling early modern interest in various fish species. All four volumes begin with the header *gyorui* 魚類 ("types of fish"). Each volume is described further by the following subheadings: Rivers and lakes: fish with scales 河湖有隣魚類 (v. 48); Great rivers and sea: fish with scales 江海有隣魚類 (v. 49); Rivers and lakes: fish without scales 河湖無隣魚類 (v. 50); Great rivers and sea: fish without scales 江海無隣魚類 (v. 51).[84] In other words, fish species are subdivided according to where they live (i.e., in the ocean versus lakes and rivers), and whether they present with or without scales. Nevertheless, these volumes cover all varieties, from massive tuna to tiny goby, from inland catfish to ocean-dwelling sea bream and shrimp.

Extrapolating further from the fish volumes, the two essential ingredients of this taxonomy are general habitat (in water) and locomotion (that is, swimming). Morphology plays a role only to an extent: scales are used as a characteristic feature, but fins, for example, are not a requirement. This is evident in volume 51, which brings conger eels, jellyfish, octopus, and squid under the division of oceanic fish without scales.[85] Thus the class of "fish" in Edo Japan constituted a stratum of the animal kingdom (or more rightly,

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[82] Ibid., 517-522.
[83] Ibid., 523-533.
[84] See ibid., 534–570, for all four fish volumes.
[85] See ibid., for *anago* 阿名呉 (563), *tako* 章魚 (563-564), *ika* 烏賊 (564-565), and *kurage* 海蛇 (566).

the realm of "humanity") distinct from reptiles and insects, as well as from "shelled" animals like turtles, crabs, and shellfish. This taxonomy offers features specific to scientific understanding of the period. For example, whales are included under "fish without scales" in *Wakan sansai zue*, but they are classed as mammals today. Ryōan's encyclopedia is consistent, however, with European scientific understanding of the time. Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) classed whales as fish in the first edition (1735) of his *System Naturae*; they were not reclassed as mammals until the tenth edition, published in 1758.[86]

Umi no sachi was not an exhaustive catalogue of fish nor an exacting replica of this encyclopedic taxonomy, but it shared in a knowledge system that included popular scientific information offered by encyclopedias like *Wakan sansai zue*. Every fish in *Umi no sachi* represents a species that can also be located in the encyclopedia, and as we shall see, each fish is identified in both common (Japanese) names and their Chinese equivalents, much in the manner of Japanese encyclopedias and natural history texts of the period. However, *Umi no sachi*'s presentation of fish also shares in the treatment of fish in East Asian poetry and painting, as discussed later in this chapter. As sources for *Umi no sachi*, these cultural studies may have served alongside, or even superseded, an encyclopedia like *Wakan sansai zue*.

Furthermore, the sequence of fish in *Umi no sachi* bears little resemblance to the ordering found in *Wakan sansai zue*. Instead, the sequence in *Umi no sachi* mixes together freshwater and marine, scales or no scales. The two compendia are an imperfect match in other respects. For one, the poetry book does not include every major variety of

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[86] See Carl von Linné, *System Naturae Per Regna Tria Naturae*, 10th ed. (Holmiae [Stockholm]: L. Salvii, 1758), 75-77. http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/10277#page/90/mode/1up (Accessed 14 July 2016).

fish found in the popular encyclopedia—sharks, for instance, are a notable omission. In addition, a few species classified in volumes 46 and 47, just prior to the four fish volumes, also made their way into *Umi no sachi*'s pages. Particularly well represented are a number of different kinds of shellfish, as well as turtles (*kame* 龜). In summary, *Umi no sachi*'s selection of species borrows somewhat, but not wholesale, from the classification structure described in *Wakan sansai zue*.[87] Therefore, the following analysis of materiality and content proceeds from a working awareness that *Umi no sachi*'s collection of aquatic species is roughly analogous with eighteenth-century taxonomy as well as with a general sense of fish as we understand them today.

Color and Other Signs of Luxury Production in *Umi no sachi*

Umi no sachi describes the "riches" of the sea, lakes, and rivers in text and image, beginning with carp or *koi* 鯉 (L. Cyprinus carpio),[88] "the king of fish," and ranging from octopi to flying fish and catfish, multiple species of flounder and tuna, abalone and other shellfish, and even crabs, jellyfish, and turtles. Some of this plenitude is pictured in large and lavishly illustrated formats, with multiple overlaid applications of color and sprinklings of mica; others are diminutive in size and printed with a light wash of a single colorant. What every entry holds in common is the pairing of *haikai* verses with the corresponding species of fish, crustacean, or mollusk pictured on the same page. In total

[87] Likewise the ordering system for *Umi no sachi* does not follow a seasonal cycle, but mixes together fish associated with different seasons within each volume, and sometimes even on the same page—suggesting an alternate system or other factors (matters of technique, the status of particular poets, or perhaps even a desire for variation) determined the sequence of fish.

[88] Where relevant, Japanese characters and modern scientific names are given for species of fish illustrated in *Umi no sachi*. Note that some individual species are known by multiple names even today; further, some common Japanese names refer to an entire family of fishes, much as we might refer in English to "grouper" or "trout." In the interest of clarity and brevity, I have given in these cases the most relevant names.

the book names and illustrates one hundred and ten varieties of "fish" in forty-six double-page openings between its two volumes—a generous representation of the sea's abundance.

Before turning to the book's arrangement of text and image, I first discuss the exceptional aspects of *Umi no sachi*'s materials and printing techniques, which, as noted above, have garnered appreciation from previous writers. Above all, *Umi no sachi*'s lavish use of printed color distinguishes the work from typical publications of its time. In addition, other material qualities of the book, particularly its mica highlights and refined printing, heighten our sense of the expense and skill that went into its creation. Finally, the book's front and back matter—its prefaces and colophon—call attention to the book's status as a deluxe production. The inclusion of all these elements suggests the deliberate display of taste and refinement in the production.

Umi no sachi's extraordinary use of color can be charted in several distinct but related points. First, every illustration contains at least two printed colors, which means a minimum of three blocks were used per page (with the addition of the black keyblock).[89] Even fish that at first glance appear "monochrome" reveal a minimum of three distinct blocks. For instance, the *hatashiro* はたしろ, a type of grouper,[90] may at first seem printed with only one tone block, but closer inspection of a detail (Fig. 1.2) shows the main body printed in medium grey, the striped scales in a darker grey, and the gills and

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[89] My "count" here is based on the number of colors visible on each page, or half-folio, in addition to the keyblock. Given that the other side of each page is a new fish illustration, often with entirely different coloration, the number of colors would be even higher if one was counting based on the full sheet of paper (printed using the same matrices, but later folded in half to form recto and verso of each folio).

[90] *Hatashiro* is an alternate name for *mahata* 真羽太 (L. Epinephelus septemfasciatus). Also pronounced *hatajiro*. See Nihon Gyorui Gakkai, ed., *Nihon-san gyomei daijiten* 日本産魚名大辞典 *(Dictionary of Japanese Fish Names and their Foreign Equivalents)*, 1st ed. (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1981), 331-332.

fin printed in thin black contour lines. At forty-six illustrated folios, printing at least two colors per page would have required a large number of total woodblocks and significant quantities of pigments and colorants, as well as extra labor on the part of carver and printer.

Further, most of *Umi no sachi*'s polychrome images are not limited to only two colors, but in fact contain three or more. Quite a few of the book's illustrations reveal as many as five or six distinct colors, in addition to the black keyblock. To take an example from volume one, the *kuruma-ebi* 車海老 or kuruma shrimp (lit., "wheel shrimp," L. Marsupenaeus japonicus) displays five printed colors plus black: light beige (nearly as pale as the blank paper) for the main body, gray striations on the head and each segment of the tail, a bright peach-coral for the legs, and small details in peacock blue and bright yellow (Fig. 1.3).[91] For a single-sheet print, five or six colors was an exceptional number for the early 1760s, yet *Umi no sachi* contains multiple images with this many colors.[92] According to modern definitions of what constitutes "full-color" polychrome printing, the use of five or more colors would qualify illustrations like the *kuruma-ebi* as equivalent to *nishiki-e* "brocade prints."[93]

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[91] The kuruma shrimp appears on the recto of folio 14. On the verso (representing the same woodblock), the *subashiri* 須走 (young striped mullet or *bora* 鯔, L. Mugil cephalus) is printed in two shades of blue, grey, and black, in addition to an application of mica. The darker shade of blue may have been used in the kuruma shrimp's tail. At minimum, however, the light blue represents an additional color printed on this sheet, bringing the total to at least six colors plus black on a single sheet of paper.

[92] At least seven illustrations in copies of the first printing of *Umi no sachi* show 4 or more colors, and many of the rest show 3 or more colors, in addition to black keyblock lines. Among those with 4 or more colors, suggesting five or more separate woodblocks, see in volume one the eel (*unagi* 鰻, fol. 14v), blowfish (*fugu* 河豚, 18v-19r); in volume two the sea cucumber (*namako* 海鼠, 5r), blood clam (*akagai* 赤貝) and turban shell (*sazae* 栄螺, both 13r), and the sardine (*iwashi* 鰯) and young Japanese amberjack (*inada* いなだ, both 17r).

[93] It is possible that among the five colors named in printing the kuruma shrimp, the yellow and coral-peach colors might have been carved and printed on the same block. Greater magnification would be

Finally, close examination of *Umi no sachi*'s color printing reveals at least fifteen distinct colorants—an extraordinary number of printed colors in a single work in this period.[94] Numerous instances of overprinting, where one color would be printed on top of another, contributes to even greater variation in the range of tones and hues. Layering colors in this manner was also a feature of the partially color-printed poetry anthology *Wakana* わかな (*Young Leaves*, 1756) (Fig. 1.4). This privately published book (*kubaribon* 配り本) was produced by a group of *haikai* poets commemorating the anniversary of the death of their teacher, Shimizu Chōha 清水超波 (1702-1740), whose poems appear throughout.[95] *Wakana* contains only eighteen images, divided equally between monochrome illustrations by the artist Hanabusa Ippō 英一峯 (1691-1760) and color-printed illustrations by none other than Katsuma Ryūsui. The subjects of Ryūsui's color illustrations are varied, including two court ladies in Heian dress, several flowering plants, and Mt. Fuji with autumn foliage.[96] The scale of *Wakana*'s color printing is modest by comparison to *Umi no sachi*, but it is nevertheless an important precedent in multiple-block color printing in illustrated books. It signals both Ryūsui's prior

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necessary to determine with certainty whether these colors are overlapping impressions on the shrimp's tail (which would indicate separate blocks) or if there is a small amount of color mixing (which would indicate the same block). Whether five or six total blocks were used, the color printing of the *kuruma-ebi* is a good indication of the special procedures that would have been undertaken by artist, carver, and printer.

[94] According to my research, no scientific analysis has yet been attempted of the pigments and colorants in *Umi no sachi*. However, visual observation reveals at least fifteen distinct colors (excluding those that may be achieved by overprinting), as well as a number of individual illustrations printed in at least five colors, as explained in note 34, above.

[95] See Kira Sueo, "Shoshi to naiyō o chūshin toshite," 377. Kira believed *Wakana*, which lacks a colophon, was intended as part of a pair of volumes dedicated to Chōha, but I have not yet been able to locate the second volume.

[96] For discussion of *Wakana*'s color printing, see Suzuki Jūzō, "'Chichi no on' to 'Wakana' no hanga gihō 「父の恩」と「わかな」の版画技法 (The printing techniques of *Chichi no on* and *Wakana*)," in *Eiri haishoshū* (Tokyo: Nihon Koten Bungakkai, 1986), 391-394. For a more general discussion, see Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 1:235-237.

engagement with technologies of color printing as well as some of the specific techniques that would be explored in the fish book. In particular, *ukiyo-e* scholar Suzuki Jūzō has argued that the application of one color on top of another (to produce a third, intermediary hue) represents one of the most remarkable characteristics of *Wakana* as a material object.[97] As shown in Figure 1.5, the design of a young plant (the *wakana* of the title) shows indigo printed on top of the yellow of the fan, producing a design in green. Analysis of this detail by microscope has confirmed that this was achieved by overprinting the two color blocks, rather than mixing the colors beforehand or on the block itself (Fig. 1.5).[98] *Umi no sachi* contains many similarly overprinted areas of color, but is not limited to only nine color-printed illustrations.

As studies of *ukiyo-e* sheet prints have shown, the early years of color printing saw the widespread use of plant-based colorants, many of which have proven fugitive.[99] Thus it is worth remembering that the images in *Umi no sachi* would have appeared even more vibrant to contemporary viewers than they do to us today. However, through these

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[97] Suzuki calls this method of overprinting *kakeawase* 掛け合わせ ("bringing together") to indicate the layering of intermediate colors; he also points out the sophisticated color separation—at the carving stage—of fairly complicated clothing patterns and designs for plants. See Suzuki, "'Chichi no on' to 'Wakana' no hanga gihō," 392.

[98] My thanks to Andrew Hare, Supervisory East Asian Painting Conservator of the Freer/Sackler Galleries, for sharing his expertise on the color printing techniques of several titles from the Pulverer Collection, and to Julie Davis and Alessandro Bianchi for patiently examining and discussing these books with me in the East Asian conservation studio.

[99] One of the well-known areas of research into the fugitive nature of printed colorants is the moisture sensitivity of dayflower blue (*tsuyukusa* 露草, L. Commelina communis), widely used in full-color *ukiyo-e* prints by artists like Harunobu during the decade of the 1760s. As discussed in Chapter Three, the backgrounds of the illustrations in *Ehon butai ōgi* 絵本舞台扇 (Picture Book of Actors in Fan Shapes, 1770) were printed in dayflower blue, but now appear as a light beige color, with a few traces of blue lingering on a few specific pages. For scientific discussion of dayflower blue's sensitivity to humidity, see Shimoyama Susumu, "Suzuki Harunobu 'Zashiki hakkei Daisu no yau' to 'Sanjūrokkasen' ni shiyōsareta chakushokuryō ni tsuite," 262–265, and Pamela de Tristan, "Aqueous Treatment of Ukiyo-e Prints of the Edo Period: Three Case Studies," in *The Broad Spectrum: Studies in the Materials, Techniques, and Conservation of Color on Paper*, ed. Harriet K. Stratis and Britt Salvesen (London: Archetype Publications, 2002), 190–97. For more on the state of scientific research on colorants used in Japanese printing during the mid-eighteenth century, see the introduction.

three points—that color appears throughout the work, that many of the individual images would qualify as *nishiki-e* ("brocade pictures") based on their use of five or more colors, and the overall diversity of the book's fifteen or more hues—we begin to comprehend the richness of *Umi no sachi*'s color printing.

The unprecedented use of color in *Umi no sachi* would be enough to distinguish it from contemporaneous publications, but part of what makes *Umi no sachi* still more unusual are the additional signs of luxury production that appear throughout the work. Some of the fish, for example, are highlighted with a metallic dust, probably mica. Although these generous mica applications are difficult to discern fully in reproduction, Figure 1.6 gives some sense of the lustrous sheen the mica imparts. It gives to fishy bodies—such as to the mackerel (*saba* 鯖, L. Scomber scombrus) and striped mullet seen here—the appearance of being shiny and slick, thus mimicking the tactile quality of slippery scales even as it signals the high degree of concern on the part of the book's producers for technical precision and aesthetic effect.

Additional indication of the expense and skill that went into the making of this book is signaled by *Umi no sachi*'s compositions. About one-third of the compositions in *Umi no sachi* feature a single fish laid out across the central page binding. These uninterrupted double-page illustrations attest to the high degree of skill needed by both the woodblock carver and the printer, due to the fact that the *fukuro-toji* 袋綴じ or "bound-pocket" binding style necessitated printing both halves of an image on separate pages. Each artisan would have needed to ensure coherence of both keyblock lines and color on each side of the gutter, a difficult task when left and right pages are always

printed from separate woodblocks. (See for example Figures 1.15, 1.21, and 1.22, which illustrate consistent printing of both black keyblock lines and color across the gutter.) In addition to making sure colors and forms "line up," the printer would have had the additional responsibility of achieving consistency in the degree of tonal inking: making sure blocks were inked evenly so that one half of an image was not more heavily pigmented than the other half.

Another layout feature that sets *Umi no sachi* apart from typical illustrated books of its day is the lack of a black border running along the margins of its pages. A black frame or border delineating the image space (and the printing matrix) is a feature common to early modern Japanese illustrated books. The border was already employed in *Wakana* in 1756, which establishes that it was not confined to monochrome illustrated books, but also used in conjunction with color printing techniques (Fig. 1.5). *Wakana*'s color-printed images, however, are largely confined to either the left or right page, with text on the facing page—making for a simpler presentation style than *Umi no sachi*'s continuous flow of illustrations on every page. The 1765 botanical book *Yama no sachi* 山の幸 (Fig. 1.7), sequel to *Umi no sachi* and topic of the next chapter, takes up not the format of its predecessor but that of *Wakana*, with most of the pictures printed on a single page, separated from the text, and bounded by a solid black line. Elegant though both books are, *Wakana*'s and *Yama no sachi*'s single-page color illustrations represent less complex carving and printing techniques. More to the point, as earlier and later bookends to *Umi no sachi*, these two publications highlight the deliberate selection of *Umi no sachi*'s more ambitious design elements.

Evidence that complex techniques are conscious elements of the book's design can be observed further in *Umi no sachi*'s opening and closing material. To begin at the end, the colophon to the book's first printing gives standard publication details (Fig. 1.8): the date (second month of Hōreki 12, or 1762) and the name and address of the publisher (*shorin* 書林), Kameya Tahē at Hongokuchō itchōme, in the Nihonbashi district of the city of Edo.[100] More unusual is that the carver and printer also appear in the colophon. The text next lists Sekiguchi Jinshirō 関口甚四郎 (dates unknown) as carver and Sekiguchi Tōkichi 関口藤吉 (dates unknown) as printer at an address in Ōdenma-chō, which is also located in the Nihonbashi district. This record suggests the possibility that carving and printing was a family trade, although evidence for their activities is exceedingly slim.[101] Since naming the carvers and printers was not required by edict, as were those of the writers, illustrators, and publishers, the presence of the carver's and printer's names in the colophon demonstrates that their names held value as contributors. At the same time, the colophon reflexively calls greater attention to the exceptional carving and printing techniques on display in the main body of the book.

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[100] Three additional titles published by Kameya Tahē are known. All are *haikai* publications predating *Umi no sachi*. *Haikai shūi Kiyomizu ki* 俳諧拾遺清水記 (1757) and *Zazengaiko* 座禅蚕 (1759) are recorded in the National Institute of Japanese Literature Union Catalogue. A third title, *Gion no matsu* 祇園の松 (1758) is cited in Inoue Takaaki, *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran* 近世書林板元箱覧 (Musashi Murayama-shi: Seishōdō Shoten, 1998), 192.

[101] I have not found further discussion of Sekiguchi Jinshirō or Sekiguchi Tōkichi in either primary sources or scholarly literature. One possibility I have located is the publisher (*shorin* 書林) by the name of Sekiguchi Jinshirō, who is listed in the colophon to a much earlier haikai publication, *Haikai sono karakasa* 誹諧其傘 (1738). This Sekiguchi Jinshirō may be the same or a related figure as *Umi no sachi*'s carver, but he is listed under a different address.

The second printing of *Umi no sachi*, from publishers Iseya Jiemon 伊勢屋治右衛門 (dates unknown)[102] and Yamazaki Kinbē 山崎金兵衛 (shop active late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries), dates to the eighth month of 1762 and includes the carver's and printer's names and address, unchanged.[103] The close proximity of these printings six months apart suggests a demand for the book, as well as the strong likelihood of a shift from private publication to the hands of commercial publishers.[104] The colophon to a considerably later printing of 1778 adds the notation *kyūhan* 求板 after the name of the new publisher, Maekawa Rokuzaemon 前川六左衛門 (active c. 1744-1830s), indicating that he purchased the woodblocks and reprinted the work.[105] This colophon retains the name of carver Sekiguchi Jinshirō, but replaces the printer with Shirai Tōsuke 白井藤助 (dates unknown), indicating that the project still merited a skilled printer. These second and third reprintings represent successive stages of commercialization of *Umi no sachi*. Extant copies of these later printings show less fine materials and printing techniques than the initial imprint from Kameya Tahei.

Like the book's closing colophon, the prefaces that open volume one similarly point to *Umi no sachi*'s status as a deluxe production. (My comments here are mostly

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[102] Inoue Takaaki reports that Iseya Jiemon became manager of a lending library (*kashihon'ya* 貸本屋) in 1808. See Inoue, *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran*, 48.

[103] Yamazaki Kinbē was a prolific publisher of *ukiyo-e* and is especially of note here because of his role in publishing a number of Harunobu's monochrome illustrated books throughout the 1760s as well as the posthumous full-color book attributed to Harunobu or one of his followers, *Ehon haru no nishiki* 絵本春の錦 (Picture Book of the Brocade of Spring), 1770; see Fujisawa Murasaki, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 143-147. Also see Davis, *Partners in Print*, for Yamazaki's collaboration with publisher Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎 (1750-1797), 79-80.

[104] Davis discusses a similar case of reprintings by successive publishers; see *Partners in Print*, 31-32.

[105] Maekawa Rokuzaemon frequently acquired blocks and republished previously issued titles; after a legal incident in 1747 (prompted by his publishing a title to which he did not own the blocks), he eventually became a prominent publishing firm. See Inoue Muneo, ed., *Nihon kotenseki shoshigaku jiten* 日本古典籍書誌学事 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), 533.

concerned with the form and length of the prefaces; their contents—which offer a window into the world of mid-eighteenth-century *haikai* and suggest the social cachet sought by the book's producers—are discussed later in the chapter.) The first printing contains four formal prefaces as well as the explanatory notes known as *hanrei* 凡例; together these texts represent a substantial amount of prefatory material.[106] Although it was not entirely unusual to have four or even five texts, two prefaces were more common for picture-books in the period.[107] *Wakana*, for example, contains only one preface, printed on four pages. By comparison, the earliest full-color *ukiyo-e* book, *Ehon butai ōgi* 絵本舞台扇 (published in the first month of 1770, and discussed further in Chapter Three), contains two prefaces printed on six pages. In contrast, *Umi no sachi* begins with texts that take up a total of fifteen pages—more than twice as many pages as *Ehon butai ōgi*, and nearly four times as many as *Wakana*.[108]

From an economic standpoint, the figures above indicate the expense of the undertaking, because of the sheer amount of paper used in *Umi no sachi*'s prefaces compared with contemporary works of early full-color printing. It is worth recalling that the type of paper used in these color books was very high quality *kōzo* 楮 paper, which would have been more expensive than the paper used in most monochrome-printed

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[106] The third preface, signed by Hyakuan Gonman 百菴言満, is dropped from all subsequent printings after the first printing in the second month of 1762.
[107] See Peter Kornicki, *The Book In Japan*, 45. This evaluation is also generally consistent with my own research experience working with eighteenth-century books as primary sources, but there are of course exceptions to the rule.
[108] The number of "pages" referred to here consist of a single side of a leaf. Thus 15 pages equates to 7.5 full sheets of paper, or 7.5 *chō* 丁 by the Japanese terminology.

illustrated books of the day.[109] In addition, the book format chosen was the largest of the standard sizes for printed books in the period; the physical size of an individual sheet of paper is twice that of the next-largest standard size.[110] Meanwhile, from the perspective of social discourse the extended prefatory material also indicates something of the producers' intentions. Paging through these extended preliminaries, one discerns a self-conscious quality to the presentation. Much as an ornate binding or extensive front matter performs a kind of highbrow respectability or seriousness of purpose in a Western book, *Umi no sachi*'s lengthy prologue lends the book a sense of decorum, as if to mark it as a work of consequence.

Thus *Umi no sachi*'s color printing is undeniably an exceptional feature of the book and worthy of note, but the additional signs of material expense further mark *Umi no sachi* as a special production. The profuse and elaborate illustrations, first, set the book distinctly apart from related publications. Second, its sumptuous materials are not limited to a single element. It is difficult to say precisely how much a book like this would have cost in the period. However, from its soft, white *kōzo* paper to the mica that makes some of the fish shimmer across the page to its large paper size, evidence abounds that this was a truly expensive and deluxe book. Therefore *Umi no sachi* presents a self-consciousness in its production. This reflexivity is evident in the book's composition and

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[109] Although no scientific research has been published on *Umi no sachi*'s paper quality, or that of *Wakana* or *Ehon butai ōgi,* visual observation and personal handling during archival research (including seven copies of *Umi no sachi*) has made clear to me the distinctly superior quality of the paper used in early books of full-color printing. In addition, the earliest copies of *Umi no sachi* (the first and second printings, both dated to 1762) have higher quality paper—notably softer, whiter, and thicker—than later printings reissued in 1778 from different publishers.

[110] The *ōhon* (大本 "large book") format, at approximately 26 x 18 centimeters, uses sheets of paper approximately 26 x 36 cm, twice as large as the next-largest size: the popular *chūhon* (中本 "medium book") format, at approximately 18 x 13 cm, with a sheet size of 18 x 26 cm.

expensive materials, in the credit given to carver and artist, and in the book's lengthy prefatory material. All of these features demonstrate an awareness on the part of the book's producers that they were making something extraordinary.

Composition of Text and Image

Umi no sachi's arrangements of text and image also attest to the work as a conscious display of skill and sophistication. One of the challenges for a project on this scale would surely be achieving a balance between variation and repetition. The organizing strategy for numerous illustrations differs greatly—some feature as many as six species crammed into a single double-page opening, while others focus upon a single fish stretching across both pages.[111] The number of colors used to print each picture also differs from illustration to illustration, as discussed above, resulting in a range of visual effects throughout the book. However, each of these compositions includes standard features: a picture of the particular fish, one or more of the names by which it is known, and one or more poems on the theme of that species. What follows is a discussion of this general structure, using for reference the specific example of the freshwater eel, or *unagi* 鰻 (L. Anguilla japonica), which appears about one-quarter of the way through the first volume (Fig. 1.9).

Throughout, Ryūsui conformed to the same basic layout for his compositions, as seen in Figure 1.9, with the illustration occupying the lower half of the space. Vertical lines of text are written above, their line lengths sometimes sloping or rising as though in

[111] The artist Ryūsui clarifies in the *hanrei* that this differentiation by size is deliberate, that large fish span both pages while smaller fish are angled on single pages, "because the intention is to connect them with the world of the sea" 是海上の世界にかゝわるの意ある故に也 (vol. 1, 7v).

sympathetic response to the contours of a fin or sharply angled body. This relationship between word and image makes good use of the advantages of woodblock printing, in which text did not need to be typeset separately, but rather was carved directly into the keyblock that would later print both text and black contour lines. Thus the printed calligraphy in this book, as in most early modern Japanese books, was regarded as an integral component of the composition of each illustrated page, and likely even a part of the original preparatory drawings.[112]

The template for these compositional layouts included space for a corresponding set of written descriptions. Each species is named. Always present is the species' common name. To take a closer look, in the text of the eel entry (Fig. 1.9), a small circle is inscribed at upper right, followed by the first line of text. This spells out the phonetic term "*u-na-gi*" (rendered as うなき), written in flowing but easily legible calligraphy. Although this common name is written in Japanese kana, the eel entry also gives further names, which are printed in a different script. Below うなき and slightly to the right, three compound words give alternate written forms for the same species. These pairs of Chinese characters (鰻鱺, 白鰻, and 蛇魚), pronounced differently than *unagi*, function somewhat like a Latin scientific name following the vernacular term. These are also the same three Chinese terms given for the eel in *Wakan sansai zue*.[113] The script style used to write them in *Umi no sachi* is crisp and clear, forming neat, squarish characters, giving them an official quality. Finally, below the Chinese characters a small note in Japanese

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[112] It is entirely possible—and in my own opinion, probable—that Ryūsui himself designed the main calligraphy for *Umi no sachi*, taking the poems of each author and transcribing them in his own hand for the carver. Though the book itself does not record the calligrapher for the project, Ryūsui is credited in that role for a much earlier book, *Chichi no on* 父の恩 (*A Father's Love*), of 1730.
[113] Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue*, 553.

kana gives an alternate pronunciation ("*munagi*"), again in looser, more flowing calligraphy. Thus even in naming the eel, the text dips in and out of a Japanese vernacular and Sinified formal terms, with this shift in language reflected also in the calligraphy.

A second standard feature of the text in every illustrated page is the inclusion of one or more poems on the depicted species. For the eel, the second line of text (moving from right to left across the page) constitutes the first of three poems on *unagi*. This poem is a lightly humorous take on the "eel" theme, paired with a seasonal sense of time slipping away:

> 樋の口を洩りてうなきの行秋や
> *Hi no kuchi o / morite unagi no / yukuaki ya*
> The eels have slipped out of the bucket—autumn is leaving![114]

In terms of graphic arrangement, the beginning of each eel poem is justified at the same height at the top of the page. The first and second poem, respectively, run vertically down the page in a continuous single line, each ending just above the eel's wavering tail. The third poem is written in a cluster of three lines at upper left, above the eel's head near the gutter. At the lower left of each verse is the name of the poem's author.

As this example demonstrates, the essential items of text on each page in *Umi no sachi* give the name of the pictured specimen, one or more poems, and each poem's author. (Alternate names and other annotations are common but not requisite.) These three textual elements are repeated throughout the book in every illustrated page opening. However, this layout should be thought of as a kind of governing structure—a framework—rather than as a recitation of sameness. A certain degree of flexibility within the formulaic structure allows for variation within its bounds. Looking again to the eel,

[114] The season word *yukuaki* indicates the season as fall (*aki* 秋).

we see that these key elements of text—names, poems, and poets—are placed on the page in a standard fashion: fish names appear at far right, beginning with a common name and followed by more formal terms written in Chinese. Poems appear either in straight vertical lines or are broken up into several lines clustered near each other, and the names of the poets are located close to the end of each poem. All of the text is found in the upper area of the page, due not to typesetting, as discussed above, but rather in a synchronized interplay with the vibrantly colored picture below.

Text and image on this page work in graphic concert; line endings hover as if floating above the twisting bodies of the eels, following their sinuous curves from head to tail. The calligraphy, too, is undeniably rhythmic, from the formation of each character, where lines swell and shrink, to the curving ligatures that connect them. They echo the cadence of the calligrapher's moving hand, visible traces of the brush that are left behind as marks on paper. It is all the more remarkable to think of the mediation of the carver who transfers those traces from paper to an uncarved block of wood, translating what is essentially a painted line into a three-dimensional surface that can print those lines again and again in multiple impressions. The rhythms of the script also echo the aquatic theme; swirls and loops of the calligraphic ligatures mimic the contorted, intertwined eels below. The text has a cumulative, kinetic quality: as each phonic character joins up with the next, clusters of words form phrases, which in turn form poems, descending vertically down the page like filaments from the water's surface—or perhaps like bubbles rising up from the depths.

I argue that the lyrical, synchronized interplay of text and image in the example of the eel is a sign of the skill and sophistication that guided the composition of *Umi no*

sachi's pages. It is a virtuosic demonstration of the artist-designer Ryūsui's orchestration of calligraphy and picture, and of the carver Sekiguchi Jinshirō's skill, displaying a sensitivity to the translation of these drawn forms into the three-dimensional material of multiple woodblocks. In fact, the above discussion of *Umi no sachi*'s compositional strategies moved first from image to text and then back again to the image, a signal of the effectiveness of the book's integration of calligraphy and picture in evocative combinations. My discussion of its graphic effects thus echoes the reciprocal relationship of word and image that is, after all, the major meta-motif of this pictorial poetry anthology. In short, the sumptuous materials and high quality printing techniques used to produce *Umi no sachi* are complemented by the book's skillful and elegant arrangement of text and image. Taken together, these features display the aesthetic ingenuity of the book's producers and imply their consciousness of making a spectacular and deluxe work of print culture.

***Haikai* Poetry, Seasonality, and Social Networks**

The following sections unpack the matrix of aesthetic, social, and cultural associations that informed the richly allusive content of *Umi no sachi* as well as its deluxe presentation. In order to consider closely specific cases of layered references and symbolic meanings of fish in East Asia, this section outlines the poetic milieu in which *Umi no sachi* emerged. I first give a brief sketch of characteristic aspects of *haikai* as a poetry form, including its reliance on seasonal and natural imagery. However, the poetry background surrounding *Umi no sachi*'s creation was made up of both an aesthetic context and a social context. Therefore, I also discuss how the book's prefaces attest to

the expanding practice of *haikai* in the period, what it is we know of the group of Edo poets that sponsored the book's publication, and how this compares to similar cases of intersection between poetry circles and fine printing projects in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Sometimes translated in English as "comic" or "free" verse, *haikai* poetry of the Edo period can be characterized as a form of popular linked verse.[115] Its structure grew directly out of older forms of Japanese poetry, which is arranged not in meter, but in sound counts. One may describe the structure of a single *haikai* verse as three phrases, arranged in sound counts of 5 - 7 - 5. Though it may be more familiar today through modern haiku, historically this seventeen-syllable arrangement derives from the first stanza of *renga* 連歌, classical "linked-verse" poetry.[116] *Renga,* which became a major genre of Japanese poetry in the fourteenth century, is a collaborative type of classical verse with an archive stretching back to the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集, an eighth-century anthology.[117]

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[115] Although *haikai* dates to the medieval period, its early modern manifestation "humorously inverted and recast established cultural associations and conventions" of classical poetry; see Haruo Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 170. Earlier translations by Donald Keene use both "comic" and "popular." See for instance, Donald Keene, *World within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600-1867*, 1st ed. (New York: Distributed by Random House, 1978), 11 and 37n1.

[116] "*Haikai*" can also denote *haikai no renga*, meaning an entire sequence of linked verses. Poems are presented in *Umi no sachi*'s illustrated pages as collections of single verses on the same specific theme (i.e., a particular fish), but not as a linked sequence.

[117] From the thirty-one syllable verse form of classical Japanese poetry (*waka* 和歌), medieval *renga* inherited a reliance on the language of the Heian classics. For a brief overview of the development of the form, with a translation of the fourteenth-century treatise *Secret Notes on the Principles of Linking* (*Renri hishō* 連理秘抄) by the court poet Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388), see Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 874–879. On the mutually reinforcing operations of codification and canonization between classical Japanese poetry and its visualization, see Tomoko Sakomura's work in *Poetry as Image: The Visual Culture of Waka in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, (Leiden: Brill, 2015) and "Pictured Words and Codified

Like its structure, the themes of *haikai* also developed from classical Japanese poetry. However, in comparison with earlier forms like *renga*, *haikai* allowed for a wider range of pivot words and poetic expressions. Where *renga* possessed the qualities of a highly codified literary art, governed by formal rules of vocabulary, topic, and linking, *haikai* added colloquial language and references to contemporary culture, deliberately juxtaposing the old and the new to produce surprising, humorous, or parodic meaning. Thus in one sense, *haikai* was a response to the formality and standardization of *renga* orthodoxy, feeding off classical language and topics but deliberately reinventing or subverting them.[118] As Haruo Shirane puts it, *haikai* can be taken to represent "both a specific poetic genre and a particular mode of discourse, an attitude toward language, literature, and tradition."[119] This flexible and parodic approach to tradition lends itself to the displays of humor and wit commonly found in *haikai* of the eighteenth century.

Whether a poet was satirizing a classical theme or, conversely, elevating an aspect of everyday life, *haikai*—like *renga*—drew extensively on long-established poetic motifs of love or nature. These motifs were usually invoked through reference to the four seasons. As others have noted, especially Haruo Shirane in his extensive work on the "culture of the four seasons," the visual and literary arts of Japan have been deeply

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Seasons: Visualizations of Waka Poetry in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Japan" (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2007).

[118] The degree of persiflage or intentional distancing from earlier poetry depends upon the era and the poet, of course. Donald Keene observes that fifteenth-century *haikai* "did not represent a conscious revolt against the aristocratic traditions of poetry. Rather, it was a form that ordinary, untutored people enjoyed because it gave them the chance to compose verse together as a kind of game governed by clearly stated rules…. With the shift in cultural supremacy from the aristocrats and the great samurai…to the merchant class in the seventeenth century, a real revolt occurred in linked verse stemming from the active desire of the newly risen class to have its own forms of all types of literary activity." Keene, "Haiku and the Democracy of Poetry as a Popular Art," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: Volume 2, 1600 to 2000*, ed. William Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 347.

[119] Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 170.

invested in a system of seasonal associations since at least the Heian period (794-1185).[120] Associated with a specific season (or else considered trans-seasonal symbols), flora and fauna of the physical world, as well as landscape features, were taken up as "season words" (*kigo* 季語) or "season topics" (*kidai* 季題) in aristocratic poetry. Most elements of nature extracted for use in poetry and other arts had clear seasonal designations. Cherry blossoms, for example, signal spring. The available poetic vocabulary included a diverse array of evocative features drawn from nature, ranging from imposing landscape highlights like Mount Fuji to small animals like the lesser cuckoo (*hototogisu* 杜鵑), from aspects of the moon to mundane activities associated with annual festivals. It is important to stress that the use of seasonal imagery means not that poets were astute empiricists, but that poetry and other art forms picked up specific attributes of named items of the natural world and refashioned them to suit aesthetic purposes. Over time natural items became encoded with temporal and affective structures of meaning, making up a kind of symbolic seasonal language, or "secondary nature" (*nijiteki shizen* 二次的自然), to use Shirane's phrase, that should be understood as distinct from the objects of the physical world.[121]

Beyond their initial seasonal association, many natural items also accrued other symbolic meanings, shaped and then reshaped by their continued use in poetry, painting,

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[120] Many commentators have noted the significance of nature and the seasons in the Japanese literary and visual arts. This is the central topic analyzed by Haruo Shirane in *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). For a recent related study, see Tomoko Sakomura, *Poetry as Image*.

[121] Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 4. For views on the Japanese understanding of nature, see Pamela J Asquith and Arne Kalland, *Japanese Images of Nature: Cultural Perspectives* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), particularly ch. 1-3. For the significance of Japanese perceptions of nature in Buddhist thought, see William R. LaFleur, "Saigyō and the Buddhist View of Nature," in *Nature in Asian Traditions of Thought: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*, ed. J. Baird Callicott and Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 183–209.

and other cultural practices. For instance, pine, which remains green throughout the winter, indicates endurance, constancy, and longevity. Together with bamboo and plum, pine also forms the "three friends of winter" (*saikan no san'yū* 歳寒三友), traditionally associated with the ideal virtues of the scholar-gentleman in China.[122] The Three Friends of Winter theme was taken up early in Japanese visual and literary arts, and eventually the constellation of pine, bamboo, and plum (*shōchikubai* 松竹梅) accrued a broader set of meanings as auspicious symbols for any occasion, though particularly prevalent at the New Year.[123] In short, a single natural item could constitute a cluster of allusions, each laden with an extensive lineage of cultural references. As will be explored below in the case of the carp, the various fish in *Umi no sachi* had seasonal attributes, but they also carried other implicit associations—drawn from older symbolic meanings as well as from contemporary urban culture.

In fact throughout the Edo period, *haikai* poets drew on the refined, seasonal diction of classical literature, but also expanded the vocabulary, especially by incorporating more vernacular language. Early Edo-period *haikai* poets often chose words and metaphors designed to emphasize their commonness, vulgarity, or humor, thereby highlighting the contrast of the "low" brought to a traditionally elite art form.[124] However, later poets reveled more broadly in the elasticity and freedom of this poetic

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[122] In Chinese: *suihan sanyou*.

[123] For example, Imahashi Riko points out the altered symbolism today of pine, bamboo, and plum when it appears on the transom of domestic architecture: "the pine represents the head of the household and the virtue of dignity; the plum, the wife and the quality of grace; and the bamboo, the children and the attributes of growth and strength of character. Combined, they now signify the wish for domestic peace, happiness, health, and safety." Imahashi Riko, "Edo-Period Painting and the 'Language of Flowers,'" *Japan Echo* 32, no. 5 (October 2005), 56.

[124] See discussion of the late seventeenth-century Danrin school of *haikai*, which stressed spontaneity, humorous parody, and contemporary culture, in Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 174–177.

genre. Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) is credited with raising *haikai* to a literary art in its own right. In an inverse relation to earlier *haikai*, Bashō in the late seventeenth century sought out aspects of the refined or spiritual in the mundane or in commoner culture—a pursuit of the "high" in the "low."[125] By the time poets were composing verses for *Umi no sachi* in the mid-eighteenth century, vernacular language was diversifying further. Early modern sociocultural transformations, such as the elevation of food culture through the arts of tea, expansion of transportation networks, and growth of major waterfront cities like Edo and Osaka, contributed to this growing vocabulary, and new food items (including fish) entered the lexicon of poetic topics.[126]

In addition to the importance of seasonal imagery and transforming topics of *haikai* poetry, another relevant facet of the mid-eighteenth century *haikai* world is the presumed social network that lay behind the creation of *Umi no sachi*. To begin with, we can see evidence of the expanding world of *haikai* within the pages of *Umi no sachi* itself (Fig. 1.10). Upon turning the book's front cover, one encounters the claim: "The popularity of *haikai* is like the blue sea, wide and vast…."[127] This sentence begins with seven characters, *sōkai manman toshite* 蒼海漫々として, which are borrowed from a

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[125] Bashō is undoubtedly the most widely known of all *haikai* poets. For discussion of Bashō and his style in the context of broad social change, see Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). See also Makoto Ueda, *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

[126] Shirane gives a brief overview of fish and food as seasonal words from the pre-Edo period to the later nineteenth century in *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 181–185. For a full study of Edo food history, see Harada Nobuo, *Edo no ryōrishi: ryōribon to ryōri bunka* 江戸の料理史: 料理本と料理文化 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1989). See also later in this chapter for discussion of fish as food and commercial product, and Eric C. Rath's work (also discussed below) on Edo-period gustatory culture.

[127] *Sōkai manman toshite…haikai no ryūkō kaku no gotoshi* 蒼海漫々として（略）俳諧の流行かくのごとし (Transcription preserves the use or lack of *dakuten* punctuation in original.) My thanks to the Penn-Cambridge Kuzushiji Reading Group for their efforts to transcribe and translate the *Umi no sachi* prefaces with me. All errors are my own.

monument of medieval prose, the epic chronicle *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語).[128] This phrase, meaning "the blue sea, wide and vast," is a fitting image with which to begin the work, conjuring in the mind a vision of boundless blue waters. Yet this evocative allusion to medieval literature, which would have been apparent to learned readers in the period, is juxtaposed immediately to a feature of the worldly present: the contemporary vogue for *haikai*, popular linked verse.

The writer of this statement was a well-known Edo poetry teacher, Baba Songi 馬場存義 (1703-1782).[129] The commissioning of Baba Songi to pen the first of *Umi no sachi*'s prefaces indicates the aspirations that lay behind the publication. Prefaces by famous names probably assumed an important role in the period book trade.[130] This was a market sensitive to names. Songi himself was a leading figure of urban *haikai* in the city of Edo from about 1742.[131] He was also a professional poet, meaning that he maintained a studio where he trained students for a living, a number of whom are quite famous today,

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[128] From Chapter 10, *Kaidō kudari* 海道下. Ichiko Teiji, ed., *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), 46:286, quotes the *Heike* text as using precisely the same orthographical rendering as the characters used in *Umi no sachi*: 蒼海漫々として. There are, however, numerous manuscript as well as print versions of *Heike monogatari* that would have existed by the mid-eighteenth century (and alternate orthography could also be used). For an English-language list of some versions of the text and variants, see the bibliography compiled by Michael Watson in Haruo Shirane, ed., *The Tales of the Heike*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 195–208.

[129] In *Umi no sachi*'s preface Songi has signed his name as Koraian Songi 古来庵存義, seal "Tōkaku" 東閣.

[130] The cultivation and importance of "brand names" in Edo literature and art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been well documented in a variety of close case studies. See for instance Julie Nelson Davis, *Utamaro and the Spectacle of Beauty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

[131] Hayano Hajin 早野巴人 (1677-1742), a student of Bashō disciples Kikaku and Ransetsu, established the influential Yahantei 夜半亭 (Midnight Studio) *haikai* school, where poets like Yosa Buson studied with him as his pupils. After Hajin's death in 1742, Songi grew to prominence in Edo haikai. See Cheryl A. Crowley, *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival*, 136.

such as the Rinpa painter Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 (1761-1868).[132] Songi's preface to *Umi no sachi* paints a picture of the Edo *haikai* world and suggests the social cachet sought by its creators. He tells us how *Umi no sachi* came into being:

> One day…Ryūsui launched his boat upon the inkstone of the sea, cast his net and caught all kinds of fish. He collected many verses around this topic, and brought them together as the "treasures of the sea." Since the time of the great founder, Bashō, this path has been popular indeed.[133]

The imagery in this passage—of an ink-dark sea, the ocean into which Ryūsui casts his vessel—works on two levels. In the one reading, Ryūsui literally goes out on the water, collecting fish to sketch that will be paired with the verses. Second, it can be read as a metaphor for artistic creation: Ryūsui's inkstone is likened to the surface of the sea, and the "boat" is in fact the artist's brush, "launched" into its ink. Already Songi's prose foreshadows the double meanings and quickly shifting images typical of *haikai* poetry.

Furthermore, book prefaces from the Edo period are frequently grandiloquent. We can read the allusion to Matsuo Bashō, "the great founder," as an expression of a desire to link the present publication with a distinguished *haikai* lineage. Songi was himself

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[132] Among Songi's other eminent pupils was the low-ranking samurai Tegara no Okamochi 手柄岡持 (1735-1813), from the Hirasawa family of retainers of the Akita domain. See Takagi Sōgo, *Haikai jinmei* jiten 俳諧人名事典 (Tokyo: Gannandō Shoten, 1970), 304, and Anna Beerens, *Friends, Acquaintances, Pupils and Patrons: Japanese Intellectual Life in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Prosopographical Approach* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2006), 153–154.

[133] 一日龍水の硯の海に舟をうかへて網下し釣たれてひろ々のうろくつを得たりこれを題し今の句々をよふて一帳とし海の幸と号し誠に俳祖はせを翁よりして此道はやり (vol. 1, 1r-1v). This early passage seems to emphasize particularly the slippage between fish, poems, and pictures. Was Ryūsui "fishing" for poems from authors, for fish from the sea, or did he "fish" with his brush? Songi's prose models the rhetorical devices of "doubling" that are a characteristic aspect of *haikai* poetry.

several generations removed from Bashō, and in any case trained in a lineage somewhat more flamboyant in its style of wit.[134]

On the other hand, by the time that Songi was composing a preface for *Umi no sachi* in 1762, Songi's own reputation would have been well established among Edo *haijin* (*haikai* poets). Songi was the titular head of the "Songi side" (*Songi-gawa* 存義側), a sub-group within the well-known Edoza 江戸座, a school of *haikai* poetry based in Edo. The Edoza followed a style of *haikai* promulgated by Bashō; in fact many Edoza poets actively promoted the Bashō style as part of an eighteenth-century revivalist movement that advocated a return to the *haikai* practiced in the Genroku era (1688-1704).[135] The social prominence of Baba Songi, the pride of place given to his preface at the beginning of the book, and the presence of several of his poems at the end suggest that the book's creators sought to elevate their production by associating it with a well-known name in the world of Edo *haikai*.

Yet we know very little about most of the other, less prominent poets who contributed to *Umi no sachi*. The first obstacle is a double-pronged problem of legibility: first, the sheer difficulty of reading the elaborately calligraphed *haimei* 誹名 (poetry names) and second, once the names are deciphered, linking these pseudonyms to a

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[134] Songi studied *haikai* with Maeda Seiga 前田青峨 (1698-1759), who in turn was a pupil of Oshida Seiga 鴛田青峨 (?-1730), and eventually succeeded to his master's name. The first Seiga studied with the influential Mizuma Sentoku 水間沾徳 (1662-1726), famous in his own day but who did not study with Bashō's direct disciples. See Takagi Sōgo, *Haikai jinmei jiten*, 282–283 (on Sentoku) and 304-305 (on Songi). See also Keene's unfavorable assessment of Sentoku's "smart-alecky" poetry in *World within Walls*, 338–339.

[135] Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten* 日本古典文学大事典 (Dictionary of Early Japanese Literature), vol. 1, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984), 353. The status of *haikai* in the Edo period was elevated by these two periods of activity in the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.

specific historical individual. Still, while a comprehensive catalogue of the poets who authored *Umi no sachi*'s hundreds of poems is beyond the scope of this study, a few key identifications are possible. First and perhaps most important is the artist and likely calligrapher, Katsuma Ryūsui. *Umi no sachi* itself lacks any poems signed by Ryūsui, but his earlier work as a calligrapher, artist, and contributor to poetry anthologies clearly marks him as an active participant in *haikai* poetry circles.[136]

Ryūsui does not seem to have been especially noted as an artist beyond his illustrations for a handful of printed books, including *Umi no sachi*. A single painting signed by the artist is extant (Fig. 1.11).[137] This painting, executed on a folding fan, depicts a large sea bream (*tai* 鯛) in flat profile. Kira Sueo, who once owned the painting, praised its "vivid coloration."[138] Shades of dark pink along the fish's spine blend with paler pinks along its flank, down to a white pigment on its belly. The gradation of color gives a hint—though perhaps not much more—of dimensionality. Yet finely modulated contour lines around the fish's head suggest the brush of a skilled calligrapher. The leaves of the plant—perhaps a reed—seem to envelop the sea bream, as if Ryūsui meant to give it greater depth upon the surface of the fan. More will be said below about this painting in relation to Ryūsui's printed fish, but its execution indicates that he was at least an adequate if not accomplished painter.

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[136] See introduction for titles to which Ryūsui contributed as artist or calligrapher.
[137] Signed *Ryūsui zu* 龍水図; seal 新泉. Formerly collection of Kira Sueo, now in the collection of Waseda University Library; Digital reproductions at: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko31/bunko31_d0062/index.html (accessed 8 July 2016).
[138] Kira Sueo, "Katsuma Ryūsui to Hanabusa Ippō," 74. Kira mentions this painting only briefly, relating that he acquired it after publishing his book, *Haisho no hanashi*, in 1989. I have found no further discussion of this painting in the secondary literature.

Another key player in the production of *Umi no sachi* was the editor or compiler of the work, credited as Sekijukan Shūkoku 石寿観秀国 (1711-1796).[139] Shūkoku, we know, was a member of the Songi-gawa subgroup, but is primarily known by his publication record.[140] The union catalogue maintained by the National Institute of Japanese Literature records 23 different titles associated with Shūkoku, including *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi,* published from 1758 (Hōreki 8) to 1795 (Kansei 8), one year before his death.[141] He collaborated with *Umi no sachi*'s publisher Kameya Tahē on a prior *haikai* anthology, suggesting an ongoing professional relationship.[142] In addition, a few other poets in *Umi no sachi* can also be identified, including Heisa 平砂 (1707-1783), Kojū 湖十 (died 1780, third generation of that name), and Baimei 買明 (1711-1784).[143]

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[139] The National Institute of Japanese Literature provides five recorded aliases for Shūkoku based on his known publications (Ehōkutsu 恵方窟, Sekijukan 石寿観, Sekiju Shūkoku 石寿秀国, Ehōkutsu Shūkoku 恵方窟秀国, and Sekijukan Shūkoku 石寿観秀国). Rumpf, in "Die Anfänge des Farbenholzschnittes in China und Japan," (as well as Waterhouse in *Harunobu and His Age* and Laurance P. Roberts in *A Dictionary of Japanese Artists: Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics, Prints, Lacquer* (Trumbull, CT: Weatherhill, 2000), both probably following Rumpf) identified Shūkoku as Ryūsui himself, but I have found no evidence of this dual identity in the Japanese scholarship. Based additionally on the fact that two of *Umi no sachi*'s prefatory texts are signed separately by "Shūkoku" and by "Ryūsui," I believe the assessment that they are the same person to be erroneous. Finally, the characters used to write Shūkoku (秀国) may also be found transliterated as "Hidekuni" in the secondary literature, but I believe Shūkoku to be the correct pronunciation.

[140] Ichiko Teiji, ed., *Kokusho jinmei jiten* 国書人名辞典 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 2:478. The NIJL's data was originally based on *Kokusho jinmei jiten*.

[141] This electronic database succeeds and expands the previous print version of the union catalogue, *Kokusho sō mokuroku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989-1991). See Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books (日本古典籍総合目録データベース), accessible via http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/G0001401KTG. Several of the Shūkoku books are catalogued without dates and may be posthumous reprintings of earlier works under new titles.

[142] *Gion no matsu* 祇園の松 (*Pine of Gion*, 1758). Listed in Inoue Takaaki, *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran,* 192.

[143] Baimei wrote the postscript found in some copies of *Umi no sachi*'s first printing. He is said to have been Shūkoku's *haikai* teacher. Ichiko, *Kokusho jinmei jiten*, 2:478.

These three poets are known to have been active in the world of Edo *haikai*, though we know little more about them today.[144]

In another tantalizing but still mysterious segment of the *Umi no sachi* network, some of the poets whose verses appear in the book may be in fact very high-ranking members of society. Although identification of specific historical figures is yet to be confirmed, Kira Sueo has ventured the guess that several of the poets named in *Umi no sachi* might be various *daimyō* 大名, or domainal lords, which would indicate very high social connections indeed.[145] Of course, the use of poetry pseudonyms makes the task of untangling historical identities challenging, and especially so for samurai of daimyo rank.[146] However, *Umi no sachi* does include figures like the Edo *haikai* poet Kiitsu 紀逸 (1695-1762), who was born the younger son of a Tokugawa vassal.[147] *Ukiyo-e* studies have shown that the patronage and collaboration network for full-color sheet prints and

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[144] Mori cites a later Edo-period anecdote from *Chats about Calligraphy and Painting of Famous Masters of Recent Times* (*Kinsei meika shoga dan* 近世名家書画淡), in which Anzai Un'en (1807-1856) records these three poets as intimate friends of Katsuma Ryūsui. See Mori Senzō, "Katsuma Ryūsui," 338. Further primary research on *haikai* publications might establish more firmly the relationships between these poets.

[145] Kira suggests that poets going by the names 李冠子、岸社子、畔李、and 蘭社子 may be daimyo. See Kira Sueo, "Tashokuzuri ebaisho ni tsuite," 16. Looking at the book itself, I have observed that these names occasionally appear on double-page illustrations for fish such as carp, *kandai* 寒鯛 (Asian sheepshead wrasse, vol. 1, 9v-10r), and *suzuki* 鱸 (Japanese sea bass, vol. 1, 15v-16r). However, these names are sometimes only one of many poets for a fish, as in the case of the *suzuki*. It is therefore not yet possible to use the evidence provided by the book's organization to identify persons of high rank, or to say conclusively that social status is the sole determinant of placement within the book.

[146] For further privacy, one's poetry pen name might be entirely omitted from poetry publications, a practice that Eiko Ikegami links to the wide participation of samurai in Edo *haikai* circles. See *Bonds of Civility*, 185.

[147] Kei Kiitsu, second son of the Tokugawa shogun's official metal caster (*goyō imonoshi* 御用鋳物師); Kiitsu edited *Mutamagawa* (eighteen volumes, the last three finished by Kiitsu's successor, successively published 1750-1774), an anthology including *maekuzuke* 前句付 (capping verses appended to *haikai* composed by another poet). See Ichiko Teiji, *Kokusho jinmei jiten* 国書人名辞典, 2:7; Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, s.v. "Mutamagawa," http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/G0001401KTG (accessed 8 August 2016).

deluxe illustrated books extended across a wide range of social ranks and occupations.[148] A similarly diverse patronage base seems probable for printed works that fall outside the category of *ukiyo-e* publishing. Certainly the participation of such elites as daimyo and higher-ranking samurai would seem to fit the refined physical and intellectual features of *Umi no sachi* as a whole work of art, even if we cannot substantiate their contributions to the book at present.[149]

At the same time, *Umi no sachi*'s undoubtable expense, evidenced by physical features like its unprecedented use of color, deluxe materials, large size, and fine printing, would strongly indicate the probability of substantial financial support from the contributors to the anthology. Therefore, while the presence of poets of samurai rank in the *Umi no sachi* circle might have lent the group a certain stature, actually underwriting the cost of poetry anthologies may have fallen to lower-ranking but well-to-do commoners. As we know from period accounts, by the eighteenth century the incomes of most samurai had shrunk substantially, and many were in debt to merchants.[150] Though we lack documentation on its financing, it is clear that creating a work like *Umi no sachi* must have been a serious undertaking in terms of labor and materials, and amateur poets

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[148] For analysis of *ukiyo-e* networks and collaboration across a variety of formats and relationships, see Julie Nelson Davis, *Partners in Print*. Documented cases of elite patronage are more often found in connection with *ukiyo-e* painting, but printed works were also appreciated. See, for example, Naitō Masato on the *nishiki-e* sheet prints found among the *ukiyo-e* collecting practices of shogunal councilor Matsudaira Sadanobu, in *Ukiyoe saihakken: daimyōtachi ga medeta ippin, zeppin* 浮世絵再発見: 大名たちが愛でた逸品・絶品 (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2005), 168-173. At the other end of the social spectrum, it is thought that Kasaya Saren, probably a Yoshiwara brothel owner, was a driving force behind Harunobu's full-color book, *Ehon seirō bijin awase* (discussed in Chapter Three). See Fujisawa, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 218.

[149] That status differentiations existed within the poetry network seems further attested when looking at the organization of individual poems and images within the book itself. In particular, a few double-page spreads in the anthology display a single fish paired with a single poem, written in a large and elegant hand. One such illustration, the carp which appears at the beginning of the book, is explored in detail below.

[150] See Constantine Vaporis's close study of the financial records of an eighteenth-century retainer from the Tosa domain, "Samurai and Merchant in Mid-Tokugawa Japan: Tani Tannai's Record of Daily Necessities (1748-54)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 1 (2000): 205–27.

like rich merchants may well have borne such expenses. We might even speculate, as I suggest below, that the book's unusual subject may relate to the burgeoning of the fishing industry in general, and perhaps also the participation of poet-merchants who made a living from the fish market in particular. With probable social connections both high and low, *Umi no sachi* may be interpreted as a material locus for a variety of social relations within the poetry network.

Another excerpt from Songi's preface offers a window into how these relations might play out within the space of an anthology's pages. As Songi's opening line attests, by 1762 the general world of *haikai* had grown large indeed. The immense popularity of *haikai* meant a concomitant demographic shift among its practitioners over the course of the Edo period, in time coming to include those with less knowledge of the literary tradition.[151] Perhaps reflecting this shift, Songi continues:

> The many *haikai* poets are so numerous they are like the fish of the rivers and the sea. Among these there are fish like seabream, and there are fish like rays [*same*].[152] We are not envious of the beauty of the one, nor do we despise the ugliness of the other. By such an exemplary teaching, all the living beings [of the world] get along well, and so do we do the same on the great path of *haikai*.

Songi's egalitarian message, delivered in fairly florid language, forewarns that the reader will encounter some handsome verses in this book as well as some less than pleasing specimens. Just like fish, there are beautiful poems and there are ugly poems. But all are

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[151] In particular *tentori* 点取 (point-scoring) *haikai* emphasized entertainment and wit but required little education in the classics. Cheryl Crowley argues that the emergence of the mid-eighteenth-century Bashō Revival movement was a form of resistance to *tentori haikai*, which had lasting influence on the reception of *haikai* as a literary form in "Depopularizing the Popular: Tentori Haikai and the Bashō Revival," *Japan Studies Review* 9 (2005): 3–11. See also Crowley, *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival*.

[152] Songi may have been indicating sharks instead of rays. The term *same* 鮫 is a general term for sharks, but in this case is more likely to be rays, based on the fact that *Umi no sachi* includes the red stringray (*akaei* 赤えい, L. *Dasyatis akajei*), but no sharks. I thank Christine Guth for bringing rays to my attention.

accepted, he seems to say, just as we acknowledge the harmonious existence of the great variety of fish, neither condoning nor criticizing what seems simply to *be*. There is likely some humor in this statement, an in-joke appeal to the aficionado who can discern the good from the bad. Perhaps, too, we can detect a note of irony in Songi's tone. After all, individual *haikai* verses were often composed in group settings, and layered meanings, achieved through surprising juxtapositions and seasonal keywords with multiple referents, were highly admired. Thus taste, familiarity with poetic tradition, and, above all, aesthetic judgment were central to the practice of evaluating *haikai* in the period.

Baba Songi, however, must tread delicately. He writes about these practices from the precarious double position of a poetic authority who nevertheless requires patronage. As a professional poet, he was not merely an aesthete. As mentioned above, at least some of the poets featured in *Umi no sachi* were very probably Songi's students. Teaching *haikai* was almost certainly crucial to Songi's very livelihood. Poetry masters corrected their students' work and might be invited to judge poetry contests, which could provide income.[153] Songi's egalitarian message belies the fact that judgment was in a very real way his business.

Poetry masters could also earn income through other routes. The poet Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1783), Songi's contemporary and whom he is reputed to have known, once wrote a letter offering a geographically distant acquaintance the opportunity to participate in a linked-verse anthology, with Buson acting as his surrogate. Mark Morris

[153] See Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, 179.

observes, "The price of this effortless fame would be 200 *momme* [a unit of silver];[154] alternatively, Buson would be willing to include, or invents [sic], single *hokku* [single *haikai* poems] at two *momme* per poem."[155] One wonders whether a similar give-and-take arrangement might have occurred in collecting poems for *Umi no sachi*. In such a scheme, students under the Songi umbrella might have been offered a chance to be published alongside famous poets of the day in exchange for a fee of some kind. (Although a surrogate arrangement was certainly possible, as demonstrated by Buson's letter of invitation, a more likely scenario was probably simple "pay-for-play": paying for the privilege of contributing their own fish poems to the anthology.)

The significance of *Umi no sachi* is emphasized in my analysis on the basis of its materiality and innovation, but its publication could also be productively evaluated against the backdrop of eighteenth-century sociality. Given the growth of poetry networks in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Songi's injunction not to pass judgment on the verses seems an apt statement for a professional poet of his time. Like poetry, various arts, ranging from tea ceremony to flower arrangement, traditionally were taught to the elite, but in the early modern period the number of disciples for all of these art forms dramatically expanded. Eiko Ikegami argues that group study of forms like *haikai* poetry exemplified the growth of alternative networks of social exchange in the

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[154] 45 *monme* (or *momme* in Morris's transcription) are said to have been equivalent to approximately one *koku* 石 of rice. Samurai were paid in *koku* of rice during the Edo period (or a combination of rice and hard currency). One *koku* was typically the amount of rice needed to sustain a single person for a year. Thus Buson's fee of 200 *monme* was not a meager amount. A lower-ranking samurai in the mid-eighteenth century might expect to receive about 24 *koku* of rice per year. For these figures and a summary of a primary account from 1751, see Constantine Vaporis, *Voices of Early Modern Japan: Contemporary Accounts of Daily Life During the Age of the Shoguns* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2012), 125-127, and for detailed analysis, see Vaporis, "Samurai and Merchant in Mid-Tokugawa Japan."

[155] Mark Morris, "Group Portrait with Artist: Yosa Buson and His Patrons," 101.

early modern period, "bonds of civility" forged through aesthetic pursuits.[156] Although patterns of social difference likely still attended these spaces, aesthetic circles effectively formed opportunities for unofficial relationships of sociability between men (and occasionally women) of different social status. For commoners, the world of *haikai* as described by Songi may have represented a pleasurable pastime but also a chance to rub shoulders—either in live gatherings or across the virtual space of the printed page—with social betters.

The growth and development of eighteenth-century aesthetic networks has yet to be fully articulated, but in the case of poetry groups, their role and significance in the world of print culture is being further explored by modern historians. Julie Nelson Davis, for instance, has examined the evidence for interpenetration of *haikai* poetry networks and the artistic activities of the painter Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕 (1712-1788) and his students in printed poetry anthologies of the 1770s and 1780s, during the period immediately following the illustrated books examined here.[157] Illustrated publications associated with *haikai* groups of the middle of the eighteenth century, in contrast, were being produced at lower rates than they would be in later generations. A few studies have been published on the period before *Umi no sachi.* Kira Sueo has pointed out the emergence of publishers specializing specifically in *haikai* publications in the late

[156] Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*. See especially Ikegami's discussion of the institutionalization of *haikai* poetry, 171-203.
[157] Davis, *Partners in Print*, 47–53.

seventeenth century.[158] Sasaki Eriko has explored connections between *haikai* and Hanabusa school artists in print and manuscript anthologies.[159]

An important difference between *Umi no sachi* and earlier printed *haikai* anthologies is that few of the earlier books include pictorial illustrations. Fewer still contain illustrations printed in color. Of these prior works, *Wakana* (1756, refer again to Figs. 1.4-5)—with a mere total of nine color-printed images—is the only illustrated book of *haikai* to come even close to the image- and color-rich pages of *Umi no sachi*. Furthermore, as discussed earlier all of *Wakana*'s color images bear Ryūsui's signature. As the artist behind the color-printed designs, Ryūsui's presence on the pages of *Wakana* should reinforce our estimation of his key role at the center of early "full-color" printing projects of scale. However, the activities of the *Umi no sachi* network in early color printing have been overshadowed by a better documented case of patronage—that is, the role of the Kyosen *haikai* circle in sponsoring early single-sheet *nishiki-e* by Suzuki Harunobu and a handful of other *ukiyo-e* artists, as discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

In thinking about the connection between poetry networks and print culture, perhaps most attention has been paid to the role of *kyōka* 狂歌 poetry groups in the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries in the production of finely produced *surimono* 摺

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[158] Kira Sueo, "Haikai shoshi no tanjō." Kira's further research on *haikai* single-sheet prints was published in the bilingual catalogue Kira Sueo, *Haikai ichimaizuri no sekai*; most of these examples date to the nineteenth century.

[159] Sasaki discusses extant haikai publications that link Hanabusa School artists and poetry across a large temporal range, but the majority of her discussion focuses on the leaders of the school, namely Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1724) Hanabusa Itchō II (died 1737), Hanabusa Ippō (1691-1760), and Hanabusa Ichien (Hanabusa Ippō II, died 1788). Sasaki Eriko, "Hanabusa-ha no ebaisho 英派の絵排書 (Illustrated Haikai Writings of the Hanabusa School)," in *Shiika to imēji: Edo no hanpon ichimaizuri ni miru yume*, ed. Nakano Mitsutoshi and Kōno Minoru, Shohan (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013), 69–96.

物 (literally, "printed things")[160] and exquisitely color-printed albums of *kyōka* poetry (*kyōkabon* 狂歌本) illustrated by artists like Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (1753?-1806) and Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849).[161] A fine example of this kind of luxury production can be seen in Utamaro's spectacular *Shiohi no tsuto* 潮干のつと (*Gifts from the Ebb-tide*), published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎 (1750-1797) in 1789, which illustrates poems compiled by Akera Kankō, leading member of the Yaegaki *kyōka* circle (see Fig. 1.23, below).[162] *Shiohi no tsuto* was one of three *kyōka* albums published by Tsutaya and illustrated by Utamaro on natural history themes. One might speculate that *Umi no sachi* was a source of inspiration for the later *kyōka* book, as Mori Senzō suggested, even though there is no direct evidence in writings from the period.[163] The visual and material evidence would seem to argue for continuity: the high quality materials, extremely fine carving, rich hues, and skillful printing of *Shiohi no tsuto* echo

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[160] *Surimono*, with their high quality materials and printing, have attracted substantial attention from collectors and scholars. For specialist studies and translations in English, see for example John T. Carpenter, ed., *Reading Surimono: The Interplay of Text and Image in Japanese Prints: With a Catalogue of the Marino Lusy Collection* (Zürich; Leiden; Boston: Museum Rietberg in association with Hotei, 2008) and Daniel McKee, *Colored in the Year's New Light: Japanese Surimono from the Becker Collection* (Ithaca, N.Y: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, 2008).

[161] The recent edited volume *Shiika to imēji*, ed. Nakano Mitsutoshi and Kōno Minoru (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013) contains articles on a range of text-image interactions in print, and especially in printed books. Several essays specifically address *kyōka* poetry books; see especially Takasugi Shio, "Kamigata eshi to kyōka ehon," 239-270 and Kobayashi Fumiko, "Hokusai ga "Ehon Sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran" no kannen o megutte," 271-288.

[162] For ready reproductions of S*hiohi no tsuto*, see the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge digital edition: http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/utamaro/start.html, with translations by John Carpenter. For critical discussion see also (on the British Museum impression) Asano Shūgō and Timothy Clark, *The Passionate Art of Kitagawa Utamaro* (London: British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1995), 467, and Narazaki Muneshige, ed., *Hizō ukiyoe taikan* 秘蔵浮世絵大観, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1988), 257-264. For a related discussion on Utamaro's "insect" book, *Ehon mushi erami* (1788), see Davis, *Utamaro and the Spectacle of Beauty*, 54–56.

[163] Mori Senzō, "Katsuma Ryūsui," 345. Suzuki Jūzō also suggested the possibility that *Yama no sachi* provided a model for one of the other two *kyōka* albums, Utamaro's famous *Ehon mushi erami*. See "Utamaro ehon no bunsekiteki kōsatsu 歌麿絵本の分析的考察," *Ukiyoe Geijutsu* 7 (1964): 18.

the same signs of expense and investment in the project that are exhibited in earlier poetry books, and especially in *Umi no sachi*.

In summary, the preceding discussion has outlined the poetic milieu in which *Umi no sachi* emerged. By combining *haikai* poetry, a form of popular poetry that often displays wit and humor, with innovative color printing and sumptuous materials, the book held appeal for cultivated practitioners. These poets likely comprised varying social ranks, given the expanding practice of *haikai* in this period. We see evidence of *haikai*'s immense popularity in the book's opening statement, commissioned from a leading poetry figure, Baba Songi. Since Songi's reputation was well established by the 1760s, it is also probable that the other poets who contributed to the book were affiliated with his circle and sponsored the publication. This group of poets may have included individuals of high social standing, lending it further prestige, although financial support may have come from poets of commoner status. Together with Shūkoku and Ryūsui, lower-ranking vassals like Kiitsu, or established *haikai* poets like Kojū or Baimei, mentioned above, may have constituted neither the financiers nor the "brand names," but the core members of the group pushing the project forward. Finally, *Umi no sachi* should be situated in the context of illustrated printed poetry anthologies. Important case studies explored in *ukiyo-e* research have so far focused mostly on the period after 1770, but offer useful models for thinking about the significance of poetry networks in the making of such books. Continued research on publications both before and after *Umi no sachi* will likely bolster the argument for the book's significance in the historical trajectory from early *haikai* anthologies to later deluxe printed poetry albums illustrated by leading *ukiyo-e* artists.

With the social background of Edo poets behind this publication clearer, I return to the book itself. The next sections of this chapter delve into the layered associations of *Umi no sachi*'s contents. First I explore the wide-ranging symbolic value of fish in East Asia and the role of fish in food culture, then look closer at the many potential points of reference for a single fish, using as an example the case of carp.

The Allusive and Comestible Value of Fish: Fish as Symbol, Fish as Food

With the wide world of poetry before them, why did the creators of this book make fish the main topic? This might seem an odd choice, more the purview of natural science treatises or cookbooks. However, in ways similar to allegorical traditions in early modern Europe, flora and fauna of the natural world offered sites for imagery and allusion in the creative arts of East Asia. While not every type of fish was equally evocative, all of the species in Ryūsui's book seem to have carried symbolic meanings. In addition, the growth of the fishing industry and the urban fish market meant a rise in the role of fish in cuisine. Below I outline the potential symbolic qualities of fish for Edo poets, and suggest the connections between this burgeoning Edo food culture and the publication of *Umi no sachi*.

The word for fish in Chinese, *yu*, sounds the same as the term for abundance or affluence, thus opening up the possibilities for using fish as a felicitous symbol from an early period.[164] Fish painting was an established subject in Chinese art by the tenth

[164] Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought* (London; New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 106–107.

century; the symbolism of carp and other fish was used to express a variety of political and social meanings over the ensuing centuries.[165]

Some fish offered extremely long genealogies of literary or cultural reference. For instance *ayu* 鮎 (sweetfish, L. Plecoglossus altivelis), a trout-like species native to East Asia, is highly prized for its sweet flesh, which has a delicate, clean taste (Fig. 1.12). In Japan sweetfish appears in a variety of classical texts prior to the Edo period. It is mentioned in the *Man'yōshū* (late eighth century) and in the "Tokonatsu" chapter of *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, early eleventh century), when Genji and his fellow courtiers enjoy grilled *ayu* on a hot summer day. Perhaps the most legendary episode appears in scroll 9 of the *Nihon shoki* 日本書記 (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720), one of the oldest works of Japanese literature.[166] In summer, the Empress Jingū arrives in Hizen and divines success in her upcoming military campaign by casting a hook into the river and catching an *ayu* fish.[167] Ever since, the text claims, women have fished for *ayu* in that river, and though men may also try, they fail to catch any. This famous passage may have helped reinforce the popular notion of *ayu* as "queen" of freshwater rivers, an association that endures today.[168]

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[165] Sung describes the evolution of symbolic meanings for Chinese paintings of fish, particularly the carp, from the Southern Song to the Ming dynasty in *Decoded Messages*, 207-244, and Hou-mei Sung, "Chinese Fish Painting and Its Symbolic Meanings: Sung and Yuan Fish Paintings," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 30, no. 1,2 (March-April, May-June 1995): 1–25, 1–23.

[166] *Nihon shoki* also includes *ayu* in a popular song marking the death of Emperor Tenchi (626-672) (scroll 27). *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, Ed. Kojima Noriyuki, et al., (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1998), 4:296.

[167] *Nihon shoki*, scroll 9. *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994), 2:420-425. One theory holds that the character for *ayu*, 鮎, derives from this semi-mythical tale, since it is a combination of the characters for fish 魚 and divination 占. See *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, 2:421, n25; see also Ō Yasumaro and Gustav Heldt, *The Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 204.

[168] Akimichi Tomoya, formerly professor at National Museum of Ethnology, currently Deputy Director of the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, details the popularity of *ayu*, its many preparations, and its

One juvenile and two mature sweetfish are pictured in *Umi no sachi*, printed in two or three shades of grey-brown, plus black (Fig. 1.12). Three poems above reference various points in *ayu*'s natural life cycle. Sweetfish migrate downriver to the ocean for the winter and return in the spring to spawn, making them a favorite for summertime angling along riverbanks. The word "*ayu*" by itself is a poetic season word for summer. Alternatively, two of the sweetfish poems in *Umi no sachi* invoke spring and fall, by using the season words for young sweetfish (*koayu* 小鮎)—indicating spring—and sweetfish with rust-colored scales (*sabiayu* 錆鮎), which breeds in the fall, late in its life cycle. These seasonal connections would have been readily apparent to poetry practitioners.[169]

In addition to the seasons and references to earlier literature, fish in *haikai* poetry could also allude to personal and contemporary themes. The poet and painter Yosa Buson used *ayu* in a verse of 1768 to suggest the tenor of a close friendship:

ayu kurete	bringing sweetfish
yorade sugiyuku	yet not coming in, you left—
yowa no kado[170]	the gate at midnight[171]

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association as "queen of freshwater streams" in a short essay for the food company Kikkoman Global. See http://www.kikkoman.com/foodforum/thejapanesetablebackissues/11.shtml. Accessed 16 May, 2016. See also Akimichi's book, *Ayu to Nihonjin* (*Ayu and the Japanese People*) (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1992).

[169] The other two fish pictured on these pages (vol. 1, 26v-27r), identified as *eso* 𪜈そ (lizardfish, family L. Synodontidae) and *yamame* やまめ (masu salmon, L. Oncorhynchus masou) are also identified as "summer" season words. Though less laden with cultural significance than *ayu*, they also appear in literature and natural history publications. For example, a poem on *yamame* can be found in *Zoku minashiguri (Sequel to Empty Chestnuts)* published in 1687, containing poems by Bashō and his followers.

[170] Ogata Tsutomu, *Buson zenshū* 蕪村全集 *(Complete Works of Buson)*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), 1:41 (no. 114). Composed twentieth day of the sixth month, apparently directed to "Chikudō-tei 竹洞亭" (not found in *Kokusho jinmei jiten*).

[171] Translation based on Ogata, *Buson zenshū*, above, and Makoto Ueda, *The Path of Flowering Thorn: The Life and Poetry of Yosa Buson* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 52. See also translations in Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 543, and Crowley, *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival*, 88.

In Buson's poem a gift of *ayu* is dropped off on a late summer night, but the giver departs swiftly. The standard interpretation of this verse says that the light and clean nature of the sweetfish reflects the nature of an ideal friendship, in which one does kindnesses without anticipation of gratitude or admiration.[172] The manner of the gift is matched by its substance. How a fish like *ayu* might function symbolically in art, of course, is not necessarily the same as how it might have functioned in real social relations.[173] Nevertheless, Buson's poem demonstrates how a type of fish could evoke not only the season but even an emotional charge and gustatory sensations. Therefore for Edo poets, literary valences, seasonal references, and even the taste of a particular fish could contribute to its symbolic meaning.

The value of fish as food—as both sustenance and cuisine—may have also been of interest to the Edo poets. At the high end of the spectrum, fish had long held a special place in configurations of elite culture. In the medieval period, specialized schools of cuisine (*ryū* 流) developed elaborate banquet performance rituals known as "knife ceremonies" (*shikibōchō* 式膨張), in which they transformed the techniques of cutting into elevated forms of art. These schools of cuisine constituted lineages of aesthetic and technical skill on par with other medieval art forms, such as the arts of tea, calligraphy, or painting. Eric C. Rath has described the knife-wielder's physical movement as "a form of

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[172] See Ogata and Ueda, as above. Cheryl Crowley's reading, similar to Shirane's, highlights the sense of generosity in the poem: "The giver comes late on a summer night, and leaves without waiting for thanks or praise—precisely the kind of gesture that one refined literatus would extend to another," in *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival*, 88.

[173] Compare the intimate and ideal relationship in Buson's poem (as attested by literature scholars Ogata, Shirane, and Crowley) to that evidenced in a letter ten years later to Kitakaze Shōemon, thanking the Hyōgō merchant for a gift of fresh fish and describing available paintings that might be offered to him (for appropriate remuneration, of course) in Morris, "Group Portrait with Artist: Yosa Buson and His Patrons," 88–90.

seated dance"[174] and the resulting dishes "inedible food sculptures,"[175] meant to be consumed by the eye, not the mouth. Fish, and especially carp, appear to have played a starring role in these extraordinary performances. The culinary treatise *Shijō-ke hōchō shoroku* 四条家包丁書録 (Records of the Cuisine of the Shijō House, compiled 1649) records fifty-five techniques for the cutting and display of carp, each identified by name: "formal carp," "the isle of eternal youth," "flower-viewing carp," and so on.[176] The poetic names of these dishes reveal the interplay between culinary arts and other forms of elite entertainment. Medieval manuscript texts of this kind were originally written down as "secret transmissions," reserved for the exclusive use of the school. Few of these private texts survive today.[177]

Early modern sources show that seafood, when available, was often reserved for those of higher ranks, with class distinctions designating who was served what. For example, the records of a village headman describe the meals served at a banquet in 1727, during a visit by rice officials from nearby Osaka.[178] All the officials were served a variety of special dishes, but the meal was further separated by class. Top-ranking

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[174] Eric C. Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 43.

[175] Ibid., 38. See also Matsunosuke Nishiyama, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*, trans. Gerald Groemer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 147–148.

[176] Nishiyama, *Edo Culture*, 148. The carp cuts are described in volume 2. Another text of the mid-seventeenth century, *Ryōri kirikata hidenshō* 料理切形秘伝抄 (*Secret Writings on Culinary Slicings*) likewise contains names and illustrations for forty-seven different ways to prepare carp. See Rath's discussion of carp preparations in *Food and Fantasy*, 45.

[177] Rath estimates approximately six still survive; by contrast the vast corpus of early modern culinary books, including specialist texts, restaurant directories, and tea books for "the foodies of the Edo period" numbered more than 900 (ibid., 4), following Ōta Yasuhiro, *Nihon shokubunka tosho mokuroku: Edo Kindai* 日本食文化図書目録 江戸近代 (Tokyo*:* Nichigai Asoshiētsu, 2008). The National Institute of Japanese Literature compiled in 2013 a list of nearly 1,200 titles relating to this category; see: http://www.nijl.ac.jp/pages/images/washoku.pdf (accessed 6 June 2016).

[178] These are the records of the village of Kusaka in Kawachi Province (now part of Osaka Prefecture), for the thirteenth day of the ninth month of 1727. See Nishiyama, *Edo Culture*, 161–162.

members of the party ate octopus and *kamaboko* 蒲鉾 (fish cakes),[179] raw carp and sea bream (*tai* 鯛, L. Sparidae),[180] along with other non-fish dishes, and they received broiled sea bream to take home. As sea bream is an auspicious fish (its name, *tai* plays on the word *medetai* めでたい, meaning special or auspicious), it was reserved for higher-ranking members of the party.[181] The remaining five men (porters, sandal carriers, and a servant) were served octopus but not *kamaboko*, a variety of non-fish dishes, and broiled crucian carp (*funa* 鮒) to take home. The differentiation of food by class doubtless also connected with who sat where, who was served first, and by whom, and so on. Thus social hierarchies could also be mirrored and reinforced through a kind of hierarchy of cuisine.[182]

However, foods of the rivers and seas were not solely the preserve of elite delectation. As has long been known, small-scale fishing had long been practiced in villages along the Japanese coastline. Beginning in the seventeenth century, Japanese fishing grew into a highly sophisticated industry in relatively short order during the Edo period: diversified in its catch, receptive to bulk quantities, and active on a large scale in the surrounding seas.[183] Over the same period, fish products could be shipped to locales

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[179] *Kamaboko* is a popular steamed cake made of fish paste. The ingredient fish used the Edo period varied widely, including *tai* (sea bream, 21v-22r), *bora* (a type of mullet, 23v-24r), *suzuki* (sea bass, 15v-16r), and *ika* 烏賊 (squid, 28v-29r) (all pages from *Umi no sachi* vol. 1). See Matsushita Sachiko, *Zusetsu Edo ryōri jiten* 図説江戸料理辞典 (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1996), 246-247, s.v. "kamaboko."

[180] In Japan a variety of *tai* species are eaten; *madai* 真鯛 or "genuine sea bream" (L. Pagrus major) is highly prized. See Nihon Gyorui Gakkai, ed., *Nihon-san gyomei daijiten,* 326.

[181] Accordingly, the fish is often served at the New Year or other festive occasions like weddings today, much as in the Edo period. On sea bream's appreciation in the early modern period, see Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 142-144.

[182] On the shaping of social etiquette through hierarchical codes in early modern Japan, particularly as expressed in table manners and eating, see Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, 337-342.

[183] Such economies of scale might have contributed to a decrease in the cost of fish and its consumption by those of lesser means. Conrad Totman suggests the expansion of the fishing industry in the later Edo period

ever farther from shore by means of improved transportation networks and increased travel.[184] By the early eighteenth century, the fish trade was a well-established and fully regulated industry.[185] Some claims assert the ability to eat fresh fish and shellfish every day was the great pride of Edoites.[186] This boast testifies to the growth of the fishing industry and the abundance of fish entering the market each day.

In major coastal cities, especially in the city of Edo's Nihonbashi district, the fish market (known as *uoichi* 魚市 or *uogashi* 魚河岸) was prime real estate for major trade in goods, but it also grew to become an urban attraction—much in the manner of modern Tokyo's Tsukiji fish market. Many prints, books, and paintings of the period depict the hauling, preparation, and consumption of fish.[187] Others illustrate the market itself. The famous guidebook *Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所図会 (1834-1836) shows the teeming Nihonbashi market (Fig. 1.13). On two full pages it depicts the bustling business of fish—buying and selling, as well as weighing, counting, wrapping and carrying—as well as a few sightseers maneuvering round the merchants, fisherman, and porters. A comic verse (*senryū* 川柳) of the period related that in Edo, "night, day, and morning—in a

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may have been fed less by a taste for fish than by agricultural demand, since ground fishmeal was adopted as a crop fertilizer. Conrad D. Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 273.

[184] See Takehisa Moriya, "Urban Networks and Information Networks in the Edo Period," 106–107.

[185] Theodore C. Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 101–110.

[186] Kanno Shunsuke, *Kaite oboeru "Edo meisho zue" kuzushiji nyūmon* 書いておぼえる「江戸名所図会」崩し字入門 (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 2007), 29. I thank Julie Davis for bringing this book to my attention.

[187] For example, Hishikawa Moronobu's handscroll *A Visit to the Yoshiwara* (late 1680s) details the preparation of fine dining in the Yoshiwara. See Rath's discussion of this section of the painting in Eric C. Rath, "Sex and Sea Bream: Food and Prostitution in Hishikawa Moronobu's A Visit to the Yoshiwara," in *Seduction: Japan's Floating World: The John C. Weber Collection*, ed. Laura W. Allen (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2015), 29–43; see also Eric C. Rath, "The Tastiest Dish in Edo: Print, Performance and Culinary Entertainment in Early-Modern Japan," *East Asian Publishing and Society* 3, no. 2 (2013): 184–214.

single day one thousand *ryō* are gone."[188] While "night" and "day" referred to the brothel and theater districts, "morning" referred to Nihonbashi's fish market, suggesting its dual role as site of commerce and entertainment.

Umi no sachi should be considered similarly: as a material connection between the worlds of food culture and of leisure entertainment and the arts. At minimum, the poetry book contains edible fish almost exclusively. Most of these fish are still regarded as delicacies, but even those fish not part of fine dining were still important food products.[189] The book is not, in other words, merely a fantasy of poem and picture, but a compendium of real foods. Only the final illustration of the book, the *minogame* 蓑龜 (a semi-mythical aged turtle with seaweed growing on its back), proves an exception to the selection of edible species (vol. 2, 21v-22r).[190] An emblem of longevity, the *minogame* serves as a poetic endpoint to the book's selection of edible fish; perhaps it is also a tongue-in-cheek nod to publisher Kameya Tahei, whose shop name is "turtle house" *kameya* 龜屋.[191] The enthusiasm of Ryūsui and Shūkoku for fish may have also been matched by other contributors to the book. As noted earlier, *Umi no sachi*'s colophon records its publication at Hongokuchō itchōme, in the Nihonbashi district. This address was about eight city blocks from the fish market (Fig. 1.14). The carver and printer are

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[188] 夜と昼朝とに落ちる日千両. Reprinted in Kanno, *Kaite oboeru "Edo meisho zue" kuzushiji nyūmon*, 28. (*Ryō* 両 is a piece of gold currency, a single unit worth about 50-60 units of silver (*monme*). One thousand *ryō* would have been enough to feed one thousand people for an entire year; in other words, a fortune. On Edo period money, see Vaporis, *Voices of Early Modern Japan*, 5 and 125-127.)

[189] *Mutsu* 鯥 (gnome fish; L. *Scombrops boops*), for instance, is known to have an oily texture, making it less preferred for eating whole but a feasible substitute for carp in certain dishes. See *Umi no sachi* vol. 2, 13v-14r and Motoyama Tekishū, *Inshoku jiten* 飲食事典, 12th ed. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 579.

[190] Regular turtles (*kame* 龜) are certainly a foodstuff, and illustrated in vol. 1, 27v-28r.

[191] As discussed earlier, only three further titles by Kameya Tahē are recorded in the standard references. However several other publishers (of unknown relationship) used the firm name Kameya. See Inoue Takaaki, *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran*, 192.

likewise recorded at a Nihonbashi address nearby. These facts suggest the possibility that seafood merchants, natural science enthusiasts, or simply Edo foodies who delighted in fish may have been among those whose poetry pseudonyms fill *Umi no sachi*'s pages, though this has yet to be proven. Nonetheless, who could better speak the language of fish and who else, indeed, would want to promote its value as art and cuisine?

Layered Associations: Carp as Case Study

A closer look at the presentation of one fish, the carp, will demonstrate how a single species of fish could carry a plethora of cultural associations, and how *Umi no sachi* specifically activated those associations for the viewer-reader. I first discuss the East Asian conception of carp as a superior fish, symbolically associated with good fortune from ancient times and long associated with good eating. Then I consider how *Umi no sachi*'s textual and graphic representation of carp reflects a sophisticated integration of these values.

The carp's placement as the first image in *Umi no sachi* and its large, double-page color illustration testify to its auspicious and superior status in East Asian culture (Fig. 1.15). The body of a single large fish stretches horizontally across two pages, printed in black, grey, and a yellow-gold color.[192] The fish is named in the first line of text (at far right) as *koi*: written first in Japanese syllabary (こゝい) and then as a Chinese logogram

[192] Visual observation of extant copies suggests that the original appearance of the yellow areas may have been a deeper orange or even red hue, which has now faded. In the Getty copy, small concentrations of what now appears bright orange can be found at the edge of the printing area near the eye, fin, and tail. The Waseda copy, which is from the second printing, shows this same orangeish color, suggesting this is a feature of 1762 editions. Printing a red colorant would explain the presence of the notation about "red carp," but further research is needed to establish whether this might be the case.

(鯉). Three characters below declare its status as the "king of fish" (`為魚王). The initial idea of carp as "king" may trace back as far as the earliest Chinese manual of materia medica, the *Shennong bencaojing* 神農本草經 (J. *Shinnō honzō kyō*).[193] Following the models of older literature, early modern Chinese and Japanese texts on natural science tended to feature carp prominently. Both authoritative pharmacological treatises[194] and popular illustrated encyclopedias[195] that would have been readily available in the mid-eighteenth century list carp as the first species within the category of fish, as may be seen in this example from *Wakan sanzai zue* (Fig 1.16). Accompanying illustrations, however, are usually modest. Compare for example Figure 1.16's pictorial rendition: in the style of a simplified line drawing, at very small scale and crudely printed, it bears little resemblance to Ryūsui's magnificent carp in *Umi no sachi*.

The classificatory schema of natural science texts, which placed carp as the first or superior of fish species, also penetrated cultural and artistic expression. The pronunciation of "carp" in Chinese, *li*, is a near homophone for the term *li* meaning "advantage" or "profit."[196] A prevalent legend held that carp, swimming against the current, would attempt to climb the waterfall known as Dragon Gate in the Yellow River;

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[193] The *Shennong bencaojing* is attributed to a legendary emperor of approximately 2800 BCE, but it was probably first compiled in its present form around the year 500. Needham, et al. gives a date of late first or second century; see discussion in Joseph Needham, Lu Gwei-Djen, and Huang Hsing-tsung, "Botany," in *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 6, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 235–248.
[194] In *Honzō kōmoku* 本草綱目, carp is the first species listed in Volume 44, within the category of 'Animals with scales: fish.' *Honzō kōmoku* was based on the influential Ming pharmacopeia *Bencao gangmu*, and is discussed further in Chapter Two.
[195] In *Wakan sansai zue*, carp is the first fish species listed in its four volumes (48-51) on fish. See "Fish with scales: rivers and lakes" 河湖有鱗魚類 in Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue*, 534.
[196] One discussion can be found in Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, 57–58.

those that succeeded were transformed into dragons.[197] Hou-mei Sung has argued of Chinese fish painting that the close association between carp and dragon made it a popular analogy for the relationship of the aspirational scholar-official to the emperor in the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279).[198] When the genre of fish painting was revived in Ming court painting (1368-1644), the symbolism of carp evolved further, such that carp, "king of fish," could symbolize the emperor himself.[199]

In Japan, the notion of carp as a superlative fish was reflected in literature and cuisine since at least the medieval period. In the early fourteenth-century text *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, or *Essays in Idleness* (1329-1333), Priest Kenkō remarked that carp was "the fish of all fish."[200] As food, carp was traditionally considered a delicacy. A late fifteenth-century culinary text, *Shijōryū hōchōsho* 四条流包丁書, describes foods from the sea as superior to those from the river or the mountain, but ranks carp as still better than all seafood despite the fact that it is a river fish.[201] Its value in cuisine and aesthetics continued into the early Edo period. *Thirty-six Carp* (*Sanjūroku no koi hiden* 三十六之鯉秘伝), an illustrated book of "secret" cutting techniques published 1642,

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[197] Tokyo National Museum, *Tokubetsuten kisshō: Chūgoku bijutsu ni komerareta imi* 特別展吉祥: 中国美術にこめられた意味 (Jixiang [Good Fortune]—Auspicious Motifs in Chinese Art) (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1998), 241. The characters in Ryūsui's name, literally "dragon" (ryū) 龍 and "water" (*sui* 水) might relate to the context, but no suggestion of this connection is given in the book's texts. Ryūsui also used this name in several prior publications. Certainly this group of *haikai* enthusiasts must have been aware of the felicitous allusion, however.
[198] Sung, *Decoded Messages*, 220.
[199] Ibid., 230.
[200] Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 142. The quote concerning carp appears in section 118 of *Tsurezuregusa*.
[201] Issunsha, ed., *Nihon ryōri hiden shūsei: genten gendaigoyaku* 日本料理秘伝集成: 原典現代語訳, vol. 18 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1985), 51–52. Carp's superior value likely derived as much from its value for artistic display as from any desire to eat it. See also Eric C. Rath's translation of this passage in *Food and Fantasy*, 46.

comprises a sequence of fancy carp preparations (Fig. 1.17).[202] These dishes would have been displayed at special occasions like a samurai's coming-of-age ceremony.[203] Vestiges of the association between carp and auspicious coming-of-age events can be seen today in *koinobori* 鯉のぼり, when carp streamers fly from poles during Children's Day, an annual festival.[204]

Just as the placement and large size of the carp picture in *Umi no sachi* reflect its esteemed status, the accompanying text invokes a range of significant associations; I will discuss each section of text as outlined in Figure 1.18. Progressing from right to left, the first line of text names the carp in multiple orthographies, as discussed above (section 1). The next three lines of text (section 2) identify five different kinds of carp, distinguished by their different colors (red, blue, black, white, and yellow).[205] Five is an auspicious number in East Asia, but the real reference is in the nomenclature itself; the five names derive from an early Chinese encyclopedia on the names of different carp.[206] Continuing left (section 3), the text describes how kinds of carp are named based on their colors: "The type of fish that has its entire body reddish gold is called gold carp. If the tail is teal

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[202] See Edo Jidai Ryōribon Kenkyūkai, ed., *Honkoku Edo jidai ryōribon shūsei* 翻刻江戸時代料理本集成, Shohan, (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1978), 1:73-100. Even cuisine books printed for general audiences later in the Edo period featured carp as a special fish among fish.

[203] Carp is considered a trans-seasonal sign of good fortune, rather than being associated with a specific season. Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 142. See also Rath, *Food and Fantasy*, ch. 2, especially the preparation of the "Eternal Carp" dish, translated on p. 45.

[204] In the Edo period known as *tango no sekku* 端午の節句 ("Boy's Day" in English) and celebrated on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month; the carp streamers symbolized then, as now, "the young fish" swimming upriver.

[205] 有五色名曰 赤驥 青馬 黒駒 白騏 黄騅 (There are five named colors: crimson thoroughbred, blue horse, black colt, white piebald, yellow/brown piebald.) See following note.

[206] The *Gujin zhu* 古今注 *(Notes to Things Old and New)*, a Chinese encyclopedia attributed to the Jin dynasty (262-420) scholar Cui Bao, lists these five names for carp, in sequence, in volume 2. Doubtless the creators of *Umi no sachi* lifted the names from a more recent source, but the antiquarian and continental flavor of these names would have still attended the text.

or if it has three ridges or has two ridges, then it is called gold-teal fish."[207] This statement directly quotes the seventeenth-century *Yiyu tuzan juan* 異魚圖贊箋 (*Commentary on the Encomiums to Strange Fishes*).[208] Perhaps Ryūsui or Shūkoku had access to a copy of this Chinese text, which gave information on the names, habitats, appearance, and taste of various sea creatures, much in the manner of a natural science book. The final line of text on the right-hand page (section 4) is written in a different script style, but it also calls attention to issues of color and naming: "The red carp is called 'carp' (*koi*) in plain speech."[209]

What is striking about all of these statements (sections 2-4) is that the ostensibly straightforward relation of visual appearances to names—between images and words—occurs through the specific lens of color. I would argue this enumeration of types appealed precisely *because* it calls attention to chromatic variety. If so, it would mark a self-conscious selection of particular quotes from Chinese literature, aiming to highlight the polychrome materiality of *Umi no sachi* as much as the learnedness of those involved in its production.

By contrast, the text on the left-hand page refers to Japanese literature and culture. A boldly calligraphed poem (section 6), signed by the poet Ri Kanko, presents a contrast between the classics and the pleasures of modern life in Edo:[210]

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[207] 一種通身紅如金曰金鯉尾如鳬或三岐兩岐曰金鳬魚. My thanks to Eiren Shea and Gabrielle Niu for their translation assistance.

[208] The Commentary, by Qing scholar Hu Shian (1593-1663) adds to the original Ming book, *Encomiums on Strange Fishes* by Yang Shen (1488-1559). Both books were reprinted in the Qianlong Emperor's literature collectanea, *Siku quanshu*. See *Yiyu tuzan juan*, vol. 1, in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (online). Wenyuange ed. (1782). Xianggang: Di zhi wen hua chu ban you xian gong si, 2000. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu/loggedin/pwp/pw-sikuEASTVIEW.html (accessed 10 May, 2016).

[209] 赤鯉を俗言こいと云

[210] 李冠子, perhaps read Ri Kanshi. The characters literally mean 'Plum Cap Master.'

かきつばたかいしけ江戸の洗鯉
Kakitsubata / ga ishige Edo no / arai-goi
The iris looks delicious—chilled carp of Edo

The poem begins with the image of the water iris (*kakitsubata* 燕子花), a seasonal topic that would have been familiar from classical poetry and literature.[211] Specifically it evokes a famous passage from the *The Tales of Ise* (c. 947). This episode sees the hero, Ariwara no Narihira, on an eastward journey from Kyoto; arrested by the sight of blooming irises, he composes an acrostic poem on the word *kakitsubata,* lamenting his distance from Kyoto—and by extension separation from his lover.[212]

Ri Kanko's poem layers two additional images on top of this classical reference. One splits away from the romantic associations of *Ise*, offering instead a glimpse of Edo food culture. *Arai-goi* 洗鯉, which ends the verse, is a dish composed of raw carp sashimi rinsed and chilled in cold water.[213] A phrase written to the right of the poem (section 5) reinforces the food imagery: "It is related to *murasaki*" (*murasaki ni yukari ari*).[214] *Murasaki* 紫 is the common term in Japanese for the color purple.[215] However it

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[211] *Kakitsubata* is usually associated with summer today, but some classical and medieval anthologies recognize it as a spring topic. Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 52–53.
[212] Episode 9 of *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語.
[213] Figure 1.16, left, shows how the body of the fish could be cut in circular slices for the related dish "cutting into round slices" (*arai-goi tsutsugiri no koto* 洗鯉筒切之事). The dish *arai-goi* is itself listed in the 1674 cooking book *Edo ryōri shū* 江戸料理集. See also Matsushita, *Zusetsu Edo ryōri jiten*, 100, s.v. "arai." Motoyama Tekishū lists, in addition to carp, sea bream, *suzuki*, *kochi*, and *bora* as fish used in this sashimi preparation. See Motoyama, *Inshoku jiten*, 17.
[214] むらさきにゆかりあり.
[215] Murasaki is also the name of the gromwell, from which purple colorants are extracted by processing the plant's long roots. See Yoshioka Tsuneo, *Nihon no iro: shokubutsu senryō no hanashi* 日本の色: 植物染料のはなし (Colors of Japan: The Story of Vegetable Dyes) (Kyoto: Shikōsha, 1983), 42.

is also slang for the dark, liquid condiment so essential to sushi eating—soy sauce.[216] We may begin in the classical world of *Ise*, but we quickly salivate for a dish of cold carp.

The third image—conjuring up different pleasures of the flesh—hinges also on the terms *arai-goi* and *murasaki*. Although *arai-goi* is written in the Chinese characters (洗鯉) that indicate carp sashimi, it can also be read as a pun: a homophone for rough (*arai* 荒) love (*koi* or *goi* 恋). This image of "Edo's rough love" is reinforced by the sexual connotations of *murasaki*. First, the erotic image plays on the term *murasaki no yukari*, or "purple affinity," a well-known literary reference to three women associated with Genji.[217] Second, *murasaki* was an Edo-period slang term for "woman."[218] Paired with Ryūsui's large carp picture, *murasaki* likely also refers here to the "purple carp" (*murasaki-goi*), said to be a famous fish product of Asakusa.[219] This district lay just south of Edo's licensed brothel quarter, the Yoshiwara. Finally, the name of the iris (*kakitsubata*) was also the name of a particular shade of purple—based on the blueish-purple hue of the flower's petals—and a traditional color combination created by layering

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[216] This sushi slang is still in use in sushi restaurants today, and can distinguish a casual eater from a connoisseur. Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World*, 3.

[217] The "purple affinity" refers to the connections between Genji's mother, known as Kiritsubō or the Paulownia Pavilion Consort, and two of Genji's lovers: his stepmother Fujitsubō (Wisteria Pavilion) and the young child who resembles his stepmother, Waka Murasaki. The paulownia and wisteria plant both have purple flowers, and the roots of the gromwell plant (murasaki) are used to make purple dye. Edward Cranston translates *yukari* as "[a]ffinity, as between two people because of a karmic link, blood relation, and/or shared color symbolism; empathetic bond." See Edwin A. Cranston, ed., *A Waka Anthology: Grasses of Remembrance*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 2:1083.

[218] An early seventeenth-century Portuguese dictionary, *Nippo Jisho* 日葡辞書, records *murasaki* as a translation for "woman" (*onago* 女子). Other indications of *murasaki*'s association with women can be found in period literature, such as the 1765 etiquette manual titled *Ehon Edo Murasaki*, which purported to provide proper instruction for female conduct. See *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (Comprehensive Dictionary of the Japanese Language), 2nd ed. (online, Shogakkan, 2000), s.v. "murasaki."

[219] Rath, "Sex and Sea Bream," 37.

one's robes in a certain way (*kasane no irome* 襲の色目).[220] Given that the Yoshiwara was a site for elaborate and often trend-setting fashions, a second reading of the poem thus picks up the image of desire (*ishige* 美気) directed toward an elegantly clothed body, meaning something like: "Desiring those purple robes—rough love of Edo."[221]

Within the circumference of only seventeen syllables, the poem yields multiple variations on the pleasures of the flesh, with reference points as disparate as a courtier's heartfelt yearnings in the classics, a dinnertime delicacy of the fish market, and the erotic entertainments to be found up the road past Asakusa.[222] Bringing the high-culture literary theme of the *kakitsubata* to the earthy immediacy of the Edo metropolis—signified by sex and food, two of the city's most celebrated commodities[223]—the poem uses a strategy common to both *haikai* and *ukiyo-e* print culture: parodying the classics via an erotic, urbane twist. All three images emphasize a sense of being in the city of Edo, the East of Japan; no doubt these associations were a point of pride for *Umi no sachi*'s thoroughly Edoite creators.[224]

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[220] In this case, with purple on the outside and green on the inside. Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda, eds., *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992), 334. Within *kasane no irome*, there are specific named subcategories that connect combinations of layered robes with poetic names drawn from nature and seasonal elements, such as *kasane shōzoku* 襲装束 in the Heian period, or the sixteenth-century version, *Jūni hitoe* 十二単. See also Nagasaki Seiki, *Kasane no irome: Heian no haisaibi* かさねの色目: 平安の配彩美 (The Combination of Layered Colors) (Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin, 1996), 132-133 and 199.

[221] *Ishige* is also a type of dark-brown seaweed (石毛).

[222] These layered images inflect one another. For example, when the sashimi dish *arai-goi* invokes taste, and perhaps touch as well, it is hard not to imagine that erotic suggestion is also engaged when the reader imagines the fleshy texture of raw carp on the tongue.

[223] On the topic of connections between sex and fish in the Yoshiwara, see Rath, "Sex and Sea Bream."

[224] The *Ise* episode takes place during an eastward journey; the gastronomic and erotic delights of fish and sex were attractions associated with Edo. The calligraphy itself seems to echo this emphasis through the thick, bold strokes of the characters for Edo: 江戸 (see third line of section 6 of the text).

Finally, the layered associations of the text are graphically represented less by the picture of the carp—a stately but stiff specimen—than by the calligraphy. On the right the Chinese text (sections 2-3) is a straightforward description of physical characteristics, using color to describe typologies.[225] Written in Chinese logograms, each character is of uniform size and spacing, positioned in such neatly arranged vertical rows that one might mistake this woodblock-carved text for printed type. The sober, formal calligraphy used here is known in Japan as *kaisho* 楷書 (C. *kaishu*), "standard or regular mode," the simplest and most legible of the major styles of Chinese script.[226] Often utilized for documents of state or Buddhist texts, its use in *Umi no sachi* suggests a kind of scholarly or serious affect.

In a radical contrast, calligraphy on the left-hand page is written in cursive script with a flowing hand.[227] The poem (section 6) dramatically resists the contained textual order at right. The size of characters is no longer regulated in discrete, even units of height and width, but becomes looser, unfixed, and expressive. In the second line of the verse the syllable *i* is followed by a long, trailing *shi* twice its height. Some graphs seem to invade the space of their neighbors; ligatures are collapsed to the point that the end of one character is simultaneously the beginning of the next. This orthography remarkably reproduces the qualities of brushwork—lines thick and thin, wet and dry—in woodblock

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[225] Where the Sinified text offers more straightforward and explicit discussion of color and types of fish, the poem's compressed phrases rely on allusion. Still, color remains a` critical theme: the multiple meanings of the color purple provide a basis for layered imagery. Color thus offers a thematic link between the texts on right and left pages, reflexively calling attention to the unprecedented materiality of this book.

[226] As compared with cursive and semicursive modes. See Yoshiaki Shimizu and John M. Rosenfield, *Masters of Japanese Calligraphy: 8th-19th Century* (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1984), 13, and cat. entries 1-6, 44, and 135.

[227] Marking a point of transition, section 4 is written in a combination of Chinese characters and Japanese phonetic *kana*. Each graph is small, conforming closely to the spacing and size of the Chinese characters at right.

print. The first line of the poem (spelling *kakitsubata*) shows the thickly brushed lines of *ka* and *ki* at the top trailing down to an attenuated *ta*—a close imitation of the inked brush moving down the page, expending ink along its journey. This calligraphy is both a counterpoint to the blockish, formal text at right and a virtuosic instance of Japanese writing.

As the viewer's eye travels across these pages, therefore, the text performs a shift from the world of archaized continental reference, at right, to the earthy, immediate present of eighteenth-century Edo, at left. The body of the carp—half in one realm and half in the other—sutures together these two conceptual spaces of literary play. Perhaps the simplicity of the carp's printed image allows for this dense layering of meaning; its unelaborated profile picture is easily intelligible, while the content and form of the text is filled with complex reference. As the first illustration in *Umi no sachi*, the carp pages introduce us in extraordinary fashion to the entire book's sensitivity to visuality and materiality.

In the next and final section, I will explain how the book demonstrates further an interest in immediacy and verisimilitude, putting *Umi no sachi* in dialogue with the fields of both painting and natural history.

Invoking the Brush, Printing Nature

Statements by artist and editor in the prefaces assert the realism and immediacy of Ryūsui's pictures of fish. Unpacking these statements and comparing them to a few of *Umi no sachi*'s printed images shows how the book drew on both established ideas of painting theory and newer ideas of working from natural specimens as opposed to

pictorial models. I argue that the work's status as a color-printed book should not preclude discussions of its significant engagement with emerging trends in painting and natural history; if anything, it should be reevaluated as a key contribution of print culture to renewed studies of the natural world.

In the third preface to the book, the editor Shūkoku underscores a recurring concern with verisimilitude. He writes that upon entering Ryūsui's studio, he saw many pictures of fish scattered about: "Indeed, they looked almost as if you could smell them."[228] The phrase I translate here as "smell," *namagusaki* 生臭き, is actually a conjoining of *nama* (raw) and *kusaki* (smelly). The *Nihon kokugo daijiten* gives six definitions for this compound term, an indication of its polysemous character.[229] It primarily indicated the smell of raw fish, meat, or blood.[230] Insofar as they "smell raw," then, Ryūsui's drawings seem to be fresh, natural, or unedited—utterly convincing, in other words, to Shūkoku. Thus even before we encounter them, the book's pictures are posited for the reader as intimately connected to the living fish they take as their subject: we are meant to see these images as having an immediacy to the real.

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[228] 實になまくさきかことし (vol. 1, 5v-6r).

[229] Five of the six definitions date to the eighteenth century or earlier: 1) the smell of raw fish or meat; the smell of blood; 2) a bad or unpleasant odor; 3) worldly (specifically pertaining to priests not observing Buddhist precepts and having earthly appetites); 4) impertinent or cheeky; 5) suspicious or questionable. In addition, *namagusamono* 生臭物 is used to describe foods (specifically meat and fish) prohibited to monks. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "namagusai." Sometimes translated in English as "fishy."

[230] *Namagusaki*'s premodern definitions can be traced to ninth-century texts, which suggests that the double-edged meaning of the word today was already functioning in the Heian period. See ibid., no. 1, for the more neutral definition of "raw" (*Shinsen jikyō* 新撰字鏡, c. 898-901, a Chinese-Japanese dictionary), and no. 2, for the second meaning of a bad smell (*Kongō hannyakyō shūgen ki* 金剛般若経集験記, c. 850, a manuscript legend of the Diamond Sutra).

Shūkoku's synesthetic combination of the visual and the olfactory calls up a peculiar tension: ironically, these pictures are so lifelike, they smell like dead fish.[231] His remarks prefigure a contradiction found in the pictures themselves. Are the fish depicted by Ryūsui meant to be "alive," or are they dead specimens? Some images undeniably suggest motion, such as the lithe, twisting bodies of the eels discussed above (see Fig. 1.9). Yet others show the vacant eyes and gaping mouths of fishy corpses, like the assemblage of juvenile yellowtail amberjack, striped beakfish, and yellow bitterling (Fig. 1.19).[232] Stilled or immobile as if frozen, they bear little resemblance to live creatures in motion, swimming among each other. More like individual fish pictures with no spatial relationship, they perhaps suggest the quality of the sketchbook. Yet, though seemingly dead, even these three fish—like nearly all species in *Umi no sachi*—display a high degree of morphological verisimilitude in shape, color, and size. I will return below to the pictorial evidence of close observation in these surprisingly accurate fish pictures, but it is useful here to outline more fully the active interest on the part of the book's makers in the ability of pictures to imitate life.

In his own preface, Ryūsui calls on long-standing concepts of East Asian painting theory that address the depiction of natural forms. The artist's purpose, we are told, is to turn likeness into beauty without rote copying:

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[231] The Chinese ideograph typically used to write *nama* (生) is the same character used to write the phoneme *sei*, or life. Namagusai is typically written using this character as a compound (two-character Chinese) word 生臭い. It can also be written with an alternate ideograph, which includes as a radical the same component *sei*. Shūkoku's preface in *Umi no sachi* renders the entire term in phonetic kana, which leaves open the multivocality of the word.

[232] *Wakanago* 若魚子 (a name for juvenile *buri* 鰤, or yellowtail amberjack, L. Seriola quinqueradiata); *shimadai* 縞鯛 (a name for juvenile *ishidai* 石鯛, or striped beakfish, L. Oplegnathus fasciatus); and *tanago* 鱮 (bitterling, L. Acheilognathus melanogaster); see vol. 2, 18v.

> Painting seeks spirit-resonance (*kiin* 氣韻), but focuses on the intention of the brush (*hitsui* 筆意). Turning resemblance—without imitation—into beauty is the painter's task. It is not to wish for the technique [of creating resemblance], and it is not to [merely] learn the techniques of sketching from life (*shasei* 写生).[233]

Ryūsui employs several of painting criticism's key terms: *kiin, hitsui*, and *shasei*. All three terms, as discussed below, address two seemingly contradictory impulses: simultaneously representing an objective or material reality, while at the same time seeking access to, and expression of, inward "truth."

By opening his remarks with the terms *kiin* 氣韻 and *hitsui* 筆意, Ryūsui performs a shorthand gesture toward the first two principles of the Six Laws of Chinese painting (*rikuhō*, C. *liufa)*, laid out first by Xie He in the sixth century. Several ambiguities undergird these terms. *Kiin seidō* 気韻生動 (C. *qiyun shengdong*) is roughly the notion that paintings acquire animation of movement through "spirit-resonance" or vitality.[234] The meaning of spirit-resonance in the first law is especially vague; it may refer to the interiority of the artist or the vitality of the depicted object. This external or internal spirit-resonance must then be transmitted through the physical movement of brush against ground. Thus *koppō yōhitsu* 骨法用筆 (C. *gufa yongbi*), often called "bone method," conveys the idea that the brush stroke creates structure, thereby denoting the

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[233] 画は氣韻を尚い筆意を専とし似すして似を美とすとは画家のことにして其識を願ふ にあらす 又写生の描写を學ふにあらす (vol. 1, 6v-7r).

[234] The *qi* 氣 (J. *ki*; breath, spirit, vitality) of the object and/or the artist may be the actual subject of expressive intent, even as the painter attempts to give pictorial form to the exterior skins of the material world. For translation of Xie He's text, see Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1985), 39-40.

value of brushwork.[235] Given that the pair of *kiin seidō* and *koppō yōhitsu* have provoked centuries of disagreement over their precise meaning, and these debates continue in modern scholarship, my approximation is a distillation; this topic would be worthy of further inquiry.[236]

However ancient or ambiguous, these ideas held currency for Japanese artists well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tosa Mitsuoki 土佐光起 (1617-91) discussed the Six Laws in his treatise *Authoritative Summary of the Rules of Painting* (*Honchō gahō taiden* 本朝画法大伝, 1690). Mitsuoki's interpretation emphasizes the spirit-resonance of the object of representation: "The foremost principle in the art of painting lies in a successful rendering of the spirit each object has….There would be no need for talking about principles of painting, if painting were no more than an art of copying the shape."[237] In general, however, the motivation for dusting off old concepts like spirit-resonance in printed books was probably calling upon long appreciated dictums as a rhetorical strategy rather than an exercise in serious critical inquiry. Mitsuoki appears to have thought deeply about realism in painting, but even his theories

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[235] The remaining four laws are: third, 応物像形 (follow the object to give likeness); fourth, 随類賦彩 (on applying color); fifth, 経営位置 (on composition); and sixth, 伝移模写 (transmitting models by copying). For a summary of critical discussions on the Six Laws, see ibid., 10-16.

[236] For example, analyses by William Acker, James Cahill, and Wen Fong, first published between 1954 and 1966, give competing interpretations of the Six Laws and the correct way to interpret their critical terms. See William Reynolds Beal Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), xiv-xliii; James Cahill, "The Six Laws and How to Read Them," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 372–81; and Wen Fong, "Ch'i-Yzin-Sheng-Tung: 'Vitality, Harmonious Manner and Aliveness,'" *Oriental Art* n. s. 12, no. 3 (1966): 159–64. Certainly further discussion has taken place since (including, in English, essays by Victor Mair and Jonathan Hay) but these three views are still often cited in the field of Chinese painting.

[237] Translated in Makoto Ueda, *Literary and Art Theories in Japan* (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1967), 137.

should be seen in the context of Edo period painting history.[238] As a Tosa artist his text resists the vigorous program of painting theory espoused by rival artists of the Kano school, whose treatises asserted the primacy of Kano painters as inheritors of an esteemed lineage.[239] In the eighteenth century, many printed painting manuals by professional artists trained in the Kano mode emphasized principles of *practice* (particularly the model book as a source for self-learning) over deep engagement with theoretical precepts of painting.[240] Therefore the deliberate use of keywords *kiin* and *hitsui* in *Umi no sachi* serves a rhetorical purpose (one that might be supposed for some painting manuals as well): it stakes a claim of authority and knowledge, but does little to resolve any questions of meaning and interpretation.

The third painting term cited by Ryūsui also signals an engagement with the problem of transmitting living essences and outer forms into pictorial terms. Difficult to translate, *shasei* 写生 joins the character *sha* 写, meaning trace, copy, imitate, or describe,

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[238] See John M. Rosenfield, "Japanese Studio Practice: The Tosa Family and the Imperial Painting Office in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Artist's Studio*, ed. Peter M. Lukehart (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993), 92-93 (on Mitsuoki's realism) and 96 (on rivalry with the Kano).

[239] On the rhetorical strategies employed in Kano Einō's *Honchō gashi* 本朝画史 (compiled 1678), see Quitman E. Phillips, "Honchō Gashi and the Kano Myth," *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 46–57. See also Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in 17th-Century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 157-216. For an overview of Kano painting books, see Nakada Katsunosuke, *Ehon no kenkyū* 絵本の研究 (Research on illustrated books) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1950), 133-183.

[240] See Brenda G. Jordan, "Copying from Beginning to End? Student Life in the Kano School," in *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting*, ed. Brenda G. Jordan and Victoria Weston (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 31–59. On Kano-trained artists outside the main line, and the dissemination of painting style through printed books, see Julie Nelson Davis on Toriyama Sekien in *Partners in Print*, 20–60. On Hayashi Moriatsu's 林守篤 1721 *Gasen* 画筌 (*Fishtrap of Painting*), see Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Chūgoku gafu no hakusai, honkoku to wasei gafu no tanjō," in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, edehon ten* 近世日本絵画と画譜・絵手本展, ed. Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990), 113, and Christophe Marquet, "Learning Painting in Books: Typology, Readership and Uses of Printed Painting Manuals during the Edo Period," in *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 345–355.

with the character *sei* 生, meaning life. *Shasei* is often rendered in English along the lines of "sketching from life" or "sketching from nature," although "transposing from life" might be more accurate. *Shasei* is closely related to the terms *shashin* 写真 and *sha'i* 写意 (C. *xiezhen* and *xieyi*), also deployed in painting theory. In her study of how the concept of *shashin* shaped the visual practices of a group of nineteenth-century scholars, Maki Fukuoka has translated these terms relationally: "…the compound of *shashin*, originally an aesthetic term that came to Japan, was used in the discourse of landscape paintings in Japan in conjunction with and in contrast to the concepts of transposition of the will (*sha'i*), transposition of the living spirit (*shasei*), and transposition of the actual (*shajitsu*)."[241]

Two critical, related points need to be emphasized about Ryūsui's use of the word *shasei* in his preface. The first is the simple fact that *shasei* was considered a painter's term; therefore its citation at the beginning of *Umi no sachi* invokes the discourse of painting—not of print. The second point is that the ambiguity of this long-standing term made it well suited to an emerging suite of practices of depicting nature directly, with less emphasis, at least theoretically, on pictorial models.

Shasei's definition in the eighteenth century is somewhat contested.[242] Its later meaning is clearer: by the early nineteenth century the concept of *shasei* was closely tied

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[241] Maki Fukuoka, *The Premise of Fidelity: Science, Visuality, and Representing the Real in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 45. Other possible translations give a slightly different inflection. Melinda Takeuchi, for instance, translates *sha'i* as "painting the idea"; see *Taiga's True Views: The Language of Landscape Painting in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 144.

[242] In recent decades scholars have begun to critically examine the etymology and Edo-period meanings of *shasei* and related terms. The emerging picture suggests the shifting of meanings based on historical moment and the particular agendas of writer or painter. This paragraph is based on the cogent discussions

to notions of direct observation of the material world; in the late nineteenth century it was appropriated by painters seeking equivalents for Western art terms like "naturalism" and "realism."[243] Yet this concept's use in Japanese painting long predates the imported Western pictorial methods with which *shasei* is often associated in modern scholarship.[244] It derives instead from the Chinese *xiesheng*, a term frequently associated with flower-and-bird painting since the mid-Song period. Use of the word *shaseiga* (literally, "*shasei* pictures") in Japan traces back to at least the Muromachi period (1392-1573).[245] Historical discussions of *shasei* as praxis often mention the "sketchbooks" of flowers, plants, and animals left by seventeenth-century painters like Kano Tan'yū 狩野探幽

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in, primarily, Kōno Motoaki, "Edo jidai shasei kō 江戸時代写生孝," in *Nihon kaigashi no kenkyū* 日本絵画史の研究, ed. Yamane Yūzo Koki Kinenkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989), 387–428 (Kōno here describes four somewhat distinct but overlapping usages of *shasei* in early modern Japan); Kōno Motoaki, "'Shasei' no gensen--Chūgoku 「写生」の源泉—中国 (The Source of 'Shasei': China)," in *Akiyama Terukazu Hakushi koki kinen bijutsushi ronbunshū* 秋山光和博士古稀記念美術史論文集, ed. Akiyama Terukazu Hakase Koki Kinen Bijutsushi Ronbunshū Kankōkai (Kyoto: Benridō, 1991), 479–514; Tsuji Nobuo, "Shasei to sha'i: Edo jidai kachōga kō 写生と写意: 江戸時代花鳥画孝," in *Kachōga no sekai* 花鳥画の世界, vol. 7 (Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1983), 86–95; Satō Dōshin, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State*, 231-254; and Imahashi Riko, "Odano Naotake shasei chō no imi: Edo jidai 'shasei' no ninshiki to dōjidai hakubutsu zufu 小田野直武写生帖の意味--江戸時代「写生」の認識と同時代博物図譜 (The meaning of Odano Naotake's shasei-chō: The Understanding of 'Shasei' in the Edo Period and Contemporary Natural History Illustrations)," *Bijutsushi* 39, no. 2 (March 1990): 170–85. Critical discussions in English have so far focused primarily on nineteenth-century art (see note 186). Melinda Takeuchi's work on Ike Taiga is a notable exception. See Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views*, esp. 121-122 and 144-146.

[243] These shorthand translations misappropriate the terms of Western art history when used today for Edo-period *shasei*, but taken in historical context they represent the efforts of Meiji period Western-style painters in the late nineteenth century to define their methods and intentions in contradistinction to other movements in painting. See Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State*, 245, 250.

[244] For recent considerations of how *shasei* concerned late Edo and early Meiji period visual practices, see (on literati painting) Rosina Buckland, *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and the Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 35–37; (on nihonga painting) Chelsea Foxwell, *Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting: Kano Hogai and the Search for Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 143–172; (on Kawanabe Kyōsai) Brenda G. Jordan, "Kawanabe Kyōsai's Theory and Pedagogy: The Preeminence of Shasei," in Jordan and Weston, *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets*," 86-115; and (on the medical group Shōhyaku-sha) Fukuoka, *The Premise of Fidelity*, 45–47.

[245] The *Zatsuji ruisho* 雑字類書 (also known as the *Bunmei setsuyōshū* 文明節用集), dated to the mid-Muromachi period, simply equates *shasei* with painting and drawing. See *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "shasei."

(1602-1674) and Ogata Kōrin 尾形光琳 (1658-1716)—even though their production could constitute very distinct practices of working either from nature or from pictorial models.[246] Thus even though *shasei* was narrowed in the Meiji period to the sole meaning of "life sketching" as a translation for Western painting terminology, it signified in the Edo period a far richer history of—and perhaps a looser array of methods for—painting nature.[247]

However, the category of *shasei* pictures was emerging in the eighteenth century concurrent with the development of a renewed discourse surrounding it. Most famously, Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733-1795) employed the term when he promoted his own "copying from life" (*shasei*) as a new kind of painting in the late eighteenth century—shortly after the publication of *Umi no sachi* (see Fig. 1.20 for Ōkyo's "album of life sketches"). In the rhetoric of Ōkyo and his followers, these *shasei* pictures laid claim to truthfulness in replicating the external forms of the natural world.[248] Ōkyo called this verisimilitude his "new concept," but his methods were in fact a synthesis of realistic techniques from a variety of other painting styles—borrowed techniques that, as Timon Screech argues, remained mostly unacknowledged.[249] Even today Ōkyo's paintings are

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[246] Imahashi Riko, "Odano Naotake shasei chō no imi," 174.
[247] Kōno, "Edo jidai shasei kō," 414. See also Imahashi, *Edo no kachōga*, 87-130 (on Odano Naotake) and 170-212 (on daimyo interest in natural history sketching and the Kano school), and Takeuchi on Taiga, in the following note.
[248] Competing contemporaneous views on *shasei* can be cited. For example literati (*nanga* 南画) painters engaging these ideas in the eighteenth century emphasized notions of individual expression and internal "truth." Melinda Takeuchi argues that the concept of *shasei* played a role in defining *shinkeizu* 新景図 ("true-view pictures") for Ike Taiga and his contemporaries in *Taiga's True Views*, 144–146. See also Frank L. Chance, "In the Studio of Painting Study: Transmission Practices of Tani Bunchō," in Jordan and Weston, *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets*, esp. 69-70.
[249] Timon Screech argues that Ōkyo's "new concept" (*shin'i* 新意), mobilizing period ideas of *shasei* and *shashin,* was in fact part of the careful construction of a professional persona and personal brand; the Ōkyo mode of "realism" was an original invention of the artist. See Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear*

often discussed as if they were almost exclusively empirical, owing little to art historical influences.[250] As Timon Screech argues, Ōkyo's "'new concept' was a rhetoric, an ideological position, and not, in the end, a style."[251] The power of this rhetoric endures today in the art historical association between Ōkyo and *shasei*, sometimes to the exclusion of Edo period painters who had already engaged this concept directly.[252] What Ōkyo's rhetoric does suggest, however, is that later eighteenth-century *shasei* was becoming increasingly tied to a wider groundswell of interest (if not a unified set of practices) in the making of pictures based on close observation of nature.

In my reading, *Umi no sachi* actively participates in this *ongoing* negotiation of what it meant to transpose life into images. The illustrated book should not only be understood as a deluxe artifact of an emerging color print culture and the poetic milieu of Edo, but also situated within a growing vogue for images based on empirical study, a movement that would eventually codify *shaseiga* (写生画 "*shasei* pictures") as a category of supposedly observation-based, "truthful" painting. Ryūsui's citation of the

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and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760-1829, (London: Reaktion, 2000), 167-207. Yoshiaki Shimizu also notes an array of sources of inspiration for Ōkyo's mature style, but emphasizes his engagement with Western "artistic stimuli." See Shimizu, "Okyo's 'Realism': An Encounter with a Different Kind," in *Acts of XXVIIIth International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens (Berlin: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Freien Universität, 1995), 599–612. The key Ōkyo text in Japanese is Sasaki Jōhei and Sasaki Masako, *Maruyama Ōkyo kenkyū* 丸山応挙研究 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1996).

[250] See, for instance Sasaki Jōhei and Sasaki Masako, *Maruyama Ōkyo: "shaseiga" sōzō e no chōsen tokubetsuten* 円山応挙: 「写生画」 創造への挑戦特別展, ed. Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan and Mainichi Shinbunsha (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2003).

[251] Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture*, 179.

[252] For Tan'yū's seventeenth-century *shasei* sketchbooks (*shasei-chō* 写生帖), comprising both pictures reputedly sketched from life and pictures copied from earlier masters, an established Kano practice, see Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, ed., *Seitan yonhyakunen kinen, Kano Tan'yū ten* 生誕400年記念狩野探幽展 (Paintings by Kanō Tan'yū Upon the 400th Anniversary of Tan'yū's Birth) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 2002). esp. cat. 63, 69, 70 and 71.

Six Laws and *shasei* thus marks the book's engagement with issues of painting and specifically ideas of working "from life."

That these concerns were being raised in the medium of print was surely significant. Additional remarks by Ryūsui directly address the limitations of print as a substitute for painted images, implicitly asking for the viewer's forbearance when he writes that qualities of the woodblock make it "difficult to produce colors as one would with a brush" (fol. 7v).[253] Ryūsui may be thinking about the kind of blended colors possible in painting, as we saw in his painted fan. On the other hand, this address may be slightly disingenuous; a book's prefatory texts might disclaim the shortcomings of its contents precisely for the purpose of highlighting these "imperfections" through false modesty. Given *Umi no sachi*'s extraordinary use of color, Ryūsui's intention seems to be to draw our attention even more acutely to the book's innovative printing, as much as to excuse any flaws of coloration.

Many further elements of the book suggest an awareness of the material conventions and conceptual concerns of painting. Most apparent would have been aspects of materiality discussed at the beginning of this chapter, such as *Umi no sachi*'s fine paper and colorants, overlays of printed color, large double-page illustrations, and occasional sprinklings of mica. Beyond color and materials other features seem to address the medium of painting. The calligraphy of the carp poem, for example, is a clear display of accomplished brush techniques. Similarly, printed seals and a Chinese-style poem above *Umi no sachi*'s sea bream recall the inscriptions frequently found on painted

[253] 彩色筆のことく成かたし

handscrolls and hanging scrolls (Fig. 1.21).[254] While not a perfect copy, the shape of the book's sea bream is an extremely close match for Ryūsui's fan painting (Fig. 1.11), suggesting the suitability of a painted composition adapted to the medium of print.[255] In addition, the lack of a printed black border in *Umi no sachi*, together with the striking tonality achieved through careful overlays of color printing, suggests something of this book's pretensions to other elite picture formats, including *surimono* and other privately commissioned prints as well as small-format paintings such as handscrolls and albums. The full-color "brocade" sheet prints of three years later were said to rival the work of painters, but relatively little attention has been given to the challenges color-printed *books* pose to the dialogue between painting and print. *Umi no sachi*'s explicit invocation of painting theory and its range of visual and material references to painting—not print—place it as much in conversation with the tradition of album paintings and handscrolls as with printed matter like *ukiyo-e* sheet prints.

In addition to borrowing the verbal and visual language of painting, *Umi no sachi* also signals a critical turn toward close observation, a shift that would later occupy painters like Ōkyo and artists engaged with "Dutch learning" and natural history through the end of the Edo period.[256] A lack of pictorial precedents for *Umi no sachi* supports the

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[254] This auspicious fish is printed in limited colors (only black and pale orange), but that careful articulation of each individual scale still yields a subtle and elegantly simple result.

[255] The similarity of the printed and painted images suggests that the same preparatory drawing may have been used for both pictures.

[256] Rangaku 蘭学 (lit., "Dutch studies") signified in the period a range of imported Western fields of science, art, and technology introduced via trade with the Dutch. For studies of artists leading the charge in study of Western optics and painting, see, among others, Imahashi, *Edo no kachōga*, 87–130; Calvin L. French, *Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974); Timon Screech, *The Lens within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Hiroko Johnson, *Western Influences on Japanese Art: The Akita Ranga Art School and Foreign Books* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005).

claims made by artist and editor about the immediacy and lifelikeness of Ryūsui's fish, suggesting that he did indeed work from life. One must consider, of course, whether pictorial models could have served as sources for Ryūsui's drawings. An interest in the techniques of *shasei* would not have entirely precluded such practice. As Melinda Takeuchi and others have noted, Edo artists following Tan'yū made many copies of his sketchbooks, and some of their so-called "sketches from nature" are actually pictures based on other pictures. She writes, "The appearance of life drawing became a convention as easily reproduced and transmitted from pictorial models as any other mode of painting."[257] However, visual precedents for *Umi no sachi*'s diverse collection of fish are rare, at least those to which we can reasonably suppose Ryūsui had access.[258] The most comprehensive and accessible pictorial sources are printed encyclopedias like *Wakan sansai zue* (see Fig. 1.16). However, as discussed earlier, these books contain very small monochrome images, which afford little *visual* information about individual species. Thus while it seems clear that *Umi no sachi* drew on the textual information (such as nomenclature) of natural science books, it is implausible that Ryūsui could have relied on the pictorial information in these texts. Other possibilities for visual sources are slim. Two illustrated books on related aquatic subjects—shellfish and whales—appeared just a few years before *Umi no sachi*, but neither treats fish in depth.[259] Unless Ryūsui

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[257] Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views*, 122.

[258] A number of extant fish paintings could be cited here, but there is no evidence that Ryūsui himself—by all accounts a commoner—would have seen such paintings. Even if he had, I am aware of no individual or collection of fish paintings that even begins to approach the diversity and scope of *Umi no sachi*'s assembly of fish. Japanese fish paintings tend to depict a single or a few fish, of certain types—auspicious species like carp or sea bream are most common—rather than large shoals of clearly delineated, diverse variety.

[259] *Igansai Kaihin* 怡顔斎介品 (*Igansai's Shells*, 1758) and *Geishi* 鯨志 (*Treatise on Whales*, 1760). Igansai was a pen name of natural studies (*honzōgaku* 本草学) scholar Matsuoka Jōan 松岡恕庵 (1668-1746), teacher of the famous Ono Ranzan 小野蘭山 (1729-1810); his book only includes crustaceans,

had access to a now-unknown repository of fish paintings, his most probable models were those that would have been easiest to acquire and study at leisure: actual fish, perhaps purchased at the market in Nihonbashi.

That *Umi no sachi*'s pictures offer strikingly faithful renditions of shape, color, and size would also support the idea that Ryūsui worked directly from life. Extensive comparison of Ryūsui's fish with modern illustrated fish dictionaries has shown the pictures in *Umi no sachi* to be remarkably accurate in their portrayal.[260] As mentioned earlier, Ryūsui's extant fan painting, though perhaps not the work of a master painter, certainly reveals an attention to color and to volume—aims that resonate with the depictions of *Umi no sachi*. Further, the choice of how to position these animals undergirds our ability to "read" them: a frequently used angle of representation in the book is in the same style as modern fish dictionaries. While some species writhe and slither, many others are arrested, straightened, and rotated to profile view. Using as an example the *aka'u* 赤魚 (literally, "red fish," a type of rockfish),[261] we see the axis of its body is horizontal, parallel to the bottom edge of the page (Fig. 1.22). Fish rendered at this angle give the viewer the perfect profile: their spines are distinctly uncontorted, laid out straight as an arrow, as if to best expose both overall contours and the variations of

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shells, and echinoderms such as starfish. *Geishi* enumerates fourteen types of whales, with large monochrome illustrations by Yamase Harumasa 山瀬春政 (dates unknown), also a student of *honzōgaku*. These books may have offered some inspiration, but could not have been direct pictorial sources as they contain no pictures of finned fish.

[260] Most can be found in Kamohara Toshiji, *Genshoku Nihon gyorui zukan* 原色日本魚類図鑑 *(Coloured illustrations of the fishes of Japan)*, Kaiteiban, 2 vols. (Ōsaka-shi: Hoikusha, 1961) and Habe Tadashige, *Zoku Genshoku Nihon kairui zukan* 続原色日本貝類図鑑 *(Coloured Illustrations of the Shells of Japan II)* (Osaka: Hoikusha, 1961).

[261] *Aka'u* or *akauo* can today refer to one of four different types of fish. The species depicted in *Umi no sachi* is probably either Pacific ocean perch (L. Sebastes alutus) or Matsubara's red rockfish (L. Sebastes matsubarae).

scale coloration across the sides of the body. This prime viewing angle affords the greatest amount of visual data about physiques, a form of display we might today find more suited to scientific study than to art. (Even in compositions that include several species on a single page, flat, side views are common, like a group of isolated fish pictures with no spatial relationship to each other, as in the example given in Figure 1.19). Finally, the design and placement of the fish reflects a sense of real scale; generally the fish arranged in clusters are smaller species or juveniles, whereas the double-page illustrations of a single fish are mostly reserved for larger species in their mature form, such as seabream, carp, catfish, or anglerfish.

Yet for all the pictorial evidence of authentic depictions—in color, shape, and size—there still remains an ambiguity in the way that *Umi no sachi*'s fish hover in isolation on the white expanse of the book's pages. There is an undeniable flatness to many of the images, as in the example of the *aka'u*, belying any claims of transposing life. No pictorial setting is offered to normalize or "naturalize" the depictions of each species.[262] Ryūsui's shells, for instance, such as the *mirugai* clam and others (Fig. 1.23), or his "assorted shells" (*kaizukushi*, vol. 2, fols. 19v-20r), are simply set against the blank space of the page. Just like his finned fish, each species forms a discrete unit, as much like the drawings one might find in an artist's sketchbook as like scientific specimens pinned to the paper.

[262] Only the *minogame* or aged "hairy" turtle," the very last illustration of the book, is granted a pictorial environment. Though rather cursory pictorially, the printing is subtly complex: black lines make up conventional wave-forms, while complementary "white" lines in the wash of blue show where lines were carved out of the color block.

Compare Ryūsui's composition to the depiction of assorted shells in Utamaro's later volume of pictures-and-poetry on the theme of the sea's bounty, *Shiohi no tsuto* 潮干のつと (*Gifts from the Ebb-tide*, 1788) (Fig. 1.24).[263] Shells are once again gathered in the lower register of the page, with poems printed above, but the pictorial space is also defined by a horizontal band of grey, slightly greenish taupe printed in the soft, hazy layers of *bokashi* 暈し (tonal gradation) shading. This smoky color field transforms the lower half of the page into a kind of simulated beach, as if to evoke the sandy expanse at shore's edge where one would gather scattered seashells. If Utamaro's design seems to move toward pictorial depth, Ryūsui's pictures seem to resist it, with fish remaining largely fixed in the shallow space of the picture plane. Ryūsui's "naturalism," so to speak, rests in color, size, and shape—not illusionism.

While it would be too much to claim that *Umi no sachi*'s pictures faithfully model three-dimensional forms or would stand up to modern standards of scientific accuracy, it seems clear that the book's gestures toward "copying from life" (*shasei*) as given in the preface are nonetheless significant. The visual evidence of close observation in many passages of *Umi no sachi* seems less concerned with the strict transposition of a "lifelike" fish than with capturing enough details to make a convincing portrayal. (Perhaps the same could be said of his painted sea bream.) By the same token, the question of Ryūsui's working method is perhaps less critical in terms of historical fact—whether he indeed used actual fish as models—than in terms of rhetoric and appearance. Claims of

[263] Various impressions of this album are extant; colors and printing effects vary depending on the printing. Selected for illustration here is the Pulverer copy, believed to be the first printing. For digital images and close analysis of this copy by Julie Nelson Davis, see the Pulverer Collection online catalogue: https://pulverer.si.edu/node/318/title/1 (accessed 11 July 2016). Another early impression is held by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

having worked from life, signaled by both Shūkoku and Ryūsui, coupled with the dizzying array of differentiated and often quite convincing printed pictures, indicates a deliberate engagement with the *concept* of transposing nature directly, if not the practice of direct observation.

Conclusion: The Novelty of Color

I stated at the outset of this chapter that *Umi no sachi* challenges many standard narratives that underpin modern discussions of Japanese print culture. *Umi no sachi* calls into question many persistent assumptions about the history of color, bibliographic genre, and artistic motivations in Japanese print culture. Specifically, the novel combination of *Umi no sachi*'s key features—printed color, high material quality, poetic text, and unusual aquatic subject—challenges all of the familiar hallmarks we associate with the story of the earliest and most important works of full-color printing in Japan.

The chapter has presented a case for an understanding of the work in relation to things one would not necessarily associate with an eighteenth-century book. Its innovation in materiality and cutting-edge techniques of full-color printing are clear. Yet beyond its significance for print history, *Umi no sachi* speaks deeply to the visual and verbal culture of mid-eighteenth century Japan. An extraordinarily visual product of *haikai* poets in the city of Edo, the book brings together a complex web of literary, cultural, and artistic associations ranging from the symbolism of fish to the value of fish as food. *Umi no sachi* evidences the prosperity of a booming urban center, where creative pursuits are fueled by the commercial activities of merchants like those at the fish market nearby. This unusual work, moreover, is a printed object but engages painting's issues.

Ryūsui's invocation of key terms, painting conventions, and ideas of working from life insert the book in a broader painting discourse and signal an interest in the capacity of images to transpose nature. The appeal to deliciousness in the carp poem, or to the "smelliness" of Ryūsui's pictures in a preface, for example, explicitly raises the issue that fishy bodies were not merely for poetic associations. They also constituted live or dead flesh; they were food *and* they were pictorial subjects. Thus, while the importance of the book to the history of color and print is crucial, the chapter also asserts that *Umi no sachi* is important for its other engagements too.

In my analysis *Umi no sachi* is a material locus at the intersection of poetry, pictures, printing, and investigations of the natural world in the eighteenth century, a focal point that brings forward the developing period discourse about the relationship of images to the "real." Throughout this chapter, I have also argued for a reflexivity evident in the book's materiality, content, and design. In devising *Umi no sachi*, the book's producers used color and advanced printing techniques, sophisticated visual-textual compositions, and even references to literature, art, and the commerce of fish as signs of their own cultural cachet. The poetry circle represented in these pages was undoubtedly aware of the innovative technical qualities of their undertaking, as evidenced by the expensive materials, but surely too they were conscious of the wider commercial, intellectual, and artistic currents shaping their world.

My study of *Umi no sachi* in this chapter has examined these major points of the book's significance, but it also leaves questions unanswered. Further areas of research on this book include transcription and translation of all the book's hundreds of poems and identification and network mapping of every named poet, which would doubtless be

useful to scholars of early modern *haikai* poetry. For art history, an important question to be explored in greater depth is how full-color printing in books specifically engages not only single-sheet prints, but also the medium of painting, especially smaller formats like albums and handscrolls. Triangulating the position of the printed book in relation to these other media could offer new insights on the relationship between the printed and the painted.

Finally, another compelling set of questions is raised by the relative absence of significant fish imagery before *Umi no sachi*, and the trove of printed and painted pictures of fish produced after *Umi no sachi*. These later images include Ōkyo's lyrical carp paintings of the 1770s-1790s, Utamaro's book *Shiohi no tsuto* (1788), and Utagawa Hiroshige's 歌川広重 (1797-1858) series of fish prints (*Sakana-zukushi* 魚尽くし, c. 1840-42), among many others. Perhaps coming closest in both specificity and scope to *Umi no sachi*'s collection of fish are the natural history illustrations of later artists, such as the hundreds of unsigned ink and color drawings of fish believed to be the work of Kawahara Keiga 川原慶賀 (1786?-1860?) (Fig. 1.25).[264] Meticulously and vividly rendered, Keiga's paintings carried forward *Umi no sachi*'s interest in the ability of images to transpose aquatic life. His pictures were also made under commission for the German physician and botanist Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), and thus were

[264] The paintings were likely produced in the late 1820s or early 1830s. See Nofuji Tae, "The Kawahara Keiga Animal, Plant, and Genre Paintings in Siebold's Collection," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium Siebold's Vision of Japan—As Seen in Japan-Related Collections in the West—*, trans. Dylan Luers Toda (Tokyo: Inter-University Research Institute Corporation, National Institute for the Humanities, 2015), 292.

produced within the ideological framework of nineteenth-century natural science.[265] The fact that Keiga's fish pictures postdate the poetry book by more than half a century should not obscure their shared concern with morphological detail, vibrant coloration, and sheer breadth of aquatic biodiversity, but rather highlight for us the possible reverberations *Umi no sachi*'s publication may have had on Edo period visual culture.

In its innovation and extraordinary range of references, *Umi no sachi* engages with discovery—applying the new techniques of multiple-block color printing to a fresh subject—even as it resists easy classification and interpretation. The next chapter will turn to this book's sequel, moving from the slippery associations of the aquatic world to the creeping vines and crawling insects of the earth.

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[265] Like his predecessors Englebert Kaempfer and Carl Peter Thunberg, von Siebold sought to carry out comprehensive surveys of the fauna and flora of Japan; he was remarkably successful in assembling collections of both real specimens and pictorial illustrations. On Keiga's fish paintings for Siebold, see Nofuji (above note) and Martien J. P. van Oijen, *Vissen: van haai tot koi (Fish from Shark to Koi)* (Leiden: Sieboldhuis, 2012).

CHAPTER TWO

Printing Plants and Insects in Color: *Yama no sachi*

In the third month of 1765, three years after the publication of *Umi no sachi*, a second illustrated *haikai* poetry anthology printed in the full-color technique was published in the city of Edo (Fig. 2.1).[266] Entitled *Yama no sachi* 山の幸, or Treasures of the Mountain, this book again brought together Katsuma Ryūsui as artist, editor Sekijukan Shūkoku, and carver Sekiguchi Jinshirō. Each turn of the page in *Yama no sachi*'s two volumes reveals an elegantly color-printed plant species accompanied by an insect, small reptile, or rodent. Each picture is paired with corresponding *haikai* poems. Shifting from the bounty of the sea to the mountain, *Yama no sachi* matches the earlier book of fish in its size, deluxe materials, and even its thematic conceit, yet it exceeds the earlier color-printing methods with even greater variation in techniques and subtlety of overlaid applications of color.

Yet *Yama no sachi* has received limited attention by scholars to date. Contemporaneous with, but overshadowed by, the full-color, single-sheet "*nishiki-e* (brocade prints) revolution," as it has been called in *ukiyo-e* studies, *Yama no sachi* nevertheless represents a critical stage of early full-color printing's development: a material object of technical and artistic innovation in color printing made before printed full-color books became more fully the purview of commercial *ukiyo-e* publishers. This chapter therefore focuses closely on the book itself, especially its selected subjects, their arrangement, and the color printing techniques used to depict them. By setting *Yama no*

[266] All illustrations and page references given in this chapter to *Yama no sachi* refer to the impression held by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (acc. 2009.2524), unless otherwise noted.

sachi's distinctive selections and printed color at the center of analysis, this chapter makes the case for the complexity of *Yama no sachi*'s meaning and its significance as an early book of full-color printing in Japan. Whereas the previous chapter sought to connect the innovative, polychrome materiality of *Umi no sachi* with the book's unusual choice of subject, in this chapter I posit *Yama no sachi*'s printed color as a site of experimentation and further maturity, in which a new level of sophistication may be seen.

As one of the first in-depth studies of *Yama no sachi*, this chapter aims to add to the existing literature by establishing *Yama no sachi*'s contributions to the history of printed color and its place within a wider context of cultural production. Therefore, the chapter begins by examining how scholars have addressed the book to date. After setting its art-historical background in place, this chapter examines the meanings and significance of *Yama no sachi* through both a close focus on its contents, materials, and structure, and also an investigation of how its subjects and their presentation, especially through printed color, relate to a wider range of prior and contemporary practices in poetry, painting, and printed books.

The first area of investigation centers on how *Yama no sachi* continues or departs from the precedent set by *Umi no sachi*. To establish their practical connections, I begin by examining the book's colophon and prefaces, which give evidence of a shared network of producers and their intent to create a sequel. Furthermore, the language of the prefaces signals particular concerns related to the representation of natural subjects in printed color—concerns shared with the project of *Umi no sachi*, as previously seen. The cultural significance of pairing the sea with the mountain is also discussed, demonstrating that the overall themes of *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi* are also conceptually linked.

Next, while *Yama no sachi* shares practical, conceptual, and material links with the earlier book, close examination of the book's contents, color printing, and design also reveals meaningful differences of approach. The following section thus turns to *Yama no sachi*'s contents and their organization. Through their relationship to period encyclopedic taxonomy, to Japanese poetry, and to the East Asian genre of flower-and-bird painting (*kachōga*, C. *huaniaohua*, 花鳥画), I outline the selection of insects and flowering plants as the primary subjects of the "treasures of the mountain," contrasted with the earlier book's selection of fish. I also consider how *Yama no sachi*'s mostly seasonal sequence—and exceptions within that sequence—highlight significant changes in the organization and layout of the book. Investigating these elements of the book's design, such as the structural relationship of text and image as well as the composition of individual pages, reveals a new degree of standardization or uniformity in the approach to overall organization.

Then, in the subsequent section, I focus on the book's varied color printing techniques and the effects that they produce. In contrast to the more regulated approach to text and image, the color printing, I argue, provided a means of technical and aesthetic exploration. I chart the quantity and qualities of *Yama no sachi*'s color, its variation of printing techniques, and the greater delicacy of its effects, to demonstrate how it expresses, on the one hand, a sense of trial-and-error and, on the other, a new level of complexity and sophistication. To interpret the unusual refinement of *Yama no sachi*'s color printing, I consider the comparisons provided by several significant color-printed painting manuals of the period, including the well-known *Mustard Seed Garden Manual*

of Painting. I also consider the contemporary illustrated book *Sō Shiseki gafu* 宋紫石画譜 (Painting Album of Sō Shiseki, 1765), published in the same year as *Yama no sachi* and featuring a number of color-printed compositions after the mid-eighteenth century painter Sō Shiseki 宋紫石 (1715-1786). I argue that these comparative perspectives bring into sharper focus *Yama no sachi*'s cultivation of color as a technical and aesthetic priority.

Existing Literature on *Yama no sachi*

Like *Umi no sachi*, *Yama no sachi* is well known by scholars of Japanese illustrated books, but until now it has received limited analysis and interpretation. Previous discussions of *Yama no sachi* tend to fall into one of three categories. The most common are brief citations within larger studies of color printing and of illustrated books, which note the fact of the book's color printing and provide basic details of publication. At a second, deeper level of investigation, previous writers have remarked on its relationship to the earlier *Umi no sachi*, briefly comparing the two books. Third, a few scholars have considered whether *Yama no sachi* may have influenced later *ukiyo-e* artists working in natural subjects.

Yama no sachi's status as an early work of full-color printing is acknowledged in several of the most important studies on this subject. The pioneering exhibition *Nishiki-e no tanjō* 錦絵の誕生 (The Birth of Nishiki-e) provides a typical example. A short entry in the exhibition catalogue points out *Yama no sachi*'s color printing, its continuation of the *Umi no sachi* theme, and the fact that it was published in 1765, the same watershed

year that is typically associated with Suzuki Harunobu's full-color sheet prints.[267] The catalogue also offers limited information about the book's producers, naming artist and editor (Ryūsui and Shūkoku, respectively) as well as the publishers, Matsumoto Zenbē and Ōsakaya Heizaburō, although no further information is given about the activities of these figures. Most other discussions of *Yama no sachi* in the existing literature consist of concise citations of this kind, and invariably occur within larger studies of color-printing developments or of the history of illustrated books in Japan.[268]

Unsurprisingly, *Yama no sachi* is frequently mentioned in conjunction with its predecessor *Umi no sachi*, which receives fuller—though still limited—attention, as discussed at the beginning of the previous chapter. The two books certainly invite comparison: they were produced by the same team of editor, artist, and carver and include some of the same poets, as discussed below; they both use the new technique of full-color printing; and, of course, they employ related themes. These fundamental similarities were established nearly a century ago by Mori Senzō, a historian of *haikai* publishing.[269] However, the lion's share of attention often goes to *Umi no sachi*, perhaps due to its earlier, pioneering date of publication in 1762 and its remarkable combination of color-printing techniques with a fresh subject.[270] Also notable is the fact that *Yama no sachi* does not appear in any substantive way in some key publications on Harunobu, where one might expect *Yama no sachi* to form part of the larger context for the development of full-color printing. For instance, it is mentioned but not discussed further

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[267] Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Nishiki-e no tanjō,* 135, entry 4-94.
[268] For further examples, see (among others) Fritz Rumpf, "Die Anfänge des Farbenholzschnittes in China und Japan," 10, and Matsudaira Susumu, "Ehon shi no naka no eiri haisho," 65.
[269] See Mori Senzō, "Katsuma Ryūsui." Many recent writers repeat the information found in this text.
[270] For instance, see Imahashi's treatment of the two books in Imahashi Riko, *Edo no kachōga*, 314.

in David Waterhouse's *Harunobu and His Age: The Development of Colour Printing in Japan*.[271] The imbalance in the literature on the two books means that *Yama no sachi* has received comparatively less investigation as an object of analysis in its own right.

Nevertheless, useful observations about the book's color and presentation can be found in scholarship on illustrated books of the period. These observations represent the deeper level of investigations which all look at *Yama no sachi*'s relationship to *Umi no sachi*. *Haikai* publishing scholar Kira Sueo, who has consistently asserted the place of *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi* in the development of multiple-block color printing, goes beyond the standard citations in the literature when he points to the social network of Edoza poets behind *Yama no sachi* and makes concise remarks about the book's use of color.[272] Kira wrote that its color printing displays a darker, earthier tonality, asserting that "through its simplicity one can feel a sense of quiet elegance."[273] A similar evaluation was made by Mori Senzō in a journal entry from 1937, where he wrote of seeing a copy of *Yama no sachi* in person for the first time. Mori observed that although the pictures seem "amateur," in terms of elegance, he still found them superior even to *Umi no sachi*.[274] A few commentators have remarked upon other changes in style between the two books. For instance, Claudia Waltermann briefly mentions the books in her own discussion of mid-eighteenth century *haikai* anthologies. She calls Ryūsui's

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[271] See the end of the descriptive entry for *Umi no sachi*, in David Waterhouse, *Harunobu and His Age*, 293. *Yama no sachi* is not mentioned in Waterhouse's catalogue of Harunobu prints at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, though Katsuma Ryūsui receives brief discussion, as detailed in chapter one (see 6, note 9).
[272] Kira's remarks on *Yama no sachi* are still brief, limited to several paragraphs within larger discussions of illustrated haikai books. See Kira Sueo, "Tashokuzuri ebaisho ni tsuite," and Kira Sueo, *Haisho no hanashi*.
[273] Kira Sueo, "Tashokuzuri ebaisho ni tsuite," 16.
[274] Mori Senzō, "Zokusho nikki" 続書日記, in *Mori Senzō chosakushū zokuhen* 森銑三著作集続編, vol. 14 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1992), 240.

designs for *Yama no sachi* "freer, more artistic" and less detailed, noting that the plants and insects are more stylized than his earlier fish.[275] Jack Hillier assessed *Yama no sachi*'s color printing even more favorably in his magnum opus, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, where he suggests that it could even be considered "the high-water mark of wood-block colour-printing."[276] Supporting this assertion, Hillier narrates his encounter with *Yama no sachi*'s illustrations in keenly observed, close detail; however, like his treatment of *Umi no sachi*, his remarks do not provide a full examination of the book's contents, materiality, or contexts.[277]

Finally, as noted in the previous chapter, several art historians have suggested that Ryūsui's books offered inspiration for later naturalist albums by *ukiyo-e* artists. Suzuki Jūzō, among others, has argued cogently for the possibility that *Yama no sachi* may have inspired Kitagawa Utamaro's later *Ehon mushi erami* 絵本虫えらみ (Illustrated Book: Selected Insects, 1788), which also combines illustrations of plants and insects with matching poems. Using several examples drawn from compositions in each book, Suzuki concludes that it is not possible to trace any direct copying from *Yama no sachi* to *Ehon mushi erami*, but he insists that the mutual resemblances are too resonant to be dismissed outright.[278] Suzuki's study focuses on Utamaro's books, not Ryūsui's, but his conclusion points to a general sense among scholars that Ryūsui's early and unusual books may well have been influential in later decades. Hinohara Kenji echoes this argument in his

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[275] Claudia Waltermann, *Die bebilderte "haikai"-Anthologie "Kageboshi" (1754)*, 35.
[276] Hillier's esteem for *Yama no sachi* might also be inferred from the five full-page reproductions of *Yama no sachi* in *The Art of the Japanese Book*, compared with only three half-page illustrations of *Umi no sachi*. See reproductions on 238–249.
[277] Ibid., 243–246.
[278] Suzuki Jūzō, "Utamaro ehon no bunsekiteki kōsatsu," 18.

analysis of the poetry book *Haikai na no shiori* 誹諧名知折 (Haikai Guide to Names, 1781), illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739-1820).[279] Like Suzuki, Hinohara argues that there are too many differences in composition for *Yama no sachi* to be the immediate model for *Haikai na no shiori*, but he suggests that Shigemasa's designs of plants and the overall compositions probably took a cue from Ryūsui's "minutely detailed" pictures in *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*.[280]

The literature highlighted above gives a sense of the current state of scholarship on *Yama no sachi*. The book has clearly been acknowledged in research on color printing and on illustrated books, but overall it is treated as an ancillary topic. Most appearances in the literature consist of basic citations of publication details. In addition, *Yama no sachi* frequently takes a backseat to discussions of *Umi no sachi*'s novel representations of fish. The most analytical observations directed at *Yama no sachi* to date have focused on whether its designs were directly imitated by later *ukiyo-e* artists working on similar themes. None of these studies concentrates on *Yama no sachi* itself. Although the status of *Yama no sachi* as a sequel seems to be well understood, evidence for this assumption has yet to be fully laid out, as I attempt to do below. Full transcriptions or translations have yet to be published of the book's text (which, as in the case of *Umi no sachi*, remains difficult to read due to its elaborate calligraphic style and the orthography of early modern written Japanese). Similarly, the book has not yet received a close

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[279] Hinohara Kenji, "Kitao Shigemasa ga 'Haikai nano shiori' ni tsuite: Kamigata ehon kara no kachōga gakushū o chūshin ni 北尾重政画『誹諧名知折』について—上方絵本からの花鳥画学習を中心に— (Haikai nano shiori by Kitao Shigemasa: The influence of Kyoto and Osaka bird-and-flower books on Shigemasa)," *Bijutsushi* 153 (October 2002): 76–91.
[280] Ibid., 84–85.

examination of its materiality, the selection or sequence of species, and the artistic and cultural milieux that informed its creation.

However, two recent, library-based projects should be noted. First, a partial transcription of *Yama no sachi* has been completed by Dr. Kanata Fusako of the National Institute of Japanese Literature; I have referred to this valuable document when checking my own transcriptions and translations of the book's text.[281] Second, a recent report on rare materials cataloguing by the National Diet Library records several differences in printing between an impression of *Yama no sachi* in the library's collection and several other known copies.[282] Professor Suzuki Jun, an expert on Japanese premodern books, has also reviewed the condition and contents of this impression of *Yama no sachi*; this brief but valuable overview is expected to be added to the National Diet Library website when the book is published online.[283] As these projects demonstrate, the state of research on *Yama no sachi* is improving, spurred at least in part by efforts to digitize understudied books of this kind.[284]

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[281] Volume 1 only, based upon the copy of *Yama no sachi* held by University of Oslo Library (object ID 71503734810002201). Transcription by Kanata Fusako, available at http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-33082 (accessed: 3 August 2016). I wish to thank Dr. Kanata for permitting me to cite her work here, and for generously sharing her knowledge with me by email. I am also grateful to Naomi Yabe Magnussen of the University of Oslo Library for her kind assistance.

[282] This report focuses on digital resources as an aid to rare materials cataloguing. See Itō Risa, "*Intānetto o katsuyōshita kotenseki no chōsa: 'Yama no sachi' o rei ni* インターネットを活用した古典籍の調査：「山幸（山の幸）」を例に," *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Geppō* 651 (July 2015): 11-14.

[283] I wish to thank Dr. Suzuki for his kindness in sharing this unpublished document with me, and for his encouragement of my study of *Yama no sachi*.

[284] Digitization projects and rare materials cataloguing at museums and libraries have provided significant data that are useful to my own study of *Yama no sachi*'s materials and content in this chapter. The Pulverer Collection at the Freer/Sackler Galleries, Smithonian Insitution; National Diet Library; Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University; Waseda University Library; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Getty Research Institute; and the University of Oslo Library are just a few of the institutions whose digitization and cataloguing efforts have been indispensable to my research.

In sum, discussions of *Yama no sachi* in the scholarly literature are brief and relatively few, but they do provide fundamental observations on the work's continued significance as the sequel to *Umi no sachi*. This chapter will build on prior studies by pursuing these observations analytically. By placing *Yama no sachi* at the center of investigation, it presents a series of arguments about the book's relationship to *Umi no sachi*, its selection and organization of subject matter, the importance of its printed color, and the social, cultural, and artistic contexts in which it was produced.

From the Sea to the Mountain

Though distinct in many respects, *Yama no sachi* offers significant points of continuity with the earlier anthology, *Umi no sachi*. This section outlines how these books are clearly connected. Beginning with an examination of *Yama no sachi*'s colophon and prefaces, I discuss the shared network of contributors to demonstrate that the book is indeed an intentional sequel. I also consider the broader cultural meanings of the shift from the sea to the mountain, including how the pair of mountains and seas could be taken as an abstraction for the natural world writ large and the roots of this duality in ancient Japanese literature and other sources. These practical and conceptual links between the books as a whole offer a basis for closer consideration of the plant and animal species selected for *Yama no sachi*, and of its particular materials and design, in the following sections.

Yama no sachi follows the typical structure of illustrated books in the period: it begins with prefatory texts, then moves into the main body of the book, and ends with a colophon, giving details of publication. In order to establish the producers of this sequel,

I begin at the end of the book. The closing colophon (Fig. 2.2) lists the year of production as 1765 (Meiwa 2), third month, then names two publishers (*shorin* 書林): Ōsakaya Heizaburō 大阪屋平三郎 at the address Honzaimokuchō san-chōme 本桟木町三丁目[285] and Matsumoto Zenbē 松本善兵衛, just to the north at Nihonbashi-dōri san-chōme 日本橋通三丁目. After the publishers, the colophon records the name of the same carver responsible for *Umi no sachi*, Sekiguchi Jinshirō.[286] Unlike the previous book, however, *Yama no sachi*'s colophon does not include the name of a printer. As noted in the previous chapter, printers' and carvers' names were not required by edict, unlike publishers. Thus, singling out Sekiguchi Jinshirō for continued distinction in *Yama no sachi*'s colophon may indicate particular appreciation of this carver's skills. This recognition also reflexively calls attention to the highly skilled carving techniques displayed in the book, a feature that I return to below.

Regarding *Yama no sachi*'s publishers, it is worth noting that neither publisher issued printings of the earlier book *Umi no sachi*.[287] However, a survey of their citations in the standard references gives a few insights into their activities. Both publishing shops

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[285] Honzaimokuchō (in standardized Japanese, 本材木町) is the name of a no-longer extant district of Edo. Honzaimokuchō san-chōme is now part of present-day Nihonbashi ni-chōme, near Takarachō station. See *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* 日本歴史地名大系 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2006, electronic edition), s.v. "Honzaimokuchō san-chōme" http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:4535/lib/ display/ ?lid=30020130000086500 (accessed 15 May 2016).

[286] Sekiguchi Jinshirō is given at the same address as in *Umi no sachi*, Ōdenma-chō ni-chōme 大傳馬町二丁目.

[287] As noted in chapter one, the first printing of *Umi no sachi* was published by Kameya Tahē 龜屋太兵 in the second month of 1762; the second printing was issued in the eighth month of the same year, by Iseya Jiemon 伊勢屋治右衛門 and Yamazaki Kinbē 山崎金兵衛. Two subsequent printings can be confirmed which bear colophons dated to 1778 (from two separate publishers, Maekawa Rokuzaemon 前川六左衛門 and Noda Shichibē 野田七兵衛).

were active over several decades in the middle of the eighteenth century.[288] First, Matsumoto Zenbē (dates unknown), listed second, is thus perhaps the lead co-publisher of *Yama no sachi.*[289] He published more than twenty titles of Chinese poetry (*kanshi* 漢詩) as well as Confucian themes and Chinese classics.[290] He also issued books in other genres, including several *haikai* anthologies, calligraphy books, and even a few volumes devoted to Rangaku 蘭学, or "Dutch learning." Notable among this last category, Matsumoto published *Rangaku kaitei* 蘭学階梯 (A Guide to Dutch Learning, preface dated 1783) by the physician and scholar Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827).[291] In short, Matsumoto Zenbē's publications included genres of at least some literary or scholarly value. Meanwhile, the other publisher, Ōsakaya Heizaburō (dates unknown) likewise issued books in several genres, including comic novels (*kokkeibon* 滑稽本) and *yomihon* 読本 (lit., "reading books," a fictional genre that drew on Chinese and Japanese

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[288] Matsumoto Zenbē's publication dates range from Kyōhō 2 (1717) to Kansei 2 (1790), but the bulk of his publications fall in the years before 1785. Ōsakaya Heizaburō's known publications are concentrated in the Hōreki, Meiwa, and An'ei eras (1751-1780); a single title is also dated Kansei 7 (1795). The records for neither publisher mention *Yama no sachi* in the NIJL database or Inoue Takaaki's survey. As this omission would indicate, both publishers may well have issued additional books not yet catalogued in the bibliographic record. Further research would also be necessary to determine if any of these works are duplicates of the same book reissued under different names.

[289] In Edo-period colophons with two or more publishers, the publisher listed last (at far left) is typically thought to be the lead on the project. See Suzuki Jun and Ellis Tinios, *Understanding Japanese Woodblock-Printed Illustrated Books: A Short Introduction to Their History, Bibliography and Format* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 59.

[290] See Inoue Takaaki, *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran,* 694, and the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books (*Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku dētabēsu* 日本古典籍総合目録データベース) maintained by the National Institute of Japanese Literature, sv. "Matsumoto Zenbē," http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/G0001401KTG (accessed August 2016). As noted previously, the electronic union catalogue succeeds the previous print version *Kokusho sō mokuroku* 国書総目録 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989-1991).

[291] *Rangaku kaitei* was later praised by Gentaku's teacher, the physician and scholar of Dutch studies Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817), in his *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始 (Dawn of Western Science in Japan, 1815); see translation by Grant Goodman in William Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition: Volume 2, 1600 to 2000*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 371. See also Timon Screech, *The Lens within the Heart*, 21.

classical sources) as well as books of moral instruction and medicine.[292] For example, in 1752 Ōsakaya collaboratively published the bestseller *Imayō heta dangi* 当世下手談義 (Modern-Style Lousy Sermons), a book of "satiric sermons" (*dangibon* 談義本) criticizing contemporary culture; Ōsakaya also co-published its sequel one year later.[293] In short, Matsumoto Zenbē and Ōsakaya Heizaburō operated firms that appear to have been reasonably successful and that covered slightly different areas of the Edo book trade. We might conjecture that each publisher contributed different elements to the collaboration—advantages like experience, shop location, or connections to the patrons.[294] Finally, neither publisher specialized in color printing or illustrated books, which indicates the critical importance of other figures—the book's patrons and producers—in realizing its creation.

Not recorded in the colophon but essential to the project were editor Sekijukan Shūkoku and artist Katsuma Ryūsui. Their important roles in orchestrating *Yama no sachi* become clear when we examine the prefaces that begin the book (Fig. 2.3). In the first preface, Ryūsui offers an account of how *Yama no sachi* came about as a sequel.[295]

> Knocking on my door and inquiring, "Is the master of the hermitage at home?" was Sekijukan Shūkoku. He brought scraps of paper and put them on my desk, saying, "now that we have *Treasures of the Sea*, we must have *Treasures of the Mountain*!" I replied, "it won't be the 'treasures of the mountains' if we don't draw animals. [But] I do not have drawings from life (*shō-utsushi*) of birds and beasts. Plus animal species are big and

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[292] See Inoue Takaaki, *Kinsei shorin hanmoto sōran*, 144, and *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku dētabēsu*, sv. "Ōsakaya Heizaburō," http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/ G0001401KTG (accessed August 2016).
[293] On *Imayō heta dangi*, see Haruo Shirane, ed., *Early Modern Japanese Literature,* 451–452.
[294] This question would be worthy of further study. See Julie Nelson Davis's study of collaboration in the *ukiyo-e* market, especially the distinct contribution of each publisher in the collaboration between Tsutaya Jūzaburō and Yamazaki Kinbē, in Davis, *Partners in* Print, 78–80.
[295] I am grateful to Linda Chance and Alessandro Bianchi for their invaluable insights as I attempted to transcribe and translate the *Yama no sachi* prefaces. I have also referred to Kanata Fusako's transcription, noted above, when in doubt. Any errors in reading the text are my own.

> hard to fit on half-sheets of paper. That leaves only species of plants, flowers, and insects. If I draw grasses and bugs, it will not be the 'treasures of the mountains,' it will be the 'treasures of the fields,'" I joked. "And both books will be inferior, the second even more so than the first." Although I refused, saying it would be best to stop, he was having nothing of it. So, saying I would draw grasses and bugs, I made the pictures. Normally the plants of artists are elegant and curving, but these are not that way. My brush has always been unskillful, and I do not convey what I wish (*hitsui*) with it. Since the shapes of the flowers are not correct, it is hard to tell what they are. Straight stalks and leaves are straight, the bent ones are bent, and the lowly ones are of course low. For all that, it is not as if we can say that there is no difference at all [from what they ought to be]. Then too, since the coloration is not fluent, some resemble what they are, and some do not. Whether it is the things of the seas or of the mountains, the laughter or criticism will flow regardless, since with these I have floated my reputation at the mouth of the river. So writes Ryūsui.[296]

Unpacking this text offers several keys to understanding the images that follow it. As characterized by Ryūsui, the artist was initially reluctant to pursue the project, despite the exhortations of Shūkoku. His objections are several, but at base is the underlying assumption that the proper subjects for the "treasures of the mountains" are large animals or beasts, *kemono* 獣. The period encyclopedia *Wakan sansai zue* included in this category (*jūrui* 獣類, v. 38) primarily four-legged and furred types of animals, including elephants, boar, deer, cats, and rabbits, among many others.[297] Excluded from this

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[296] 菴主ありや／＼と敲く者は石寿観秀国なり片楮を携来て云海幸既に出来ぬ又山幸なくんはあらしと几上に閣く余云山幸は獣を圖せすんはかなふへからすもとより禽獣の生写なし其上獣類は形大にして片帋に成かたし草花虫類のみ少残るあり草虫を画は山幸にあらす野幸也と戯る又後編は前編よりいつれもをとり様なり止にはしかしと固辞すれともゆるさすさあらは草虫を画給へとて圖する事に成ぬ總て画家の草花は形容たをやかにして曲ありこれやさあらすもとより拙き筆にて筆意を用るにあらす花形正しからされは分かたし茎葉直なるは直に曲れるは曲りいやしきはをのつから卑しさりとて露たかふ所なしと云にもあらす彩色又自由ならされは似たるも有似さるもあり海の物とも山の物とも笑ひもそしりもまゝかはの入江に名を流すことになん成ぬと龍水述 (*Yama no sachi*, first preface, vol. 1, 1r-2r).

[297] See Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansai zue*, 1:437-452. See also the discussion of the encyclopedia's animal categories by Takeshima Atsuo in Shimada Isao, et al., eds., *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987), 6:365-374.

category are species located in adjacent volumes: domestic animals (*chikurui* 畜類, v. 37), rodents (鼠類, v. 39) and fabled and mysterious types (*gūrui* 寓類 and *kairui* 恠類, v. 40),[298] as well as all types of birds, reptiles, fish, and insects. I will return later to the selection of species in *Yama no sachi*, but the point of note here is that Ryūsui is drawing a contrast between the expected animals of the mountain and the actual subjects of *Yama no sachi*: "species of plants, flowers, and insects" (*sōka chūrui* 草花虫類), which he humorously downplays as the "treasures of the fields."

Further, the modest tone of the text reveals some important aspects of self-presentation. Not only are the proper denizens of the mountain—*kemono*—too large to be well-suited to a book of this kind, Ryūsui asserts, he does not have drawings of birds and beasts made from life.[299] If we read his objections as a statement of personal ability or circumstances—that Ryūsui lacks drawings, or that he has never sketched large animals and birds—it fits with the overall sense in the preface of disclaiming one's skills and lowering expectations. A sense of humility is indeed reinforced in the second half of the preface, where Ryūsui further disavows his pictures and proclaims the deficiencies of his "unskillful" brush. He allows that he gets the generalities right (straight stalks are straight, bent stalks are bent), but he distances his pictures in *Yama no sachi* both from the elegant plants of other artists *and* from notions of "correct" resemblances. Even the color printing is brought in for criticism. However, against these disavowals of skill, one recalls that

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[298] The "fabled" and "mysterious" volume includes monkeys as well as a variety of humanoid monsters or ghost-like creatures, such as *kodama* 谺 (tree spirits; rendered in the text as 彭侯). See Terajima, *Wakan sansai zue*, 461.

[299] There is some ambiguity to this latter statement, as it could be read to mean that "there are no drawings of birds and beasts from life." However, this reading would suggest that there is no such tradition in East Asian painting, which is not the case (as discussed below).

Ryūsui was appreciated as a calligrapher in his own lifetime. As first outlined in Anzai Un'en's 安西雲煙 (1807-1852) *Kinsei meika shoga dan* 近世名家書画淡 (Chats about Calligraphy and Painting of Famous Masters of Recent Times) and repeated in subsequent biographical accounts, he taught children calligraphy for a living.[300] He was also selected to reinscribe the poems of the famous actor Ichikawa Danjūrō for the memorial anthology *Chichi no on,* and of course drew hundreds of illustrations for the deluxe, color-printed poetry books *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*. Thus we might also read these expressions of humility (though they may be entirely sincere) as belonging to a broader trend of disclaiming the book's contents, much as we saw in the preface to *Umi no sachi*.

On the other hand, the preface also accomplishes another, subtler task. Ryūsui again engages critical terms of the art of painting. He uses the term *shō-utsushi* 生写, which refers to the act of copying the form of living things and the sketches that are thus produced.[301] This term shares both the characters of the word *shasei* 写生 as well as its meaning of making pictures directly from life, as discussed in the previous chapter. Kōno Motoaki has shown that the term *shō-utsushi* was used throughout the Edo period, but especially popularized in painting treatises of the mid-Edo period.[302] Kōno has further demonstrated that *shō-utsushi* by this time had a narrower valence than *shasei*, which could ambiguously gesture to both exterior appearances and inner essences; *shō-utsushi*,

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[300] The section on Ryūsui appears in the second edition of *Kinsei meika shogadan*, published in 1844. See transcription in Kira Sueo, "Katsuma Ryūsui to Hanabusa Ippō," 74.
[301] This term may also be read *iki-utsushi* and *nama utsushi*. A second, closely related meaning is when two things or people resemble each other so closely that they are difficult to tell apart. See *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.vv. "shō-utsushi" and "iki-utsushi."
[302] See Kōno Motoaki, "Edo jidai shasei kō," 400-402.

in contrast, specifically denoted sketching by direct observation (thus emphasizing the physical form as opposed to the interiority of a subject).[303] Thus Ryūsui's use of the term s*hō-utsushi* picks up a closely related keyword of contemporary painting theory. Similarly, Ryūsui again employs the term *hitsui* 筆意 (intention of the brush), which we also saw in his preface to *Umi no sachi*.[304] Even though he uses *hitsui* here to disclaim his brush talents, simply by citing this term, he signals his engagement with the discourse of painting, a rhetorical sophistication that would seem unlikely in the truly unskilled. Including terms like *shō-utsushi* and *hitsui* lends authority and elegance to the project. Thus the first preface establishes the subject matter of the *Yama no sachi* as plants and insects, but it also elucidates in more subtle ways the artist's approach to the selected subjects and how to depict them.

Turning from the artist to the editor, a shorter introduction by Shūkoku follows Ryūsui's preface. This text clearly frames the project as a continuation of the work begun in *Umi no sachi*; it may be translated as follows:

> In years past, *Umi no sachi* came into being. Then, because of the urgings of those who were left out of the *haiku* in the beginning—that we should not be without a *Yama no sachi*—I expressed this to Ryūsui. Ryū demurred, and did not agree to it. Since this was not something we should give up on, I entreated him wholeheartedly. He drew plants and insects, and we published it with blocks as before. Since it continues *Umi no sachi*, we named it *Yama no sachi* and completed the project. This too is a way to celebrate the good harvest of the seas and the mountains.
>
> Time: Meiwa 2 [1765], spring, first month

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[303] Ibid., 402. Satō Dōshin has also characterized *shō-utsushi* in terms of a "Japanese equivalent" for the Chinese-inflected *shasei* (C. *xiesheng*), although Kōno does not suggest this for Edo-period meanings. See Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State*, 236.
[304] For discussion of this term in *Umi no sachi*'s preface, see chapter one, 65-67.

Haikōrin Shūkoku[305]

Both prefaces clearly link *Yama no sachi* with the earlier anthology, *Umi no sachi*, and they point to the roles of artist and editor in realizing the book. Furthermore, implicit throughout the prefaces is the idea that there is a genuine demand for a sequel. The implied patrons are referenced in Shūkoku's text as "those who were left out of the *haiku* in the beginning," i.e., poets who did not contribute verses that appeared in *Umi no sachi*, but who probably belonged to the same circle. As mentioned previously, only some of the poets listed in these books can be identified, and *haikai* pen names compound the difficulty of identifying specific Edo-period individuals. However, if we compare the names of poets whom I identified in the last chapter as contributors to the first book, several familiar names resurface in *Yama no sachi*. These include the *haikai* figures Heisa 平砂, Kojū 湖十, Baimei 買明 , and Kiitsu 紀逸.[306] A poem by Baba Songi 馬場存義 opens a poetry sequence on the topic of the mountain (*dai yama* 題山) at the end of volume two (fol. 25v). However, most of the poetry names that appear in *Yama no sachi* are new, supporting Shūkoku's assertion of fresh, unfulfilled demand from those who were left out earlier. Still, the partially overlapping list of names suggests a shared social network, perhaps linked at least loosely by affiliations to the Edoza school of *haikai* led

[305] 過しとし海幸成ぬ又山幸なくはあるへからすとはしめ俳句に漏たる人々のすゝめにより是を龍水生にかたる龍生辞してうけかはす止へきにあらされはひたすらにすゝめて草花虫類を画き是を例の梓に行ふ其既に海幸に續るを以て山幸と名つけ前後一編のものとなしぬこれも海山の豊年をことふくものならん歟 皆明和二年春正月 俳耕林秀国 (*Yama no sachi*, second preface, vol. 1, 2v-3r). I wish to thank Linda Chance and Alessandro Bianchi for their invaluable advice on the second preface, and acknowledge Kanata Fusako's transcription as an important reference. Any errors in reading the text are my own.

[306] Additional poets who also appear in both books include 李冠子, 米仲, 桜川, 秀信, 買義, 卯雲, and 龜汀, but these identifiable poets are very few compared to the scores of new poets whom I have not been able to match between *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*.

by poetry master Baba Songi (the Songi-gawa), but probably sharing other ties as well.[307] Shūkoku, in particular, may have been a critical figure at the center of these poets.[308] Finally, Shūkoku's statement that the book emerged out of the urgings of fellow poets supports the theory that *Yama no sachi* was a private publication, probably commissioned by the same group of poets who sponsored the first book.[309]

Thus the prefaces and colophon of *Yama no sachi* demonstrate several points of continuity with the earlier book *Umi no sachi*. They explicitly present the book as a sequel, point to the same social network of *haikai* poets as probable patrons, and, in Ryūsui's case, suggest a continued engagement with issues of painting. As for the book's producers, artist and editor remain driving forces, and the carver Sekiguchi Jinshirō is again employed to cut the blocks, while new publishers are responsible for overseeing its publication.

With this understanding of the book's sponsors and producers in place, I now shift from *Yama no sachi*'s practical connections with *Umi no sachi* to the overarching conceptual links between the two books. From their titles alone, *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi* would have signaled to period readers a strong thematic relationship. This association was rooted in a broader cultural understanding of the natural environment, which was shaped further in the visual arts and literature. The very opposition or duality

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[307] For my earlier discussion of this subgroup of the Edoza school of *haikai* poetry, see chapter one, 34-35.
[308] The question of his professional network and social ties is a problem worthy of further inquiry, which might be pursued by cross-referencing poets whose names are recorded in his extant *haikai* publications. As mentioned in the last chapter, these currently number 23 titles in the National Institute of Japanese Literature database.
[309] Suzuki Jun has also speculated that *Yama no sachi* was probably a private publication (*shikaban* 私家板) based on the same evidence in the preface. Suzuki Jun, *kaidai* 解題 (synopsis) of *Yama no sachi* (unpublished draft, National Diet Library). I am grateful to Suzuki-sensei for sharing this document with me.

of mountains and oceans (*sankai* 山海) is a logical extension of the topography of Japan, an island archipelago: technically all of Japan is the mountain rising from the sea.[310] Mountains (*yama* or *san* 山) have long been associated with conceptions of "nature" in traditional culture, and in early Japan the physical and conceptual space of the mountain represented a semi-mystical, potentially fearsome space, apart from human affairs.[311] On the other hand, the concept of the "mountain" also stands in generically for land in much Japanese cultural production, especially when contrasted with the sea or rivers. The term *sansui* 山水 (C. *shanshui*) literally means "mountains and waters," but it has overarching connotations of natural scenery and landscape in East Asian poetry and painting. With the addition of the graph for "picture," the compound word *sansuiga* 山水画 (C. *shanshuihua*) refers to the genre of landscape painting.[312]

In Chinese art, landscape painting (*shanshuihua*) began to be established as a distinct genre around the ninth century, becoming a highly elevated category among ink painters of the Song Dynasty (960-1279).[313] Paintings of "mountains-and-waters"

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[310] *Nihon kokugo daijiten* cites uses of the term *sankai* in texts as early as the ninth century, although the concept no doubt had earlier manifestations. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "sankai."

[311] See Tokyo National Museum, *Nihon no sansuiga ten* 日本の山水画展 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun Tōkyō Honsha Kikakubu, 1977), prefatory essays by Yonezawa Yoshiho, "Sansuiga josetsu" 山水画序説, [4-7] and Yoshizawa Chū "Sansuiga yori fūkeiga e" 山水画より風景画へ [8-11]. See also Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 114–116.

[312] Other terms also circulated in the early modern period. Melinda Takeuchi has described the concept of *sansui* in Edo-period painting as "landscape in its eternal, ineffable sense," in contrast to alternative concepts, expressed in terms like *fūkeiga* 風景画, which stressed the "objectivity" of the landscape; she locates *shinkeizu* 真景図 (true view picture) as a critical link between these terms in the eighteenth century. See Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views*, 149. Karatani Kōjin, following Usami Keiji, argues that the term *sansuiga* was not widely used until the Meiji period (after introduction to Western landscape painting); see Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 18.

[313] "Mountains and waters" (C. *shanshui* 山水) is provided as one of the ten painting genres—immediately after "Dragons and fish" (C. *longyu* 龍魚)—in the painting collection catalogue of Emperor Huizong (r. 1101-1126), *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (preface dated 1120). See Yu Haiyan, *Hua shi cong shu,* 1:473-516.

depicted generic as well as specific landscapes, such as the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang (C: *XiaoXiang bajing* 瀟湘八景).[314] The Eight Views theme would be continually adapted in China and Japan, appearing even in eighteenth-century *ukiyo-e* prints, as we shall see in the following chapter.[315]

The more general *sansui* in Japan was likewise a critical term in literature, visual art, gardens, and other art forms. Haruo Shirane has asserted that classical linked verse (*renga* 連歌) "appropriated the mountains-and-rivers (*sansui*) landscape of ink painting" as an essential element in the representation of nature in poetry.[316] In short, the contrastive pairing of mountains-and-waters was an established concept, attended by the weight of a larger visual and poetic tradition. *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi* would thus have activated the cultural weight of *sansui* for at least some period readers.

Further, by selecting the "treasures of the mountain" as a theme for *Umi no sachi*'s sequel, Shūkoku and his team were picking up a leitmotif with origins in early Japanese literature and culture. The earliest records of the names "Umi no sachi" and "Yama no sachi" appear in the legendary-literary texts *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient

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For a concise overview of the genre's establishment, see James Cahill, "Approaches to Chinese Painting: Part II," in *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, ed. Xin Yang et al. (New Haven; Beijing: Yale University Press; Foreign Languages Press, 1997), 8.

[314] On the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang in the context of Chinese poetry and landscape painting, see Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2000) and Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting* (Boston: Brill, 1999).

[315] See Chapter Three.

[316] According to Shirane, "Distant views of high mountains and open waters became an integral part of landscape in Japanese poetry, as they did in rock-and-sand gardens, (*kare-sansui*), miniature tray (*bonseki*) gardens, and Zen ink paintings." Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 20.

Matters, 712) and *Nihon shoki* 日本書記 (Chronicles of Japan, 720).[317] Both texts include a story about two brothers, named Umi no Sachi Hiko 海幸彦 (Prince Luck of the Sea) and Yama no Sachi Hiko 山幸彦 (Prince Luck of the Mountain), supernatural descendants of the sun goddess Amaterasu.[318] Each brother possessed an affinity—and accordingly special luck, bounty, or treasure (*sachi* 幸)—with either ocean or land, two opposed aspects of the natural environment. Variations of the story exist, but the core narrative relates a conflict between the elder Luck of the Sea and the younger Luck of the Mountain, a conflict that arises precisely out of their different affinities for one side of nature or the other.[319] Over time, through allusion or borrowing, elements of the story accrued further citations in later literature. It has been argued, for example, that parts of Murasaki Shikibu's *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, early eleventh century) draw upon the narrative structure of the "Luck of the Sea and Luck of the Mountain" myth.[320] The classical basis of this binary pair would have been known by educated readers in the Edo period. Indeed, we can observe its deliberate selection by looking back to *Umi no sachi*'s preface. Here Shūkoku himself seems to refer directly to the myth, writing, "I thought about giving [this collection] a title, and I recalled the

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[317] For the *Kojiki* version, see Yamaguchi Yoshinori and Kōnoshi Takamitsu, eds., *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997), 1:125-134. For the *Nihon shoki* version, scroll 2, see Kojima Noriyuki, et al., eds., *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (1994), 2:155-187.
[318] In both texts they are presented as the sons of Ninigi, grandson of Amaterasu. The *Kojiki* renders their names with different borrowed Chinese characters: 海左知毘古 (Umi sachi biko) and 山左知毘古 (Yama sachi biko).
[319] For a translation of the story based on the *Kojiki*, see Ō and Heldt, *The Kojiki,* 53-60. Also see Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature*, 33–36.
[320] See Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of the Tale of Genji* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987), 77–79; see also Royall Tyler, "Genji and the Luck of the Sea," in *The Disaster of the Third Princess: Essays on the Tale of Genji* (Canberra: Australian National University E Press, 2009), 131–156.

ancient tales of the Age of the Gods.[321] It seems like the one known as the "Treasures of the Sea."[322] *Yama no sachi*'s prefaces, meanwhile, do not mention the ancient story.[323] However, the myth is clearly a conceit that is called forth by the titles of the two books. Appropriating this classical reference imparts a sense of refinement and cultivation to both poetry anthologies.

Outlined above are several ways that the pairing of the sea and the mountain held broader meaning in Edo-period Japan. The duality of mountain and water offered a basic analogy for the natural world, inflected further by literature, poetry, and painting. In particular, by using the conceit that the poems and pictures inside represent the "treasures" of sea and land, the books call upon a pairing with venerably ancient roots in classical Japanese literature. Just as the colophon and prefaces demonstrate the practical connections between the books, the overarching themes of *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi* offer a clear conceptual tie. They borrow a culturally significant opposition between sea and mountain—and its literary and artistic freight—which frames the project of *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi* as a whole. The next sections investigate what kinds of subjects were brought under the framework of the "treasures of the mountain," and how those subjects are presented in color and print.

Selecting Plants and Insects as the "Treasures of the Mountain"

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[321] *Kamiyo* or *jindai* 神代, can also be translated as "ancient times." This is also the name given to the first two scrolls of the *Nihon shoki*; see *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* (1994), vol. 2.
[322] 何とか名つけんそれは神代のむかしかたりをおもひ出し海の幸とよふものならし (Sekijukan Shūkoku, *Umi no sachi*, third preface, 5v-6r).
[323] Whether a continuation of the theme was always intended from the beginning is not otherwise evident from either book, but the latent possibility of a sequel surely occurred to *Umi no sachi*'s producers.

Although *Yama no sachi* was closely modeled on the earlier *Umi no sachi*, *Yama no sachi'*s contents, color printing, and design demonstrate differences of approach. By briefly outlining the categories of plants and insects in the period encyclopedic taxonomy, I show that *Yama no sachi* offers a slightly wider scope than the selections found in *Umi no sachi*. Next, I trace the relationship of *Yama no sachi*'s selected species to Japanese poetry, including both established and newer topics of poetic imagery in the Edo period, and to the genre of *kachōga* 花鳥画, flower-and-bird painting. Finally, I explore the organization of these species within the book, noting their overall seasonal progression as well as how the arrangement of individual compositions—and particularly the relationship of text and image—reveals a more structured, uniform organization.

Yama no sachi's fundamental structure is the same as *Umi no sachi*: made up of two volumes, it presents a compendium of color-printed illustrations accompanied by poetry. The first volume of *Yama no sachi* begins with the prefaces by Ryūsui and Shūkoku, followed by twenty-five illustrated page openings. The second volume continues with another twenty-five illustrations, and it concludes with a sequence of fifty-five poems across the final four double-page openings; the colophon is printed on the last half-sheet.[324] Like *Umi no sachi*, this book was produced in the *ōhon* 大本 (large book) format, the largest of the standard book sizes in the period.[325] Also like the prior book, it is printed on high-quality paper, probably made of *kōzo* 楮 (paper mulberry), which is

[324] Some extant copies display signs of having been later modified and rebound, sometimes as a single volume or rebound together with *Umi no sachi*; other impressions are missing pages and/or include newly printed pages from recut blocks. See, for instance, impressions held by Waseda University Library (acc. 文庫 31 A0408) and National Diet Library (acc. WB1-22).

[325] Approximately 26 x 18 centimeters with the cover closed, the ōhon format is twice the size of the next-largest *chūhon* 中本 (medium book) format, at approximately 18 x 13 centimeters.

appreciated for its long, thick fibers.[326] However, *Yama no sachi*'s elegantly color-printed images display not fish, shellfish, and mollusks, but creatures of land: flowers, grasses, and vines, along with insects, reptiles, and a few small mammals. Further, where *Umi no sachi*'s groupings of fish varied greatly—from one species per page opening up to as many as five or six—*Yama no sachi*'s pictures follow a more uniform pattern. The standard compositional format shows one species of plant paired with one species of insect; in some cases two or more plants appear with an insect or animal, along with a few other variations, but the standard pairing of one plant to one insect dominates.

The illustrations begin with a modest but delicately printed design of a potted *fukujusō* 福寿草 (L. Adonis amurensis), a perennial flowering plant known as pheasant's eye or Adonis flower in English (Fig. 2.4). The plant's yellow flowers are suggestive of gold; its name—literally, "wealth" (*fuku* 福) and "longevity" (*ju* 寿) "plant" (*sō* 草)—indicates its auspicious associations. The poem written in a stylish hand at right may be read:

> 植木屋も黄花ためけり福寿草
> *Ueki-ya mo / kibana tamekeri / fukujusō*
> Even the plant-seller collects yellow flowers—pheasant's eye[327]

The verse indirectly refers to the plant's association with felicitous wishes at the New Year, a fitting image with which to begin the book.[328] This seasonal connection continues

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[326] As with *Umi no sachi*, no scientific research has yet been published on the specific papers used in *Yama no sachi*; visual observation and personal handling of four copies of *Yama no sachi* during archival research lead me to believe that the paper in these copies is of equal quality to paper used for Suzuki Harunobu's full-color sheet prints (*nishiki-e*), which are thought to be printed on superior quality "document paper" (*hōsho* 奉書), as discussed in chapter three.

[327] The poet is identified as 坐嘯亭 錦水子 (possibly read Kinsui no ko, of the Zashō-tei).

on the next page, where one encounters the verdant leaves of the seven herbs, or *nanakusa* 七種, of spring (Fig. 2.5).[329] Made into a kind of porridge (known as *nanakusa no kayu* 七草粥), the seven herbs of spring typically would be eaten on the seventh day of the first month as an auspicious dish meant to ensure good health in the coming year.[330] This frieze of seven plants comprises one of only two double-page illustrations in the entire book. In volume two, the seven herbs of autumn (*aki no nanakusa* 秋七種) appear as the second illustration (see Fig. 2.6). The respective double-page spreads of seven herbs thus serve as seasonal markers at the beginning of each volume; the rest of the plant and insect species depicted in *Yama no sachi* follow a general—though, as we shall see, imperfect—seasonal pattern, moving from spring and summer to fall and winter. The final illustration of a pine branch in volume two, a symbol that is trans-seasonal but strongly associated with winter and the New Year, brings the annual cycle full circle.

The seasonal organization of *Yama no sachi*'s subjects clearly distinguishes it from *Umi no sachi*, which did not map the seasons of the year through its sequence of fish. The selections themselves reveal further distinctions. The plant-and-insect pairings of *Yama no sachi* feature a wide range of species. Plants in volume one include flowers like dandelion, columbine, wisteria, lily, and saxifrage, along with plants like eggplant

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[328] The text at right also gives names for the plant in kanji, 福寿草 and 元日草 (C. *yuan ri cao*, J. *ganjitsusō*, which was also used in materia medica texts of the period, such as Ekiken's *Yamato honzō*, as well as *Wakan sansai zue*), plus an alternate reading in kana, *fukuzuku* ふくずく.

[329] The *nanakusa* poem may be read: "Even from a thousand kinds, it is the 7 herbs that are chosen," (*Nanakusa ya chigusa no naka ni erabareshi* 七くさや千種の中に撰れし). Signed by poet 琴舟子, read Kinshū-ko or perhaps Kotobune-ko.

[330] On *nanakusa* as a foodstuff, see Motoyama Tekishū, *Inshoku jiten*, 432-433. On talismanic functions of natural motifs like *nanakusa* in Japanese culture, see Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 133–135. See also the Muromachi tale *Nanakusa sōshi*, text in Ichiko Teiji, *Otogizōshi* 御伽草子, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 38 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 161-164.

and cucumber. Volume two includes dayflower, orchid, narcissus, and other flowers, but it also features foodstuff plants like rice, kabocha, and other gourds. Paired with these plants are insects like butterflies, bees, multiple types of crickets and beetles, along with cicadas, spiders, and a snail. The book also includes some more unexpected species, like a frog, lizard, and snake, as well as a flying bat and a mole.

Before examining the relationship of *Yama no sachi*'s species to older Japanese poetry and cultural forms, it is helpful to establish how such species were categorized in readily available scientific texts of the period, such as the popular encyclopedia *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図絵. In particular, whereas all of the species in *Umi no sachi* can be traced to just six consecutive volumes of *Wakan sansai zue* (v. 46-51), the selection of plants, insects, and small animals in *Yama no sachi* comes from volumes spanning different sections of the encyclopedia.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, *Wakan sansai zue* divided the universe into a tripartite structure, encompassing the realms of heaven (*ten* 天), humanity (*jinrin* 人倫), and earth (*chi* 地).[331] Plants of all kinds were organized at the end of the final section of "earth," covering types of trees (v. 82-85), types of fruits (v. 86-91), and smaller varieties of flowers, grasses, and vines (v. 92-105).[332] Excepting one species, the pine tree, all of *Yama no sachi*'s plants can be located within this last group. These volumes largely included the character for "grass" (*kusa* 草) in the title of the volume, as opposed to

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[331] Following the precedent of Wang Qi's *Sancai tuhui*. For a brief discussion of *Wakan sansai zue*'s structure, see Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan*, 105–108.

[332] The section of "earth" covered nearly half of the encyclopedia's 105 volumes; plants were preceded by volumes on the basic elements of earth, mountains, water, fire, metals, and stones (v. 55-61), on the geography of China and then Japan (v. 62-80), and one volume on "types of domiciles " (*katakurui* 家宅類, v. 81). See Terajima, *Wakan sansai zue*, 604–1159.

characters for tree (*ki* 木) or fruit (*ka* 果), but the distinctions between the small plants volumes also suggest a variegated taxonomy. Some volumes were defined by features like habitat, such as "types of mountain plants" (*sansōrui* 山草類, v. 92), others by attributes like scent (*hōsōrui* 芳草類, fragrant plants, v. 93) or poisonousness (*dokusōrui* 毒草類, v. 95), and others by growth habits like climbing ("types of vine plants," *tsurukusarui* 蔓草類, v. 96).[333] Additional volumes in this group include rock plants (*ishigusarui* 石草類, v. 98), "types of melon-plants" (*rasairui* 蓏菜類, v. 100), and those with "soft, smooth leaves" (*jūkatsusai* 柔滑菜, v. 102).[334]

This classification scheme demonstrates careful selection of plants in *Yama no sachi*. First, the encyclopedia's sheer number of plant volumes (twenty-four out of a total of 105 volumes) and their variety suggest the depth of eighteenth-century knowledge of plant life. Second, comparing the contents of *Wakan sansai zue* to *Yama no sachi* reveals significant absences. With the exception of pine, the final illustration of the book, *Yama no sachi* includes no trees (v. 82-85); it also lacks fruits (v. 86-91). Therefore *Yama no sachi*'s plant species are found almost exclusively in *Wakan sansai zue*'s final fourteen volumes, on smaller plants. (Perhaps the omission of trees and fruits echoes Ryūsui's protests in the preface: if only small animals like insects will do, perhaps only small

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[333] Ibid., 1261–1291. (v. 92), 1292-1308 (v. 93), 1354-1368 (v. 95), and 1369-1388 (v. 96). For an informative analysis of the plant taxonomy in *Bencao gangmu*, one of the sources of *Wakan sansai zue*, see Georges Métailié, "Concepts of Nature in Traditional Chinese Materia Medica and Botany (Sixteenth to Seventeenth Century)," in *Concepts of Nature: A Chinese-European Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Hans Ulrich Vogel, Günter Dux, and Mark Elvin, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 345–67. See also Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature*, esp. 34-46 (on *Bencao gangmu*); 78-81 (on popular Japanese encyclopedias *Kinmō zui* and *Wakan sansai zue*); and 87-110 (on scholarly Japanese encyclopedias *Yamato honzō* and *Shobutsu ruisan*).

[334] Terajima, *Wakan sansai zue*, 1401–1404 (v.98), 1416-1420 (v. 100), and 1426-1437 (v. 102).

plants will do as well.) However, within this subcategory, *Yama no sachi*'s selections are quite diverse: the poetry book includes species from across eleven of the encyclopedia's fourteen plant volumes (v. 92-105).[335] By comparison, *Umi no sachi*'s fish, shellfish, and turtles were classified in only six volumes of *Wakan sansai zue.* Therefore, one may conclude that the plants in *Yama no sachi* represented species from a more highly parsed and subdivided category, and in this narrow sense, at least, they offered a more complex taxonomy from the encyclopedia *Wakan sansai zue*.[336]

As seen in Ryūsui's preface, the species chosen for *Yama no sachi* also included insects. Shifting from the encyclopedia's volumes on "earth" to the realm of "humanity," *Wakan sansai zue* classes insects immediately after its section on fish. Three volumes make up the "insect" category (*mushi no bu* 蟲部); these are subdivided according to how insect species were understood to be born in the Edo period. Volume 52 specifies those "types born from an egg" (*ranseirui* 卵生類).[337] It includes bees, some caterpillars, silkworm, butterfly, spiders, ants, and flies. Volume 53 lists insects born through

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[335] These range from *fukujusō* and others found in volume 92, "mountain plants," to sword bean (*natamame* 刀豆, L. Canavalia gladiata) in volume 104, "types of beans" (*mamemamerui* 菽豆類), and *nanakusa no kayu* 七種の粥, the aforementioned dish eaten at New Year, within volume 105, on plant-based preparations (yeasts, *zōjōrui* 造醸類).

[336] Whether the encyclopedia's numerous plants and their categorization offered an objectively more sophisticated taxonomy is a different matter. Specialists in the history of Chinese science have shown that plant knowledge produced in earlier East Asian pharmacopeias and related texts—on which *Wakan sansai zue* depended—was organized foremost in terms of medical concerns and the "organization of things" (*gewu*), and often less determined by botany in its modern sense. On *Bencao gangmu*, for example, see Georges Métailié, "The Bencao Gangmu of Li Shizhen: An Innovation for Natural History?," in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu, Needham Research Institute Studies 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 221–61; and Métailié, "Traditional Chinese Materia Medica and Botany." On early-modern Japanese adaptations of these structures, see Yabe Ichirō, *Edo no honzo: Yakubutsugaku to hakubutsugaku*, Shohan (Tokyo: Saiensusha, 1984), esp. 43-78; see also Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature,* 28-110.

[337] See Terajima, *Wakan sansai zue*, 571–584.

metamorphosis or "spontaneous birth" (*kasei chūrui* 化生蟲類).[338] It includes numerous types of beetles and crickets, as well as several cicadas, firefly, mosquitos, and fleas. Finally, volume 54 brings together a curious assortment of species under the heading of "insects born in humidity" (*shissei chūrui* 湿生蟲類).[339] It begins with the toad (*hikigaeru* 蟾蜍) and varieties of frogs, but also includes centipedes and millipedes, worms, slugs, and snails, among others.

As these volumes demonstrate, the category of "insects" in the Edo period included species familiar to modern scientific taxonomy, but also those that fall outside current delimitations, such as toads and frogs. Other aspects of insect classification in *Wakan sansai zue* also reflect period knowledge. For instance, even though butterflies move through the full stages of metamorphosis (egg, larva, pupa, and adult), they are classed within volume 52, "born from eggs," while insects with similar life cycles, such as cicadas or fireflies, are placed under volume 53, metamorphosis or "spontaneous birth."[340] However, it is useful to recall that Terajima Ryōan's encyclopedic project was based on earlier models, adapting the knowledge printed in Ming texts, particularly the Chinese encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui* and the pharmacological manual *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (J. *Honzō kōmoku*).[341] In the later eighteenth century, this earlier scientific view

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[338] See ibid., 585–596.
[339] See ibid., 597–603.
[340] Ibid., 586 (cicada, *semi* 蝉) and 589 (firefly, *hotaru* 蛍).
[341] See Nathan Sivin, "Li Shih-Chen," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie, vol. 8 (New York: Scribner, 1973), 390-398; Métailié, "The Bencao Gangmu of Li Shizhen"; and Métailié, "Traditional Chinese Materia Medica and Botany."

of insect reproduction would be modified with the introduction of the microscope, which allowed naturalists to see that insects mate.[342]

Indeed, *Wakan sansai zue*'s classification system represents a standard encyclopedic text of the period, but this book offers only a glimpse of natural history scholarship and growing popular interest in scientifically based views of nature in the middle of the Edo period. Traditional approaches to the study of nature in East Asia, relied on lexicographical methods: naming and categorizing natural items in books. In Japan, accordingly, the classification and accumulation of knowledge in texts was one of the critical sites of early modern natural science (*honzōgaku* 本草学), much as in the development of European natural history.[343] Terajima Ryōan's project bespeaks a shift from scholarly knowledge to more general readership—based on earlier Chinese epistemological frameworks but incorporating the concerns of a medical practitioner as well as domestic knowledge and local features of the Japanese archipelago.[344] Eventually the reach of *honzōgaku* practices extended far into cultural realms, inflecting literary forms as well as the visual arts, and even reshaping the topics listed in *haikai* seasonal almanacs.[345]

Another prominent outlet for the study of natural items in the middle of the eighteenth century was the public exhibition (*bussan-ten* 物産展) of medicinal plants,

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[342] Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 192.
[343] *Honzōgaku* is sometimes translated as "natural history." For a sophisticated recent study of early modern *honzōgaku*; see Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature*.
[344] Ibid., 81.
[345] On the impact of *honzōgaku* on Japanese *haikai* poetry practices, see Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 190–197, although Shirane's selected examples are drawn from a slightly later period, from the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century.

animals, and rare minerals and rocks organized by scholars of natural science.[346] Growing out of smaller gatherings of the 1750s—including private displays of rare or unusual specimens (akin to *Wunderkammern*) by wealthy collectors and annual meetings of professional and amateur *honzōgaku* enthusiasts—the natural products exhibitions at the time of *Yama no sachi*'s publication in 1765 drew a wide audience. [347] They were attended by serious naturalists and leading intellectuals, but also by curious members of the public. Tamura Ransui 田村藍水 (1718-1776) organized the first nationwide fair in 1757, under the name *Tōto Yakuhinkai* 東都薬品会 (Eastern Capital Meeting of Medicinal Substances), and subsequent fairs followed in 1758, 1759, and 1760.[348] A rival 1760 fair in Osaka, which gathered 241 specimens of plants and animals, drew larger audiences than those for the Edo exhibition. As a result the subsequent Edo exhibition in 1762 was organized on a mammoth scale, displaying nearly 1,300 natural objects.[349] One of Ransui's students, Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1779), was instrumental in organizing and promoting these exhibitions; he published a related catalogue in 1763, *Butsurui hinshitsu* 物類品質 (A Selection of Species).[350] Illustrations for this catalogue

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[346] Also known as *bussankai* 物産会 (natural products gatherings) and *yakuhinkai* 薬品会 (medicinal substances gatherings).

[347] The impact of these private gatherings and public exhibitions on the broader culture has been explored in the fields of history of science and history of art, though many primary documents might still be investigated further. Among others, see Ueno Masuzō, *Nihon hakubutsugakushi* 日本博物学史 *(History of Natural History in Japan)* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), 82-85; ibid., *Nihon dōbutsugakushi* 日本動物学史 (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1987), 189-200; Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 190–198; and, on popular commercial spectacles, Andrew L. Markus, "The Carnival of Edo: Misemono Spectacles From Contemporary Accounts," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, no. 2 (December 1985): 499–541.

[348] Isono Naohide, "Shiryō: Yakuhinkai, bussankai nenpyō (zōteiban) 資料 薬品会・物産会年表(増訂版)," *Keiō gijuku daigaku hiyoshi kiyō. shizen kagaku* 29 (2001): 55–65.

[349] Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature*, 216.

[350] English translation from Federico Marcon, but other translations could be, variously, "Various Substances" or "Classification of Various Materials" (Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 462). On Gennai's role in the *bussan-ten*, and a translation of his "manifesto" on *honzōgaku* to promote the 1762

were executed by Kusumoto Sekkei 楠本雪渓, later renowned (by the sobriquet of Sō Shiseki) not for his natural history illustrations but for his finely detailed paintings of birds and flowers, as discussed below. In sum, plant and animal species were collected, analyzed, and exhibited on a broad scale in early modern Japan, both in public displays and in the pages of books; the publication of *Yama no sachi* in 1765 occurs at a moment when *honzōgaku* is bringing new information about the natural world to cultural pursuits.

Returning to the classifications of *Wakan sansai zue*, most of the "insects" in *Yama no sachi* are found within the encyclopedia's three "insect" volumes. However, three outliers from this taxonomic group bear mentioning; the poetry book adds a snake (vol. 1, 22v23r), a bat (vol. 1, 25v26r), and a mole (vol. 2, 3v4r). Unlike toads and frogs, which are brought under the category of "insects," these small animals are found in other categories of *Wakan sansai zue*. Snakes (*hebi* 蛇) are classed within volume 45, along with dragons (*ryūja no bu* 龍蛇部).[351] Bats (*kōmori* 蝙蝠) are found slightly further away, located toward the end of a volume devoted to "types of field birds" (v. 42, *genjūrui* 原獣類), which also included multiple kinds of chickens, as well as sparrows, swallows, and flying squirrels.[352] The mole (*ugoromochi* 鼹鼠) is found at the farthest remove from the core insect volumes, in volume 39, "types of rats" (*nezumi-rui* 鼠類), which also covered

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exhibition, see Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature*, 207–227; on Gennai's *Butsurui hinshitsu*, see Haga Tōru, "Dodonaeus and Tokugawa Culture: Hiraga Gennai and Natural History in Eighteenth-Century Japan," in *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, ed. Willy Vande Walle and Kazuhiko Kasaya (Leuven; Kyoto: Leuven University Press; International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2001), 241–62; for a well-illustrated overview of the activities of Gennai and his network, see Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, ed., *Hiraga Gennai ten* 平賀源内展 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shinbun, 2003); among others.

[351] Terajima, *Wakan sansai zue*, 509–516.

[352] Ibid., 476-484.

mice and mice traps, as well as common squirrels and the weasel.[353] Including the snake, bat, and mole suggests a more flexible criterion for selecting *Yama no sachi*'s animal subjects than for *Umi no sachi*; by the same token, it indicates that other cultural frameworks, beyond period taxonomic categories, guided the book's producers in choosing species.

Particularly informing the selections in this *haikai* anthology are the motifs and practices of older Japanese poetry. In the previous chapter I explored the significance of seasonal and literary associations of fish and shellfish for Japanese poetry. These associations were equally if not more significant for topics like flowers, grasses, and insects—elements of the natural world linked by Japanese poets to an allusive cluster of seasonal associations and human emotions since at least the seventh century; by the Edo period, these natural topics had been developed and further codified through the aesthetic and material practices of poetry, visual art, and other cultural forms, such as flower arrangement, tea ceremony, and clothing design.[354] Plants featured prominently in Heian-period (785-1184) anthologies of *waka* 和歌 (the Japanese thirty-one syllable poem). For instance the imperial *waka* anthology *Kokinshū* 古今集 (Collection of Japanese Poems Old and New, c. 905) contains six seasonal books in which poetic plant topics progress seasonally: from plum and cherry blossoms in early spring to wisteria and yellow kerria in later spring; mandarin-orange blossoms and deutzia flowers in summer; then bush clover, yellow valerian, autumn foliage, and chrysanthemums in fall; and finally plum

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[353] Ibid., 453–457.

[354] Haruo Shirane links the establishment of seasonal topics in classical Japanese poetry (*waka* 和歌) in the late Nara (710-784) and early Heian (785-1184) periods (as well as their evolution in medieval linked verse and broadening in the Edo period) to the rich visual and material cultures of Japan that helped to shape these highly encoded views of nature in Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*.

blossoms in snow in winter.[355] The seasonal codifications of classical poetry also helped to shape the vast corpus of Japanese painting depicting flowers, trees, and grasses.[356] Certain insects were likewise prominent topics in poetry from an early period, particularly appreciated for their singing—thought to be lonely and wistful in contrast to the brighter sounds of birds. Where the cheerful songs of birds were often associated with spring and summer, the sounds of insects, heard at dusk, were often associated with the passing of the seasons, particularly the pathos of autumn, and with notions of impermanence.[357]

Many of the individual species selected for *Yama no sachi* represent established topics of older Japanese poetry, linked to specific seasons of the year. These plants and insects are then organized in a generally seasonal arrangement. From the pheasant's eye and seven herbs of spring, volume one proceeds with topics like dandelion (*tanpopo* 蒲公英), wisteria (*fuji* 藤), and frog (*kawazu* 蛙) (for spring), eggplant (*nasubi* 茄子), hydrangea (*ajisai* 紫陽花), and firefly (*hotaru* 蛍) (for summer). Volume two begins with an autumnal pairing, locust (*inago* 蝗) and rice (*ina* 稲), followed by the seven herbs of autumn (*aki no nanakusa* 秋七種) (see Fig. 2.6) and dozens of insects and plants

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[355] On the seasonal poetry of the *Kokinshū*, see ibid., 30–48.

[356] Much excellent research has been done on the extensive natural motifs of premodern Japanese visual and material culture. Among recent monographs in English, see (on the mutual imbrication of word and image in the visual culture of Japanese poetry) Tomoko Sakomura, *Poetry as Image* and (on the seasonal and poetic dimensions of natural imagery) Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, esp. 57-112. In Japanese the bibliography is extensive; for an excellent overview see *Kachōga no sekai* 花鳥画の世界 (The World of Flower-and-Bird Painting), (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1981), vols. 1-7; for case studies in Edo-period painting, see the three monographs by Imahashi Riko: *Edo no kachōga*; *Edo kaiga to bungaku: "byōsha" to "kotoba" no Edo bunkashi*, Shohan (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999), esp. ch. 1 and 4; and *Edo no dōbutsuga: kinsei bijutsu to bunka no kōkogaku* 江戸の動物画：近世美術と文化の考古学, Shohan (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2004); among many others.

[357] See Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 180.

associated with fall, including pine cricket (*matsumushi* 松虫), bell cricket (*suzumushi* 鈴虫), and bellflower (*kikyō* 桔梗); five plants associated with winter mark the end of the illustrations.[358] The accompanying text, as we saw in *Umi no sachi,* names the depicted species with a phonetic rendering in Japanese kana—as well as, typically, further names in Chinese characters—and includes one or more poems on the depicted species.

A closer look at these elements demonstrates how the poems likewise call upon traditional associations. Figure 2.6 shows an elegantly designed rendition of the seven herbs of autumn, printed in ocher shades of marigold and greenish-yellow, two shades of grey-green, pinkish red, and a lighter beige-pink.[359] The text on the right-hand page identifies the topic of the picture as the "seven grasses of autumn" (*aki no nanakusa*), then names each plant one by one: *fujibakama* 藤はかま (boneset), *kuzu-hana* 葛はな (kudzu-vine flower), *nadeshiko* なてしこ(pink), *susuki* すゝき (miscanthus grass), *asagao* 朝かほ (morning glory), *hagi* はき (bush clover), and *ominaeshi* (女花 yellow valerian or maiden flower).[360] More than we saw in volume one's seven herbs of spring, the autumn grasses are presented here pictorially as if to heighten the impression of layered, three dimensional forms. The deliberate clustering of plants—interweaving their leaves and stems, carefully suggesting recessional space by layering the plants on top of each other and printing the most "distant" plants without contour lines—stages for the viewer the printed picture's naturalistic qualities. It recalls the claims of the preface, the

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[358] *Tsuwabuki* (Japanese silverleaf, 21v22r); *suisen* (narcissus, 22v23r); *kangiku* and *yabukōji* (types of chrysanthemum and marlberry, respectively, 23v24r); and *matsu* (pine, 24v25r).
[359] The stalk of the kudzu flower, at right, shows an additional color that appears to have shifted substantially to a pale beige.
[360] Names given here in *Yama no sachi*'s orthography.

suggestion that Ryūsui drew from life (*shō-utsushi*). Significantly, the carving and printing of the color blocks is integral to this performance of naturalism. For example, the greenish-yellow color (almost a mustard yellow in this impression) is used both as a flat base of color for the broad leaves of the kudzu flower and to delineate the ribs of the underside of the leaves.

Each plant offers a rich constellation of cultural reference. For instance *asagao*, *fujibakama*, and *nadeshiko* are all used as the names of chapters or to identify female characters (or both) in *The Tale of Genji*; *hagi* is one of the most prominent autumn plants in classical poetry.[361] The poem explicitly calls upon only one of the "autumn grasses," miscanthus grass:

> 七夕や尾花はかわの裾模様
> *Tanabata ya / obana ha kawa no / susomoyō*
> Tanabata! Miscanthus grass is the design on the hem of the river[362]

Tanabata's meaning in Japan originates in a Chinese legend of two stars, the Herdsman and the Weaver Woman, lovers separated by the Milky Way until their annual meeting in the night sky in mid-summer. Observed on the seventh day of the seventh month (its characters combine the graphs for "seven" 七 and "evening" 夕), as the star festival, Tanabata was a major seasonal topic (*kidai* 季題) for autumn in classical poetry, and was closely linked to feelings of love and passion.[363] Then, in place of *susuki*, the poet has chosen *obana,* another name for miscanthus grass (L. Miscanthus sinensis).[364] This plant is printed on the right-hand page of the illustration, its slender, curving stalks rendered in

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[361] See Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 41–42.
[362] The poem is signed 桂子子, perhaps read Keishi-shi or Keiko-shi.
[363] Even though it is thought of today as a summer festival, Tanabata was originally a fall topic in classical poetry. On Tanabata in *waka*, see ibid., 40.
[364] See Kimura Yōjirō, ed., *Zusetsu Sōmoku Jien* 図説草木辞苑 (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1988), 370.

a dark golden color, topped with feathered seed pods in pinkish red. By printing the miscanthus grass without a black outline—like the yellow valerian on the left-hand page—its forms take on a delicate, hazy quality, as if receding slightly in space behind the other plants.[365] The elegant, nodding forms of this grass were also appreciated in textile design, as can be seen in the *noh* theater robe shown in Figure 2.7, where butterflies and chrysanthemums are embroidered upon a pattern of miscanthus grass.[366] Finally, miscanthus grass also provides the name of one of the traditional color combinations, created by layering robes of different hues (*kasane no irome*).[367] The poem thus combines the image of miscanthus grasses growing along the riverbank in autumn, on the one hand, with the image of grass patterns adorning the hem of a garment. United with the seasonal setting of Tanabata, the poem takes on an emotional or erotic charge, as of a poet longing for or awaiting his lover. Like the verses of the previous book, many poems in *Yama no sachi* thus called upon classical poetic imagery.

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[365] The miscanthus grass and yellow valerian may have been either block-printed, or printed in the *kappazuri* 合羽刷 technique ("stencil printing," in which a stencil was laid over the paper and color applied with a brush), based on the uneven density of the color—darker and thicker in some areas, lighter in others—and the smudges of color in the yellow stalks of the miscanthus grass (evident in the MFA impression, but not seen in all extant impressions).

[366] *Susomoyō* 裾模様 (hem pattern) refers to a kimono design, popular in the second half of the eighteenth century, wherein the major design elements are concentrated near the lower hem of the garment, along the skirt. Nagasaki Iwao suggests this design trend contributed to the decline of kosode pattern books (*hiinagatabon* 雛型本) toward the end of the eighteenth century; see Nagasaki Iwao, "Designs for a Thousand Ages: Printed Pattern Books and Kosode," in *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan*, ed. Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda, trans. Amanda Mayer Stinchecum (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992), 105, and illustration on 325. See also *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "susomoyō."

[367] Also known as *hanasusuki* 花薄, this color combination is light blue layered under white. See Nagasaki Seiki, *Kasane no irome: Heian no haisaibi*, 145-146. For a general discussion of Heian-period *kasane irome* in English, see also Liza Dalby, "The Cultured Nature of Heian Colors," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 4th ser., v. 3 (1988): 1–19.

Yama no sachi's selections likewise drew upon the motifs and conventions of the classical painting genre of *kachōga* 花鳥画 (C. *huaniaohua*, flower and bird pictures).[368] Established centuries before as a major subject in the elite arts of traditional China, this painting category encompassed a wide range of natural topics, including flowers, birds, fish, and insects (*kachōgyochū*, C. *huaniaoyuchong* 花鳥魚虫).[369] Chinese flower-and-bird paintings from the Song dynasty onward are often acclaimed for their meticulous depictions and high degree of verisimilitude, as well as for brilliant use of color; they also combined natural motifs in specific ways to produce symbolic, auspicious meanings.[370] Both aspects of the genre were transmitted in Japanese painting of the Edo period. For example, a fan painting by an unnamed Kano school artist depicts a sleeping cat, peony, and butterflies in carefully rendered ink and color on a gold-paper ground (Fig. 2.8).[371] In Chinese the character for "cat" (*mao* 猫) is homophonic for "age eighty to ninety" (*mao* 耄), butterfly (*hudie* 蝴蝶) is a pun for "age seventy to eighty" (*die* 耋), while the peony

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[368] For a comprehensive study of the genre in Japanese painting, see *Kachōga no sekai* 花鳥画の世界 *(The World of Flower-and-Bird Painting)*, 11 vols. (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1981); see esp. vols. 7 and 11 and Shimada Shūjirō, et al., "Nihon no kachōga: seiritsu to tenkai" 日本の花鳥画 成立と展開, 11:90-123.

[369] On the establishment of flower-and-bird painting as an important genre within in the Song imperial painting academy, see James Cahill, "The Imperial Painting Academy," in *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*, ed. Wen C. Fong and James C. Y. Watt (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 161–173.

[370] Critical studies in the field of Chinese painting have also demonstrated the political and social dimensions of auspicious imagery in flower-and-bird painting; see, among others, Peter Sturman, "Cranes above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990): 33–68; Maggie Bickford, "Three Rams and Three Friends: The Working Lives of Chinese Auspicious Motifs," *Asia Major* 12, no. 1 (1999): 127–58; and Maggie Bickford, "Emperor Huizong and the Aesthetic of Agency," *Archives of Asian Art* 53 (2002/2003): 71–104.

[371] This painting is now mounted on a folding screen in the collection of Nanzenji Temple. See Okudaira Shunroku, "Fans of the Zen Community: A Study of the Nanzen-Ji Screens," in *Ink and Gold: Art of the Kano*, ed. Felice Fischer and Kyoko Kinoshita (Philadelphia; New Haven: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2015), 22–23. For an *ukiyo-e* version of the theme, see the calendar print of 1766 that has sometimes been attributed to Suzuki Harunobu; reproduced in Elvehjem Museum of Art, ed., *The Edward Burr Van Vleck Collection of Japanese Prints* (Madison, Wisconsin: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin--Madison, 1990), 21.

was a symbol for prosperity; thus this auspicious combination connoted wealth and longevity.[372] *Kachō* subject matter was employed by all the major schools of Japanese painting, but became a specialty of eighteenth-century painters of the so-called Nagasaki School (*Nagasaki-ha* 長崎派), followers of the painter Shen Nanpin 沈南蘋 (also known as Shen Quan, 1682-?), a professional Chinese artist resident in Nagasaki between 1731-1733 (see Fig. 2.10).[373] *White Rooster under Willow* (*Ryūka no hakkei* 柳下白鶏) by Sō Shiseki 宋紫石 (1715-1786), a second-generation Nagasaki School artist, exemplifies representative elements of the school's painting style: an overall clarity of depiction, achieved through finely detailed, nearly invisible brushwork, brilliant color, and efforts to model forms in the round (Fig. 2.9).[374] The rooster's erect, dignified pose, combined with his stance upon a rock and the peony or hibiscus flowers at right, may all be read as auspicious symbols.[375] (In Shiseki's printed painting album of 1765, flower-and-bird compositions formed the subject matter of an entire volume, partially printed in color, as will be discussed in the next section.)

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[372] One name for peony in Chinese, *fuguihua* 富貴花 (J. *fūkihana*) means "wealth and honor flower." See Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art (Zhongguo Ji Xiang Tu An)* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2006), 173.

[373] For detailed studies of Nanpin's career and lineage, see Tsuruta Takeyoshi, ed., "Sō Shiseki to Nanpin-ha 宋紫石と南蘋派 (Sō Shiseki and the Nanpin School)," *Nihon no bijutsu* 326 (1993): passim; Kondō Hidemi, "Shin Nanpin no ashiato 沈南蘋の足跡 (Shen Nanpin's Career as an Artist)," *Kobijutsu* 93 (1990): 10–39; and the essays by Narusawa Katsushi and Matsubayashi Seifū in this special issue of *Kobijutsu*. For an informative reconsideration of Nanpin's realism in English, see Kondō Hidemi, "Shen Nanpin's Japanese Roots," *Ars Orientalis* 19 (1989): 79–100.

[374] Takeda Kōichi points out that this painting typifies Shiseki's characteristic method of concentrating his naturalistic techniques on the main subject (the rooster, as well as the flowers), while background elements like the leaves of the willow and the grass upon the rock receive less detailed treatment; see Takeda Kōichi, "Sō Shiseki no kōzu: kachōga o chūshin ni" 宋紫石の構図ー花鳥画を中心に," in *Sō Shiseki to sono jidai: Chūgoku torai no shaseijutsu gahō: botsugo nihyakunen kinen tokubetsuten*, Exh. cat. (Tokyo: Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan, 1986), 94. See also Tsuruta, "Sō Shiseki to Nanpin-ha," 56.

[375] Roosters were traditionally associated with high rank or good fortune; roosters upon a rock or with peonies connoted further felicitous wishes. See Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art*, 126–127.

Furthermore, within the category of *kachōga*, pictures that displayed grass plants with insects formed a significant subgroup of the genre. As Imahashi Riko has pointed out, the term "insect painting" (*mushi ga* 虫画) is not used in texts of the Edo period to describe works that depict insects, but rather the label "grass and insect painting" (C. *caochong hua*, J. *sōchūga* 草虫画) denoted an established subgenre of flower, bird, and animal painting.[376] Though concerned with convincing representation, paintings of plants and insects also engaged traditional auspicious imagery. Shen Nanpin's handscroll *Sankō shukuen zukan* 餐香宿艶図巻 (Plants and insects)[377] represents a variety of insects—butterflies, frogs, wasps, beetles—amongst flowers, melons, and the hanging leaves of a tree (Fig. 2.10). Alongside Nanpin's technical virtuosity—meticulous application of color, fine brushwork, and naturalistic rendering of objects in space—the painting also contains hidden meanings (*gūi* 寓意), such as the long vines of melons and gourds, associated with eternity and prosperity of one's descendants, chrysanthemums with longevity, and reeds and crabs with success in civil service exams.[378] The category of plant-and-insect pictures had precedents in print, as well. For instance, Part III of the Chinese painting manual *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (J. *Kaishien gaden*, The Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual, 1679 and 1701) focused on flower-and-bird subjects.[379] Within this

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[376] Imahashi, *Edo no dōbutsuga*, 118–121.
[377] Pronunication and English translation of this work's title as given in Tokyo National Museum, *Tokubetsuten kisshō: Chūgoku bijutsu ni komerareta imi*, 294–295 (cat. 256). The work is signed by Shen Nanpin but not inscribed with a title.
[378] It has also been suggested that the carnivorous elements of the painting, such as the frog catching a dragonfly, may represent metaphors beyond auspicious imagery, such as "becoming entangled in the success and failure of the real world" or literary allusions. See ibid., 295.
[379] Part I, compiled by Wang Gai 王槩 (c. 1650-c.1710) and published in Nanjing in 1679, focused on landscape. In 1701, Wang Gai with the help of his brothers or nephews, Wang Nie 王集 and Wang Shi 王著, reissued the five volumes of Part I together with the addition of Part II, on the flowers known as the

section, a further division separated grasses, insects, and flowering plants (草蟲花卉譜, C. *caochong huahui pu*) from "feathers, fur, and flowers" (翎毛花卉譜, C. *lingmao huahui pu*), which mostly portrayed birds and trees.[380] The plant and insect volumes included subjects such as praying mantises upon stalks of bamboo, as shown in Figure 2.11. The *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* served simultaneously as a practical guide to painting and as an art-historical text, but it is also an important example of pictorial color printing in the history of the East Asian book, and thus a significant predecessor to *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*, as discussed further in the next section.

As Ryūsui clarifies in the preface, *Yama no sachi* of course does not portray birds or animals, so some of the most well-established *kachōga* pairings—like cat, peony, and butterfly, or rooster and peony—would have been beyond the book's charge. Similarly, some of the most common auspicious floral motifs—like lotus, chrysanthemum, bamboo, or any tree flowers, such as the tree peony (*botan* 牡丹, L. Paeonia suffruticosa)[381]—are conspicuously absent. Still, while auspicious imagery appears not to be the primary criterion for determining the selection of specific species, *Yama no sachi*'s plants and

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"four gentlemen" (orchid, bamboo, plum, and chrysanthemum), and Part III, on flower and bird painting. A fourth part on human figures was added in the nineteenth century. The 1701 imprint is considered the full compilation in its original publication. For the most thorough study of the manual in the context of late seventeenth-century Nanjing, see Dawn Ho Delbanco, "Nanking and the Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual" (Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1981). An English translation and partial facsimile (of a nineteenth-century edition) can be found in Mai-mai Sze, *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting, Chieh Tzŭ Yüan Hua Chuan, 1679-1701: A Facsimile of the 1887-1888 Shanghai Edition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963). However, specialists have urged this translation's use with caution; see Dawn Ho Delbanco's review of the 1977 edition in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 39, no. 1 (June 1979): 184-190.

[380] See Yamamoto Gen, *Kaishien gaden kokuyaku shakukai tōyōga no kakikata shōkai* 芥子園畫傳國譯釋解 東洋畫の描き方詳解 (Tokyo: Unsōdō, 1968), 293-372. This facsimile edition translates the Chinese text for the modern Japanese reader.

[381] However, it does include the "winter chrysanthemum" (*kangiku* 寒菊, vol. 2, 23v24r, L. Chrysanthemum indicum or Chrysanthemum morifolium) and the herbaceous Chinese peony (*shakuyaku* 芍薬, vol. 1, 11v12r, L. Paeonia lactiflora).

insects nevertheless mobilized the iconography of flower-and-bird painting. Although *Yama no sachi* does not directly mirror the subject matter of Shiseki's painting, Shen Nanpin's handscroll, or even the pairings of the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual*, what these works demonstrate is that the subject matter of plants-and-insects held currency in the media of both painting and print in eighteenth-century Japan. This pictorial context for *Yama no sachi* is not acknowledged in the prefaces—where Ryūsui presents the selection of grasses and insects as simply a practical concern—but the printed and painted precedents of this iconography must have resonated for some of the book's viewers in the period.[382]

Returning to the question of poetic frameworks, some of the actual pairings of plant-and-insect in *Yama no sachi* reflect long-standing associations of classical poetry. The fifth illustration of the book, for instance, features a brown, green-backed frog (*kawazu* 蛙) gazing up at a heavily blooming branch of yellow kerria (*yamabuki* 山吹, L. Kerria japonica) (Fig. 2.12).[383] Seventeen poems on the yellow kerria, a spring topic, are included in the earliest extant collection of Japanese poetry, the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, c. 759), where it is often associated with croaking frogs: for example, "The yellow kerria is probably blooming now, its reflection in the

[382] The close correspondence between color, particularly thickly applied and vivid color, and *kachō* subject matter is another consideration, and would be worthy of further investigation. The 1693 *Honchō gashi* 本朝画史 (Japanese Painting History), for example, distinguished between the painting methods and techniques appropriate for specific subject matter, calling for "brilliant, opaque pigments" (*noshoku* 濃色, lit., "thick color") for flower and bird imagery, versus lighter colors for figure painting and ink monochrome for landscape. For translation of this passage, see Karen Gerhart, "'Honchō Gashi' and Painting Programs: Case Studies of Nijō Castle's Ninomaru Palace and Nagoya Castle's Honmaru Palace," *Ars Orientalis* 27 (1997): 68.

[383] *Kawazu* (or *kaeru*) is the common name for "frog" in Japanese (L. Anura order).

Kamunabi River, where the frogs cry."[384] Yellow kerria continued to appear with frogs in later collections of classical poetry, such as the *Kokinshū*.[385] In *Yama no sachi*, however, this classical combination is performed by the picture, not by the poems. Five of the seven *haikai* verses that accompany this illustration use the season word (*kigo* 季語) "frog" (*kawazu*), while two verses focus on the yellow kerria; none of the poems explicitly combines the two.[386] In a deft visual-textual inversion, it is thus the image that directly invokes this long-established poetic pairing.

However, other combinations and individual species in *Yama no sachi* reflect changes in and expansion of the natural vocabulary in poetry, and its refinement in other arts. At a basic level, the book's selection of smaller plants may reflect contemporary preferences in cultured activities beyond poetry, such as tea ceremony, flower arrangement, or gardening culture. Haruo Shirane has argued for the significance of the alcove (*tokonoma* 床の間) in medieval and early Edo-period Japanese architecture as a space of display for the aesthetic, social, and ritual functions of flower arrangement (*ikebana* 生花, literally, "living flower").[387] Importantly, this "interiorization" of plants in the Edo period emphasized grass flowers (*kusa no hana* くさの花) over the tree flowers

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[384] *Man'yōshū* book 8, no. 1435. See translation and discussion in Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 36.

[385] For example, an anonymous poem in book 2, on spring topics, reads: "Kerria flowers lie scatted now at Ide where singing frogs call. Had I known, I would have come to see the height of their bloom" (*kawazu naku Ide no yamabuki chirinikeri hana no sakari ni awamashi mono o*), no. 125, as translated by Helen McCullough in *Kokin Wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry: With Tosa Nikki and Shinsen Waka* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ. Press, 1985), 37.

[386] Moving from right to left, poems two and three begin with "*yamabuki*" (written 山吹 and 山ふき, respectively); the rest of the poems begin with or include the word for frog.

[387] See Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 95–112. In addition, cultured activities like poetry, tea ceremony, and flower arrangement were further represented, appropriated, and transformed in Edo period painting and print. See for example Davis's analysis of the multiply encoded iconographies of "flowers" and flower arrangement in the deluxe *ukiyo-e* book *Mirror of Yoshiwara Beauties, Compared* (1776), in Davis, *Partners in Print*, 61–107.

(*ko no hana* 木花) favored in earlier periods, like cherry blossom or plum.[388] The species selected for *Yama no sachi* may thus reflect not only the painting category of "plant-and-insect pictures," but also a general shift toward smaller plants in Edo-period urban culture.[389]

Even more than plants, however, the insects and animals that were chosen for the book demonstrate the widening base of seasonal words used in Edo-period *haikai*, just as we saw for *Umi no sachi*'s fish.[390] As Shirane has noted, Edo-period changes to the scientific interpretation of insects is reflected in their representation in poetry and other arts.[391] Y*ama no sachi*'s mole cricket (*kera* 螻蛄, vol. 1, 11v12r), snail (*katatsumuri* 蝸牛, vol. 1, 21v22r; see Fig. 2.17), and slug (*namekujiri* 蛞蝓, vol. 2, 21v22r; see Fig. 2.13), for example, represent some of the everyday insects expanding the seasonal vocabulary in poetry. Additionally, many of the new insects reflect a shift from autumn—the season primarily associated with insects in classical poetry—to summer.[392] Finally, *Yama no sachi*'s animal subjects represent somewhat unusual selections, which pass over similar species of more familiar cultural pedigree. For instance, the selection of the mole

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[388] On the general shift toward grass flowers within gardening, flower arrangement, and tea ceremony, see Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 112. See also Aoki Kōichirō, *Edo no engei: shizen to kōraku bunka* 江戸の園芸: 自然と行楽文化 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1998), 10-37.

[389] Tree flowers like cherry and plum also retained their symbolic freight and continued to feature in many activities and artifacts of Edo-period culture, ranging from famous sites for cherry-blossom viewing to literati paintings of plum in winter to the conceit of comparing Yoshiwara prostitutes to flowers.

[390] Haruo Shirane calls this the "seasonal pyramid," with classical poetry at the apex, moving from the most established at the top to those less frequently used, and the wide foot of the pyramid comprised of new season words brought into the poetic lexicon by early modern *haikai* poets. See Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 176.

[391] Shirane notes that insect interpretation was particularly shaped by changes to earlier conceptions of the divisions between various living beings, such as the idea of the four birth types (*shishō* 四生): insects, by virtue of spontaneous-birth or humidity-birth, were set at a greater remove from humans, born from wombs; see ibid., 191.

[392] Ibid., 179–180.

(*ugoromochi,* vol. 2, 3v4r) bypasses the topic of mice or rats (*nezumi* 鼠), which had felicitous associations with the beginning of the year in poetry[393] and were established topics of anthropomorphism in popular culture through stories like *Nezumi no sōshi* 鼠草紙 (Tale of a Mouse).[394] In sum, *Yama no sachi*'s selections and their organization within the book generally reflect established seasonal and cultural associations, but they also testify to an expansion of *haikai* vocabulary in the mid-Edo period to include more plants, insects, and other animals, just as we saw with the earlier book's fish; this topic would be worthy of further investigation in future studies.

Organizing the "Treasures of the Mountain"

Turning from individual selections to their placement and the book's design, we have already seen that the overall seasonal arrangement of *Yama no sachi* organizes spring and summer in volume one, and fall and winter in volume two. However, breaks in the prescribed seasonal sequence also point to different treatment of plants on the one hand and insects on the other. Nearly twice as many plant species appear in *Yama no sachi* as insects or animals (seventy-three species of plants to thirty-seven types of insects

[393] The Day of the Rat was an established season word in *renga* (linked verse), associated with auspicious pine and the New Year; ibid., 74. Year of the Rat also marked the first of the twelve years of the East Asian sexagenary cycle, although rats are less conspicuous as auspicious symbols in art than other animals of the cycle; see Wolfram Eberhard, *A Dictionary of Chinese* Symbols, 246–247.

[394] This medieval popular story (*otogizōshi*) was visualized in painted narrative handscrolls of the sixteenth century; these tales were later parodied in Edo period books, prints, and paintings. For visual examples, see *Nezumi sōshi emaki* 鼠草紙絵巻 in the collection of Harvard Art Museums (acc. 1985.445) and discussion of its narrative and pictorial structure in Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan*, 66–72; also see Utagawa Toyoharu's (1735-1814) perspectival print *Nezumi no yomeiri* 鼠の嫁入り (The Mouse's Wedding) for an *ukiyo-e* example of the theme; reproduced in Genshoku Ukiyoe Dai Hyakka Jiten Henshū Iinkai, *Genshoku ukiyoe dai hyakka jiten* 原色浮世絵大百科事典 (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1980), 5:130 (no. 528).

or animals).[395] None of the flowers or grasses is repeated at any point in the book. In contrast, butterflies (*chō* 蝶) are pictured (and named in the accompanying text) four times in volume one and a fifth time in volume two; bees (*hachi* 蜂) are identified twice in volume one; and the dragonfly (*tonbō* 蜻蛉) appears three times in volume two. In addition, while plants follow a clear seasonal sequence, some of the insects are placed incongruously "out of season," so to speak, especially toward the end of volume two. For example, perched on the wide leaves of *tsuwabuki* 石蕗 (Japanese silverleaf, L. Farfugium japonicum), a plant associated with winter, are the *kirigirisu* 蟋蟀, a cricket linked to autumn, and a slug (*namekuji* 蛞蝓), linked to summer (Fig. 2.13).[396] The three winter plants that follow this illustration at the end of the book are also paired with insects of summer.[397]

The prefaces by Ryūsui and Shūkoku offer no explanation for why some insects are repeated, nor do they explain why some insects appear out-of-season. We cannot know for certain, but I propose that the differences between the treatment of flora and fauna suggest, first, that flowers and grasses were especially popular topics for poets contributing to the book. The prominence of plants in classical poetry and in flower-and-

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[395] The figure for plants includes all fourteen species of plants of the seven herbs of spring and autumn. The figure for insects includes only unique instances of a species (e.g., it does not double-count both entries for "bee").

[396] *Yama no sachi* records the Chinese characters 槖吾 for *tsuwabuki* and renders the slug as *namekujiri* なめくじり, a variant of the current term *namekuji*, a common name for various species of slugs. The term *kirigirisu* is used today to indicate katydids, especially Gampsocleis buergeri, but was used in premodern Japan for crickets generally, now called *kōrogi* 蟋蟀 (L. Gryllidae).

[397] These are narcissus (*suisen* 水仙) with toad (*hikigaeru* 蟾蜍, L. Meghimatium bilineatus), fol. 22v23r; and a hardy "winter" chrysanthemum known as *kangiku* 寒菊 (L. Chrysanthemum indicum or Chrysanthemum morifolium) and *yabukōji* 茅藤果 (L. Ardisia japonica) with the centipede (*mukade* 蜈蚣, L. Chilopoda), fol. 23v24r. The fifth winter plant, pine, appears as a single species.

bird painting, and the general trend toward grass flowers in the Edo period are all contributing factors. Meanwhile, each of the insects that are repeated, such as butterflies, represents long-standing season words in the poetic vocabulary and well-established motifs of auspicious bird-and-flower painting.[398] Judging from the large number of poems in *Yama no sachi* using the word "butterfly" (eighteen), we might infer that this especially favored subject posed a design challenge, making it difficult to fit all the relevant verses on a single page.[399] Repeating the butterfly in multiple compositions is thus a practical solution. From another perspective, however, it also presents an opportunity for Ryūsui and Sekiguchi Jinshirō, the carver, to demonstrate a variety of pictorial approaches to a single subject. As Figure 2.14 shows, the butterfly's depiction ranges from fairly simple outlines, printed in a single, even color (upper right), to more complex representations: wing patterns of different shape, size, and color; flying or resting; and seen from angles above, below, and from the side. Repeating certain insects was therefore a commonsense way to balance the general popularity of plants as poetic topics as well as the popularity of specific insects, but that does not discount the fact that repetition offered a chance for deliberate displays of artistic and technical skill.

Meanwhile, non-seasonal combinations—as of a winter plant and a summer insect, for instance—point to an interesting tension between the book's sequence and its individual compositions. Where the seasonal associations of poetry provided an

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[398] Butterflies (*kochō* 蝴蝶, C. *hudie*) were an auspicious symbol of longevity in East Asia. In Chinese, the first character is a homophone for characters meaning riches or blessings (*fu:* 福 or 富) while the second character could be used as a pun for long life and the accumulation of riches. See Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art*, 41.

[399] Most of the butterfly poems appear with summer plants; however, the butterfly poems in volume two (with autumn *kikyō* [bellflower] and *otokobeshi* [Patrinia villosa], 15v16r) include the word for fall (*aki* 秋), and thus fit the general seasonal arrangement of the book.

organizing principle for the overall sequence of the book, standard elements within each picture suggest a second organizational rubric. Specifically, illustrations typically combine one plant and one insect. Figure 2.15 shows the typical components: at right, the illustration shows a cicada (*semi* 蝉) and a herbaceous plant of the Arisaema family (jack-in-the-pulpit, *yabukonnyaku* 薮蒟蒻).[400] At left, the text near the gutter names the plant and insect, first in Japanese kana (やふこんにやく and せみ), followed by two further names for each species in Chinese characters (respectively, 鬼蒟蒻, 天南星 and 蝉, 蜩). The text then gives four poems on cicada, and two poems on *yabukonnyaku*; the first poem may be read:

> 傘の亭にもゆかし蝉時雨
> *Karakasa no / tei ni mo yukashi / semi shigure*
> Even at the Umbrella Pavilion, nostalgia for an outburst of cicadas chirping[401]

The poem borrows the summer sound of an insect chorus to pun lightly on the synesthetic contrast between a sudden rain shower (*shigure*) and the noise of cicada cries (*semi-shigure*, literally, "cicada shower").[402] The poem is thus an elegant—if perhaps banal—reuse of established imagery.

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[400] The plant depicted here is different from the *konnyaku* plant eaten as a food in Japan, which is similar in shape but of a different genus (L. Amorphophallus rivieri). *Yama no sachi*'s *yabukonnyaku* ("thicket" *konnyaku*) is probably either the species Arisaema serratum (*mamushigusa* 蝮草) or Arisaema thunbergii, subspecies urashima (*urashimasō* 浦島草). See *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "yabukonnyaku"; Kimura Yōjirō, *Zusetsu Sōmoku Jien*, 144 and 325; Motoyama Tekishū, *Inshoku jiten*, 215.

[401] The poem is signed 銀波子, possibly read Ginpa no ko (Silvery Waves).

[402] The Umbrella Pavilion (Karakasa-tei) was also the name of a teahouse at Kodaiji in Kyoto, so named for the shape of its roof; it was connected by a walkway to the Shigure-tei. Both structures are thought to have been moved from Fushimi Castle in the early part of the Edo period and are now designated Important Cultural Properties; discussed briefly in Kendall H Brown, *The Politics of Reclusion: Painting and Power in Momoyama Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1997), 197 n32. *Shigure* was an established word in the medieval poetic vocabulary, and has been variously interpreted as passing showers, sudden showers, or drizzle; see for instance Bashō's treatment of *shigure* as a multivalent sign, as argued in Haruo Shirane, "Double Voices and Bashō's Haikai," in *Matsuo Bashō's Poetic Spaces: Exploring Haikai Intersection*, ed. H. Eleanor Kerkham, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 115-16.

Although it may seem obvious that this double-page opening is composed of two species—a plant and insect pair—it is worth emphasizing that this pattern obtains throughout the book. There are very few exceptions to the standard one-to-one plant and insect combination. A handful of compositions show small variations, such as two flowers with one insect, or vice versa.[403] Only four further compositions deviate from the standard pairing, showing plants without insects; all four appear at the beginning or end of a volume.[404] Finally, a few of Ryūsui's compositions depict insects, even when they are not named or mentioned in the accompanying poems (see, for example, the addition of an insect to the dandelion illustration, vol. 1, 5v6r).[405] In short, emphasizing pairs was a deliberate *design* choice, not something determined by the poetry. In this respect *Yama no sachi* differs from *Umi no sachi*, in which no fish were pictured which were not also featured in the poetry.

The visual layout of compositions in *Yama no sachi* also shows changes from the earlier aquatic book. Where *Umi*'s fish undulated across the page, and sometimes right across the gutter, with lines of text integrated with each image, *Yama no sachi*'s graphic layout seems to follow a more restrained approach. My analysis identifies several standardized features: the book's smaller-format illustrations, its division of text from image, and the regulation of that text to a block-like space on the page. Returning to the cicada and jack-in-the-pulpit plant (see Fig. 2.15), one sees that the basic elements of text

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[403] For example, in volume one, fol. 22v23r, *odorigusa*, *hebi*, and *karasumugi*. In volume two, see for instance fol. 21v22r, *tsuwabuki*, *namekujiri*, and *kirigirisu* (Fig. 2.13).
[404] The placement of these four plant subjects, which mark the book's changing of the seasons, sets them outside the standard treatment: in volume one, the pheasant's eye and seven herbs of spring at the beginning; in volume two, the seven grasses of autumn at the beginning and the pine at the end.
[405] The emphasis on pairs in Ryūsui's compositions is perhaps owed to the conventions of *kachōga*, which frequently emphasized auspicious pairings, as discussed above.

and image repeat the standard features of *Umi no sachi*: picture, names, and poems. However, one also sees that the picture is printed only on the right-hand page. All but two of *Yama no sachi*'s fifty illustrations are printed thus, on a single half-sheet of paper, one side of a page opening.[406] The smaller, half-sheet format of *Yama no sachi*'s pictures is directly connected to a second standardized feature of their arrangement. Rather than combining calligraphy and pictures as a unified composition, text and image are fully segregated on adjoining pages (see again Fig. 2.15).[407] This separation may seem at first a simple or trivial change, but in fact it makes the visual arrangement of *Yama no sachi* differ strikingly from its predecessor, because in effect text occupies one space, while pictures occupy another. This structure produces an alternating rhythm of text and image that subtly changes the experience of encounter for the reader-viewer.

Closer inspection of how the illustrations are incorporated further reveals the physical book as an integrated object. Paging through the book from beginning to end, a clear pattern emerges: all the pictures are printed on "back-to-back" pages—i.e., they comprise the recto and verso of one folio.[408] To put it another way, each sheet of paper, folded in half to create a leaf, will carry either only illustrations, or only text.[409] As

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[406] Only the seven herbs of spring and the seven herbs of autumn are printed as double-page spreads. As mentioned earlier, each of these double-page pictures appears as the second illustration in each volume, and mark the beginning of the seasons of spring (vol. 1) and fall (vol. 2) (see Figs. 2.5 and 2.6).

[407] There are only four exceptions showing the poem integrated with the image: the seven herbs of spring and autumn (see Figs. 2.5 and 2.6) and the red poppy and pine (the final illustrations in each volume).

[408] Like *Umi no sachi* and other books that form the major topics of this dissertation, *Yama no sachi* was bound in the customary fashion of printed books in the period, with a printed sheet of paper folded in half and bound with the fold at the fore edge of the book (*fukurotoji* 袋綴じ or "pouch binding").

[409] The MFA impression shows a blank page in volume two, folio 7v, opposite the picture on the facing page, 8r, of the the *oshiroi* 白粉 (marvel of Peru or "four o'clock flower," L. Mirabilis jalapa) and *tamamushi* 玉虫 (jewel beetle, L. Chrysochroa fulgidissima). Other copies (Getty Research Institute, British Museum, National Diet Library) show the intended poem on insect and flower on 7v. The blank page in the MFA copy may indicate either an anomaly of the printing—perhaps a mistake, or damage done to the blocks before all copies could be printed—or the possibility of a later printing (although the original

illustrated in Figure 2.16, image pages and text pages are thereby printed entirely separately, from two different sets of matrices. This structural change to the rhythm of text and image in *Yama no sachi* indicates a shift in production technique. The division of text from image suggests, I argue, a greater degree of routinization, as only half of the book's sheets would need to be printed in color. This division may have had real implications for the labor and expense of carving and printing. For instance, perhaps the woodblocks bearing text were handled by one printer and pictures by another.[410] We cannot know for certain the divisions of labor, but it seems likely that dividing woodblocks into two groups—those that would print only text and those that would print only illustrations—would have streamlined the processes of carving blocks as well as of printing them. Thus the material structure of the book points to possible changes in the circumstances of its production.

Finally, in addition to the separation of word and image across the gutter, the text itself differs greatly in its spatial rearrangement. The calligraphic hand, probably Ryūsui's, is similar to *Umi no sachi*, but nearly all of *Yama no sachi*'s poems are written within a considerably more linear, regulated configuration. Although some writers have asserted that *Yama no sachi*'s calligraphy is bolder than that of the earlier fish book,[411] I would posit instead that the poems in *Yama no sachi* appear, on the whole, far more

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colophon is retained and the color printing is consistent, suggesting a first printing). Further research would be needed to determine whether additional clues suggest a precise cause.

[410] The carver Sekiguchi Jinshirō is once again named in the colophon, suggesting his role in cutting blocks was highly valued. However, this does not preclude division of labor at the carving stage entirely; one might imagine the work being shared by apprentices, if Jinshirō (about whom we lack any biographical data) operated a workshop.

[411] Hillier describes *Yama no sachi*'s calligraphy as "boldly cursive, with swaggering loops and flourishes," though he does not reproduce any of the calligraphy, only the book's pictures. See Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 243.

regulated on the space of the page. As seen in Figure 2.15, the verses are typically arranged in neat, symmetrical columns. Every poem is justified at the top of each line. Within the poem, characters are modified and spaced vertically so that each line conforms to the same length. Thinking, then, about the visuality of the writing as a graphic component, these even, uniform lines of poetry together form a nearly rectangular block of text on the page. In Figure 2.15, a slightly wider space is put between the four insect poems and the two plant poems, but other page openings show completely even line spacing (see, for example, Fig. 2.12). Such a layout might seem logical and unremarkable to the reader accustomed to the visual conventions of printed type. However, in a woodblock-printed book, these rigid and regular lines of text mark a deliberate effort on the part of calligrapher and carver to formalize the text visually. In contrast to the integrated, synergetic combinations of text and image in *Umi no sachi* (see Fig. 1.9), *Yama no sachi*'s presentation of text and image is characterized by greater regularity and uniformity to a pattern.

This standardization in the book's design accords with other aspects of presentation charted in the previous section. To review these organizational strategies, the plants and animals of *Yama no sachi* present a selection of species that is partially consistent with both period encyclopedic taxonomy and with the seasonal associations of earlier literature. By opening with the pheasant's eye (symbolizing the New Year) and ending with the pine (symbolizing winter, as well as the New Year), the book's pictures are framed in a seasonal cycle consistent with earlier poetry. This arrangement of subjects in a seasonal progression differs from *Umi no sachi*, which did not organize fish species by season. However, venturing deeper into this structure, we see that exceptions to the

seasonal pattern, especially among the insects of volume two, point to a concern with creating pictorial compositions in which plants and insects are combined as a pair. This pattern of plant-and-insect pairs may also represent a nod to the conventions of combining plants and animals in the mode of *kachō* painting, particularly in the manner of "plant and insect pictures" (*sōchūga*).

Further, to review the standard configuration, the pictures combine one plant with one insect (or small creature); this picture is separated from the text on a facing page. Following a consistent rhythm throughout the book, each sheet of paper would have contained only text or only images, which suggests a level of routinization—or efficiency—in the processes of carving and printing. In addition to separating text from image, poetry is usually arranged upon the page in regular, aligned rows of even length. I conclude that together these features of layout and design contribute to a sense of regularity and uniformity in *Yama no sachi*, which resonates with the book's seasonal progression. Clearly diverging from the non-seasonal and unstandardized presentation of fish in *Umi no sachi*, the more formulaic approach to *Yama no sachi*'s presentation of subjects points to a refinement of design and technique in the sequel. As I will argue in the section that follows, in fact, *Yama no sachi*'s structured organization set the stage for the book's enlivened, delicate, and varied color printing.

***Yama no sachi*'s Color Printing**

Like its layout of text and image, *Yama no sachi*'s overall color palette and printing techniques differ in subtle ways from the previous book. The full-color, multiple-block printing technique is apparent throughout the illustrations, but closer inspection of

how many colors are used, where certain colors appear, and, especially, how color is applied reveals the book's subtle but significant changes in approach. In addition, comparing these aspects of *Yama no sachi*'s use of color to the precedents set in earlier color-printed painting manuals and to the practices of contemporary painters reveals how *Yama no sachi*'s printed color represents a further stage of sophistication for polychrome printing in book illustration.

Two overarching characteristics of *Yama no sachi*'s color emerge. First, it is clear that *Yama no sachi*'s illustrations are typically printed with a greater number of colors per page than seen in *Umi no sachi*. As discussed in chapter one, *Umi no sachi*'s color shows all the fish species printed in multiple colors, at minimum using three separate woodblocks: i.e., two color blocks in addition to the black keyblock (see Fig. 1.2). Further, a number of illustrations, such as the wheel shrimp (see Fig. 1.3), use at least five woodblocks—four colors plus the keyblock—demonstrating the "full-color" polychrome printing technique.

Yama no sachi, however, uses at least four colors plus black in *every* illustration. Consider, for instance, just one example, the printing of the snail (*katatsumuri* 蝸牛) and saxifrage (*yukinoshita* ゆきのした, L. Saxifraga stolonifera) (Fig. 2.17). The plant alone is printed using five blocks: pale pink, darker pink, two shades of blue-green, and black. The snail adds purple for its shell and brown for its body, bringing the total number of colors used to six, plus black. The use of this many colors—or even more—is a common feature of *Yama no sachi*'s illustrations overall.

In addition to *Yama no sachi*'s greater diversity of colors per page, where colors are used throughout the book is also distinctive. Previous writers have offered the observation that *Yama no sachi*'s color is characterized by its "ocher hues," tending toward colors like brown, yellow, and orange.[412] Certainly examples of this palette can be found, such as the depiction of dry, crinkled leaves of the snake gourd (*karasu-uri* 烏瓜),[413] tinted a muddy greenish-brown, near the beginning of volume two (Fig. 2.18). Similarly, the illustration of silverleaf, cricket, and slug discussed earlier (see Fig. 2.13) is predominated by brown and two shades of yellow. Yet, many other compositions show predominantly cool tones, ranging from pale, seafoam green in the seven herbs of spring (Fig. 2.5) to dark blue-green, almost aquamarine, in the snail and saxifrage (Fig. 2.17). Paging through the book, therefore, and keeping in mind the book's seasonal arc, one detects a chromatic shift from volume one to volume two: greens and blues are printed throughout the illustrations of the first volume, while earth tones and yellows are concentrated in the second volume. Viewed in context with the book's seasonal structure, this purposeful division of the color palette—like the placement of ocher hues in the snake gourd's leaves—clearly represents one more facet of the book's larger design: color is a further instrument of organizing the book.

Beyond these two overall features of *Yama no sachi*'s color, certain changes characterize how color is used. *Umi no sachi*'s printing often displays a single, evenly printed color, used over a broad area on the body of a fish, which was then layered with a second, more finely cut block to indicate scales or patterns (see Fig. 1.19). *Yama no*

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[412] Kira Sueo, "Tashokuzuri ebaisho ni tsuite," 16.
[413] L. Trichosanthes cucumeroides or the closely related but smaller Trichosanthes pilosa. Pictured here with a hanging *minomushi* 蓑虫 (bagworm, L. Psychidae family), in vol. 2, 3v4r.

*sachi'*s illustrations show a similar technique, but on a far smaller, more finely grained scale. A detail of the pheasant's eye, for instance, shows yellow for the flower and a light, seafoam green as the base color of the plant's stem (Fig. 2.19). Over this lighter green, nodes marking the plant's growth are printed in brown, and further details are delineated in black line. At the base of each yellow blossom a darker, irregularly printed green has been added, a color that also gives form to a delicate tracery of tiny leaves springing from the stems. Below, a geometric design in what now appears as a faint peach color adorns the plant's pot. These six colors (yellow, light green, dark green, brown, black, and peach) cover small, interlocking areas of the paper; each requires separate treatment in carving and printing.[414] In sum, by using a greater number of colors per page, and by integrating them together in small details, *Yama no sachi*'s illustrations represent fairly meticulous carving and printing methods and a more fine-grained approach to color than its predecessor.

Another approach to color that can be seen throughout *Yama no sachi*'s compositions is the overprinting of related hues, especially on foliage. For example, returning to a detail of the snail and saxifrage, one sees that the face of the plant's broad, thickly veined leaves are printed in two shades of blueish-green, while the undersides are printed in two shades of pink (Fig. 2.20). As this composition demonstrates, overprinting similar hues is frequently used to delineate the veins within a leaf, reserving the black keyblock to print only the outer contours of its shape. In other illustrations, the underside of a leaf is suggested by printing a paler version of the main leaf color, using the darker

[414] Further magnification would be necessary to determine whether the brown nodes were printed by a separate block, or printed by methods of stencil or *à la poupée*, discussed below.

color to print the veins underneath (see, for example, Figs. 2.12-13). Both methods of rendering leaves allow the color to simulate both morphology and surface texture, without relying on the articulation of lines from the black keyblock. As a technical feat, this adept translation from Ryūsui's designs to printed image attests to the skill of carver Sekiguchi Jinshirō as well as of the unknown printer. As a representational strategy, layering colors in this way also gestures toward efforts at naturalistic display in print.

An interest in naturalism is also evident in a third distinctive element of *Yama no sachi*'s use of color: gradation. Returning to the leaves of the snake gourd, one sees that the outer edges of some leaves are tinted darker, almost in orange-brown hues, giving them an uneven, mottled appearance (see Fig. 2.18). The effect, almost like watercolor, recalls the Japanese painting technique known today as *tarashikomi* たらし込み ("dripped in"), where a second, darker pigment is applied while the first, lighter layer of paint is still wet; this process causes the second layer to bleed outward, often forming nebulous gradations upon the surface of the painting.[415] This visual element appears in *Yama no sachi* on the foliage of a number of autumn plants in volume two, with differing results. On the leaves of the sponge gourd (*hechima* 糸瓜, L. Luffa aegyptiaca), the effect is understated, elegant—a gradual lightening of green toward yellow, convincingly mimicking the thick, coarse texture of the gourd's mature leaves (Fig. 2.21).[416] On the

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[415] As Yukio Lippit points out, the term *tarashikomi* does not appear to predate the modern period and the origins of the technique are unclear; thus the term as used today to describe Edo-period painting may subsume a set of similar but distinct techniques under a single heading; see Yukio Lippit, "Tawaraya Sōtatsu and the Watery Poetics of Japanese Ink Painting," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 51 (Spring 2007): esp. 65-69. For technical description, see John Winter, *East Asian Paintings*, 103–104. A similar technique known as "wet on wet" may be observed in early modern Dutch painting.

[416] Sponge gourd (*hechima* 糸瓜, L. Luffa aegyptiaca) and dragonfly (*tonbō* 蜻蛉, L. Anisoptera), vol. 2, 16v17r.

golden leaves of the chameleon plant (*dokudami* 蕺草, L. Houttuynia cordata), the effect is more dramatic, a swipe of orange color simulating the bright red and yellow mottled colors on the leaves of this perennial herb (Fig. 2.22).[417] The consistency of these fluid color gradations across multiple copies of *Yama no sachi* confirms that the layered colors are indeed printed, not applied by hand.

Based on close observation, one printing technique that may be responsible for these remarkable layered colors is probably something similar to an *à la poupée* method, in which two or more colors would be applied to a single block.[418] Typically *à la poupée* (lit., "with the doll") is known as an intaglio technique in which a knob of fabric (the "doll") was used to ink separate areas of a single plate with two or more different colors; development of the technique for use on a large scale is associated with the late-seventeenth century workshop of Dutch printmaker Johannes Teyler (1648-c.1709).[419] Recent research has clarified that the *à la poupée* manner was also used in Europe for color printmaking in relief from an even period, albeit on a smaller scale.[420] Further, a similar technique known in Chinese as *fucai yinfa* 敷彩印法 ("applied-color printing method") is debated among scholars of textual and pictorial color printing in China for books dating as early as the fourteenth century.[421] In short, selective application of color

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[417] Chameleon plant (*dokudami* 蕺草, L. Houttuynia cordata); cockscomb (*keitō* 鶏頭, L. Celosia cristata); and type of cricket known as *hatahata* 蝮蚱 (L. Acrida cinerea), vol. 2, 12v13r.
[418] See also discussion of *Sō Shiseki gafu*'s *à la poupée*-style color printing, discussed below.
[419] On intaglio prints inked *à la poupée*, see Margaret Morgan Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions*, 6–7, and cat. nos. 85, 86, 88-91; see also Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Upper, eds., *Printing Colour 1400-1700*, 43–46.
[420] Elizabeth Savage, "Colour Printing in Relief before c.1700: A Technical History," 27-29. A detailed analysis is anticipated in Savage, "Proto-à La Poupée Printing in Relief: An Initial 'D' in the Rylands Mainz Psalter, 1457," in *Der Gegenwärtige Stand Der Materiellen Aspekte in Der Inkunabelforschung*, ed. Christoph Reske and Wolfgang Schmitz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, forthcoming).
[421] For a discussion of these techniques and their evidence, see Sören Edgren, "Chinese Rare Books and Color Printing."

to the printing surface is attested in multiple contexts of early multiple-color printing. As used in *Yama no sachi*, color gradations were certainly combined with multiple-block printing, but rather than overprint a flat, even layer of color, the intention is clearly to simulate the gradual advance of brown, yellow, and orange color at the tips of autumn leaves. The *à la poupée*-style techniques of gradation might be thought of as akin to "painting" upon the block—applying colors selectively to raised areas of the block in order to achieve a soft, hazy color field, rather than a sharp edge.[422]

Indeed, the uneven edges and pooling of color on *Yama no sachi*'s autumn leaves is strikingly reminiscent of the graduated washes achieved by ink painters. A similar technique, known as *kappazuri* 合羽刷 or stencil printing, required that a stencil be cut and laid upon the paper; color could then be applied directly to the revealed areas of the paper. Because in both color techniques one is effectively painting upon either block or paper, a variety of serendipitous effects may be achieved, such as gradation and pooling of color; softer, more indistinct edges of color; or even a degree of mixing where two colors meet. However, although *Yama no sachi* might have been selectively printed by using stencils, this would have complicated an otherwise fairly straightforward process of relief printing; further, the controlled effects of gradation at the edges of the leaves strongly indicate relief printing in the manner of *à la poupée* in selected areas. (In later decades, *ukiyo-e* printers would employ a third technique for gradation, known as *bokashi* 暈し, by printing smoothly graduated tones from color blocks. However, as shown in

[422] The gradient on *Yama no sachi*'s leaves may have been printed using a single block in a variant method of the *fucai yinfa* technique, by inking the block selectively, print, then wipe the block and apply a second color to the remaining portions; some modern researchers of Chinese color printing describe this method as "twice-printed" (*shuangyin* 雙印). See ibid., 28.

Figures 2.18, 2.21, and 2.22, *Yama no sachi* clearly employs a second color for the gradation effects, and the pooling of color at the edges of the leaves in *Yama no sachi* is not a characteristic effect of *bokashi* printing.) As an early and experimental work of full-color printing on a large scale, *Yama no sachi*'s specific techniques bear further investigation via scientific analysis and close observation across extant copies;[423] what I have outlined above makes clear that at this stage a variety of nonstandard practices were being used to achieve the book's polychrome printing.

The mixing of color printing techniques in *Yama no sachi* is also attested in earlier examples of deluxe, polychrome illustrated books in East Asia, among which one of the most historically significant was the well-known *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual.* As mentioned above, this compendium was first published in Nanjing in 1679 in volumes focusing on landscape; further sections dealing with flower-and-bird subjects were published in 1701.[424] Imported to Japan and reprinted in Japanese editions as early as 1748 in Kyoto, the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* served as a practical treatise for the professional Japanese artist and as a critical text that helped to shape the Edo-period reception of Chinese painting history itself.[425] The *Mustard Seed Garden*

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[423] A similar point is made by the comparisons in Itō, *Intānetto o katsuyōshita kotenseki no chōsa*, 13.
[424] For a discussion of the complete copy held by Daitōkyū Kinen Bunko, said to the best extant imprint in Japan, see Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Chūgoku gafu no shūtaisei: 'Jieziyuan huazhuan' shoshū, nishū, sanshū no zenbō" 中国画譜の集大成ー『芥子園画伝』初集・二集・三集の全貌, in *Daitōkyū kinen bunko zō: Jieziyuan huazhuan* 大東急記念文庫蔵, 芥子園画伝, ed. Daitōkyū kinen bunko (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2009), 397–417, and facsimile in the accompanying volume. See also the recently-published facsimile of the imprint held by the National Library of China, said to be one of the earliest and finest printings: An English translation is available in Sze, *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting,* (but see note 105, above).
[425] For two informative studies of its general reception among Edo-period artists, see Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Kaishien gaden ni tsuite: sono seiritsu to Edo gadan e no eikyō 「芥子園画伝」について — その成立と江戸画壇への影響 (On the Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual and its Influence on Edo Painting

manual was widely appreciated in the period; it is thought that even the eighth Tokugawa shogun, Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751), viewed a copy of the book in 1724.[426] The manual was studied particularly closely by painters of the *nanga* 南画 ("Southern Painting") school, such as Ike Taiga 池大雅 (1723-1776).[427] Other well-documented cases include its copying by Tachibana Morikuni 橘守国 (1679-1748), an Osaka painter who trained in both Kano and Tosa ateliers and who used its designs in his own (monochrome) illustrated books.[428] Yet the book was also highly appreciated for its innovative and beautiful printed color, a feature of transmission that is best evident in the subsequent color-printing projects that it seems to have directly inspired.

For instance, the first Japanese edition of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*, published in 1748, took only a selection of original designs from the flower-and-

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Circles)," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 283 (1973): 81–92 and Kōno Motoaki, "Nihon bunjin shoshikiron 日本文人畫試論," *Kokka* 1207 (1996): 5–13.

[426] Based on the records (*Yuishogaki* 由緒書) of Confucian scholar Ogyū Sōrai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) and his brother (and Yoshimune's personal physician), Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北渓 (1673-1754) See Ōba Osamu, *Kanseki yunyū no bunkashi*, 219-220.

[427] On Taiga's study of and adaptation from the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*, see Takeda Kōichi, "Ike Taiga ni okeru gafu ni yoru seisaku 池大雅における画譜による制作 (Ike Taiga's Utilization of Illustrated Books)," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 348 (August 1990), 45-48; Melinda Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views*, esp. 23–32; and Kyoko Kinoshita, "Printed Books on Painting: Edo-Period Imports from China and Taiga's Manuals," in *Ike Taiga and Tokuyama Gyokuran: Japanese Masters of the Brush*, ed. Felice Fischer, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 65–73.

[428] Shalmit Bejarano speculates that Morikuni's appreciation for the *Mustard Seed Garden* manual was one of the direct inspirations for his own painting manuals; see Shalmit Bejarano, "Picturing Rice Agriculture and Silk Production: Appropriation and Ideology in Early Modern Japanese Painting" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2010), 161. See also Yoshida Eri, "'Sansui' gafu no shomondai: 'Kaishien gaden' wakoku no keii to Fuchigami Kyokkō 'Sansui kikan' o rei ni 「山水」画譜の諸問題：「芥子園画伝」和刻の経緯と淵上旭江「山水奇観」を例に," in *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imēji kakumei - ehon, edehon shinpojiamu hokokusho* 江戸の出版文化から始まったイメージ革命 - 絵本・絵手本シンポジウム報告書, ed. Ōta Shōko (Kanazawa-shi: Kanazawa Geijutsugaku Kenkyūkai, 2007), esp. 73-74, and Timon Screech, "Owning Edo-Period Paintings," in *Acquisition: Art and Ownership in Edo-Period Japan*, ed. Elizabeth Lillehoj (Warren, CT: Floating World Editions, 2007), 37.

bird volumes (designs from remaining volumes were later published in 1753).[429] Examples from early printings of both Chinese and Japanese editions of the manual display remarkable evocations of natural motifs in printed color (Fig. 2.23). In the Chinese manual's first printing (top), peony flowers and leaves lift from gracefully curved stems, the many-layered petals of its blooms printed in subtly differentiated hues. The gradations on the petals as well as on the leaves, which shift from green to brown, would have been achieved by applying graduated color on the same block (possibly in the *fucai yinfa* 敷彩印法, "applied-color printing" technique, a manner similar to *à la poupée* inking).[430] The browning of the leaves especially anticipates the autumn colors of *Yama no sachi*'s snake gourd or chameleon plant, as seen earlier. Meanwhile, the Japanese edition (Fig. 2.23, bottom), printed from recut blocks, translates many features of the original: carefully reproducing the main design, faithfully printing the underside of the leaves in a complementary green, and attempting to mimic the variations of color on the peony's flower petals. The leaves, however, are printed in only the two colors of lighter and darker green, lacking the original's gradation toward soft brown at the tips of the leaves. Further, issues of registration in the Japanese edition—on the right-hand page, the dark green block is printed too low, and the dark pink block is misaligned on both pages—point to the early date and experimental nature of this large-scale color-printing project in the history of Japanese books.

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[429] For a partial set (four of six volumes) from the 1748 Japanese imprint, see the British Museum copies, acc. 1979,0305,0.91.1-4.

[430] In the *Mustard Seed Garden* manual, the "applied color" technique would have been combined with methods of multiple-block printing, in this case thought to be small, assembled blocks for separate colors (C. *douban yinfa* 餖板印法). See Kobayashi Hiromitsu, "Chūgoku gafu no shūtaisei: 'Jieziyuan huazhuan' shoshū, nishū, sanshū no zenbō," 409. For Chinese terminology see Edgren, "Chinese Rare Books and Color Printing," 32.

The *Mustard Seed Garden* manual's direct impact on mid-eighteenth century Japanese publishing may also be gauged in another exemplary color-printed book, *Minchō seidō gaen* 明朝生動画園 (Living Garden of Ming Dynasty Painting, 1746), published in Osaka two volumes.[431] This book is also known under the title *Minchō shiken* 明朝紫硯 (Purple Inkstone of the Ming Dynasty).[432] It was designed by the painter Ōoka Shunboku 大岡春卜 (1680-1763), who loosely but unmistakably adapted compositions directly from the *Mustard Seed Garden* designs.[433] Compare, for instance, Shunboku's bamboo and praying mantis composition, which clearly abbreviates the complex structure and color printing of the Mustard Seed version (Fig. 2.24). Shunboku reduces the insects from three to one, eliminates the foliage in the upper portion, and pares down the densely layered bamboo leaves in the lower left corner. The graduated color of the blue bamboo leaves is replaced by leaves in black and beige; the blue flowers and green berries of the vine in the original are replaced with flowers and berries in a uniform red. Published in 1746, two years before the first Japanese version of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* was issued, *Minchō seidō gaen* is thought to represent an independent line of development from the original Chinese manual—not

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[431] A third volume was promised but not published until much later. The original colophon to the 1746 imprint can be seen at the end of volume 2; it lists publishers Shibukawa Seiemon 澁川清右衛門, Matsumura Kyūbē 松村九兵衛, and Ōno Giichibē 大野木市兵衛.

[432] The book is commonly catalogued today by the title *Minchō shiken*, under which it also seems to have been marketed in the period. This alternate title appears to come from exterior title slips and bookseller's catalogues in later imprints; the interior title (on the *hashira*) of all editions (including the 1746 imprint) is *Minchō seidō gaen*; the preface gives the title *Seidō gaen* 生動畫園. See, for instance, the publisher Hishiya Magobē's 菱屋孫兵衛 catalogue at the back of the third volume in later printing (also advertising the *Mustard Seed Garden* manual): http://pulverer.si.edu/node/406/title/3/25 (accessed 15 August 2016).

[433] An informative study of *Minchō seidō gaen*'s emulation of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* is found in Nakada Katsunosuke, *Ehon no kenkyū*, 160-167. The connection is also discussed briefly in Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 202-206.

mediated, in other words, by the Japanese edition.[434] On the other hand, Shunboku's preface states that he copied the compositions from six famous Ming dynasty painters,[435] and the literature remains divided on the full extent of his borrowing.[436] This is not to say, however, that *Minchō seidō gaen* lacked innovative color printing and stunning painterly effects of its own. Indeed, the book was sufficiently appreciated in the Edo period to be reissued in several editions, notably in 1780 with the addition of a third volume; many extant impressions are copies of these later printings.[437]

Like the editions of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*, Shunboku's book represents an important, rare precedent for *Yama no sachi*'s color-printed plants and insects. While none of *Yama no sachi*'s specific pairings—either of plant-and-insect or multiple plants—seem to be drawn directly from the compositions in these earlier works, they may well have served as general models for the project. In particular, their complex

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[434] Nakada points out that Shunboku's borrowings trace specifically to the *Mustard Seed Garden* manual's second volume on grasses, insects, and flowering plants (草蟲花卉譜, 下册) in Part III; see Nakada, *Ehon no kenkyū*, 165. Others assert that Shunboku borrows also from Part II; see Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 203; Waterhouse, *Harunobu and his Age*, 295.

[435] The six painters, which include figures like Wen Zhengming 文徵明(1470-1559), are shown to be represented in the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* and discussed in Nakada, *Ehon no kenkyū*, 163.

[436] Roger Keyes, noting the looseness of Shunboku's adaptations, estimates that as much as half of the book's compositions are basically originals of Shunboku's own design. See Roger S. Keyes, *Ehon: The Artist and the Book in Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 80. See also Nakada, *Ehon no kenkyū*, 165; and Christophe Marquet, "Furansu kokuritsu toshokan shozō no Ōoka Shunboku Minchō shiken wo megutte フランス国立図書館所蔵の大岡春卜『明朝紫硯』をめぐって," in *E o yomu, moji o miru: Nihon bungaku to sono baitai* 絵を読む文字を見る: 日本文学とその媒体 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008), esp. 91-92.

[437] Ōoka Shunboku's practices as both painter and designer of illustrated books, and the depth and variety of his oeuvre still remain to be fully uncovered by scholars, but for informative research on his illustrated books (which suggest divergent art historical views on the purpose of painting manuals), see also Arae Kyoko, "Jakuchū ga to Ōoka Shunboku no gafu: hanpon gakushū to 'Mono ni soku suru' e no kōsatsu 若冲画と大岡春卜の画譜--版本学習と「物に即する」画の考察 (Jakuchu and the Picture Books of Ooka Shunboku: A Study of Shunboku's Illustrated Books and Paintings 'Based on Things')," *Bijutsushi* 161 (October 2006): 82–97; Ōta Takahiko, "Gafu ni yoru ehon no manabi: Tachibana Morikuni to Ōoka Shunboku no gafu o chūshin toshite 画譜による絵画の学び–橘守国と大岡春卜の画譜を中心として," *Bijutsu Forum 21* 12 (2005): 122–28; and Marquet, "Furansu kokuritsu toshokan shozō no Ōoka Shunboku Minchō shiken wo megutte"; see also Hillier, *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 189-206.

and painstaking methods of using color signal a shared concern with the relationship between the printed book and the art of painting. As numerous scholarly studies have observed, Edo-period painting manuals (*gafu* 画譜) printed in ink monochrome were likewise engaged in a diversified dialogue between painting and print: teaching the art of painting, defining and disseminating particular styles and subject matter, elevating specific artists or schools, as well as functioning as source materials for the production of new images.[438]

However, what is significant about the connection between *Yama no sachi* and earlier color-printed painting manuals, as opposed to monochrome-printed works, is not simply the material fact of their color, but that much of the pictorial negotiation between print and painting is specifically being worked out in a range of *color* techniques. For example, close analysis of Shunboku's golden-rayed lily (*yamayuri* 山百合) and dayflower (*tsuyukusa* 露草) reveals three methods of coloration (Fig. 2.25). The lily's contours, black bubils, and the veins of its leaves are printed via multiple woodblocks, while the pistil is hand-colored; the dayflower, seen on the right-hand page behind the lily's stem, is stencil-printed.[439] All three techniques are critical to achieving the final image. In other words, the color is not merely decorative, or an addition to an image that could otherwise stand on its own—the printer was not merely "coloring in" between

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[438] Among recent, cogent studies expanding our understanding of the functions and meanings of painting manuals, see Davis, *Partners in Print*, 20–60; Christophe Marquet, "Learning Painting in Books: Typology, Readership and Uses of Printed Painting Manuals during the Edo Period"; Miriam Wattles, *The Life and Afterlives of Hanabusa Itchō*, esp. 173-185; and the essays in Suzuki Jun and Asano Shūgō, eds., *Edo no ehon: gazō to tekisuto no ayanaseru sekai* 江戸の絵本：画像とテキストの綾なせる世界 *(Ehon in the Edo period: a splendid world of interwoven image and text)*, Shohan (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2010).
[439] See "Rare Books of the National Diet Library: 60th Anniversary Exhibition" (*Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan kaikan 60 shūnen kichō shoten* 国立国会図書館開館 60 周年記念貴重書展), no. 74 (acc. WB1-18), http://www.ndl.go.jp/exhibit60/copy3/3gafu.html (accessed 8 August, 2016)

black contour lines with flat planes of color, but actually creating form, dimension, and texture with color itself. Nearly twenty years later, *Yama no sachi* would similarly pursue a variety of approaches to color printing in order to achieve painterly effects.

Sō Shiseki gafu

As the comparison to Shunboku's book and the *Mustard Seed Garden* manual have already shown, Ryūsui and his collaborators were not alone in their pursuit of new color printing techniques in books. In the early fall of 1765, the same year that *Yama no sachi* appeared, a limited number of color-printed illustrations were published in the three-volume book *Sō Shiseki gafu* 宋紫石画譜 (Painting Album of Sō Shiseki; see Figs. 2.26-28).[440] This book positions the eponymous Japanese artist next to Chinese painters of the first half of the eighteenth century—specifically, as the inheritor of closely observed and finely detailed flower-and-bird paintings in the manner of the Chinese painter Shen Nanpin.[441] As seen earlier, like other practitioners of the Nagasaki School, Sō Shiseki painted richly colored pictures of animals, birds, and plants—the *kachō* subjects in which the school specialized—with close attention to texture, detail, and volume.[442] Shiseki's appearance of synthesizing new empirical values with traditional

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[440] Published in Edo by Suharaya Mohē 須原屋茂兵衛 and Suharaya Shirōēmon 須原屋四郎右衛門, as recorded in the colophon to the book's first printing. Shirōēmon's shop was probably an affiliated branch of Suharaya Mohē's highly active publishing firm, which Peter Kornicki has described as "the leading publisher in Edo in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries"; see Kornicki, *The Book In Japan*, 210-212.

[441] The book is also known by the title *Kachō gafu* 花鳥画譜 (Painting Album of Flowers and Birds), given in the running marks (*hashira-dai* 柱題) and in the table of contents to each volume (*moroku-dai* 目録題). *Sō Shiseki gafu* is the uniform title.

[442] To date, most studies of Sō Shiseki's activities center on his painting practice. Key texts include Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Sō Shiseki to Nanpin-ha"; Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan, *Sō Shiseki to sono jidai*; Yamakawa Takeshi and Nakajima Ryōichi, eds., *Sō Shiseki Kusumoto Sekkei gashū* 宋紫石楠本雪溪画集 (Tokyo: Sō

techniques was based on the Nanpin manner of painting, and it was this style that the book promoted.[443]

Sō Shiseki gafu was issued in three physical volumes, each of which contained a distinct group of pictures. Unlike *Yama no sachi*, a table of contents at the beginning of each volume clearly lists the painting subjects to be found therein; at the end of each list, a one-line printed notation makes clear the division of content. Volume one contained "pictures after Master Shen Nanpin";[444] volume two featured pictures after "Sō Shiseki's own paintings";[445] and volume three included pictures after "various gentlemen of recent times."[446] This last volume contained pictures based on imported Chinese paintings, or paintings by visiting Chinese painters to Nagasaki, such as Fei Hanyuan 費漢源 (J. Hi Kangen, dates unknown), who visited Nagasaki several times between 1734 and 1756, and Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (J. Kō Shiki, 1645-1704).[447] By detaching Shen Nanpin and Sō Shiseki from the larger group of painters, the structure of the book reinforces an implied

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Shiseki Kenshōkai, 1986). For focused studies of Shiseki's stylistic development from Shen Nanpin (particularly concerning the question of "realism"), see Imahashi Riko, *Edo no kachōga*, 57–85. [parts of which were previously published in *Kokka* 1141 (1990): 5-16]; and Narusawa Katsushi, "Nihon no Nanpin-kei gaka nōto 日本の南蘋系画家系画家ノート Notes on Japanese Paintings in the Style of Shen Nanpin," *Kobijutsu* 93 (1990): 40–47; among others. For an overview of Sō Shiseki's illustrated books, see Nakada, *Ehon no kenkyū*, 198-202 and Yamakawa Takeshi, "Sō Shiseki to sono jidai 宋紫石とその時代" in *Sō Shiseki to sono jidai*, 89-92.

[443] As others have noted, Shiseki previously worked with the eighteenth-century polymath Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1779), illustrating Gennai's catalogue of natural products, *Butsurui hinshitsu* 物類品質 (A Selection of Species, 1763), under the name Kusumoto Sekkei 楠本雪渓. On this collaboration, see Fukuda Yasunori, *Hiraga Gennai no kenkyū: Ōsaka hen: Gennai to Kamigata gakkai* 平賀源内の研究: 大坂篇 : 源内と上方学界 Shohan (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2013), 101–118, and Yamakawa and Nakajima, *Sō Shiseki Kusumoto Sekkei gashū*, 90. Further research on Shiseki's oeuvre (painted and printed) may yield new perspectives on his pictorial strategies, particularly as they pertain to naturalism.

[444] *Mosha Shin Nanpin shi no zu* 摹寫沈南蘋氏之図 (*Sō Shiseki gafu*, vol. 1, 6v).

[445] *Sō Shiseki sho jiga* 宋紫石所自画 ((*Sō Shiseki gafu*, vol. 2, 1v).

[446] *Kinsei shoshi no e* 近世諸子之画 (*Sō Shiseki gafu*, vol. 3, 1v).

[447] See Yamakawa Takeshi, "Sō Shiseki to sono jidai," 90. See also Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Hi Kangen to Hi Seiko 費漢源と費晴湖," *Kokka* 1036 (July 1980): 15–24.

hierarchy, as if to hold up these two artists as the most exemplary. Placing Shiseki, who was considerably younger than the artists in the third volume, in the middle volume also efficiently bypasses Shiseki's own teachers: Kumashiro Yūhi 熊代熊斐 (1693-1773), from whom Shiseki learned the Shen Nanpin style; and the Chinese painter Sō Shigan 宋紫岩 (C. Song Ziyan, d. 1760), whom Shiseki met in 1758 and from whom he took his artistic name.[448] Disrupting the expected line of artistic descent, the elision of the many teachers and peers who probably also served as sources of inspiration reduces the complexity of Shiseki's artistic biography; instead the impression is one of a direct pedigree or inheritance.

The printing techniques used in each volume similarly serve to elevate the status of Sō Shiseki as a painter. The first volume contains a few instances of *usuzumi* 薄墨, or "diluted ink," in which a lighter grey block is printed in addition to the black keyblock, enriching the tonality of the printed image (Fig. 2.26). The third volume overall contains little virtuosic or experimental printing, with the exception of a double-page spread of a gibbon, his back curled and head bent close to inspect his leg through thick tufts of fur printed in a warm brown. In contrast, the most spectacular printing techniques in the book are concentrated in the middle volume, where Shiseki's own pictures are featured. Color is limited to six illustrations spaced throughout the volume,[449] and close examination shows that the printing technique is a combination of multiple-block printing and *à la*

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[448] Shiseki's biography is recorded in a period text of 1769, the *Kokon shoka jinbutsu shi* 古今諸家人物志; see transcription in Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Sō Shiseki to Nanpin-ha," 54.

[449] These appear on the following pages in volume two: lily and nadeshiko (6v); lotus pond (9v); sparrow with persimmons (10v11r), cockscomb (13v14r), bitter melon (*tsureishi*, C. 錦荔枝) (16v17r); and black peony (22v23r). The final peony illustration includes printed color (a pinkish taupe) as a background color, and this block appears to have been omitted from some extant impressions.

poupée. For instance, the lily of Figure 2.27 indicates two separate blocks, as the mauve anthers of the stamen were clearly printed over the verdant green filaments that support them. Meanwhile, in Figure 2.28, the keyblock has been used the print the black lines of the pictorial frame, the veins of the leaves, and the bird. The bitter melon (*tsurureishi* 蔓荔枝) from which the bird is pecking seeds is printed from a separate block, which has been inked *à la poupée* with three colors of red, yellow, and green; the leaves are printed from the same block. Close magnification has confirmed that these colors are indeed block-printed, not applied by stencil.[450] These colors have been mixed on the block in such a way that they are intentionally allowed to bleed into each other, indicated by the overlapping areas where two colors meet on the body of the fruit.[451]

Significantly, no keyblock was used for the outline of Shiseki's color forms. In painting, rendering objects without contour was known as the "boneless" manner (*mokkotsu* 没骨), and it was a noted feature of Shen Nanpin's painting techniques in the period, commented on as early as 1813 by the art critic Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田 (1771-1835).[452] *Sō Shiseki gafu* thus deliberately replicates the art of painting in print, specifically choosing methods of printing—a lack of contour to mimic the boneless manner, vivid color achieved *à la poupée*—that heighten the viewer's appreciation of the Nanpin (and Shiseki) style in particular.[453] In other words, *Sō Shiseki gafu*—like *Yama no*

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[450] I wish to thank Andrew Hare, Supervisory East Asian Painting Conservator of the Freer/Sackler Galleries, for sharing his expertise and his time in the conservation lab to confirm *Sō Shiseki gafu*'s use of *à la poupée* techniques.
[451] Jack Hillier also noted the book's *à la poupée* manner of color printing; see *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 268.
[452] In Chikuden's *Sanchūjin jōzetsu* 山中人饒舌 of 1813; see Tsuruta, "Sō Shiseki to Nanpin-ha," 18.
[453] Previous studies have demonstrated how the translation from painting to print in other painting albums was likewise conditioned by the desire to promote the name and style of particular artists or schools; see

sachi and the earlier flower-and-bird painting manual *Minchō seido gaen*—uses printed color not merely as decorative embellishment of the picture, but specifically to create shape and surface texture, mirroring practices of Shiseki's painting style.

Far more work remains to be done to fully interpret Sō Shiseki's printed painting album, its relationship to his painting practice, and its status in the broader print culture of 1765; however, as a foil for the slightly earlier book *Yama no sachi*, it offers two important points of comparison. First, Shiseki's album demonstrates simultaneous interest on the part of a professional, non-*ukiyo-e* artist in using color-printed books as a means of transmitting—and promoting—his painting practice. That this work was published only a few months after *Yama no sachi* and shares techniques of *à la poupée* coloring and subject matter of flower-and-bird imagery is surely significant, suggesting that *Yama no sachi* was participating or tapping into a climate of pictorial practices that also occupied Sō Shiseki. Viewed in context with Shiseki's meticulous, vividly colored, and startlingly mimetic paintings of natural motifs, and his earlier work in the field of natural science, both books suggest how fascination with study of the natural world was blending with painting's iconography and representational strategies—translated into print.

Second, the color techniques of *Sō Shiseki gafu* highlight further the extraordinary print techniques used in *Yama no sachi*. *Sō Shiseki gafu*'s seven color-printed illustrations and use of *à la poupée* denote innovation and a painstaking process, but *Yama no sachi*'s far more profuse and detailed applications of color signal its exceptional refinement of

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discussions in Davis, *Partners in Print*, esp. 20-60; Wattles, *The Life and Afterlives of Hanabusa Itchō*, 173–185 (on a posthumous *gafu*); and Lawrence Edward Marceau, *Takebe Ayatari: A Bunjin Bohemian in Early Modern Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004), 145–256.

polychrome printing techniques. Returning to the cicada and jack-in-the-pulpit, a detail shows how overprinted layers of colors from finely cut blocks yield subtle, remarkably delicate effects (Fig. 2.29). The cicada's wings are printed from three separate blocks: a light, warm beige, which has been overlaid with a lace-like pattern of soft gray; on top, black line suggests the darker contours of the insect's wings. This layered color conveys a remarkable sense of translucency without losing the solidity of the insect's large size. The jack-in-the-pulpit, meanwhile, is given form through a combination of a softly curving black contour line, a green base layer, and careful color overprinting to indicate the pink striations of the large, sheath-like spathe.

Yama no sachi, as outlined earlier, combined a variety of color-printing techniques to achieve more painterly and convincing effects through the application of color alone. Not all subjects are treated in equal detail, of course; a few illustrations use color simply to fill in contours.[454] However, the cicada is an instructive example of the degree to which the visual language of *Yama no sachi* depends greatly upon its use of color, and it recalls the verbal language of Ryūsui's preface, particularly notions of working from life, as signaled by critical terms of painting like *shō-utsushi*. The sketchbooks of Maruyama Ōkyo, the Kyoto painter much vaunted for his "truthful" painting of nature—which, as seen in the previous chapter, was based as much on established practices as on direct sketching—suggest a similar attentiveness to the question of how to render a cicada's color and form (Fig. 2.29). Though I do not suggest any direct link, it seems reasonable to observe a congruity between *Yama no sachi*'s

[454] See, for instance, the bleeding heart (*kemansō* 華鬘草, L. Dicentra spectabilis) and butterfly (*chō*), vol. 1, 6v7r; detail shown in Fig. 2.14.

printed layers and how Ōkyo builds up color and line, from an initial sketch to applications of color wash on the wing, and the addition of fine lines to create the latticework of fine scales. The comparison suggests the critical importance of *Yama no sachi*'s subtle, complex color printing to its engagement with practices of painting and with ideas of sketching from life.

Conclusion: The Cultivation of Color

This chapter has explored the continuities that link *Yama no sachi* to the prior volume *Umi no sachi*, as well as the differences—some obvious, some subtle—that set it apart. *Umi no sachi*'s novel subject of fish had relatively few visual precedents, but the insects and plants of *Yama no sachi* put the work in close dialogue with the longstanding genre of flower-and-bird painting, classical poetry, and increasing interest in natural studies.

Furthermore, three years earlier *Umi no sachi* set an extraordinary new standard for color printing projects. *Yama no sachi*'s status as a sequel, I argue, should not overshadow its particular contributions of the history of printed color in Japan. As comparisons to previous and contemporary color-printed books demonstrate, these works prefigure the use of color in *Yama no sachi* in multiple respects. Examples of gradation in the *Mustard Seed Garden* manual and of combining coloration techniques in *Minchō seidō gaen* given above show that *Yama no sachi*'s pictures of plants and insects shared not only flower-and-bird subject matter with these projects but also their investment in new, unstandardized practices of mixing color printing techniques, as well as their color-specific engagement with wider practices of replicating the medium of painting in print.

Therefore, perhaps to a greater degree than the previous fish book, *Yama no sachi*'s subject matter and techniques demonstrate continued engagement with the medium of painting. If the fish book was exuberantly deluxe and novel, the plant-and-insect book represents a new level of technical and aesthetic sophistication.

My examination of *Yama no sachi* in this chapter has focused closely on the book's selection of subjects and their presentation, particularly its color printing. However, *Yama no sachi*—like *Umi no sachi* before it—was published at a moment of increasing scientific and popular fascination with the natural world, at a time when artists too were engaging questions about truthful representation, practices of empirical observation, and competing ideas of verisimilitude. Later deluxe, printed albums by *ukiyo-e* artists like Utamaro would carry forward the representation of the natural world in finely color-printed images. Yet, at the time of publication, *Yama no sachi*'s particular combination of theme, medium, and mode of execution was unmatched. Future research might consider the relationship of *Yama no sachi*'s plant-and-insect pictures to monochrome illustrated books of botanical subjects from the same period, which were designed both by painters and by natural historians.[455]

The delicacy and complexity of *Yama no sachi*'s fine-grained color printing sets the work at a new stage of sophistication in printed color. Although contemporary *ukiyo-e* circles were producing vivid, single-sheet "brocade prints" by 1765, as explored in the

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[455] For instance, *Ehon noyamagusa* 絵本野山草 (Picture Book of Field and Mountain Grasses, 1755), designed by painter Tachibana Yasukuni 橘保國 (1715-1792; son of Morikuni) and *Ka'i* 花彙 (Collection of Flowers, 1759 and 1765), an eight-volume work of flowers published by Ono Ranzan 小野蘭山 (1729-1810) and his senior apprentice, Shimada Mitsufusa 島田充房 (dates unknown).

next chapter, another five years would pass before the first full-color books of *ukiyo-e* would appear.

CHAPTER THREE

Ukiyo-ehon and the Commercialization of Color

This chapter turns to the relationship between color and *ukiyo-e*, or pictures of the floating world. *Ukiyo-e* as a genre of pictures encompasses three main media: sheet prints, paintings, and illustrated books. Sheet prints have occupied the lion's share of researchers' attention, while *ukiyo-e* paintings and books, though appreciated, are often treated only briefly, sometimes as a kind of sideline to an *ukiyo-e* artist's "main" work. In a sense, the particular materialities of each medium do mark them out as distinct. However, this chapter identifies the Meiwa era (1764-1772) as a historical moment when the introduction of full-color printing technology into *ukiyo-e* sheet prints and books throws all three media into comparative relief as well as competition.

The first half of this chapter focuses on the story of color in sheet prints, taking as its primary artifacts of analysis the set of eight prints known as *Zashiki hakkei* 座敷八景, or *Eight Views of the Interior* (Fig. 3.1a-h) by Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (1725?-1770). By laying out the commercialization of color in prints, the case study of *Zashiki hakkei* demonstrates multiple motivations for color printing in pictures of the floating world. At the high end, full color was a special feature on par with other kinds of elegant objects of elite exchange; once the technique was known and the materials became inexpensive enough, full color spread quickly downmarket.

This story begins with the layering of poetic and political meanings in the theme of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers in China and the gradual erosion of these connotations over time and space. Moving through the transmission of this painting

subject to Japan, the chapter then presents the Eight Views' subsequent adaptation to native topography and culture in the form of the Eight Views of Ōmi (*Ōmi hakkei* 近江八景). Next it considers how Harunobu's set of eight prints, known as *Zashiki hakkei*, which parodied the Eight Views theme, originated in the context of private patronage but moved quickly into the domain of commercial publishing.

It must be emphasized from the outset that this process is brought forward not as a narrative progression, in which visual artifacts ineluctably move down a cultural and economic conveyor belt from high to low. As argued elsewhere in this dissertation, the advent of full-color printing in the 1760s marks out a particular moment in Japanese picture-making when all kinds of boundaries are blurred: between art and science, between pictorial genres and media, between bibliographical genres, and so on. The standard account of *ukiyo-e* in this historical moment constructs the narrative of full color as one of "high to low." This chapter, in contrast, suggests that full-color printing in sheet prints and books offers an opportunity to think about the complexities of describing the multiple audiences of the *ukiyo-e* picture industry. Perhaps it is precisely during such watershed moments that categories like private and commercial map poorly onto the registers of "high" and "low." Laying out the general contours of *Zashiki hakkei*'s rapid transition in the later 1760s from private commissions to commercial publications shows how these categories represent simultaneous and mutually reciprocal modes of production and reception.

The middle of the chapter further discusses the expansion of color in sheet prints in just a few years' time, roughly 1766 to the early 1770s. Competing color pictures of

these years reveal the slim margin that separates a "limited color" print (*benizuri-e* 紅摺絵) from a "full-color" print (*nishiki-e* 錦絵). The division between limited and full-color printing is, I argue, less firm in this period than our current terminology would suggest. Examples of early full-color prints by different *ukiyo-e* artists do not discredit the achievements of Harunobu and his patrons, nor assert the significance of his artistic rivals. Instead, they help reframe the overall story of printing in "full color" in terms of its material evidence—a goal that necessitates moving away from its traditional basis in single artists' biographies. Turning from a biography-centered approach to an artifact-centered approach also redirects attention to material color and cultural meaning.

The second half of this chapter turns from sheet prints to books, as the so-called "color revolution" is completed. The two earliest full-color *ukiyo-e* books provide case studies; both were published in 1770: Harunobu's *Ehon seirō bijin awase* 絵本青楼美人合 (Picture Book of the Beauties of the Yoshiwara, Compared) and the joint effort by artists Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章 (1726-1792) and Ippitsusai Bunchō 一筆斎文調 (active c. 1755-1790), *Ehon butai ōgi* 絵本舞台扇 (Picture Book of the Stage in Fan Shapes) (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3). Though widely known, these books have received insufficient critical attention. Here the analysis will focus on how the materialities of these books fit (or do not) into narratives of color.

What was the significance of these books for *ukiyo-e*? Specifically, why were the first full-color *ukiyo-ehon* so late to the party—five years after the "color revolution" in sheet prints, and eight years after full-color printed books first appeared (with the publication of *Umi no sachi*, discussed in chapter one)? Further, how has the subject

matter of these books distracted us from their materiality? How do these books compare to sheet prints, to earlier color-printed books, and to *ukiyo-e* painting; and what can we learn by comparing them to each other? These first two *ukiyo-ehon* represent both a beginning and an ending. On one hand, they are the initial assay of *ukiyo-e* producers into the possibilities of printing books with unlimited color and other sumptuous material effects. At the same time, paradoxically, these books also show the limits of color: where it becomes an end in itself, and when it becomes a commercial expectation.

Precedents in Poetry and Painting: Adapting the Eight Views

In 1765, a samurai known by the poetic pseudonym of Kyosen 巨川 collaborated with the *ukiyo-e* artist Suzuki Harunobu to produce a deluxe set of eight color prints. In making these "eight views of the interior," or *Zashiki hakkei*, Kyosen and Harunobu selected materials of superior quality and drew upon a literary theme with roots in elite culture. This theme was the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang (C. *XiaoXiang bajing* 瀟湘八景), which celebrated the evocative landscape of the Xiao and Xiang rivers in modern-day Hunan Province. The lush and dramatic geography of this region in southern China offered a long-standing subject for poetry and painting in East Asia. Virtually all premodern paintings of the theme from China and Japan depict landscapes shrouded in varying degrees of mist, evoking the scenic beauty of the Xiao-Xiang region and the dramatic topographical contrasts there between low-lying water and nearby mountain ranges, dotted by Buddhist temples (see Fig. 3.4). Such vistas could be re-imagined in ink and wash with creativity and variation, but all paintings carried "a basic cluster of visual

signs": a set of iconographical conventions that would help in the identification of the specific scene, such as "night rain on the Xiao and Xiang" or "autumn moon in Dongting Lake."[456] (See Appendix A, Table 3.1 for a full list of the standard Eight Views.) This canon combined image, word, and idea, but remained malleable—a defining feature of the theme that no doubt contributed to its longevity in East Asian art.[457]

While certainly a topic of aesthetic appreciation, the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang in China also served as an evocative political theme for the educated elite: literati who shared the discontent of the loyal but unjustly banished government official. The earliest recorded visual manifestation of the theme dates to a group of eleventh-century paintings, no longer extant, by Song Di (c. 1015 – c. 1080), a scholar-official of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127), exiled in 1074.[458] Aesthetes like Song Di and his friend, the eminent literatus and statesman Su Shi (1037-1101), found the tragic exiles associated with earlier Xiao-Xiang literature, such as the melancholy verses of Du Fu (712-760), resonant with their own laments.[459] Thus even the earliest illustrations of the Eight Views theme were

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[456] As described by Richard M. Barnhart in Richard M. Barnhart, "Shining Rivers: Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang in Sung Painting," in *Zhonghua Minguo Jian Guo Ba Shi Nian Zhongguo Yi Shu Wen Wu Tao Lun Hui Lun Wen Ji (International Colloquium on Chinese Art History, 1991, Proceedings)*, vol. 1, Painting and Calligraphy (Taibei: National Palace Museum, 1992), 51.

[457] Though poetic instantiations of the Eight Views are not taken up in detail here, both Alfreda Murck and Valérie Malenfer Ortiz have argued that the relation between poetry and painting is of paramount importance in understanding the meaning of the eight views theme in China. See Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China* and Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape*.

[458] The titles of Song Di's paintings were first recorded in a list of 1090 by Shen Gua (1029-1093). These titles played on the conventions of regulated verse in their poetic pairings; these pairs set in juxtaposition opposing seasonal and atmospheric motifs, such as evening and autumn versus spring, sun, and clear skies. For a concise explanation of these oppositions, and for an account of Song Di's biography and the distinction his paintings received among elite connoisseurs, see Alfreda Murck, "Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers," in *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University*, ed. Wen Fong (Princeton, NJ: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 216–220.

[459] Alfreda Murck's in-depth study of the Eight Views theme in China discusses the vast corpus of Xiao-Xiang literature, within which the poetry of Du Fu appears to have held renewed significance for eleventh-century literati, who increasingly conflated legends of Du Fu with older archetypes: banished heroes and

multivalent: tributes to the beauty of lush natural landscapes and expressions of elite discontent. Copiously appropriated and adapted by poets and artists, the theme continued to evolve as a vehicle for individual expression. The flexible structure of the theme made it possible for artists to turn away from the abundance of political and legendary associations of the Eight Views theme to a more straightforward evocation of the theme's poetic titles through the depiction of beautiful scenery and painterly effects.[460] This interpretation is frequently brought to the understanding of the Eight Views theme in Japan.

The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang is thought to have entered Japanese painting practices by the Muromachi period (1336-1573), perhaps through channels of exchange fostered by Zen 禅 (C. Chan) Buddhism.[461] As in China, Japanese visualizations of the theme frequently display evocative and virtuoso brushwork, as much a meditation on the art of ink painting as on the theme itself.[462] These pictures rarely give any hint of the

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writers such as Qu Yuan (fourth century B.C), Song Yu (third century B.C.) and Li Bo (701-762), who were also associated with tragic exiles in the Xiao-Xiang region. See Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China*, 52–59.

[460] For instance, Murck suggests that the *Eight Views* by Wang Hong, the earliest extant paintings of the theme (Princeton University Art Museum), took inspiration from the poems of the Chan (J. Zen) monk Huihong, signaling that the artist's melancholic handscroll presents a partial turn from the political "poetry of discontent" to a greater interest in poetic composition in visual terms. See ibid., 210.

[461] Zen monks traveling to the continent in search of training under Chan masters made contributions to both theological practices and material culture in Japan. For the Eight Views, this transmission took the material form of Chinese paintings brought back by traveling monks as well as paintings made by Zen priest-painters after their return to Japan. On the Ashikaga shogunal collection and Eight Views paintings, see P. Richard Stanley-Baker, "Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang" (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1979). On related aspects of artistic transmission, see Miyeko Murase, "Farewell Paintings of China: Chinese Gifts to Japanese Visitors," *Artibus Asiae* 32, no. 2/3 (1970): 211-236; Helmut Brinker and Hiroshi Kanazawa, *Zen: Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1996), 61-118; Jan Fontein and Money L Hickman, *Zen Painting & Calligraphy* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1971), esp. xxxvi-xlviii; and Gregory Levine and Yukio Lippit, *Awakenings: Zen Figure Painting in Medieval Japan* (New York; New Haven: Japan Society; Yale University Press, 2007), esp. 43-45.

[462] For members of the Chan/Zen monastic community, as well as for other Japanese viewers in the Muromachi period, the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang may have appealed as a pictorial subject based on

history of political lamentation that characterized the development of the theme in China (see, for example, Fig. 3.4).[463] However, the Eight Views in Japan retained associations with other forms of elite sponsorship. The theme was depicted routinely by Kano school 狩野派 artists, the official painters-in-residence first to Ashikaga 足利 shoguns (1336-1573) beginning in the fifteenth century and later to the Tokugawa 徳川 shogunate (1603-1868). At this supreme level of elite patronage, Chinese painting themes like the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang (J. *shōshō hakkei* 瀟湘八景) became a vehicle for expressions of shogunal authority and good rulership, an alternative to the themes and imagery localized around the imperial court. In service to the shoguns and their vassals, Kano painters pictorialized the Eight Views in sketches, scrolls, folding screens, and wall paintings decorating the architecture of the elite.[464]

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shared conceptual ground. Jan Fontein and Money Hickman suggest shared notions of aesthetic process and expression of self over emphasis on graphic skill and technique encouraged channels of communication between Buddhist ink painting and literati painting traditions. See Fontein and Hickman, *Zen Painting & Calligraphy*, xxiii-xxiv; see also Brinker and Kanazawa, *Zen: Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings*, 122-23 and 189-92 (on the eight views).

[463] Many Xiao-Xiang paintings by Chinese artists known to have been in early Japanese collections, such as the extant fragments of an eight views handscroll by Mu Qi (dates), are interpreted as apolitical masterpieces of Chan/Zen painting—spiritual meditations, visualized in atmospheric effects and delicate ink washes. However, politically inflected meanings were certainly still viable in Eight Views iconography in Japan. Kamei Wakana has argued that the Karasaki pine, one of the key images associated with "night rain" in the Eight Views of Ōmi, bore symbolic valence for the exiled shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536-65). See Kamei Wakana, "Kuwanomidera Engi Emaki Kenkyū 「桑実寺縁起絵巻」研究 (Research on the Picture Scroll of the Legendary Origins of Kuwanomi Temple)," *Kokka* 1193 (April 1995): 3–21. See also Chino Kaori, "Tochi ga egakareru koto no imi: Shiga Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 'Ōmi meishozu byōbu' saikō" 土地が描かれることの意味：滋賀県立近代美術館『近江名所図屏風』再考 (The Significance of Pictorializing Regional Views: A Reconsideration of the Ōmi Famous Place Screens in the Shiga Prefectural Museum of Art), in *Kenchikushi no mawari butai* 建築史の回り舞台 *(The Revolving Stage of Architectural History)*, ed. Nishi Kazuo (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1999), 38–53.

[464] See Felice Fischer and Kyoko Kinoshita, eds., *Ink and Gold: Art of the Kano* (Philadelphia; New Haven: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2015), 146–159, cat. entries 49-55, 146-159 and 262-264. See also in the same catalogue, Okudaira Shunroku, "Fans of the Zen community: A Study of the Nanzen-ji Screens," 18, for discussion of Kano painters' adaptation of the subject to the small format of fan paintings.

Perhaps aided by the interpretive malleability of the Eight Views and by the literati valences to which they were attached, the topic spread outward from the ruling elite into an ever-expanding base of "men of letters" in early modern Japan. It long retained, however, an affiliation with ink monochrome as the preferred medium of painting. Ink landscapes of the Eight Views were also replicated in print. For example, the Genroku 元禄 era (1688-1704) printed book *Shōshō hakkei zuga shiika* 瀟湘八景図画詩歌 (Drawings and Poems of the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang) alternates pictures by Hasegawa Tōun 長谷川等雲 (active late seventeenth century) with Chinese poems (*kanshi* 漢詩) (Fig. 3.5).[465] Although this was not the first printed Japanese book to take up the Xiao-Xiang theme, it differs from other examples in that it emphasizes image and poem over prose, with large-format pictures that fill double-page spreads, offering a minimum of textual commentary and no prefaces or postfaces. The publication of this book was part of a larger trend throughout the period of disseminating elite painting practices and subjects, particularly those favored by the Kano house, in printed manuals and style books.[466] As seen in Tōun's illustrated book, the transfer of the Xiao-Xiang

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[465] Hasegawa Tōun is better known as one of the artists represented in *Ehon hōkan* 絵本宝鑑(Treasure Mirror of Painting, 1688). The only copy of *Shōshō hakkei zuga shiika* I am aware of at present is in the collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature (acc. ナ 8-3, W). The book is also slightly unusual in being an *orihon* 折本 (lit., "folded book") with accordion-style binding, rather than the more common *fukurotoji* thread binding. It includes four-line, seven-syllable *kanshi* by Yoshida Goheiji 吉田五平次, published in 1695 (Genroku 8) in Osaka by Shimoyama Kizaemon 下山喜左衞門, et al. I thank Professor Suzuki Jun for alerting me to this book.

[466] The broad topic of transmission of Kano painting themes and methods is beyond the scope of the present study, but a number of detailed analyses in English are available. On seventeenth-century Kano practices in consolidating a "house style" and self-fashioning, see Quitman E. Phillips, "Honchō Gashi and the Kano Myth"; Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm*. On the blending of Kano practices and Chinese books in popular printed painting manuals that transmitted the elite theme of "pictures of agriculture and sericulture" (*kōshokuzu* 耕織図), see Shalmit Bejarano, "Picturing Rice Agriculture and Silk Production: Appropriation and Ideology in Early Modern Japanese Painting," 135–182. On the illustrated books of Kano-trained artists generally, see Nakada Katsunosuke, *Ehon no kenkyū*, 133-183.

theme from painting to print in the late seventeenth century points to trends of increasing literacy and to an expanding market of consumers for the "serious" themes of ink painting.

In addition, while Xiao-Xiang remained a suitable pictorial subject for the Eight Views, Japanese artists also transferred the theme to new topographies. It required only a short leap of the imagination to extend this flexible visual tradition from its Chinese geographic and cultural matrix to a distinctively Japanese locale. The *Ōmi hakkei* 近江八景, or Eight Views of Ōmi, represents the most prominent of the native choices for describing natural beauty within the Eight Views theme.[467] These landscape views directly translate the atmospheric and seasonal motifs of Xiao-Xiang to eight celebrated locales in the vicinity of Lake Biwa, located in Ōmi Province (See Appendix A, Table 3.2). A pair of screens with poems written by the famous calligrapher and aristocrat Konoe Nobutada 近衛信尹 (1565-1614), known as one of the "Three Brushes" of the Kan'ei Period (*Kan'ei sanpitsu* 寛永三筆), may be the earliest *Ōmi hakkei* work of art to articulate the theme in the word-and-image pairings that are considered standard today.[468] These pairings maintained a mode of high-culture associations. They aligned agreeably with the already familiar pictorial and literary genre of *meisho-e* 名所絵, or scenes of

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[467] Ōmi may not have been the earliest site chosen for a *hakkei* theme but its enduring popularity marks it as significant. See Shiga Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, ed., *Ōmi hakkei: Kokoku fūkeiga no seiritsu to tenkai: tokubetsuten* 近江八景：湖国風景画の成立と展開 (Ōtsu: Shiga Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 1988).
[468] *Ōmi hakkeizu jigasan* 近江八景図自画賛, in the collection of Enman'in. For a more detailed account of Nobutada's screens, including the innovative use of large-scale calligraphy, see Lee Bruschke-Johnson, *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role of Aristocrats in Early Modern Japan* (Leiden; Hadleigh: Hotei; BRAD, 2004), esp. 115-129.

famous places.[469] *Meisho* had been an established genre in Japanese art since the Heian period (794-1185), and they were prized particularly for their resonance with classical narratives like *The Tale of Genji*.[470] The transmission of the Eight Views to Ōmi, then, offers a point of transition within Japanese painting practices, converting a Chinese subject to a Japanese context.

Ōmi hakkei: From Painting to Print, from Ink to Color

Precedents for the Eight Views in print—made tangible in printed painting books and in sheet prints—all served as near-at-hand sources for continued adaptations of this enduring painting theme. The *Ōmi hakkei* theme, as adapted into the lexicon of *ukiyo-e* artists, was a critical bridge in the transmission of the Eight Views from painting to a popular subject in print. Okumura Masanobu's 奥村政信 (1686-1764) *Night Rain at Karasaki* (*Karasaki no yau* 唐崎の夜雨) (Fig. 3.6), one of the eight standard scenes of the *Ōmi hakkei*, is among the few *ukiyo-e* designs that predates Kyosen's and Harunobu's 1765 *Zashiki hakkei* adaptation. Masanobu's picture emphasizes the lone pine towering over Karasaki Shrine on a headland jutting into Lake Biwa. The curves of the pine's

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[469] It would be difficult to speak of *hakkei* without mentioning *meisho*, and vice-versa. On the overlap specifically between *meisho-e* and *Ōmi hakkei*, see Chino Kaori, "Kodai, chūsei ni okeru Ōmi no meisho-e" 古代・中世おける近江の名所絵 (Famous Place Paintings of Ōmi in the Ancient and Medieval Periods), in *Ōmi hakkei: Kokoku fūkeiga no seiritsu to tenkai: tokubetsuten* 近江八景：湖国風景画の成立と展開 (Ōtsu: Shiga Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 1988), 12–15. On the history of the *meisho* genre, see Chino Kaori, "The Emergence and Development of Famous Place Painting as a Genre," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 15 (December 2003): 39–61.

[470] Autumn Moon at Ishiyama (*Ishiyama no shūgetsu* 石山の秋月), for example, one of the Eight Views of Ōmi, contributes to literary apocrypha associated with Ishiyama Temple as a "famous place." Though it is unclear just when the legend was established, by the eighteenth century an iconographic tradition had emerged that placed Murasaki at her writing table during a full moon in the autumn of 1004, set to begin composing *The Tale of Genji*. This image became popular in *ukiyo-e* prints, books, and paintings. See for instance Harunobu's adaptation of the theme for a print series on the "five virtues" (*gojō* 五常); discussed in David Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:135.

trunk are echoed in the hunched posture of the two fishermen nearby, both bent under the onslaught of sheeting rain, indicated by printed parallel lines slanting from the clouds above. Masanobu's *Night Rain* indicates how the Eight Views gradually moved away from the misty ink landscapes of Xiao-Xiang to genre scenes that gave closer attention to human subjects.

The material fact of the color and how it was achieved is also significant in this picture. Because it was an established theme of monochrome ink painting, rarely do we see examples of the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang in color. Masanobu's picture provides a sense of the coloristic possibilities in *ukiyo-e* prior to the advent of full-color printing. This print is an example of *beni-e* 紅絵: a picture carved and printed in black line (*sumizuri* 墨摺) with added handcoloring. *Beni-e* are so named for their use of predominantly red, orange, and yellow pigments, all of which can be extracted from the pinkish dye of the safflower plant (*benibana* 紅花). *Beni-e,* which flourished from the early 1720s until at least the late 1730s, should not be confused with the similarly named *benizuri-e* 紅摺絵 (literally, "red-printed picture"), which uses some of the same pigments but with the crucial difference that colors are printed using separate blocks, not applied by hand. Together, the handcoloring of *beni-e* and limited-color printing of *benizuri-e* represent the primary modes of achieving color in *ukiyo-e* prints prior to full-color printing. However, it is worth emphasizing that the transitions from one color technique to another were not straightforward progressions of technological advance, whereby old techniques were abandoned immediately upon discovery of something new. Quite a bit of chronological overlap can be found in most cases. In addition, the shift

from *beni-e* to *benizuri-e* (or from *benizuri-e* to full-color *nishiki-e*) was not a simple substitution from cheap to expensive; both handcolored and limited-color prints had a range of price-sensitive techniques. Efforts to produce impressive material effects can be seen in both types of print, such as the use of metallic dust in handcolored prints, or the subcategory of *urushi-e* 漆絵 (lit., "lacquer pictures"), achieved by applying *nikawa* 膠, a transparent animal glue, to black-printed areas, such as hair, in order to make the ink "shine" like a lacquered surface.

Harunobu's own prints of *Ōmi hakkei* are also part of the early color development. They represent two types of early color printing: *benizuri-e* and *mizu-e*. Although *benizuri-e* are referred to today as "limited color" prints (to distinguish them from the "full color" technique), *benizuri-e* represented a technical breakthrough from handcoloring and a visually stunning graphic advancement in their own right. Typically they are printed in two or three colors, usually red and green. This technique was popularized in commercial printing from about the mid-1740s by artists like Masanobu and his peers. In fact, looking earlier in his career, Harunobu was sponsored to design *benizuri-e* too (Fig. 3.7). Most of Harunobu's *benizuri-e* designs took as their subject actors of the kabuki theater, and are datable to plays performed in 1760 and 1761.[471] Such prints look much like those of Harunobu's contemporaries, perhaps because several artists were working with many of the same commercial publishers. Often these limited-color prints were advertisements and commemorative prints for the popular theater; in

[471] Mutō records twenty-seven actor prints by Harunobu, all of which are identified as *benizuri-e*. See Mutō Junko, *Shoki ukiyoe to kabuki: yakushae ni chūmokushite* 初期浮世絵と歌舞伎：役者絵に注目して (Early ukiyo-e and kabuki: focusing on actor prints), shohan (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2005), 652–655.

other instances Harunobu produced designs for subjects more closely associated with classical or elite culture, such as was the case with his *Ōmi hakkei*.

As also demonstrated through other cases studies in this dissertation, the first half of the decade of the 1760s witnessed an upsurge of growing experimentation in color printing techniques. Harunobu's *Night Rain* print from his *Ōmi hakkei* series exemplifies one example of this trend within *ukiyo-e* publishing (Fig. 3.8). His basic composition includes the essential, broad signs of the "night rain" theme: a standing pine that dwarfs the shrine architecture, slanting lines of falling rain, and the fishermen in their boat. However, his composition also picks up pictorial elements similar to Masanobu's design, such as the undulating shoreline over the water and the top third of the picture space reserved for clouds, rain, and the text of the accompanying poem. However, coloration of Harunobu's print is strikingly different. This picture is an example of *mizu-e* 水絵 (literally, "water picture") printing, in which colors are printed without a black keyblock. *Mizu-e* typically employ several color blocks in complementary tones. Lacking the dark outlines of a keyblock, these prints often provide a delicacy of form and tone that simulates the effect of painted color wash—somewhat similar in appearance to the techniques employed by *Yama no sachi* and *Sō Shiseki gafu* as seen in the previous chapter. *Mizu-e* is a considerably rarer category of *ukiyo-e* prints than either *beni-e* or *benizuri-e*, which were more prominent categories of commercial color prints until full-color printing. However, *mizu-e* enjoyed a brief renaissance in the late 1750s and early 1760s just prior to the adoption of full-color printing.[472] The subtlety and translucence of

[472] A few have been dated to the later 1760s. A comprehensive study of *mizu-e*, including its relationship to techniques of both earlier *ebaisho* 絵俳書 (illustrated *haikai* books) and later *surimono*, has yet to be

mizu-e prints may have marked them as a special kind of print, for the same techniques can be seen in deluxe, limited-edition *ukiyo-e* like later *surimono* 摺物 (lit, "printed things,") and lavishly illustrated coterie books of poetry (e.g., *kyoka-bon* 許可本) that date well into the nineteenth century.

This *Ōmi hakkei* series by Harunobu is known today in four separate states, but impressions of each state are extremely rare. Compare, for example, the way the composition is transformed by the addition of a black-line keyblock (Fig. 3.9). This substitution makes Harunobu's *mizu-e* version into a *benizuri-e* print, with separate blocks for the colors, which appear today as a slate blue-grey, pinkish red, dark green, and the faded beige of the background (likely once a pale blue). The rarity and visual subtlety of *mizu-e* impressions might lead one to mistake Harunobu's *mizu-e Night Rain* for a proof of the later *benizuri-e* version. To the contrary, the delicately colored *mizu-e* series represents a kind of specially produced, up-market, and probably limited-edition print, whereas the *benizuri-e* version is the product of later printings via established commercial color techniques.[473] The comparison is a particularly apt illustration of a larger shift in color printmaking during the decade of the 1760s: from a fineness of color

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completed. For general descriptions, see Genshoku Ukiyoe Dai Hyakka Jiten Henshū Iinkai, *Genshoku ukiyoe dai hyakka jiten*, 3:67 and Kokusai Ukiyoe Gakkai, ed., *Ukiyoe daijiten* 浮世絵大事典, Shohan (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2008), 463. For examples by Harunobu, see the entries in Kobayashi Tadashi, ed., *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu--Edo no kararisuto tōjō* 青春の浮世絵師鈴木春信ー江戸のカラリスト登場 (Chiba: Chiba City Museum of Art and Hagi Uragami Museum, 2002), 44–49 (dated to c. 1764-1765) and Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:52–61 (generally dated 1762-1764). On Harunobu's changes in style across *benizuri-e*, *mizu-e*, and *nishiki-e*, see Kobayashi Tadashi, "Suzuki Harunobu no henbō: benizurieki kara nishikieki e" 鈴木春信の変貌–紅摺絵期から錦絵期へ (The Transformation of Suzuki Harunobu: From the Benizuri-e Period to the Nishiki-e Period), *Kokka*, no. 887 (June 1966): 5–24.

[473] Both prints were issued by publisher Iwatoya Genpachi 岩戸屋源八; see Waterhouse's discussion of these two impressions in Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:59–60.

and texture in initial printings to stronger chromatic saturation and contrast in subsequent, usually commercial, editions.

Harunobu and Kyosen: Patronage and Calendar Prints

Harunobu's print designs for *Zashiki hakkei* 座敷八景 (*Eight Views of the Interior*, c. 1766) retain allusions to the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and to Ōmi, but the landscapes have been transposed into scenes depicting pairs of women in urban, largely domestic settings (Figs. 3.1a-h). The prints themselves do not record titles, but both the first and second editions of the prints came encased in a wrapper; the wrapper for the second edition gives titles for the individual prints (which appear in the order given in Appendix A, Table 3.3). The absence of titles on each individual *Zashiki hakkei* print implies certain expectations of audience, since the sophisticated viewer was expected to bring to these images knowledge of the Eight Views convention and to identify which specific scene was being parodied through certain pictorial signs that linked the image to the classical poetry tradition.[474] As will be brought out further below, the titillation of these prints lay in identifying the poetic referent within the image, resulting in a visual game of high-culture associations.

This rebus-like visual practice emerged from a relatively elite social milieu. The first state of the *Zashiki hakkei* prints are signed with the name Kyosen. Ōkubo Jinshirō

[474] Sets of prints in a series of eight—taking off from the Eight Views—is a recurring trope in *ukiyo-e*; for a sample of further reiterations, see Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, *Edo no hana ukiyoeten: nishiki-e hanga no seiritsu katei* 江戸の華浮世絵展: 錦絵版画の成立過程 (Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1999), 67-85. See also Allen Hockley, *The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai: Floating World Culture and Its Consumers in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 41-86.

Tadanobu 大久保忠舒 (1722-1777), better known by his artistic alias Kikurensha Kyosen 菊廉舎巨川, was a samurai of the *hatamoto* (shogunal retainer) class. Kyosen worked as an official of the Tokugawa shogunate, but, like many samurai of his day, he became involved with artistic circles even while officially employed by the shogunal administration.[475] These samurai pursued a literatus ideal that was long-standing among the scholar-bureaucrats of China, but only enabled as a possible social category (and one that was largely self-identified) in Japan after the pacification and relative prosperity of the early seventeenth century. Though we lack extensive documentation about Kyosen's life and activities, official *bakufu* records and the trail of aesthetic endeavors left behind by Kyosen's pursuits in *haikai* poetry offer a sense of his social station and his interests.[476]

By contrast, of Harunobu's birth, family, marriage, or possible descendants, no records survive to provide a full biographical sketch of the artist.[477] Further, nothing is known of his training or career prior to his earliest known print designs, which scholars date to approximately 1757-60.[478] Patronage was critical to his success. It is essentially

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[475] Examining family and government records pertaining to the official status and family income of Kyosen and his associate Sakei, Hara Fumihiko has argued that both men were of higher financial means than was typical for their rank as *hatamoto* samurai. See Hara Fumihiko, "Okubo Kyosen to Abe Sakei," 15–16 (see also trans. 18-22). Previous research by Mori Senzō established some of the critical information for identifying these men; see Mori Senzō, "Harunobu hanga no Kyosen to Sakei."

[476] See Hara Fumihiko, "Okubo Kyosen to Abe Sakei"; Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:18–20.

[477] Sparse biographical details have been pieced together from various period accounts, including Ōta Nanpo's *Hannichi kana* and Shiba Kōkan's *Shunparo hikki.* See Kobayashi Tadashi, "Seishun no gaka Suzuki Harunobu" 青春の画家鈴木春信, in *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu*, 7–8. David Waterhouse reviews the data in the known sources in detail in *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:20-24.

[478] Asano Shūgō argues that Harunobu's actor prints date to the five years of 1760-1764; see Asano Shūgō, *Nishiki-e o yomu* 錦絵を読む, 日本史リブレット 51 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2002), 269. An earlier study by Takizawa Maya dates the earliest of these prints to 1757; see Takizawa Maya, "Shūsakuki no Harunobu - yakushae sakuhin o chūshin ni" 習作期の春信一役者絵作品を中心に, *Ukiyoe Geijutsu* 127 (1998): 3–14. Waterhouse considers issues of dating in *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:27.

through his commissions for an educated semi-elite that Harunobu begins to stand out as a figure of significance within a lively and sophisticated cultural milieu. Contemporary accounts indicate that by the mid-1760s, Harunobu was active within influential social circles comprised of Edo literati (mid-ranking samurai like Kyosen) and commoner-class intellectuals. Particularly intriguing associations included the *Rangaku* 蘭学, or "Dutch studies," enthusiasts Hiraga Gennai and Sugita Genpaku, men who maintained wide-ranging interests in Western learning, medicine, technology, and art.[479] Perhaps through relationships with acquaintances like Gennai, a neighbor, or with other well-connected Edoites, Harunobu came to the attention of his most important patron, Kyosen.[480]

Poetry groups appear to have played a significant role in eighteenth-century publishing culture generally, especially in producing of many of the color printing milestones discussed in this dissertation.[481] Though further research is needed to provide a more comprehensive picture, tracing just a few of Kyosen's intersections with book history is highly suggestive of the extent of the network. In 1758, for instance, Kyosen and friends in his circle privately published an anthology of their own *haikai* poems, titled *Segen shūi* 世諺拾遺 (Gleanings of Proverbs).[482] Internal divisions (*kan* 巻) of the

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[479] Harunobu's extant work largely eschews any interest in artistic techniques thought of as "Western," such as linear perspective, but his follower Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1747-1818), who designed prints for a period under the pseudonym Suzuki Harushige 鈴木春重, as well as forged several prints under Harunobu's own name, experimented widely in these techniques. For the classic study of Kōkan in English, see Calvin L. French, *Shiba Kōkan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan*.

[480] Morishima Chūryō 森島中良 (1754-1808), a student of Hiraga Gennai, records in *Hōgu kago* 反古籠 that Harunobu "continually keeps company with Furai-sensei [Gennai]" See Kobayashi Tadashi, "Seishun no gaka Suzuki Harunobu," 7 (and trans. Amy Reigle Newland, 289). See also Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:21.

[481] As noted in previous chapters, Edoza *haikai* poets appear to have been especially active participants in these projects.

[482] Translated by David Waterhouse as "Collection of Proverbs"; see *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:19 (previously published in the appendix to David Waterhouse, "The Cultural Milieu of Suzuki Harunobu," in

book were subtitled *kiku*, *ren*, and *sha*, after Kyosen's studio name, Kikurensha.[483] *Segen shūi* contained poems by a number of interesting Edo figures, such as Kasaya Saren 笠屋左簾 (1714-1779), thought to have been the proprietor of the Yoshiwara brothel Miuraya 三浦屋.[484] Saren's poems also appear at the beginning of each volume of Harunobu's *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, as will be mentioned below, offering a further link in the chain of connections forged via poetry circles.[485] *Segen shūi* also contained illustrations by several well-established *ukiyo-e* masters, including Okumura Masanobu and Ishikawa Toyonobu 石川豊信 (1711-1785). This publication prefigures the *Zashiki hakkei* in two important ways. First, it indicates an active Edo social network that linked low- and modestly ranking *samurai* elites with prominent *ukiyo-e* artists of the day. Second, the book demonstrates Kyosen's interest in using the print medium to promote both his artistic cachet as a *haikai* poet and his cultural cachet as an up-to-date *ukiyo-e* connoisseur.

The Commercial and Cultural Climate of Japanese Printmaking, ed. Amy Reigle Newland, Hotei Academic European Studies on Japan, v. 2 (Amsterdam: Hotei Pub, 2004), 67–68). Also see Fujisawa Murasaki, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 3:218-219 and 242, n39.

[483] This book is now exceedingly rare. The *Kokusho sō mokuroku* records only three copies (Kagawa University, Toyama Prefectural Library, and Ueda City Library); a fourth copy (ex-Rumpf) and a fifth copy (Tokyo University Library) are described by Waterhouse, and a (possibly manuscript?) copy is in the collection of the National Diet Library. For the most recent discussion of this book in English, see Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:19–20, although Waterhouse acknowledges even he has not seen a physical copy of this book first-hand; his commentary is based on that of earlier Japanese scholars and examination of a facsimile of an imperfect copy. Waterhouse describes the book as having three volumes, although the copy in NDL is described by Fujisawa as two volumes (*kan*) bound together. Where the discrepancy comes in I have not yet been able to determine.

[484] Fujisawa reports that a *haiku* by Saren, a student of Hankyokuan Isshi 半局庵逸志 of the Danrin school of *haikai*, appears with an illustration by Tawaraya Sōri 俵屋宗理 in *Segen shūi* Fujisawa Murasaki, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū,* 3:242, n39.

[485] Suzuki Jūzō has argued that Saren was the mind behind Harunobu's *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, an idea echoed by Matsuba Ryoko in the recent shunga exhibition catalogue. See Suzuki Jūzō, *Ehon seirō bijin awase (kaisetsu)* 絵本青楼美人合 (解説), vol. 9, Kinsei Nihon fūzoku ehon shūsei (Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 1981), 8; Timothy Clark et al., eds., *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art* (London: British Museum Press, 2013), 413.

Kyosen's self-styling as a man of taste can be further observed in the early works that he commissioned from Harunobu. The artist produced these designs specifically for Kyosen's use at the *haikai* gatherings that Kyosen organized with a fellow amateur poet of *hatamoto* status, Abe Hachinojō Masahiro 阿部八之丞正寛 (1724-1778), better known by his poetry alias Sakei 莎鶏.[486] The prints designed for such parties were known as *egoyomi* 絵暦, or "picture calendars," and they usually took the form of clever images in which numbers were hidden to designate the long and short months of the lunar calendar (Figs. 3.10-11).[487] *Egoyomi* thus evolved as a type of parlor game at these *daishōkai* 大小会, or "large-small parties," named after the calendar prints admired and exchanged by the samurai and well-to-do commoners, mostly merchants, who attended.[488] Many of the calendar designs extant today lack the numbers to designate the lunar months, so they have been identified as the second or third states of these prints, issued by commercial publishers after the blocks passed into their hands (Fig. 3.11). The use of multiple color blocks, high quality paper, and special techniques, such as embossing and blind printing, in calendar prints of 1765-1766 has led to widespread agreement that the competition for the most elegant and clever calendar prints played a role in the mature development of full-color prints (*nishiki-e*). This adoption of the

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[486] Occasionally also given as 莎雞. Sakei probably worked with Kyosen as an official at the Nishi no maru of Edo Castle, traditionally the quarters of the retired shogun or heir-apparent: a place of employment significant for the implied political access and social status it would have granted these men. Hara Fumihiko, "Okubo Kyosen to Abe Sakei," 14–15.

[487] The Japanese premodern calendar, technically a lunisolar calendar as it made use of intercalary months, was converted to a Gregorian calendrical system in 1873.

[488] These prints are also known as *daishō surimono* (lit., "large-small printed things"), a name that indicates the long (*dai*) and short (*shō*) months. David Waterhouse has recently proposed a new theory that the establishment of a new observatory in Edo was a primary motivation for the calendar prints and dating their production to the fifth through eighth month of 1765; see *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:18-19.

relatively inexpensive medium of prints by an elite cultural scene and the subsequent reuse of privately commissioned designs by commercial publishers exemplify the overlapping, even reciprocal, relationship between high and low modes of print production in the mid-1760s.

Zashiki hakkei

Harunobu is thought to have produced the *Zashiki hakkei* for Kyosen almost immediately after he made the *egoyomi* calendar prints for Kyosen's New Year gatherings in 1765-1766.[489] Scholars generally choose 1766 on the basis of stylistic analysis and the high quality paper, colorants, and printing used in the first state of *Zashiki hakkei*. Exact date of production aside, the sophisticated visual parody in these prints highlights their origin as a private commission for the Kyosen poetry circle. For example, *Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges* (*Kotoji no rakugan* 琴路の落雁, Fig. 3.12 and 3.1a) playfully adopts the Xiao and Xiang theme: the bridges of the *koto* simulate a line of "diving geese" (the *rakugan* of the poetic verses), while the blooming bush clover (*hagi* 萩) outside the window reinforces the autumn season associated with the original Chinese verses. In order to appreciate the images fully, one was expected to perform a kind of close looking, spying out the literary referents within these supposedly mundane urban settings. The parodies used by Kyosen and Harunobu may have been inspired by *kyōka* poems published in 1722.[490] The expensive materials and careful

[489] See dates in ibid., 1:95, and Kobayashi, *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu*, 76-84.`

[490] The 1722 poems, by Yuensai Teiryū 油煙斎貞柳 (1654-1734), shifted the setting for the eight views from landscapes to architectural interiors; Harunobu's *Zashiki hakkei* prints transpose this new setting into fully visual terms. On the relationship between poem and image in the *Zashiki hakkei* print set and the later

printing of these pictures also demonstrate their status as objects of intellectual and aesthetic prestige, elements that indicate Harunobu's continued association with Kyosen and his circle.

In her study of the materials used in Harunobu's *nishiki-e*, Tanabe Masako suggests that the paper for the first state of *Zashiki hakkei* was likely the highly prized *hōsho* 奉書, a "document" paper used almost exclusively by *samurai* and the aristocracy, but generally not available to commercial publishers.[491] This superior paper, though traditionally controlled by certain domainal clans (*han* 藩), seems to have become more widely distributed in the later 1760s with the establishment of paper guilds and, as Tanabe speculates, with the "possible anticipation of the profits of paper as a commercial commodity."[492] Tanabe further argues, on the basis of sheet size and tactile quality, that some of the earliest Harunobu *nishiki-e*, including the first edition *Zashiki hakkei*, were printed on the highest quality paper available, a specific variety of *hōsho* produced in Echizen province (*Echizenbōsho* 越前奉書).[493] Such strong and thick paper would have

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erotic version, *Fūryū zashiki hakkei*, see Ishigami Aki, "Suzuki Harunobu ga Fūryū zashiki hakkei kō: Gachū kyōka no riyō to zugara no tenkyō" 鈴木春信画『風流座敷八景』考−画中狂歌の利用と図柄の典拠 (A Study of *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* by Suzuki Harunobu: The use of *kyōka* poems in pictorial composition and design sources), *Ukiyoe Geijutsu* 156 (2008): 69-87. An English translation of this article by Jennifer Preston appears as "Poetry and Parody in Suzuki Harunobu's Eight Fashionable Parlor Views" in *Andon* 90 (2011): 5–21. See also Haruo Shirane, "Dressing Up, Dressing Down: Poetry, Image, and Transposition in the Eight Views," *Impressions* 31 (2010): 54.

[491] Tanabe Masako, "Harunobu hanga no kami to iro: miyabi no nazo" 春信版画の紙と色: 雅の謎 (The Enigma of Elegance: Colorants and Paper in the Woodblock Prints of Suzuki Harunobu), in *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu*, 275–79; also trans. Amy Reigle Newland, 307-311.

[492] Tanabe Masako, "Harunobu hanga no kami to iro: miyabi no nazo," 276 (trans. Amy Reigle Newland, 308). On the development of paper guilds and infrastructure over the Meiwa era (1764-1772), see Maekawa Shin'ichi, *Washi bunkashi nenpyō* 和紙文化史年表 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1998), 93–96. See also Jugaku Bunshō, *Nihon no kami*, 302–308.

[493] As Tanabe notes in detail, it is not possible to determine the exact region where the paper of a given print was produced, but examination of Harunobu *chūban* sizes compared with various types of Echizenbōsho suggests *ōbirobōsho* (44x59 cm sheets) or *gozenbiro* (41x56 cm), or *ōbosho* (40x55 cm). See Tanabe, "Harunobu hanga no kami to iro: miyabi no nazo," 276.

been a significant cost in the production of these prints. As a comparison, we can look to Suzuki Jun's study of a later, privately published book of the Kansei 寛政 era (1789-1801), in which he was able to estimate the relative costs of book publishing. Among materials and labor—including woodblocks, carving, printing, collating, and binding—it was *paper*, at forty-five percent of the total costs, that constituted by far the greatest expense.[494] We might extrapolate from these data the supposition that the cost of special paper for full-color *nishiki-e* would have been very high, especially in 1766 at the very beginning of its wider use in sheet prints. It is highly probable that only a patron like Kyosen, a man of both rank and means, could have contributed this kind of special material to the project.

Thick paper like *hōsho* better absorbed pigments, an essential feature for *nishiki-e*, which required at least five impressions from different woodblocks to achieve "full color." For example, *Night Rain on the Tea Stand* (*Daisu no yau* 台子の夜雨, Fig. 3.13) includes at least ten distinct pigments: the dark grey of the wall below the window and lighter gray of the brazier stand; yellow in the lattice work and hair comb; at least three red pigments between the table, tea implements, and clothing; two shades of beige on the wall and tatami; white *gofun* 胡粉 to accentuate faces; and a black *sumi* keyblock.[495]

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[494] The percentage given includes paper for the covers, title slip, and main body of the book. The book in question, *Suzunoya shū* 鈴屋集, is printed entirely in black ink (*sumizuri*) without color. One assumes that color printing would alter proportional costs by increasing the overall expense of production. See Suzuki Jun, "Suzunoya shū no kaihan" 鈴屋集の開板 (The publication of *Suzunoya shū*), *Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 57 (March 1986): 1–44 and, for an English-language summary of the breakdown, Jun Suzuki and Ellis Tinios, *Understanding Japanese Woodblock-Printed Illustrated Books*, 40.

[495] The colors discussed here are described in terms of their appearance today; some color shifting with more fugitive pigments has likely occurred. My numeration of the pigments also follows the results presented by Shimoyama Susumu following scientific analysis of the properties of colors in this print, such as the use of at least three distinct red pigments: reddish-brown *bengara* for the table, a lighter red *beni* for the boy's garment, and a mixture of *bengara* and *beni* in the standing figure's robes. See Shimoyama

Thick, strong paper also made possible more elaborate and highly regarded technical effects, such as blind printing (*karazuri* 空摺り). Printing techniques like *karazuri* gave a richer sense of texture and can be seen in many of the *Zashiki hakkei* prints. It is particularly effective for imitating the tactility of brocade on *obi* or for enhancing other fabric designs. For example, a detail from *Night Rain* shows the thick impression of blind printing in the pattern of white ovoids against the pale peach color (derived from *beni*) of the young boy's outer garment (Fig. 3.14). This print and others also include a selection of other fine materials and details. For example, *Night Rain* includes gold along the rim of the teacup at lower left and silver paint along the lip of the teacup stand (Fig. 3.15). Silver paint has also been confirmed in the hairpin of the standing woman and also applied to the bowl and mouthpiece of the smoking pipe lying on the tatami floor. Other prints also include features like embossing and trace elements of gold (Fig. 3.16).[496] The use of these precious materials for the first state of *Zashiki hakkei* testifies to their quality and expense as limited-edition works for private distribution, and, in a sense, they represent an apex in the status of the print in Japan as a "fine art" object. Later printings, as we shall see, do not include these features, indicating their status as commercial prints.

No textual accounts survive that explicitly describe the details of this particular commission. Modern commentaries have thus drawn inferences from various pieces of available data. A frequent point of debate with these prints is whom to credit for the idea behind the project. In terms of physical evidence, a rare complete set of the first state in

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Susumu, "Suzuki Harunobu 'Zashiki hakkei Daisu no yau' to 'Sanjūrokkasen' ni shiyōsareta chakushokuryō ni tsuite."

[496] The metallic glint of some these details is visible with the naked eye, and all have been confirmed through spectral analysis and microscopic magnification. See ibid.

the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago includes the original wrapper (Fig. 3.17). This wrapper would have distinguished the set of prints as special objects, rather like "presentation pieces" or gifts of private exchange. The paper of the wrapper is itself decorated with a printed floral pattern in indigo (*ai* 藍), which indicates a further expense of both materials and labor. Peony stems arranged in graceful arabesques form an elegant floral background for the handwritten calligraphy, and recall a specific pattern used in textile designs known as *botan karakusa* 牡丹唐草.[497]

The wrapper records the title, in seal script, as *Zashiki hakkei*, with the name of Kyosen[498] as well as the words *fūryū e awase* 風流絵合 "a selection of elegant [or modern] pictures." Both *fūryū* and *awase* are important period terms that will be discussed in more detail below; their use on the *Zashiki hakkei* wrapper is yet another nod to the conception of the *Zashiki hakkei* prints as the product of a cultured and up-to-date sensibility. Kyosen's poetic name is written on the wrapper as *Jōsai Sanjin Kyosen kō* 城西山人巨川工 ; the character *kō* 工 in this context denotes "the idea of," rather like the Italian declaration *invenit*, without the sense of Kyosen having actually made any drawings.[499] Harunobu's name, meanwhile, does not appear anywhere on the wrapper nor on the individual prints themselves, an absence which offers further evidence that the prints were commissioned for use as personal gifts as opposed to sale. The name "Riōko" and the seal "presented to" on the verso of another first-state impression of *Night Rain on*

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[497] The selection of this decorative pattern points to the slippage between color prints and color fabrics: the wrapper is simultaneously a paper covering and a cloth-like enclosure for the "brocade" prints within.
[498] *Jōsai Sanjin Kyosen kō* ("Craft of Jōsai Sanjin Kyosen"). See Kobayashi Tadashi, *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu*, 76.
[499] *Kō* can also indicate craft and skill, in addition to invention or discovery.

the Tea Stand further supports this idea,[500] and more evidence can be found in the prominent display of Kyosen's signature and seal on each individual print.[501] Of course, the appearance of an owner's signature, seal, or poetic inscription written directly on works of art has a long tradition in East Asia, particularly in the case of paintings.[502] However, on seven of the eight prints, Kyosen's signature has been carved into the block and printed, rather than written in ink once the printing was complete.[503] Kyosen's signature and seal thus mimic that of an *ukiyo-e* print designer, effectively displacing them and raising questions of artistic control and creative invention.

From the prominent display of Kyosen's name on the prints and what is known of his hereditary rank and literary status, Hayakawa Monta argues that this set of prints "owes its charm to the combination of a samurai poet's wit and a merchant-class artist's technique," speculating that Harunobu provided the print designs for the *Zashiki hakkei* based on a set of poetic allusions that Kyosen himself devised.[504] Other *ukiyo-e* case studies suggest the possibility of a different model, such as that of the "brush for hire."[505]

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[500] Riōko 籬鶯公; *shinjō* 進上. This impression is in the collection of the Chiba City Museum of Art (2923004). For discussion of this annotation, see ibid., 89; Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Nishiki-e no tanjō*, 74.

[501] All eight prints bear the seal *Kyosen no in* 巨川之印 (Seal of Kyosen); two prints (*Descending Geese* and *Night Rain*) also bear the second seal, *Josai Sanjin* 城西山人.

[502] For a consideration of inscription practices in Chinese painting, see Alfreda Murck, "Words in Chinese Painting," in *A Companion to Chinese Art*, ed. Martin Joseph Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), esp. 467-68 on the use of seals.

[503] In the Art Institute of Chicago's impression of the eighth print, *Nurioke no bosetsu* or "Snow on the Lacquered Heater for Cotton," Kyosen's name has been written in ink, which suggests several possibilities: it may have been a trial print, or the first of the designs to be carved and printed, and thus lacks a printed signature for that reason. When compared to the second state and third states of the print, which show changes to the color blocks and substantially more embossing on the walls, the eighth print in the Art Institute collection evinces none of these changes, and thus is widely accepted as a first-edition impression.

[504] Hayakawa Monta, *The Shunga of Suzuki Harunobu*, 124.

[505] See, for example, the case of Kitagawa Utamaro, as analyzed in Julie Nelson Davis, *Utamaro and the Spectacle of Beauty* and Davis's further analysis of models of collaboration between various *ukiyo-e* agents (publisher, artist, author, patron) in Julie Nelson Davis, *Partners in Print.* Likewise, Andrew Markus applied the "brush for hire" model to the author of popular fiction, Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦 (1783-1842),

Kyosen would have received an education befitting the son of a mid-ranking *hatamoto* family; combined with what we know of his activities in *haikai*, his social position suggests he would have been familiar with a wide array of Japanese and continental literature, especially poetry. Whether we can fully credit Kyosen *or* Harunobu as the creative force behind these prints remains an unresolved question, but it seems clear that Kyosen was almost certainly the agent—financier, recipient, and very probably the "idea man" as well—driving the production.

Close analysis of multiple impressions of the same design gives a sense of the likely changes in audience and producers of later printings, as the set shifted to a commercial milieu. *Autumn Moon in the Mirror* (*Kyōdai no shūgetsu* 鏡台の秋月) picks up the theme of Autumn Moon over Dongting Lake from the Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang (Fig. 3.18). At left, the impression of the first state of *Autumn Moon* includes the application of gold paint in the eyes of the Chinese lion depicted on a standing screen. In copies of second and later states, at right, the gold paint has disappeared, as has the signature and seal of Kyosen (Fig. 3.18). Kyosen's name is absent from all later copies of the *Zashiki hakkei* prints after the first edition. Other changes include a marked increase in the saturation and contrast of colors. Some visual contrast is due to the use of different pigments, such as red iron oxide (the inorganic pigment *bengara* 弁柄) in the lion's mane and tail. Although all the prints of the second state are thought to be printed from the same woodblocks, some designs also show minor changes to color blocks. For example, the second state of *Autumn Moon* shows the addition of a paulownia motif cut in reverse

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whom Markus argues produced a "customized output" tailored to the individual demands of a variety of commercial clients; Andrew Lawrence Markus, *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko, 1783-1842* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), 113.

within the blue-grey wall below the open window, whereas in the Kyosen print the wall is a flat wash of color (possibly once dayflower blue, now faded). This alteration could indicate damage to the original block, or possibly it was regarded as an enhancement, meant to unify this image with the set as a whole (*Descending Geese, Night Rain*, and *Evening Snow* show interior spaces with similar motifs). The strong pigmentation and recut color blocks indicate the hand of a publisher confident of a return on his investment.

In addition to changes in coloration and the loss of the Kyosen signature, alterations in paper quality and paper types (*ryōshi* 料紙) provide another consideration. Through microscopic imaging, Tanabe compared the paper fibers of three full-color *nishiki-e* prints of the Meiwa era and shortly thereafter, including a first edition and a second edition impression of Harunobu's *Zashiki hakkei*. The first-edition *Zashiki hakkei* paper is thick, with long fibers, while the second edition shows more compact, stiff fibers. She also compared these to a third, presumed later print by Isoda Koryūsai 磯田湖竜斎 (1735-1790), which she deemed to have "very thin" and weak paper by comparison.[506] Tanabe concludes that a very high quality in the raw materials of the earliest full-color printed works shifted over time to less expensive materials. This theory seems to hold true for the material evidence, though we might add to this observation the fact that

[506] Tanabe Masako, "Harunobu hanga no kami to iro: miyabi no nazo," 277–8. The Koryūsai print is of the "small *chūban*" size, which Tanabe argues are indicative of commercially sponsored productions. Tanabe implies that the paper is of lower quality in the Koryūsai print because it is not by Harunobu, an artist-centered position of which I am skeptical given the numerous examples of high-quality materials used in privately sponsored projects involving less-celebrated artists, such as *Umi no sachi*, for example. (Even before presenting the findings, Tanabe states, "individual differences are naturally understood depending on the artist," when referring to *chūban* size works by other artists around the time of Harunobu's death, 278). Her second explanation for the shift in paper quality, that it evidences an increasing use of full-color techniques in commercial prints, seems more readily credible.

multiple printings by different agents over time meant that there were stratifications of quality (and price) even within the commercial market.

For instance, the second state of *Zashiki hakkei* is also believed to have been sold as a complete set of eight prints, encased in a new wrapper (Figs. 3.19-20a-h).[507] The text of the wrapper emphasizes first the distinguishing characteristic of these prints as full-color "brocade pictures of the East," declared in large, prominent characters at center: *Azuma nishiki-e* あつまにしきゑ. The title (*Zashiki hakkei* 座敷八けい) is written at upper right. This wrapper omits Kyosen's name, but displays Harunobu's name at lower right (*Suzuki Harunobu ga* 鈴木春信画); perhaps this substitution attests to the newly heightened status of the artist after his work designing for the Kyosen circle.[508] At lower left is a studio name and seal of the publisher Shōkakudō (松鶴靏堂), about whom little else in known.[509] On the back of the wrapper is a list of all eight individual print subtitles (see Appendix A, Table 3.3 for transcription and translation). Production of this wrapper indicates a level of capital investment and commitment to the project in the second edition. The name of the publishing house and the emphasis on the prints' polychrome

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[507] Scholars have not been able to establish whether this wrapper, in the collection of the Hiraki Ukiyo-e Museum, is original to printings of the second state, but in the authoritative Harunobu catalogue published by the Chiba City Museum, the curators date the wrapper and impressions of the second state to the Meiwa era (1764-72). See Kobayashi Tadashi, *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu*, 85–88.

[508] It is tempting to speculate that the second state of *Zashiki hakkei* was printed under the coordination of a publisher but that Kyosen or, less likely, Harunobu, may have retained rights to some share of the profits, though we cannot substantiate this from available evidence.

[509] The signature (Shōkakudō 松靏堂) and part of the seal (*Yokoyama-chō hanmoto [unread]-ya* 横山町版元□□屋) is transcribed in ibid., 85. Waterhouse gives the reading "*Takao-ya*(?)" for the difficult-to-decipher name of the publishing shop; see *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:95.

quality suggest that *Zashiki hakkei* was no longer an exclusive private edition, but was being offered for sale commercially, probably at a very high price.[510]

The materials and appearance of later impressions also support the idea that *Zashiki hakkei* continued to reach a wider commercial audience over time. A third state impression of *Autumn Moon* shows further alterations (Fig. 3.21). Although likely printed from the original blocks, color selections are strikingly different, such as the use of a dark red for the pattern of fishing nets in the seated figure's kimono, rather than *sumi* black. Tonal subtleties of the first and second states are also lost, replaced by saturated, almost garishly bright colors by comparison. Additionally, line breaks, especially in the black keyblock, are evident throughout the print, most noticeably in the whorls of the lion's mane.[511] Finally, Harunobu's signature, as *Harunobu ga* 春信画, has been cut in reverse in the green block used for the tatami flooring. The signature is a sign of commercial *ukiyo-e* printing, added at some point after Harunobu as artist had become a kind of brand-name. More importantly, it indicates the prints of the third state were sold individually.

To summarize, the multiple extant states of *Zashiki hakkei* likely illustrate a trajectory from one target demographic to another. The sumptuous materials, careful

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[510] Tanabe Masako has speculated about the expensiveness of the second edition issued with this wrapper, following the claim made in 1915 by Kashiwabara Kogan 柏原古玩 (1829-1922), that the *Zashiki hakkei* prints were sold commercially in a paulownia box with interleaving between each print, at a price of 1000 *mon* 文, or one-quarter of a gold *ryō* 両; compared to 12 *mon* for a *hosoban nishiki-e* (a narrow full color print) or 24 *mon* for an *ōban nishiki-e* (a large full-color print), this was a substantial sum. See *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu*, 85 (quoting from Kashiwabara Kogan, "Harunobu no Zashiki hakkei" 春信の座敷八景 in *Ukiyo-e* 4, 1915).

[511] This is possibly a result of block wear, but more likely the fault of a hasty printer who has not inked the raised lines properly. Additional impressions of the third state, bearing Harunobu's signature, show even poorer inking of the keyblock lines, but in other areas of the print, such as the tail. See, for comparanda, British Museum, acc. 1906,1220,0.57.

color printing, and use of elaborate techniques, such as embossing, in the earliest *Zashiki hakkei* impressions would have commanded so high a price as to "put it beyond the means of the peasants, artisans and minor merchants who bought the cheaper ukiyo-e."[512] The second state of *Zashiki hakkei* (Figs. 3.20a-h) evinces some qualities of a deluxe item, but not on par with the Kyosen version. Impressions from the third and later editions show significant color changes, particularly in the saturation of hues, and Kyosen's signature is replaced with the name of the artist, Harunobu. These differences demonstrate the shift from an elite coterie to a high-end product issued by a commercial publisher, followed by a further shift toward a wider commercial audience.

Fūryū zashiki hakkei

Kyosen's and Harunobu's original "eight views" underwent a further retranslation when Harunobu designed entirely new pictures on the same theme. This group of eight prints, entitled *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* 風流座敷八景 (Eight Modern Views of the Interior, c. 1769;[513] see Appendix A, Table 3.4 and Figs. 3.22a-h) are similar to the original designs in that they depict figures in interior settings, and parody the same household objects, like tea stands, mirrors, and clocks. The new "*fūryū*" version, however, differs in its graphic erotic content. Useful scholarly discussions of these prints may be found in relation to early modern erotica, sometimes called *shunga* 春画 (spring pictures), a topic

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[512] Seiichirō Takahashi, *Harunobu*, trans. John Bester, (Tokyo: Kondansha, 1968), 24. Even fifty years ago, if not far longer, the high quality of materials made distinctive the first edition.

[513] These prints are undated, but believed to have been designed by Harunobu between the original *Zashiki hakkei* prints of 1766 and his death in 1770. Various Japanese scholars have used, for example, c. 1769 in Ishigami Aki, "Suzuki Harunobu ga *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* kō," 69; 1770 in Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Harunobu: enpon kenkyū*, 151. See also Kobayashi Tadashi, ed., *Suzuki Harunobu, Fūryū zashiki hakkei* 鈴木春信, 風流座敷八景 (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1994).

beyond the scope of this project.[514] But this set of prints demonstrates a process of successive adaptation—a kind of literal and figurative "sexing up" of the eight views.

Many of Harunobu's full-color prints (*nishiki-e*) contain some degree of parodic or playful content, and one sometimes sees them referred to as *mitate-e* 見立絵.[515] Harunobu's prints, however, never use the word *mitate* in their printed titles; instead they include terms like *fūryū* 風流 (elegant, fashionable, modern, or "up-to-date"), *fūzoku* 風俗, and *yatsushi* やつし. These terms defy easy translation, but all of them connote some sense of the "updated" or "reworked," often playful or parodic reworkings of established topics of classical or literary significance, such as the Eight Views theme.[516] The addition of the term *fūryū* to the title of the erotic version suggests several translations, something along the lines of "Eight Modern/Fashionable/Elegant Views of the Interior." Alfred Haft has argued that whereas *mitate* indicated a juxtaposition, *yatsushi* and *fūryū* were aesthetic concepts that signaled processes of adaptation. Specifically, *yatsushi* "identified the process of adapting a classical subject to a modern context," whereas *fūryū*

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[514] For discussion of the erotic content in *Fūryū zashiki hakkei*, see Hayakawa Monta, *The Shunga of Suzuki Harunobu*, 67-104; Ishigami Aki, *Nihon no shunga, ehon kenkyū,* esp. part 4. Other recent contributions to the larger field of *ukiyo-e* erotica include Clark et al., *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art*; C. Andrew Gerstle and Timothy Clark, eds., *Shunga: Sex and Humor in Japanese Art and Literature*, vol. 26, Special Issue of Japan Review, 2013; and Laura W. Allen, ed., *Seduction: Japan's Floating World: The John C. Weber Collection*, Exh. cat. (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2015).

[515] This is a period term that has been greatly broadened in modern usage to encompass many parodic images of floating world culture. Cogent summary discussions in English may be found in Timothy Clark, "*Mitate-e*: Some Thoughts, and a Summary of Recent Writings," *Impressions* 19 (1997): 7–27; see also Alfred Haft's excellent study, noted below; among others.

[516] See Alfred Haft's close study of the terms *mitate*, *yatsushi*, and *fūryū* used in extant *ukiyo-e* print titles and their period meanings, Alfred Haft, *Aesthetic Strategies of the Floating World : Mitate, Yatsushi, and Fūryū in Early Modern Japanese Popular Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). Harunobu produced a number of extant sets of prints whose titles began with *fūryū*. Haft persuasively argues how Harunobu's approach to *fūryū* crystallized a particular type of response to classical culture, 135-171.

"designated the style in which an adaptation was managed," with emphasis on the display of elegance.[517]

This emphasis on sophistication and taste makes sense in light of the use of the term *fūryū* on the wrapper for the original Kyosen prints, the first state of *Zashiki hakkei* (Fig. 3.17). This usage represents a "straight" reading of the term *fūryū:* a marker of the *au courant*, of the new and stylish. In the context of *Fūryū zashiki hakkei*, the term takes on a kind of tongue-in-cheek double meaning. If we interpret *fūryū* as a term that placed extra significance on contemporary subject matter in *ukiyo-e* imagery, it becomes clearer that the intention is a sly dual reference both to a classical subject (the Eight Views) and to Harunobu's previous parodic pictures for Kyosen (*Zashiki hakkei*)—with the extra "twist" that these pictures were also erotica.[518] Thus emphasis was placed less on the subject of allusion, and more on its clever treatment.

Unlike the Kyosen-sponsored version of the Eight Views, which omitted titles in favor of a kind of visual game, individual prints from the erotic version provide the overall title, *Fūryū zashiki hakkei*, as well as subtitles for each individual scene. These appear at upper right within a cloud-shaped register, followed by poems related to the Eight Views theme. Ishigami Aki has closely compared these poems with their likely model, *kyōka* verses written in 1725.[519] Her analysis demonstrates that the small

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[517] Ibid., 39.

[518] Hayakawa has noted the heightened polysemy in the "modern" *fūryū* edition. He argues that in the original "Zashiki hakkei," the traditional, poetic source—Chinese landscapes—is the "the butt of the jokes," but the erotic version "assumes a double structure, conveying both the layered effect of *mitate* as well as capturing the sensations or mood of the original series" and, further, the eroticism of the image sexualizes the original landscapes. See Hayakawa, *The Shunga of Suzuki Harunobu*, 128.

[519] See Ishigami Aki, "Suzuki Harunobu ga Fūryū zashiki hakkei kō." The 1725 verses were devised by a 14-year-old boy, Fukuo Kichijirō, a fourteen-year-old son of a samurai from Owari province. They appeared under the title "*Zashiki hakkei*" in the 1725 manuscript *Kyōhō World Gossip* (*Kyōhō sesetsu* 享保

differences in phrasing and word choice from the earlier poems to the Harunobu poems serve, above all, to reinforce the sexual puns.[520] For instance, in the original Kyosen-sponsored version of *Night Rain on the Tea Stand* (Fig. 3.13), the tea ceremony utensils and kettle suggest the imagined sound of water bubbling in preparation for tea, meant to evoke the pattering sound of "night rain" from the Xiao-Xiang theme. The parodic or humorous comparison depends not only on the picturing of an object but also on an implied auditory experience.[521] In the *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* version of *Night Rain* (Fig. 3.22f), the same type of tea stand is pictured, again at the right edge of the image. Although tea ceremony utensils of the *Zashiki hakkei* version are gone, the emphasis on sound is retained, even strengthened, by the *kyōka* at the top of the print, which reads:

たきる温の	Night deepens,
音はしきりに	the sound of the boiling water
さよふけて	is strong and fast—
ふるとそあけの	or is it the sound of rain
板畳にやもる	on the wooden floor?[522]

In addition to the sounds of falling rain or of boiling water, the introduction of explicit visual sexual content to the scene introduces a third layer of meaning to the concept of "night rain" from the Eight Views. Parallel images are made in the poem between the water boiling "strong and fast" in the tea kettle and night rain, as well as the "sound of rain on the wooden floor"—an erotic allusion for the sounds made by the two people

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世説). Kichijirō's poems, in which eight mundane household objects replace the natural scenery of the Xiao-Xiang theme, were in turn based on a previous model, verses published in a 1722 poetry anthology in Osaka. The 1722 *kyōka* were composed by the established poet Nagata Teiryū 永田貞柳 (1654-1734). Hayakawa has argued that Kyosen's conception of the *Zashiki hakkei* prints was inspired by Nagata Teiryū's *kyōka*, while the basis for the *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* prints came from Fukuo Kichijirō's poems. Hayakawa, *The Shunga of Suzuki Harunobu*, 78.

[520] Ibid.

[521] This combined visual and aural invitation into the scene is also emphasized in two other prints, *Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges* and *Evening Chime of the Clock*.

[522] Translation adapted from Patricia J. Fister in Hayakawa, *The Shunga of Suzuki Harunobu*, 98.

having sex. Emphases in the text thus highlight the sexual twist added to each of the "views" in *Fūryū zashiki hakkei*.[523]

The erotic *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* prints are exceedingly rare today, which suggests that they may have been produced in a small edition or perhaps not prized as much due to their informal subjects. A small print run, in turn, suggests private commission. The prints include enough distinct pigments to classify them as "*nishiki-e*" (five or more), but the color itself is otherwise unremarkable, especially when compared to the emphasis on material quality in the Kyosen prints of 1766. Their points of appreciation derive less from sumptuous materials and instead from content: the artistic and cultural parody of the Eight Views convention, as well as from an indexing of the erotic in a variety of urban figures, objects, and interior spaces in each scene.

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Consumption and connoisseurship of *ukiyo-e* may have offered one way of expressing one's cultural currency when success in government service or social elevation was not even an option. Within the inventory of arts patronized by early modern social networks, such as poetry groups, prints might have occupied a marginal

[523] Other readings of the *Zashiki hakkei* and *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* prints have centered on the conceptual juxtaposition of *ga* 雅 and *zoku* 俗, a long-standing Japanese binary that indicated cultures of refinement versus the mundane, vulgar, or even the "modern." This juxtaposition is frequently put in terms of a contrast between high and low (e.g., Hayakawa). The juxtaposition of classical reference with explicit sexual content is not simply a matter of contrasting of "high" and "low," however, but a clever intermixing of multiple frames of reference, just as *ga*/*zoku* map only partially onto a high/low binary. Haruo Shirane has added the dimension of directional transfer, i.e. a "dressing up" or "drowsing down" See Shirane, "Dressing Up, Dressing Down: Poetry, Image, and Transposition in the Eight Views," 70. Shirane argues that for both *Zashiki hakkei* and *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* this move happens high to low, whereas for other eight views prints, like *Edo hakkei*, the movement is low to high. Given the high material quality of the Kyosen-sponsored *Zashiki hakkei* first edition, this argument also merits further thought.

position as a *practice*, but such printed matter also presented an ideal aesthetic object one could give, receive, or purchase. These objects could mediate social relations. Prints were less expensive than most paintings, either to make or to buy, and, if not what we might call mass-distributed, then certainly they were widely available and exceptionally positioned to respond quickly to changing tastes (such as a parodic take on the Eight Views) and the latest technologies (such as full-color printing). Moreover, through reissue in new editions or by revisiting and reworking a prior topic, pictures could essentially be remade for various kinds of consumers. The multiple editions and versions of *Zashiki hakkei* and *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* demonstrate that full-color sheet prints could be private and commercial; they should be seen as material artifacts of a floating world culture that could be marketed to consumers of all classes.

The Color Explosion, c. 1766-1770:

The Commercial Expansion of Color in Sheet Prints

Period descriptions of early *nishiki-e* have long promoted the idea of a linear development of color in *ukiyo-e* sheet prints, often with the figure of Harunobu at the helm of discovery. In 1769, for example, the writer Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝 (1749-1823) wrote that "single-sheet prints have died out while *Azuma nishiki-e* flourish" in a passage that describes the sights, sounds, and smells of the bustling Edo streets.[524] The quote comes from Nanpo's *Ameuri Dohei ga den* 充飴土平伝 or *Dohei the Sweets Vendor,* a book for which Harunobu provided several (monochrome) illustrations, and Hiraga

[524] *Ichimai-e sutarete, Azuma nishiki-e okori* 一枚画廃而東錦絵興. Transcription can be found in Ōta Nanpo, *Ōta Nanpo zenshū* 太田南保全集, ed. Hamada Giichirō (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1985), 1:376.

Gennai contributed a preface.[525] Nanpo's declaration highlights an important aspect of *nishiki-e*'s description. Although we now know that limited-color *benizuri-e* continued to be published after the adoption of *nishiki-e* technology, the entire discourse surrounding full-color prints has always set up the relationship as a linear development. The idea of full-color prints as new, modern, and urbane is one that has passed down to the present day.

Modern accounts of the advent of full-color printing in Japan on a wide scale are often diluted into fairly simple, unified progress narratives, expressed in the dramatic terms of a "birth," or, more theatrically, a "revolution."[526] As outlined in the introduction, that narrative is also crucially tied to the figure of Harunobu as an "originator" of color, a kind of heroic artist-genius, beginning with accounts like that of Ōta Nanpo in his life-and-works biographical history of artists, the *Ukiyo-e kōshō* 浮世絵考証.[527] However, extant sheet prints and books printed in full color give evidence that events during the critical years of 1765-1770 followed a more complex, uneven process of development. Less an overnight revolution in the hands of a select few, the expansion of color in sheet

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[525] *Ameuri Dohei ga den* is primarily a book of *kyōshi* 狂詩, or comic poems in Chinese, a form that is nonsensical in Chinese though its form looks like Chinese literature; it must be read according the Japanese pronunciations given in *kana* gloss next to the characters. Donald Keene described the form as "funny in almost exactly the same way a Latin translation of Winnie the Pooh is funny" Donald Keene, *World within Walls*, 525. Also sometimes transliterated as *Ameuri Dohei den*.

[526] Consider, for example, the titles of the 1996 *Nishiki-e no tanjō* (The Birth of Nishiki-e) catalogue or Waterhouse, "The Birth of the Full-Colour Print: Suzuki Harunobu and His Age, Early 1760s to Early 1780s"; see also Waterhouse, "The Cultural Milieu of Suzuki Harunobu," 43; Kobayashi Tadashi, *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu*, 8; among numerous others. Some exhibitions and publications use both terms. For example, organizers of the 250th anniversary exhibition *Dai Ukiyoe ten* labeled the second section of the exhibition "The Birth of Nishiki-e: Harunobu's Ukiyoe Revolution" (第二章：錦絵の誕生：春信の浮世絵革命), as recorded in the object list provided to all visitors to the Mitsui Museum venue.

[527] The manuscript was begun by Nanpo in 1790, and the earliest extant version is dated 1802, containing additions by writers like Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816) and Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776-1822). The collective group of documents, published several times throughout the nineteenth century with various accretions, is better known by the name of the *Ukiyoe ruikō* 浮世絵類孝. See *Ōta Nanpo zenshū*, 18:435-447.

prints might be more rightly described as a series of experiments. These experiments were driven by a variety of motivations and enacted by an array of makers, leading in fairly short order (by about the mid-1770s if not earlier) to widespread full-color printing within the commercial market.

The persistent notion that full-color *nishiki-e* "begins" with Harunobu has been hard to shake, even in the writing of *ukiyo-e* specialists.[528] However, a number of artists were designing full-color sheet prints by at least the latter part of the Meiwa era (1764-1772). Some even appear to have been active in the full-color market from 1765, if not earlier. The figure of Katsukawa Shunshō, for instance, makes an interesting foil for the heroic mythos of Harunobu as color prodigy par excellence. Two actor prints datable to a play performed at the Nakamura-za in Edo in the spring of 1764 bear Shunshō's jar-shaped seal, together with six color blocks, including black (Fig. 3.23).[529] The date of these prints is given on the basis of the play's performance date, as is customary when dealing with actor prints, and if correct, would clearly place Shunshō's earliest known work in full-color "brocade prints" ahead of Harunobu's calendar prints of 1765. As we shall see shortly, Shunshō was additionally one of two artists responsible for the first full-color *ukiyo-ehon* (floating world picture book), a three-volume work of actor "portraits" issued in the first month of 1770; this set precedes Harunobu's first full-color book by a full six months.

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[528] See Allen Hockley's previous treatment of the problem of Harunobu as "creative genius," in Allen Hockley, "Suzuki Harunobu: The Cult and Culture of Color."

[529] Timothy T. Clark, *The Actor's Image: Print Makers of the Katsukawa School* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with Princeton University Press, 1994), 94. Clark identifies the six colors as "black, two shades of crimson, yellow, purple (for Sukeroku's famous headband) or green (for the dragon's on Ikyū's robe), and pale blue background (faded to a sand color)," cat. no. 23.

However, the question of who, exactly, was "first" to the finish line is of less interest to this study than is the more general point, often overlooked or downplayed, that quite a few artists—probably at the behest of their commercial publishers or private patrons—were making full-color sheet prints from the very first years of the technology. For instance, Torii Kiyomitsu 鳥居清満 (1735-1785) can be pointed to as a possible player in the early years of *nishiki-e*. An untitled calendar print, attributed to Kiyomitsu, depicts a birdcage seller posed beneath a stall (Fig. 3.24).[530] This calendar print probably represents a private commission for exchange at calendar parties (*daishōkai* 大小会), mentioned above in connection with Harunobu's early commissions for Kyosen. Below the gable at the top of the structure is a label reading *Meiwa ni* 明和貳 aka Meiwa 2, or 1765.[531] In the patterns decorating the stand Kiyomitsu has drawn the long months of the calendar (2, 3, 5, 6, 8, and 10) for the year 1765, Year of the Bird. Another early example by Kiyomitsu is his full-length portrait of a standing figure, identified as the actor Iwai Hanshirō 岩井半四郎 in *onnagata* costume (Fig. 3.25), dated to c. 1766.[532] The work of a number of other *ukiyo-e* artists could also be cited from these initial years of the full-color brocade print, such as calendar prints made for the Kyosen circle or similar coterie groups, by artists like Komatsuken 小松軒 (1720-1794?)[533] and others.[534] In addition, if

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[530] The attribution to Kiyomitsu is based on the fact that the signature is only partially legible, having faded or been abraded. I am aware of only extant one copy (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. 11.20129); see Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:376–377.
[531] In the fan David Waterhouse reads the character *tori* (bird). Interestingly, he has also proposed that this design may represent the right half of a diptych, wherein the left-hand print would contain the short months of the year. See ibid., 377.
[532] The actor is identified by Mutō Junko in *Shoki ukiyoe to kabuki*, 539. Mutō records the print as *benizuri-e*, but the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston has catalogued it as *nishiki-e* with a date of c. 1766; issues of condition prevent decisive analysis, but it is clear the image was printed using at least four blocks.
[533] Komatsuya Hyakki 小松屋百亀. See Kokusai Ukiyoe Gakkai, ed., *Ukiyoe daijiten,* 205-206.

full color can be characterized as a contested arena as early as 1764-1766, by the late Meiwa to early An'ei transition (c. early 1770s), *nishiki-e* were being made by Katsukawa and Torii school artists, as well as unaligned artists like Koryūsai and Ippitsusai Bunchō. Color was well on its way to being an open field. Within just a few years, full color had effectively pervaded all the major genres of *ukiyo-e* pictures, and *nishiki-e* were being designed by many artists for many publishing firms. Color had gone commercial.

These examples need not make an issue of connoisseurship and chronology, but rather demonstrate that the historiographic emphasis on a single artist as the crucial, central axis around which early full-color printing revolved needs to be more seriously questioned. Some other writers have also disputed the primacy of the role Harunobu has been given in the story of color, but many exhibitions and monographs continue to frame the story of *nishiki-e* around the figure of this particular artist.[535] Of course, it would be incorrect to ignore the prodigious *nishiki-e* output of Harunobu in the very short period between 1765 and his abrupt death in 1770. Unlike some other artists who worked across the full-color transition, Harunobu seems to have shifted focus totally from limited-color techniques to full color, at least in his sheet prints.[536] Matthi Forrer, looking at the relationship between publishers and print formats in the work of several major *ukiyo-e*

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[534] A list of *egoyomi* and other privately produced color prints of the early Meiwa era (c. 1764-66) can be found in Genshoku Ukiyoe Dai Hyakka Jiten Henshū Iinkai, *Genshoku ukiyoe dai hyakka jiten*, 3:114-117.
[535] Allen Hockley specifically takes up the question of Harunobu's role in the color narrative in "Suzuki Harunobu: The Cult and Culture of Color."
[536] His illustrated books are another matter; only a handful of his some eighteen *ehon* and *eiribon* are printed in color (not including erotic books, which are less comprehensively surveyed)—of these at least one color-printed ehon, *Haru no nishiki* 春の錦, is thought by experts like Fujisawa Murasaki to be the work of followers, completed after his death and passed off as Harunobu's. See Fujisawa, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū,* 3:250–254.

artists, has calculated that Harunobu's single-sheet print designs number at least 34 *mizu-e* and 98 *benizuri-e*; by contrast, his *nishiki-e* designs number nearly 1,000.[537] David Waterhouse catalogued 553 full-color Harunobu prints in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, alone.[538]

Clearly these numbers demonstrate Harunobu's prolific work in full color during the last five years of his life. However, what they do not reveal is the complexity of the full-color expansion in *ukiyo-e* sheet prints—as a dynamic, multilateral, and above all unsystematic, not uniform, process of change.

In painting we can be fairly confident about an artist's skills as a "colorist," but in print, attributions about an artist's chromatic talents are rather less clear because of the collaborative production process. The standard division of labor in *ukiyo-e* printing is well known.[539] However, the idea of Harunobu as a superior colorist is especially fraught when we consider the process of making woodblock prints. Not only is the work of the printer vitally important in mixing and applying pigments of various hues, but color separation itself actually occurs in the process of carving. Of Harunobu's own

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[537] See Matthi Forrer, "The Relationship Between Publishers and Print Formats in the Edo Period," in *The Commercial and Cultural Climate of Japanese Printmaking*, ed. Amy Reigle Newland, Hotei Academic European Studies on Japan, v. 2 (Amsterdam: Hotei Pub, 2004), 171-205. Forrer's calculations were published in 2004 and based upon the catalogue raisonné of Harunobu's single-sheet prints published in *Ukiyoe shūka, Shikago Bijutsukan I* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1979), p. 276-66 (but cited by Forrer as *Ukiyoe shūka, Bosuton Bijutsukan I: Shoki hanga*). We can estimate that the totals in each category would likely be a bit higher were we to perform the same survey of Harunobu's oeuvre today, as the discovery of prints previously unknown to researchers is shared more rapidly, easily, and to a wider audience via digital means than ever before.

[538] See Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*. This is an exceptionally large collection and the figure cited includes "duplicates"—often later states of the same design. Adding Harunobu's illustrated books to the discussion, particularly erotic books which were printed in the full-color technique, would further enhance our understanding of his oeuvre.

[539] The established model for thinking about these relationships is exemplified by Tijs Volker's *Ukiyoe Quartet: Publisher, Designer, Engraver and Printer*, Mededelingen van Het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde 5 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949); newer models for collaboration in *ukiyo-e* are proposed in the case studies of Davis, *Partners in Print*.

contributions to the field of *ukiyo-e* painting, we have only a handful of extant paintings to consider.[540] The specialist Kobayashi Tadashi has pointed out that these paintings generally employed the same themes and motifs as in his prints; the fine hanging scroll in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for example, appears to synthesize three print compositions into a composite grouping of six figures.[541] Whether Harunobu made only a few paintings or whether merely a handful survive is unknown, but from extant examples, it would appear that print remained the dominant mode of his artistic practice.

One compelling thesis about the relationship between painting and print in the critical decade of the 1760s is that the two media engaged in a kind of competition—we begin to see an increased quality of color in painting as a response to the full-color *nishiki-e* print. The impact of full-color printing on the world of painting is a complex topic too large to explore fully here, but we might speculate that printing in color pushes the limits of painting. It seems significant that most histories of *ukiyo-e* describe the *sumizuri* prints of Moronobu, the *benizuri* prints of Masanobu, and then the full-color prints of Harunobu, before we reach the most celebrated figures of *ukiyo-e* painting—artists such as Shunshō, Utamaro, or Hokusai.[542] A fuller material and historical examination of the relationship between full-color printing and the medium of painting might reveal how the "revolution" of the full-color print was in fact just as critical for

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[540] There are eight known paintings thought to be by Harunobu; see Kobayashi Tadashi, "Suzuki Harunobu no nikuhitsu-ga" 鈴木春信の肉筆画 (Hand-Painted Works of Suzuki Harunobu), *Kokka* 1261 (2000): 26-27.
[541] Kobayashi Tadashi, "Suzuki Harunobu no nikuhitsu-ga," 24–30.
[542] These later figures are also celebrated for their work in print, of course, but the standard course can be seen in a broad spectrum of publications in both Japanese and English. See, for instance, the progression of essays in Julia Meech and Jane Oliver, eds., *Designed for Pleasure: The World of Edo Japan in Prints and Paintings, 1680-1860* (New York: Asia Society and Japanese Art Society of America, in association with University of Washington Press, 2008).

ukiyo-e painting. At the same time, the flip side of the coin is that print cannot accomplish what painting can. Herein lies, perhaps, another limit of color: that the deluxe quality and sophistication of full color, along with motivations of naturalism—all vigorously performed in books like *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*—reaches limits; once achieved, printing in full color very quickly becomes the expected mode. Color no longer carries the meaning but it becomes perhaps an end in itself—not a stale terminus, but a feature of *ukiyo-e* print culture that multiplies, stratifies to address both deluxe and less expensive productions, and ultimately, flourishes.

A few further observations seem worth venturing at this point. First, the line dividing "full-color brocade pictures," or *nishiki-e*, from what came before is quite fine, and perhaps rather less fixed in the early Meiwa era (mid-1760s) than it might seem, based on the authoritativeness of *ukiyo-e* terminology. This nomenclature defines a brocade print by the use of six blocks or more: five color blocks, plus the use of a black line keyblock.[543] Compare, for instance, Shunshō's 1765 picture of the actor Ōtani Hiroji III 大谷広次 (Fig. 3.26), printed in four colors plus black,[544] to his full-color print of actor Ōtani Hiroemon 大谷広右衛門 (Fig. 3.23, earlier). If each color represents a distinct block, only a single color block separates one print as *benizuri-e* from the other print as *nishiki-e*, according to our current definitions. The "*benizuri*" print, moreover, is dated to a play performed a year later than the full-color print. Whether these prints would have been so differentiated (as *benizuri-e* and *nishiki-e*, respectively) at the time is impossible to say, but it seems difficult to argue that the achievement of printing with six

[543] See Tanabe Masako's concise descriptive entry in Kokusai Ukiyoe Gakkai, *Ukiyoe daijiten*, s.v. "nishiki-e," 370-371.
[544] Green, two shades of red, and the blue of the background, now shifted to a dull beige.

blocks as opposed to five represented a strictly defined threshold for "brocade prints" at this moment. Again, connoisseurship and dating are not the vital questions here, but this example serves to demonstrate that in this period the technical divide between limited and full color was probably somewhat porous in practical terms. Moreover, plenty of *ukiyo-e* artists continued to design *benizuri-e* prints after the "*nishiki-e* revolution" had taken place.[545] This practice indicates that even once the nomenclature for full color became more fixed, the market for limited-color prints remained viable for some time. In other words, the simultaneity of both kinds of prints is evidence of a diversified commercial color market.

The second observation concerns the fallibility of the evidence available in our own time, or perhaps our own ability to interpret it. The rates of fading in printed dyestuffs and pigments have been documented, but the available data are not extensive, especially for the earliest years of full-color printing.[546] An illuminating example of just

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[545] Torii Kiyonaga, for example, designed at least 91 *benizuri-e* prints in the hosoban format during the An'ei era (1772-1781). See Forrer, "The Relationship Between Publishers and Print Formats in the Edo Period," 194.

[546] For relevant discussions of colorants used in the early period of *nishiki-e*, see Shimoyama Susumu, "Suzuki Harunobu 'Zashiki hakkei Daisu no yau' to 'Sanjūrokkasen' ni shiyōsareta chakushokuryō ni tsuite"; Tanabe Masako, "Harunobu hanga no kami to iro: miyabi no nazo"; Sawao Kai, "Edo jidai zenki no senshoku meishō no kōsatsu: kosode hiinagatabon to 'Sendai kanchō' o chūshin ni" 江戸時代前期の染色名称の考察 : 小袖雛形本と『染代覚帳』を中心に (A Study of the Colors in the Early Edo Period : A Survey of Kosode Design Books and the 'Book of Dyeing Costs'), *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Daigakuin Kiyō: Kaseigaku Kenkyūka, Jinbun Seikatsugaku Kenkyūka* 18 (March 2012): 151–59; Shimoyama Susumu, Matsui Hideo, and Shimoyama Yasuko, "Hikari faibā setsuzoku kan'i keitaigata bunkōki o mochiiru kashi"; Robert L. Feller, Mary Curran, and Catherine Bailie, "Appendix: Identification of Traditional Organic Colorants Employed in Japanese Prints and Determination of Their Rates of Fading"; Robert L. Feller et al., eds., *Artists' Pigments*; Pamela de Tristan, "Aqueous Treatment of Ukiyo-e Prints of the Edo Period: Three Case Studies." Better data is available for the pigments used in paintings. See John Winter, *East Asian Paintings*; John Winter, Jennifer Gaiccai, and Marco Leona, "East Asian Painting Pigments: Recent Progress and Remaining Problems," in *Scientific Research in the Field of Asian Art: Proceedings of the First Forbes Symposium at the Freer Gallery of Art* (London: Archetype Publications in association with the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 2003), 157–63; in the same volume, Elisabeth West FitzHugh, "Pigments on Japanese Ukiyo-e Paintings in the Freer Gallery of Art," 150–56; and Elisabeth

what we are missing visually when we look at very early *nishiki-e* prints today can be found in comparing the Art Institute's impression of Shunshō's 1764 full-color print of actor Ōtani Hiroemon (Fig. 3.27, left) with the exceptionally well-preserved impression of the same design in the Spaulding Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 3.27, right).[547] Even accounting for differences of lighting, photography, and digital reproduction, the color losses in the areas of purple dye are especially striking. Certain colorants in the early period, particularly blue (and purple, created by overprinting shades of blue and red), were achieved by grinding organic materials. Some, such as dayflower (*tsuyukusa*), have proven to be highly fugitive due to their less stable organic ingredients as well as the likelihood of experimental production processes in making these dyestuffs for printing on paper the earliest *nishiki-e*. Further studies in conservation, technical art history, and digital methods are needed to help us reevaluate the original appearance of early *nishiki-e*, which have borne more heavily the considerable effects of humidity, light, and other forms of intervention[548] over the last two hundred and fifty years than their counterparts of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which tend to have more stable colorants.

Another basic but often overlooked point is that color was always a competitive market. As already discussed, color had already been a well-established feature of the limited-color technique of *benizuri-e* printing for decades. Related to this fact, and worth

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West FitzHugh, "A Database of Pigments on Japanese Ukiyo-e Paintings in the Freer Gallery of Art," among others.

[547] The Spaulding Collection was given to the museum with the stipulation that the prints never be put on exhibition in the galleries. For high-resolution digital images, see the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston website, http://www.mfa.org/node/9540 (accessed 15 October 2016).

[548] Perhaps due to their fugitive nature, some early *nishiki-e* and full-color printed books seem to have invited fairly aggressive conservation, reprinting, and other forms of "enhancement," perhaps even by those with the most well-meaning of intentions.

reiterating, is that full-color *nishiki-e* was not the exclusive preserve of the Harunobu network. Far from a closed circuit between Harunobu, his private patrons, and his commercial publishers, full-color *nishiki-e* techniques were obviously adopted, and quickly, by a succession of ambitious *ukiyo-e* artists and publishers eager to put out the next big thing. Harunobu's career in sheet prints suggests that the commercialization of color in print represents a straightforward shift from private patronage to commercial publishers, but his work in illustrated books may suggest a less uniform transfer.[549] Perhaps the strength of his ties to the Kyosen circle overshadows the degree of mixing between coterie color and commercial color.

Nevertheless, the question of who is responsible for the technical innovations still lingers. Is it the publishers? Is it, as might also be pursued in future *ukiyo-e* studies, those less well-known artisans, the printers? Or perhaps, as discussed briefly below, the carvers? Full exploration of this question is beyond the scope of this study, but clearly the technology, once known, was viable for everyone to use. The artist-centered model that has characterized mainstream *ukiyo-e* studies since the nineteenth century prompts the rehearsed narrative that places a single artist (and his patrons) at an important *ukiyo-e* watershed. Though it is tempting to attempt an answer in these terms and to suggest, for example, Shunshō as a rival colorist, I instead argue that we consider, alternatively, the material artifacts of full-color printing. What is most interesting is not simply *who* is making prints in full color. If we approach color from the perspective not of artist

[549] See discussion of Harunobu's *Ehon seirō bijin awase* and its producers later in this chapter. Further examination of the use of color in Harunobu's less well-studied erotic books would help to define the contours of his oeuvre more fully. For the standard synopsis of his career in prints, including discussion of dating and style, see the useful summary in Waterhouse, *The Harunobu Decade*, 1:27-30.

biographies, but instead take in the expanded field of color printing—relocating color earlier, in books outside the usual *ukiyo-e* circuits—we can begin to see more clearly not just where and when printed full-color enters the floating world, but how it is adopted: by what media, which social circles, and under what circumstances, as argued in the two prior chapters. Further, we can see clearly where color *was not*.

Color's absence is equally as revealing as its presence during this period. Between 1764 and 1769, the precise period of early *nishiki-e*, full-color printing was not, for some reason, in *ukiyo-e* books. Why this was the case probably had to do with the technology of the process and with economics: printing in full-color is more technically challenging and also more expensive to do in books than in sheet prints, both in terms of materials and in terms of skilled labor. Thus when Nanpo was writing *Ameuri Dohei ga den* in 1769, full-color printing was still largely confined to sheet prints. This situation would change dramatically the following year, with the publication of two elaborate full-color *ukiyo-e* books.

The First Full-color *Ukiyo-e* Books: *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase*

Harunobu died in the sixth month of 1770.[550] In the same month, a five-volume book was published in Edo that contained illustrations by Harunobu in the *nishiki-e* full color technique, titled *Picture Book of the Beauties of the Yoshiwara, Compared* (*Ehon seirō bijin awase*). This book presents pairs of women arranged in various poses across

[550] According to Shiba Kōkan in *Shunparō hikki* (1811), Harunobu's death was sudden, though he also states that he was over 40 years old. See Shiba Kōkan, "Shunparō hikki" 春波楼筆記, in *Shiba Kōkan zenshū*, ed. Naruse Fujio, (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobo, 1992), 2:29-113. For summaries of period evidence for Harunobu's biography and career, see Waterhouse, "The Cultural Milieu of Suzuki Harunobu," 50–52. Kobayashi Tadashi, "Seishun no gaka Suzuki Harunobu," 7–8.

each double-page opening, with a single poem artfully arranged in the upper half of the image (Fig. 3.28). Harunobu's book was not, however, the first *ukiyo-ehon,* or picture book of the floating world, printed in the "full-color" technique. That distinction goes to a work issued six months prior, in the first month of 1770, *Picture Book of the Stage in Fan Shapes* (*Ehon butai ōgi*). The designs in this book were produced collaboratively by the artists Katsukawa Shunshō (1726-1792) and Ippitsusai Bunchō (active at least c. 1755-1772).[551] Figure 3.29, a typical page opening from *Ehon butai ōgi*, shows half-length pictures of actors in roles on stage. Each actor is surrounded by a border that mimics the silhouette of a folding fan (*ōgi* 扇). Both books are widely regarded today as masterpieces of their particular medium, though they have received only limited attention individually, and even less serious study as comparative examples.[552]

Together, these books take as their subject the two major genres of *ukiyo-e*: *bijinga* 美人画, or "pictures of beautiful figures," and *yakusha-e* 役者絵, "pictures of actors." *Bijin* was a broad term for "beautiful people" that, when used together with *seirō* (as in the title of Harunobu's book), indicated a direct reference to prostitutes of the

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[551] Dates of activity differ for Ippitsusai Bunchō, whose life dates are not known. Dates given here are based on those published by the editorial committee (comprised of members of the International Ukiyo-e Society) in the recent exhibition catalogue, Asano Shūgō et al., eds., *Dai Ukiyoe Ten: Kokusai Ukiyoe Gakkai sōritsu 50-shunen kinen* 大浮世絵展：国際浮世絵学会創立 50 周年記念 *(Ukiyo-e, a journey through the floating world: 50th Anniversary Exhibition of the Founding of the International Ukiyo-e Society)* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 2014), 332. A book said to be illustrated by Bunchō dated Hōreki 5 (1755) is reported in the NIJL database.

[552] The titles are widely known, perhaps due to the fact that these books have been featured in numerous exhibitions, especially Harunobu's *Ehon seirō bijin awase*. However, catalogue entries, in Japanese as well as English, routinely repeat the same basic information. An exception to this limited study is the work of Fujisawa Murasaki, noted below, who has extensively studied Harunobu's illustrated books. However, of the two books together, she has largely noted their importance as forerunners of color-printed *ehon*, and their status as the first full-color books that belong clearly to the specific category of *ukiyo-e* publishing. See Fujisawa Murasaki, "Suzuki Harunobu ga 'Ehon seirō bijin awase' no miryoku" 鈴木春信画「絵本青楼美人合」の魅力, *Ukiyoe Geijutsu* 145 (2003): 75. See also Fujisawa, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 3:202–203, 207, and (on dates of publication), 231.

licensed quarter (*yūjo*). (The two characters that form the word 青楼 literally mean "azure towers,"[553] but they could be pronounced in the period as both "seirō" and "Yoshiwara," the name of the licensed red-light district. Accordingly, one finds the title of Harunobu's book transliterated by specialists in both renderings.)[554] Although *ukiyo-e* artists might make pictures of other subjects, the kabuki theater and the Yoshiwara constituted the main locales of Edo's so-called "floating world." Supplemented by places like famous sightseeing spots and sumo tournament grounds, these were physical sites of pleasure and play that also offered a conceptual space for diversion from the concerns of everyday life. *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase* exemplify the symbiotic relationship that operated between the entertainment industry and *ukiyo-e* publishing: by harnessing the appeal of "celebrity" likenesses, these images served a double function as advertisements, hawking the entertainments to be found in the floating world.[555] In other words, behind the gravitational pull of these beautiful faces was the commercial apparatus of the brothels and kabuki theaters that employed them.

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[553] *Sei* can mean both "green" and "blue", and thus *seirō* can also be found translated as the 'green or blue towers'. On the use of the term in *ukiyo-e* and its relationship with older etymologies, see Davis, *Partners in Print*, 65.

[554] One piece of evidence attesting that 青楼 could be pronounced as "Yoshiwara" in the period is a print attributed to Harunobu, held in the collection of the British Museum (acc. no. 1927,0711,0.4). The print shows a woman entering an interior room in which two other figures are preparing tea. The standing woman holds a book-shaped parcel that reads, on the wrapper, *Seirō bijin awase* 青楼美人合 in Chinese characters; to the right of the ideograms 青楼, phonetic Japanese *furigana* gloss the ideograms as よしわら, or "Yoshiwara." The book in the image is probably meant to indicate *Ehon seirō bijin awase.* The print may also be a design by another artist, signed with Harunobu's name, due to its likely marketing value for the book, and the fact that Harunobu may no longer have been alive when the book was published, as discussed below. See David Waterhouse, *Harunobu and His Age*, 161.

[555] On the brilliant business-minded strategies of ukiyo-e publishers and artists, see, among many others, the essays in Julia Meech and Jane Oliver, eds., *Designed for Pleasure: The World of Edo Japan in Prints and Paintings, 1680-1860* (New York: Asia Society and Japanese Art Society of America, in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), esp. Sarah Thompson's essay on Okumura Masanobu. On the commercially-minded collaborative networks of *ukiyo-e*, see Davis, *Partners in Print*. For studies in English that deal closely with issues of strategic marketing and forms of self-advertising by the entertainment industries, see Timothy T. Clark, *The Actor's Image*; Allen Hockley, *The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai,* 41-133; and Davis, *Utamaro and the Spectacle of Beauty*.

Previous research on these two books, particularly by Japanese scholars, has uncovered their exceptionally close relationships with period literature, such as contemporary guidebooks (*saiken* 細見) to the licensed quarter, and actor critiques (*yakusha hyōbanki* 役者評判記). *Ukiyo-e* scholar Fujisawa Murasaki broke important ground in her analysis of *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, following the earlier studies of Suzuki Jūzō,[556] demonstrating the real-world ties that bound together the book trade and the sex trade.[557] Of particular interest is the fact that at least two of the book's three initial publishers can be linked directly to the licensed quarter.[558] In addition, the compiler of the book is one Kasaya Saren 笠屋左簾, believed to have been the proprietor of the Miuraya in the quarter and the same haikai poet who contributed verses to Kyosen's 1758 *Segen shūi*, as mentioned above.[559] Similarly, the richest body of research on *Ehon butai ōgi* has been published in Japanese and has covered topics that include its significance for the history of *ukiyo-e* actor imagery and of theater publishing, more broadly.[560] A recent article by Matsuba Ryoko, for example, concentrates on locating *Ehon butai ōgi* within the category of "actor picture books" (*yakusha ehon* 役者絵本) as a single genre,

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[556] See Suzuki Jūzō, *Ehon seirō bijin awase (kaisetsu)*. See also the complete transcription of the book's text in Kōno Motoaki, *Ukiyoe hakka 1: Harunobu* 浮世絵八華 1 春信 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985); Fujisawa's revised transcription is based upon this text.

[557] For example, Fujisawa Murasaki has shown how the division of brothels into each of the five volumes reflects the geographic location of each brothel within the quarter; as well as matched the *yūjo* depicted in the book with four contemporary *saiken* from Meiwa 6-7 (1769-70). Fujisawa, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū,* 3:226-231. See also Fujisawa Murasaki, "Suzuki Harunobu no ehon — 'Ehon seirō bijin awase'" 鈴木春信の絵本—『絵本青楼美人合』in *Ukiyoe no genzai*, ed. Yamaguchi Keizaburō (Tokyo: Bensai Shuppan, 1999), 114–50.

[558] Funaki Kanosuke "specialized in books related to the Yoshiwara, such as Yoshiwara *saiken*"; Koizumi Chūgorō had a bookshop nearby the licensed quarter and published *saiken*, and Maruya Jinpachi was a publisher of popular books and light fiction (*jihonzōshiton'ya*) and a prominent publisher of *nishiki-e*. See Fujisawa Murasaki, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 3:213-214 and 241 n30-31.

[559] See ibid., 3:200–244.

[560] In English, see Clark, *The Actor's Image*, 208–213, where *Ehon butai ōgi* is not featured as a main catalogue entry, but the book is discussed in relation to Shunshō's 1776 sheet print series, *Azuma ōgi*.

following a similar precedent set by Akama Ryō in his *Zusetsu Edo no engekisho: kabuki hen*.[561] A bibliographical analysis by Matsuyama Kaoru examines differences between multiple editions of the book, in seven distinct copies; though with limited access to known impressions, his essay offers a useful perspective for thinking about circulation and a book's lifespan.[562] Despite such important contributions, these books remain relatively understudied, especially when compared to the large body of writing on *ukiyo-e* sheet prints by the same artists.[563]

Identifying the producers of these books is an ongoing research topic. For example, the two works share the same carver, Endō Matsugorō 遠藤松五郎 (dates unknown), which suggests both a network of craftsmen and professional specialization at this moment to support the production of full-color printing, but further research is necessary to establish the significance of this connection.[564]

Beyond their subjects and producers, a close similarity also links the representational strategies between Harunobu's *Ehon seirō bijin awase* and Shunshō's and Bunchō's *Ehon butai ōgi*. These books are highly repetitive. Turning the pages of *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, the viewer is greeted on every leaf with the same basic

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[561] Matsuba Ryoko, "Edo yakusha ehon no shuppan" 江戸役者絵本の出版 (Publishing Illustrated Edo Actor Books), in *Publishing the Stage: Print and Performance in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Keller Kimbrough and Satoko Shimazaki, Boulder Books on Asian Studies 1 (Boulder: University of Colorado Center for Asian Studies, 2011), 87-105; Akama Ryō, *Zusetsu Edo no engekisho: kabuki hen* 図説江戸の演劇書: 歌舞伎篇, Shohan (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2003), 209.

[562] Matsuyama Kaoru, "Shiryō shōkai 'Ehon butai ōgi' ni tsuite" 資料紹介「絵本舞台扇」について, *Engeki kenkyū* 15 (1991): 95–120.

[563] See also Suzuki Jūzō's description of the revised version, *Ehon zoku butai ōgi* 絵本続舞台扇, which was published in 1778 after Kyoto publisher Kikuya Anbei 菊屋安兵衛 acquired the original *Ehon butai ōgi* blocks; these were greatly altered by changing the names to Kamigata actors and adding new faces drawn by artist Takahashi Kikei 高橋其計, published under the new title in two volumes; see Nihon Koten Bungaku Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Nihon koten bungaku daijiten*, 1:373.

[564] This is easily observed by reading the colophon of both books (in both initial and later printings). Others have mentioned this fact in passing, but to date no scholars have pursued the point further.

composition: a single figure, clothed in layers of colorful kimono, occupies the lower two-thirds of the picture plane (Fig. 3.30). Above the pictures, the text follows a similar formula: on each page it gives the *yūjo*'s name at right, followed by a single *haikai* poem, or *hokku*. In this illustration from volume one, for example, Meizan and Futamura, both of the Chōjiya brothel, are seated in elegant repose. The hems of their kimono sweep outward, as if purposefully arranged to display the many-hued fabrics to best advantage. In *Ehon butai ōgi*, meanwhile, half-body "portraits" of each actor are framed by the fan shapes (Fig. 3.31). Outside the fan-shaped frame, each actor's name appears near the fore-edge, while his poetic name (*haimei*) is nestled in the lower corner near the gutter. In this illustration from volume two, the actor Ichikawa Danjūrō IV 市川團十朗 (1711-1778), at right, squares off against Ichikawa Danzō III 市川團蔵 (1719-1772), at left.[565] The two actors are oriented with an eye toward comparison: stern faces turned inward toward each other with gazes low; one glares in profile, as the other tilts at a three-quarter view. Both figures are garbed in the voluminous, colorful costumes of the stage, but the angular lines of Danjūrō's clothing are offset by the rounded curves and folds of Danzō's robes. Similarly, in Figure 3.30, Meizan and Futamura have been positioned in a nearly symmetrical alignment, so that one almost mirrors the other: their bodies are set at a three-quarter angle toward the viewer and each other; their heads are tilted down, but

[565] Their names are recorded in reserve in the printed border outside the fan silhouette: 市川團十郎 at right, with his *haimei* Sanshō 三升 in the lower corner, and at left, 市川團蔵, *haimei* Shikō 市紅.

their faces are still legible; and they are both seated in a similar posture, with one knee drawn up and the other leg tucked below the body.[566]

As noted, each book presents two figures per double-page opening, a design element that is repeated with nearly every turn of the page. Both the paired figures and their exhaustive repetition over multiple volumes draw directly upon the idea signaled in Harunobu's book title of *awase* 合わせ, which refers to the juxtaposition of two things side by side. Like juxtaposition, *awase* (and its verb form, *awaseru*), carries the loaded double meaning of both bringing together and bringing into opposition. Added to this sense of competition and comparison, Julie Nelson Davis has argued that use of the term *awase* in *ukiyo-e* signaled the further idea of "selection," both in the sense that depicted figures had been selected for representation in print, and in the sense that the viewer was being called upon to participate in the act of ranking and judgment.[567] Both books thus call on a longer history of intertwined verbal-visual interactions in Japanese poetry and painting, namely, the tradition of poet pictures (*kasen-e* 歌仙絵) and the related practice of *renga* (linked verse) competitions, known as *uta-awase* 歌合わせ.[568] Originally emerging from aristocratic practices of the Heian period (794-1185), by the Edo period both the visual and verbal manifestations of these practices had been appropriated and in many iterations transformed, much like the Eight Views theme in painting and print.

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[566] In both cases these are tidy, compact forms of presentation appropriate to their content: the *yūjo*'s bodies fold in upon themselves in dainty and demure femininity; the actors lean toward each other in the straining bravura of the kabuki theater, but are tidily contained within the fan-shaped frame.
[567] Davis, *Partners in Print*, 66.
[568] On the development of *kasen-e*, see Maribeth Graybill, "*Kasen-e*: An Investigation into the Origins of the Tradition of Poet Pictures in Japan" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983). On the issues of text and image that attend late medieval practices of visualizing *waka* (Japanese poetry), see Tomoko Sakomura, *Poetry as Image*.

As argued in relation to similar *ukiyo-e* works, the adoption of an "*awase*" format in these books deliberately appropriates refined models from classical culture. For example, the poems in Harunobu's book are laid out in columns of varying lengths and begin at irregular, staggered positions on the page to form an elegant diagonal pattern known as *chirashi-gaki* 散らし書き, or "scattered writing."[569] Supposedly authored by the *yūjo* themselves, they reflect the conceit of *kasen-e*, in which a famous classical poet is pictured together with his or her verse.[570] Similarly, the abstraction of each beautiful figure from a discernible background onto the blank page should be understood as deliberately mimicking the format of poet pictures.[571] This format would be contrasted, as Davis points out, six years later in a deluxe book which, as she puts it: "shifted the terms of representation from singular objects on a page, as in Harunobu's precedent, to showing the *yūjo* in groups in well-fitted interiors."[572] In *Ehon butai ōgi*, compositions are equally suggestive of further reference: half-embodied figures are framed by the silhouette of an open fan, simultaneously giving the impression of glimpsing an actor on stage and referencing the practice of painting on folding fans (*senmenga* 扇面画 or *ōgi-e* 扇絵).

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[569] On Japanese calligraphic practices, See Shimizu and Rosenfield, *Masters of Japanese Calligraphy: 8th-19th Century*. *Chirashi-gaki* grew in widespread popularity from the ninth century, and accomplished calligraphers developed increasingly sophisticated techniques of writing it. The style found in *Ehon seirō bijin awase* would probably have seemed elegantly conventional and banal to poetry aficionados of the day.

[570] See Graybill, "*Kasen-e*: An Investigation into the Origins of the Tradition of Poet Pictures in Japan." Poem pictures (*uta-e*) of various kinds and in multiple media grew enormously popular during the Edo period. For example, on the theme of *hyakunin isshu* (single poems by 100 poets), see Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

[571] Fujisawa has likewise commented upon the visual resonance between these pictures and *kasen-e*. Fujisawa Murasaki, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 3:224. This is the only book by Harunobu that contains illustrations of this kind, for his other compositions in *ehon* consist exclusively of figures placed within some kind of a scene or setting. Such images within Harunobu's books are usually linked by either a narrative structure or overarching patterns of seasonality; the latter also has bearing in this book (see ibid., 3:216-7).

[572] This book is the *Ehon seirō bijin awase sugata kagami* of 1776, which took Harunobu's 1770 book as one of its models. See Davis, *Partners in Print*, 86–87.

This layout likewise suggests a conscious reference to interwoven practices of pictorial and poetic arts involving fans, such as fan competitions (*ōgi-e awase* 扇絵合わせ), the scoring of linked-verse competitions on fans, and the use of decorated fans on other surfaces, particularly folding screens.[573]

At the same time, the monotony of the books' compositions bespeaks an impulse to catalogue—to classify and itemize—in their presentation of page after page of human figures, each portrayed in slightly different poses or dress, or engaged in various activities. This pattern points up a curious symbiosis with forms of encyclopedic literature, since the repetitive style of presentation transforms human subjects into specimens of a single category (prostitutes or actors), in a manner akin to the specimens of *Umi no sachi*, for instance. Many writers have already established that the *bijinga* genre itself invites judgment through comparison, structured around the underlying implication that the picture induces the viewer to evaluate the ideal beauty in terms of gesture, posture, and adornment, and that kabuki actors could be evaluated in similar terms.[574] Among the profuse illustrations in *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, women play music,

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[573] On the pictorial-poetic dimensions of an emergent pictorial genre (book of fans, or *ōgi no sōshi*) in the sixteenth century, see Tomoko Sakomura, *Poetry as Image*, 151–183. For an overview of early modern fan paintings, see Kobayashi Tadashi, "Senmen ga (kinsei hen)" 扇面画：近世編　(Fan paintings: The early modern period), *Nihon no bijutsu* 321 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1993), passim; and for a specific case study of the practice of pasting decorated fans on folding screens, see Okudaira Shunroku, "Fans of the Zen Community: A Study of the Nanzen-Ji Screens." Matthew McKelway is also currently writing a book on Japanese fan decoration and social practices.

[574] On the modes of appraisal in seventeenth-century Kanbun *bijin* paintings, which focused attention on the costume, hairstyle, and elegant poses of an idealized and eroticized "beautiful figure," and the implications of these practices for the history of *ukiyo-e*, see Kobayashi Tadashi, "The Kanbun Bijin: Setting the Stage for Ukiyo-e Bijinga," in *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, ed. Amy Reigle Newland, trans. Julie Nelson Davis (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 1–3; and Julie Nelson Davis, "'Doing Everything for Effect': Performing Beauty in Ukiyo-e of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Golden Journey: Japanese Art from Australian Collections*, ed. James Bennett and Amy Reigle Newland (Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 2009), 152–69, among others. For recent close studies of how these strategies of connoisseurship were adopted and developed in later

read, draw, or compose letters; some prepare tea or arrange flowers; some drink wine or play games; others simply lounge (Fig. 3.32). In *Ehon butai ōgi*, the viewer observes shifts of the body's orientation or facial expression (a tilt of the head, a furrowed brow), and changes in costume.

These differences of habit and dress are fairly minor, a veneer of variation to screen the overall impression of sameness. Drawing on previous research that has pointed out the constructedness of *ukiyo-e* representations in service of commercial strategies,[575] future studies might elaborate on how these books contribute to the larger body of *ukiyo-e* imagery that fabricates a privileged viewing position. The focus in this discussion, however, is on the materialities of color in this work, and on how materiality is discontinuous with content.

Materiality and Meaning

Two main elements define the physical properties of *Ehon seirō bijin awase* and *Ehon butai ōgi*: paper and pigment.[576] Turning to paper quantity, both in terms of sheet size and sheet count, and then paper quality, conditions a discussion of colorants: their abundance (or lack thereof), the complexity of printing, indicated in part by the number of colors per page, and the matter of specific pigments known to have been used in *ukiyo-*

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ukiyo-e, see Davis, *Utamaro and the Spectacle of Beauty*, as well as Davis, *Partners in Print*, 61–107, and the recent exhibition catalogue, Allen, *Seduction: Japan's Floating World*.

[575] See, among others, Davis's work in *Utamaro and the Spectacle of Beauty* and *Partners in Print*, esp. 61-142; see also Allen, *Seduction: Japan's Floating World*, particularly the introduction by Laura Allen (xiii-xvii) and the essay by Melinda Takeuchi (1-27).

[576] My comments on *Ehon seirō bijin awase* are based on firsthand observation of copies held in the collections of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the British Museum; my comments on *Ehon butai ōgi* are based on observation of copies in the Pulverer Collection and the Rijksmuseum; and on use of published images of copies held in the National Diet Library, Chiba Museum, and private collections in Japan.

e during the Meiwa era. Finally, a consideration of the expense of each project and how each book's image content relates to its component parts as a physical object suggests a disjuncture between repetitive content versus rich materiality.

Harunobu produced designs for at least eighteen non-erotic books in his lifetime.[577] However, *Ehon seirō bijin awase* stands out as one of only two such works printed in color.[578] In addition, the sheer size of the undertaking is notable. Most of Harunobu's other books were issued in three volumes, or occasionally two; most are also printed in ink monochrome (*sumizuri*), and are identifiable in the standard size of the *hanshibon* 半紙本 formats.[579] Book formats conformed to standardized sizes for cutting paper and for woodblocks.[580] For example, Harunobu's *Ehon chiyo no matsu* (*Picture Book of the Eternal Pines*, 1767) is a three-volume, *hanshibon*-size book printed in black ink (*sumizuri*) (Fig. 3.33). The paper size of *Ehon chiyo no matsu*, at 23 by 14 centimeters, its division into three volumes, and its printing in ink monochrome are all typical features of Harunobu's work in book illustration, as are the designs: scenes of youthful figures printed in monochrome across double-page openings, often with lines of poetry above. *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, on the other hand, presents pairs of solo figures, printed with multiple color blocks. It is also produced in the significantly larger format

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[577] This total includes the two books with just a few illustrations, *Yoshiwara taizen* and *Ameuri dohei den*, which are generally classified today as *eiribon.* For discussion of Harunobu's erotic titles, see Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Edo ehon e no shōtai* 江戸艶本への招待 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2011), 223–251; Hayashi Yoshikazu, *Harunobu: enpon kenkyū*; and Ishigami, *Nihon no shunga, ehon kenkyū*, parts 3-4.
[578] The other illustrated book printed in full color, *Ehon haru no nishiki* (*Picture-book of the Brocade of Spring*, 1771), is also a posthumous work, and there is doubt among specialists about whether Harunobu actually designed *Ehon haru no nishiki* himself, some proposing instead that his followers or Yamazaki Kinbei, who published many of Harunobu's books, issued the work based on earlier published images. See Fujisawa Murasaki, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 3:250–254.
[579] With covers of a volume closed, the height and width of *hanshibon* is approximately 23 x 14 centimeters.
[580] See Nakano, *Edo no hanpon*, 59-69.

known as *ōhon*, about 27 x 18 centimeters. The dimensions of the full-color book are therefore about one-third larger than most of Harunobu's books. This size also means that the sheet of paper (which would be folded in half to form a single leaf), was likewise one-third larger.

In addition, a considerable quantity of sheets of paper was involved in the full-color projects. *Ehon seirō bijin awase* is comprised not of two or three volumes, like most of Harunobu's books, but of five.[581] A localized comparison of the number of sheets in this book with those in *Ehon Chiyo no matsu* offers a striking contrast: the monochrome book, at 28 sheets (*chō* 丁) contains less than a third of the total number of sheets of the full-color book, at 87 sheets.[582] This count is both significantly more sheets overall as well as more per volume, on average. A similar contrast can be seen in *Ehon butai ōgi*. A copy of the first printing in the Pulverer collection contains a total of 64 sheets, slightly fewer than Harunobu's book overall, but more per volume on average (Fig. 3.34). Few illustrated books by Bunchō survive, and Shunshō seems not to have illustrated books prior to *Ehon butai ōgi* (though he certainly illustrated later books), making a similar comparison of this work to prior examples by the same artists

[581] This was not a very unusual number of volumes for Japanese books generally, but neither was it typical for the picture books (*ehon*) of the floating world—books designed, presumably, for entertainment, rather than scholarly, value.

[582] Pages are counted here in the Japanese manner, where the front and back of a page constitutes a single sheet of paper, or *chō* 丁. Thus each *chō* represents a full sheet of paper, folded in half to form the opposite sides of a leaf. The numbers given here are derived from the copies used by Fujisawa as a base text (*teihon* or *sokohon* 底本). See Fujisawa, *Suzuki Harunobu ehon zenshū*, 3:442 (*Ehon chiyo no matsu*, Chiba City Museum of Art) and ibid., 3:494 (*Ehon seirō bijin awase*, National Diet Library). In counting sheets, I refer here only to internal full sheets, which excludes the half-sheet colophon (*okuzuke* 奥付) pasted to the inside back cover of volume 5 of *Ehon seirō bijin awase*.

difficult.[583] What does seem clear is that the quantity of paper involved in these first two full-color *ukiyo-e* books was unusual for the genre at the time.

The quality of the paper in these books, at least in their early editions, is also significant. Scientific analysis of specific paper samples has been limited, especially for printed books, but we can look to comparative studies in sheet prints, such as Tanabe's analysis of the paper fibers in the first and second editions of *Zashiki hakkei*, summarized earlier in this chapter. Tanabe's argument that the elite Kyosen-sponsored prints were likely printed on Echizenbōsho is based on the feel of the paper, images of the fibers magnified under a microscope, and the size of the sheets. The dimensions of *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase* indicate a sheet size of at least 27 x 36 centimeters, which would fit within the dimensions of several types of Echizenbōsho, cut in half.[584] Although further first-hand observation, combined with technical analysis, is still needed, these findings support my own research experience in the archive.

Paper used in full-color books printed during the decade of the 1760s, such as Ryūsui's *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*, tends to be thicker, softer, and often whiter than the paper used for contemporary *ehon*, printed in black monochrome (*sumizuribon* 墨摺本). The quality of the paper used in first-edition printings (*shohan* 初版) also stands out as superior to the paper used in later printings of the same titles, particularly those of

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[583] The NIJL database gives three further titles for Bunchō, all illustrated books of light fiction: *Eiga asobi nidai otoko* 栄花遊二代男 (1755), *Nidai masamune* 二代政宗 (1760), and *Ume to sakura issatsu yakko* 梅桜一対奴 (1764); see Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books, s.v. "Ippitsusai Bunchō," http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/G0001401KTG. Shunshō is well-known for his magnificent full-color *ehon* that postdate *Ehon butai ōgi*, particularly his elaborate and collaborative project, *Ehon seirō bijin awase sugata kagami* (1776). For a recent examination of that book's materiality and rhetorical program, see Davis, *Partners in Print*, 61–107.

[584] These dimensions do not match up, however, with the dimensions of early Harunobu full-color *chūban* prints (such as *Zashiki hakkei*), which suggests that it is unlikely that precisely the same paper was being used for these books as for the earliest full-color sheet prints of c. 1764-1766.

the nineteenth century or later, which tend to be quite stiff and sometimes brittle.[585] Further, direct observation leads me to believe that paper used in the first edition of *Umi no sachi* (1762) is of finer quality—softer, thicker, and whiter—than that used in *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase*. Perhaps *Umi no sachi*'s paper is an earlier type of Echizenbōsho paper, prior to its adoption in the commercial print market via the introduction of freer trade and greater variation in paper types. Although this speculation is provisional, pending further analysis, a slight dip in paper quality, while still maintaining a very high standard for full-color printing from 1762 to 1770, would seem logical, given the lapse of time and the growing standardization of a commercial paper industry.

One of the arguments for the use of high-quality paper like Echizenbōsho in the early years of full-color printing, whether of books or of sheet prints, is the need for a thick, soft, and dense paper substrate that could both withstand the physical pressure of multiple woodblocks and absorb appropriately a range of colored pigment. Both *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase* are brimming with vibrant polychrome pictures. In quantitative terms, *Ehon butai ōgi* contains 118 pages of polychrome images,[586] and *Ehon seirō bijin awase* contains 166.[587]

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[585] Differences in paper quality seem to be possible both for later editions from new blocks (*saihan* 再販) and later printings from the same blocks (*atozuri* 後刷 or 後摺). In the case of Harunobu's *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, a ready example can be found by comparing the 1917 reprint edition, published by Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, to its Meiwa counterpart; but it is also possible to observe similar differences in later printings (*atozuri*) datable to the Edo period.

[586] As extant in the first-edition Pulverer copy. This includes five pages at the beginning of volume one that depict three celebratory dances (Senzai, Okina, and Sanbasō, often performed before a play), a backstage tableau of costume, and a presenter sitting in front of the curtain (vol. 1, 4r-6r).

[587] As extant in the National Diet Library first-edition copy. This does not count the five frontispieces that begin each volume, which are printed in a reserve-printing technique with a "white line" effect (*shiro-nuki* 白抜き) and a single color serving as the background. (This color was probably initially a blue or green,

This voluminousness distracts, however, from subtle differences in how the color is built up on the paper. Figure 3.35, from volume 2 of *Ehon butai ōgi*, indicates the abundance of physical color brought onto the page in this book. Purple and two shades of bright vermillion (probably derived from *beni*) particularly stand out. Closer inspection shows that at left, a line of pale, slightly greyish beige forms one of Onoe Kikugorō's 尾上菊五郎 inner robes, visible at sleeve, neck, and waist; this color was almost certainly the highly fugitive blue dyestuff derived from dayflower (*tsuyukusa* 露草). The same color is visible in the inner eye of the peacock feather design that decorates his *kataginu* 肩衣 (a sleeveless outer robe worn by samurai) and in the printed border outside the fan-shaped frame. This background color, now faded to a pale dun in most copies, would originally have appeared as a vivid dayflower blue or blue-grey. The Pulverer copy is rare in preserving traces of blue, usually visible as a thin concentration of color near the central gutter (see Fig. 3.3 for an example). The color patterns on Kikugorō's costume are created primarily, however, by carving out patterns in the woodblock so that the paper itself shows through, while at right, the actor's robes are printed in flat sweeps of a single color. Very little overprinting can be seen on either page, except in the peacock feather "eyes."

By contrast, *Ehon seirō bijin awase* frequently displays layered pigments. Figure 3.36 shows a detail of seated *yūjo* clothed in elaborately decorated kimono, in a visual effect achieved primarily by overprinting. Overprinting is especially visible in the lines of

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now faded to a tawny yellow with a tinge of green at the edges in some copies. Certain volumes of the MFA Spaulding copy show a blueish tinge in these frontispiece illustrations, suggesting better color preservation.)

darker green on top of a lighter greenish-brown[588] in the obi and outer robe, in the peony leaves on the skirt (green printed over yellow), and in the cavorting Chinese lion (*karashishi* 唐獅子), which shows green over white pigment in the body, and orange over yellow in the tail. The distinction between the practices of carving and printing displayed here and in the actor book may seem quite fine to the eye, but they would have presented practical differences in the process of carving. In the actor book, color literally covers the page from edge to edge, but the method of carving is simpler, at least in fabric designs cut out *from* the color blocks and in large surfaces of flat color. In the *yūjo* book, printed pigments cover far less of the paper's surface area, but color is also more concentrated through overprinting fine details.

The different ways of achieving complex color appearances on the page identify an important point about the process of multiblock color printing (*tashokuzuri* 多色刷), which is its reliance on decisions made at the stage of carving. Paper and pigments are elements that we can see and touch, making it easy to think about their relative quality as raw materials or their total number, in pages per book, or colors per page. From another perspective, however, the color that we see indexes a third indispensable raw material, woodblocks, which undoubtedly would have factored into publishers' financial calculations in undertaking projects of this kind. Perhaps this fact helps us understand better the important role of the carver Endō Matsugorō and the pride of place he is granted in the colophon of both works.

[588] This drab greenish-brown likely also contained dayflower blue, possibly mixed with other colors like yellow or even sumi to produce a more vibrant light green than that visible now.

The above is not intended to be an exhaustive empirical account of the paper and pigments in *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, but the general contours of their distinguishing characteristics are fairly clear. These books were larger, in both dimension and volume, than typical prior *ukiyo-e* illustrated books, such as those by Harunobu. In terms of raw materials, they required higher quality paper, though perhaps not quite so fine as the paper used for privately produced books like *Umi no sachi* in 1762, nor for full-color sheet prints in the middle of the decade, and they required significantly more pigments. *Ehon seirō bijin awase* used more paper, while *Ehon butai ōgi* seems to have used a greater quantity of colorants. These materials would have been costly, but skilled labor would also have added extra expense; including the carver's name, Endō Matsugorō, in the colophon of both books indicates that this carver's skills were exceptionally valued. In short, the cost to produce these books must have been considerable. Perhaps both capital and the need to recruit suitably skilled artisans help to account for the lag time between full-color's "revolution" in sheet prints and its spread into *ukiyo-e* books. Such findings would further buttress the existing theory, mentioned earlier, that these projects received the support of subventions by proprietors in the entertainment districts or by private patrons. At the same time, if the quality or abundance of materials in these two books point to certain kinds of information, such as the identity of their producers, their deluxe physical properties also underscore their repetitive content—a kind of lack of information lying at the center of these projects.

Conclusion: The Limits of Color

The overall structure of both books displays studied repetition. The images in each work follow a uniform program, wherein a single figure occupies a single page. In *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, larger and smaller labels of classification orient the viewer. Each time a figure is introduced who belongs to a new brothel, the name of the house is listed, usually at upper right. This arrangement of text serves the function of identifying each woman and the establishment to which she belongs, but it also has a strong affinity with the form and purpose of a catalogue. It echoes the organization of the world and all the things in it found in encyclopedic literature. Brought now to the organization of the floating world, it allows information about the pleasure quarter to be broken down into component pieces for ready consumption. Were *Ehon seirō bijin awase* a natural history of the Yoshiwara, the text and image on each page would offer a kind of taxonomy: the name of the prostitute, perhaps like a "species," the brothel her "genus," and the volumes themselves a "family." As befits the poetry conceit, however, volumes are glossed with the elegant but banal trope of moving seasonally from spring to winter.

However, significant differences distinguish these books from the content-rich genres of scholarly literature, or even the books of poetry, natural studies, and painting discussed in earlier chapters. *Ehon butai ōgi* also carefully orchestrates each pairing, but only to the extent that actors are identifiable. Every turn of the page ensures that we see something a little different from what appeared before: actors from different theaters, or who specialize in different types of roles, or who simply look different. The point here, as in Harunobu's *yūjo* book, is less about specificity than it is about variety and abundance, a representational strategy that mirrors the commercial wares catalogued in these pages. This commercialization might suggest one of the limits of color, since the visual

cornucopia seems to become an end in itself. Where motivations for earlier color-printed books might have been located in various kinds of naturalism in representation, *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase* are motivated by commercial ends. Were this a painting manual, like Sō Shiseki's painting album, we might expect a table of contents in the front to guide us through the pictorial subjects that await our perusal in subsequent pages. The lack of an index points out an important difference in how these books function as pictorial catalogues, for they do not need one: unlike a painting manual, there is nothing here to *learn*. Finally, they also contrast sharply the visual-verbal play at work in early full-color sheet prints like Harunobu's *Zashiki hakkei*. For all that *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase* delight with their lavish polychrome appearance, they are content-poor. These projects are thus exemplary productions of the floating world, brilliant at first glance, but wearing only the skin of rich surfaces. Their physical abundance and refinement dazzle us, distracting us from a paucity of content.

In many ways, these first *ukiyo-e* books inhabit contradictory registers of meaning and materiality. In some respects they represent exemplars of taste, with their fine production values and suggestive links to wider networks of elite color patronage. At the same time, however, they are thoroughly commercial products, as much in their physicality as objects of saleable print culture as in their "dressed up" marketing of entertainments available in Edo's floating world. They are both "commercial" and "high," a simultaneity that suggests we would be better served with a model of both/and than either/or. If their materials are not quite at the absolute apex of the market, they are still quite fine. They are designed by artists associated with elite print culture and elite *ukiyo-e* painting, yet their content is simplified, repetitive, and monotonous. They appear in 1770,

at a moment when "full color" may have seemed almost predictable, a commercial imperative. *Ehon butai ōgi* and *Ehon seirō bijin awase* demonstrate, in short, the end of an arc in which full color as a material category begins as exceptional, and ends up not exactly "ordinary," but instead characteristic. The color experiments of earlier books, such as *Umi no sachi*, *Yama no sachi*, or *Sō Shiseki gafu*, were allied to other kinds of investigations—about the natural world, about the nature of painting—but full-color printing in the *ukiyo-e* books of 1770 is an end in itself.

EPILOGUE

This dissertation outlines an alternative relationship between color and print in the mid-eighteenth century, one not solely confined to *ukiyo-e* or to the medium of sheet prints, but characterized also by emergent interests in investigations of the natural world, erudite self-presentation, and a preoccupation with classificatory schema more often associated with the "serious" texts of encyclopedias and natural science literature. It points to a different set of motivations for color as well as an expanded group of producers and potential audiences. In contrast to the long-standing and unwavering focus on the *nishiki-e* connection between Harunobu and Kyosen, the early color-printed books of the same moment demonstrate a much broader network of poets, publishers, and skilled artisans engrossed by the potential of full-color printing technology. These books can thus be seen as the alternative pivot, so often omitted in our histories of early modern Japanese art, between the activities of private coteries and the rise of full-color commercial print culture. These groups enthusiastically pursued their *haikai* activities, to be sure, but their sensitivity to other currents in Edo culture meant that they brought these other engagements to their productions as well.

Examining the materialities and meanings of the earliest books of full-color printing has led us from a startlingly novel collection of the sea's riches to delicate and colorful compositions of insects and plants, a subject even more clearly inflected by the iconography and practices of painting. Turning then to *ukiyo-e*, the "*nishiki-e* revolution" is traced through some of its most representative prints, which updated or parodied elements of classical culture in the terms of the floating world's beautiful figure, leading

several years later to vibrant but repetitive compendia of actors and *yūjo*. The four books at the center of this study do not present a unified group of approaches to printed color. However, taken together, they point to a diverse set of historical considerations informing the choice to employ a labor-intensive technique that required skill, material investment, and a willingness to experiment. All four books suggest that private groups and individuals stood behind their conception and provided the subventions necessary to publish them: poetry groups on the one hand, theater and brothel owners on the other.

The *ukiyo-e* books *Ehon seirō bijin awase* and *Ehon butai ōgi* deserve further analysis in the context of their artists' larger oeuvres and the later color "moment" that they occupy in histories of the floating world, during the transition into the dazzlingly polychrome decade of the 1770s. Future studies might also explore the potential impact of these books in calibrating the market for printed color and their connection to notions of authentic portrayals in *ukiyo-e*, such as the relation of *Ehon butai ōgi* to *nise-e* 似絵 ("likeness pictures"), associated with actor prints. Shunshō, at least, revisited both the concept and form of *Ehon butai ōgi*. His series of sheet prints, *Azuma ōgi* 東扇 (Fans of the East, 1775-82), shows actors framed by the shape of a fan, in direct imitation of the designs issued in his earlier book.[589] My study focused on the material aspects of the books, viewing the use of the full-color technique as the single most important shift figured by these first illustrated *ukiyo-ehon* to employ it. Attending to the technical evidence and modes of presentation reveals their specific ties to the culture of the floating world, but also suggests shared habits of reflexive, deluxe self-presentation and a

[589] See Clark, *The Actor's Image*, 208-13.

tendency to catalogue the delights of the pleasure districts in a manner akin to taxonomic literature.

The forerunners of this practice in the medium of the full-color, illustrated book display unusual motivations for color print innovation, in keeping with the novelty of their techniques. *Umi no sachi* and *Yama no sachi*, I have argued, participated in ongoing pictorial negotiations of how to transpose nature in images and of resurgent interest in working from life. That they do so in print, not painting, may have something to do with the lack of attention paid them thus far by scholars working on issues of *shaseiga* and empiricism, but their early date of manufacture in the 1760s, prior to the concerted investigations—and self-promotional rhetoric—of painters like Ōkyo in the later eighteenth century, may also offer an explanation.

The concerns of representational "truthfulness" charted in these books did not disappear from print, but it would be several decades before color-printed productions on natural subjects on par with their level of material quality and visual richness would be put forth by *ukiyo-e* artists, like Utamaro in his ambitious printed albums of insects, shells, and birds, or later, in nineteenth-century surimono. Antecedents to Katsuma Ryūsui's fascinating pictures are many, and merit further study in order to see properly the scope and contours of how print and color figured into debates about nature and representation in early modern Japan.

After *Umi no sachi* alone, numerous works—both painted and printed—pictured the creatures of lakes, rivers, and sea. In 1775, over a decade after publication of *Umi no sachi*, the natural history enthusiast and art connoisseur Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂

(1736-1802) sponsored the publication of *Kikai zufu* 奇貝図譜 (Illustrated Album of Rare Shells), which contains extensively hand-colored illustrations of various shells. This was the most elaborate of Kenkadō's catalogues of his own collections, which were akin to European *Wunderkammern* in their diversity of rare species.[590] Another work, also associated with Kenkadō, was designed by the "literati" artist Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 (1719-1774). Ayatari's *Kaisaku zu* 海錯図 (Marine Life, 1775) offered drawings of eighteen fish and sea creatures, printed ink monochrome.[591] Similar pictorial compendia of aquatic life continued to be produced. When Kawahara Keiga was sketching fish for Philip Franz von Siebold's survey of the natural history of Japan, as mentioned in Chapter One, the German doctor wrote instructions in a letter dated December 22, 1830, urging Keiga to pay special attention to reproducing the accurate colors of live specimens.[592] Keiga's sketches of fish for Siebold are both specific products of nineteenth-century natural history and part of a much longer trajectory in Japanese art that resonates with the materiality and concerns with color traced across the three case studies in this dissertation.

This emphasis on the capacity of color to communicate authenticity would recur in the work of many artists and natural historians in the decades to come, seen in painting, drawing, sculpture, and print, amongst other media. Likewise, later commercial prints and books would push the material boundaries of the medium to ever further heights of dramatically saturated hues and complex layering of color and form. What took shape in

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[590] See Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature*, 184-87.
[591] See discussion in Marceau, *Takebe Ayatari: A Bunjin Bohemian in Early Modern Japan*, 160-164.
[592] See Nofuji, "The Kawahara Keiga Animal, Plant, and Genre Paintings in Siebold's Collection," 294.

the earliest full-color illustrated books were extraordinary technical achievements on an unprecedented scale, bound to wider engagement with the artistic, social, and scientific discourses of the mid-eighteenth century. Hereafter, printed color would pose even greater challenges to painting and to monochrome illustrated books, changing the visual and material dimensions of making pictures in early modern Japan.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter One

Figure 1.1. Katsuma Ryūsui, *Umi no sachi* 海の幸 (Treasures of the Sea), 1762, second month. Woodblock-printed book; ink and color on paper with mica highlights, 29.8 x 21.1 cm (closed). Selections from *Umi no sachi*, clockwise from upper right: *kamitai* (John Dory) and *tairagi* (fan mussel), vol. 2, 8v-9r; *fugu* (blowfish), vol. 1, 18v-19r; *sawara* (mackerel), vol. 2, 15v-16r; *toragisu* (harlequin sandsmelt), *akanishi* (veined rapa whelk), *umi suzume* (roundbelly cowfish), and *hōbō* (red gurnard), vol. 1, 30v-31r. All illustrations of this book from Special Collections, Getty Research Institute 2598-446, unless otherwise noted.

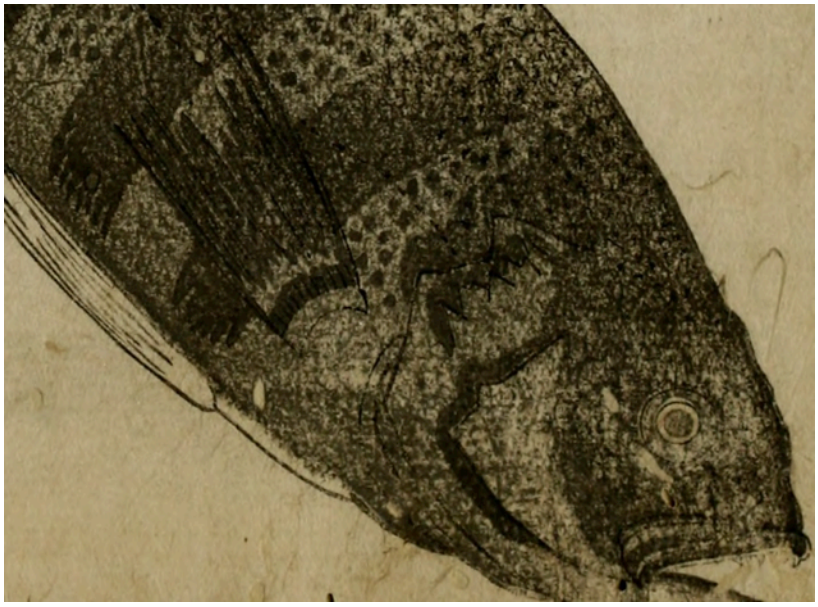


Figure 1.2. Detail, *hatashiro* (convict grouper), *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, 24v.

Figure 1.3. Detail of *kuruma-ebi* (wheel shrimp), *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, 14r.

Figure 1.4. Katsuma Ryūsui, *Wakana* わかな (*Young Leaves*), 1756, 3v-4r. Woodblock-printed book; ink and color on paper, 27.4 x 18.1 cm (closed). British Museum, 1979,0305,0.100. Illustration at left (fol. 4r) includes Ryūsui's signature (*Ryūsui zu* 龍水図).

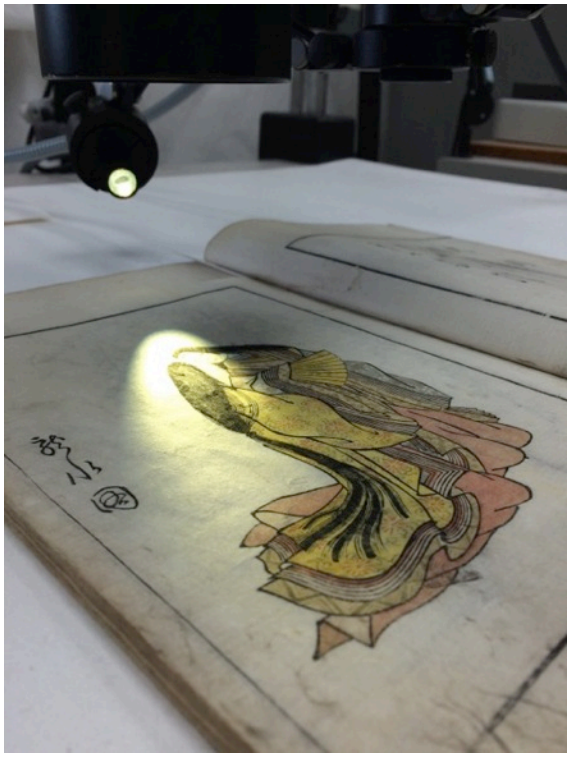


Figure 1.5. Detail of *Wakana* わかな (*Young Leaves*), 1756, fol. 4r (top). Conservation studio photograph of *Wakana*, 3v-4r (bottom). Pulverer Collection, Freer/Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian, FSC-GR-780.65.

Figure 1.6 Details showing mica applications. Top: *oboko* (young striped mullet), *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, fol 23v. Bottom: *saba* (mackerel), *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, fol. 14v. Saba detail British Museum, 1929,0611,0.1.

Figure 1.7. Katsuma Ryūsui, *Yama no sachi* 山の幸 (Treasures of the Mountain), 1765, vol. 2, 4v-5r. Woodblock-printed book; ink and color on paper, 29.1 x 20.0 cm (closed). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2009.2524.

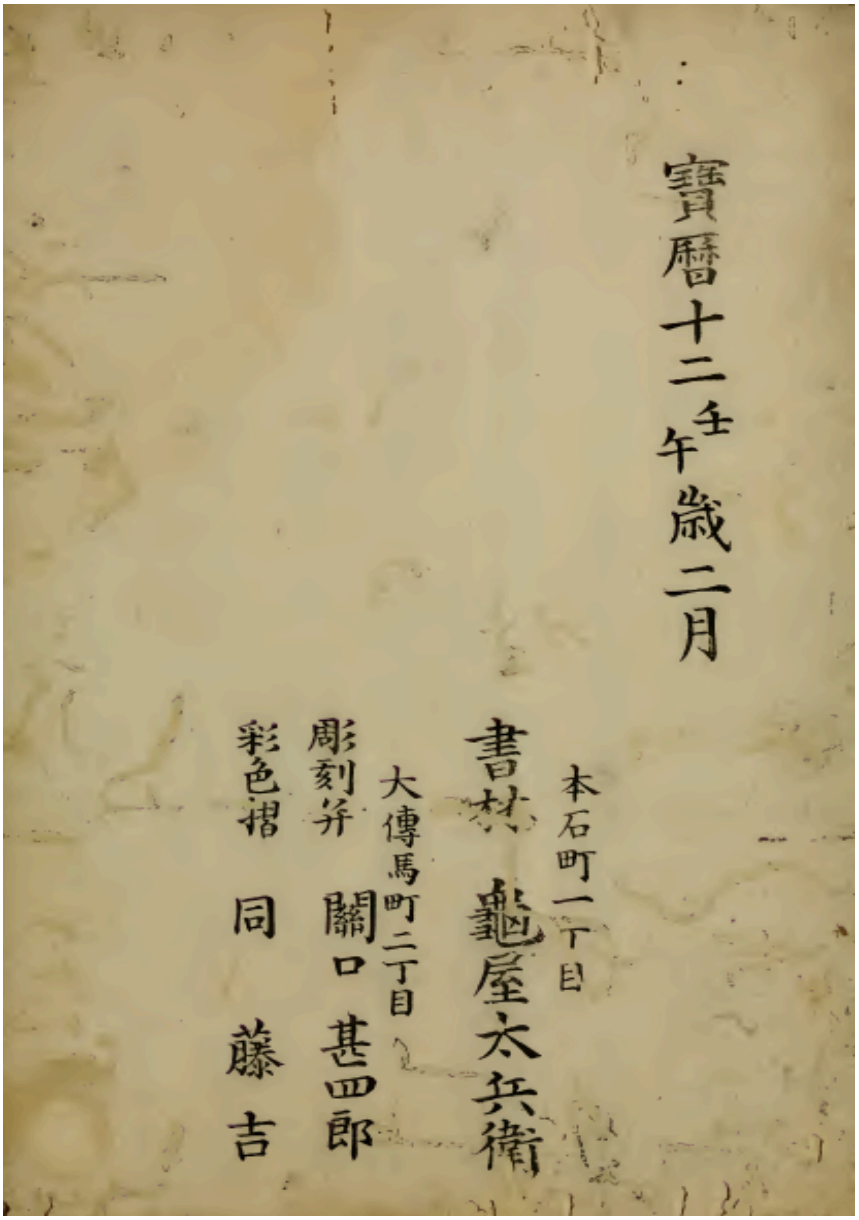


Figure 1.8. Colophon to first printing (second month of 1762), *Umi no sachi* vol. 2, 28v.

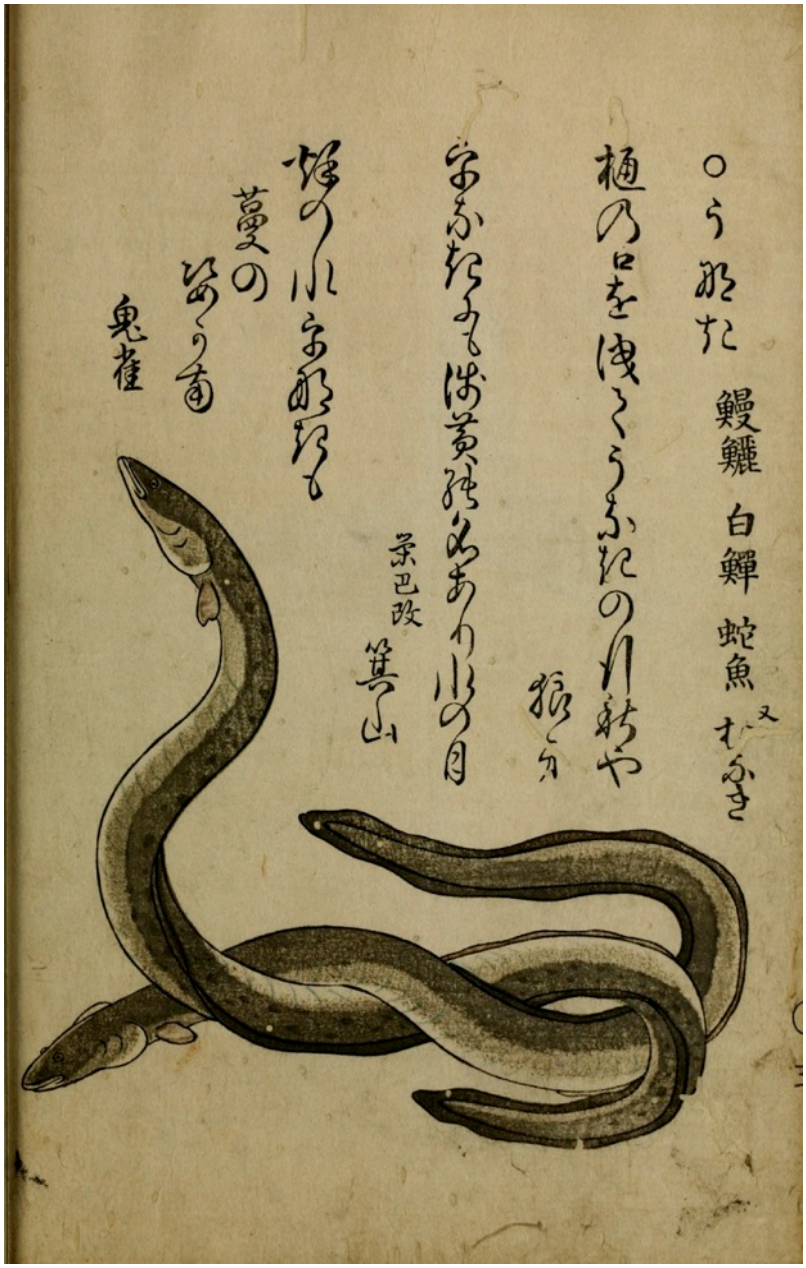
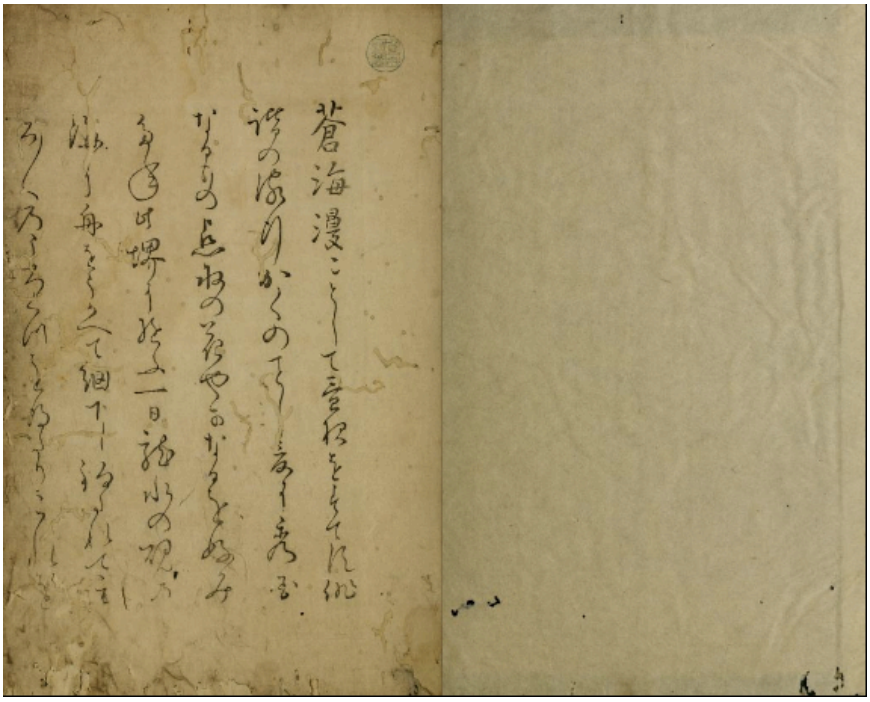
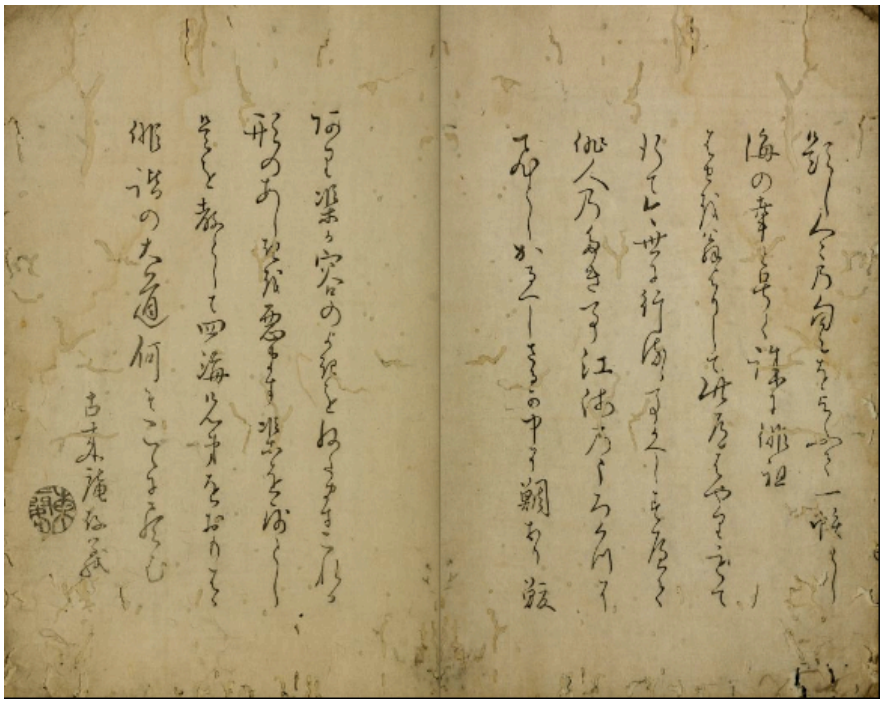


Figure 1.9. *Unagi* (eel), *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, 13v.



1r



2r 1v

Fig. 1.10. First preface, by Baba Songi, *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, 1r-2r.

Figure 1.11. Katsuma Ryūsui, *Sea bream* (*Taizu senmen* 鯛図扇面). Folding fan; ink and color on paper, 72.6 cm. Waseda University Library, 文庫 31 D0062. (Signature: *Ryūsui zu* 龍水図; seal: *Shinsen* 新泉)

Figure 1.12. Right: *ayu* (sweetfish); left: *eso* (lizardfish) and *yamame* (masu salmon), *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, 26v-27r.

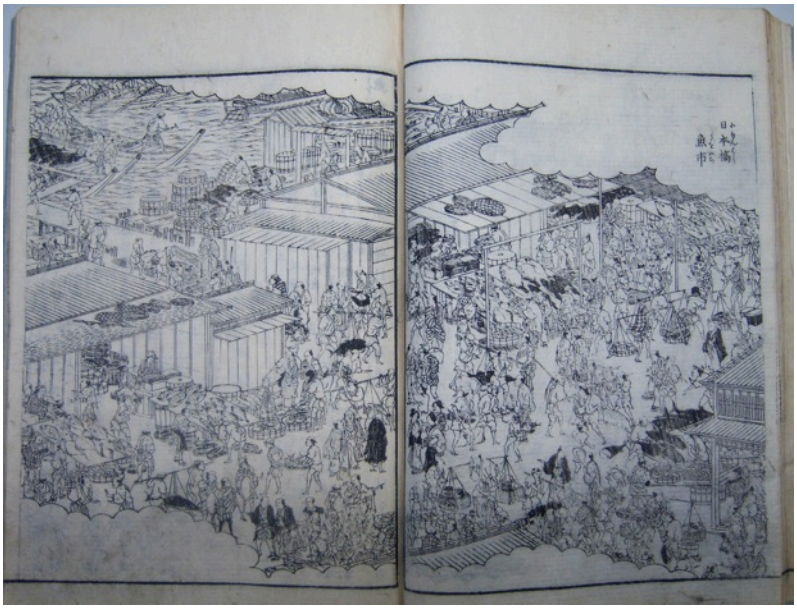


Figure 1.13. Fish market at Nihonbashi (*Nihonbashi uoichi* 日本橋魚市), *Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所図会, 1834-1836, vol. 1, 34v-35r. Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper, 25.8 x 18.1 cm. National Diet Library, 124-114.

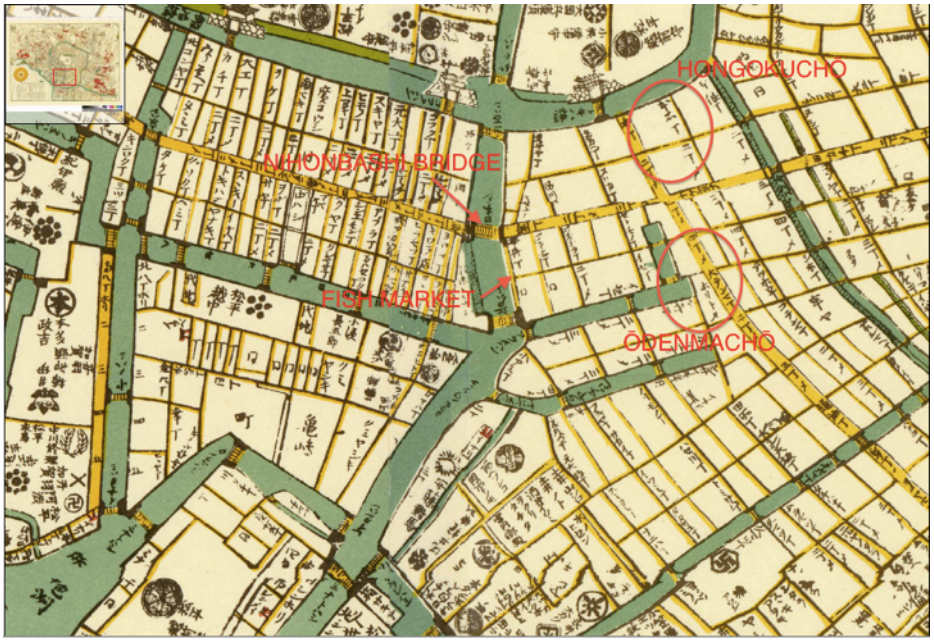


Figure 1.14. Detail of Nihonbashi and Hongokuchō areas, from *Meiwa Edo zu* 明和江戸図 (Meiwa era map of Edo), 1771. Woodblock-printed map; ink and color on paper, 115.4 x 85.6 cm. Nichibunken Map Collection, 000904037.

Figure 1.15. *Koi* (carp), *Umi no sachi* vol. 1, 8v-9r.

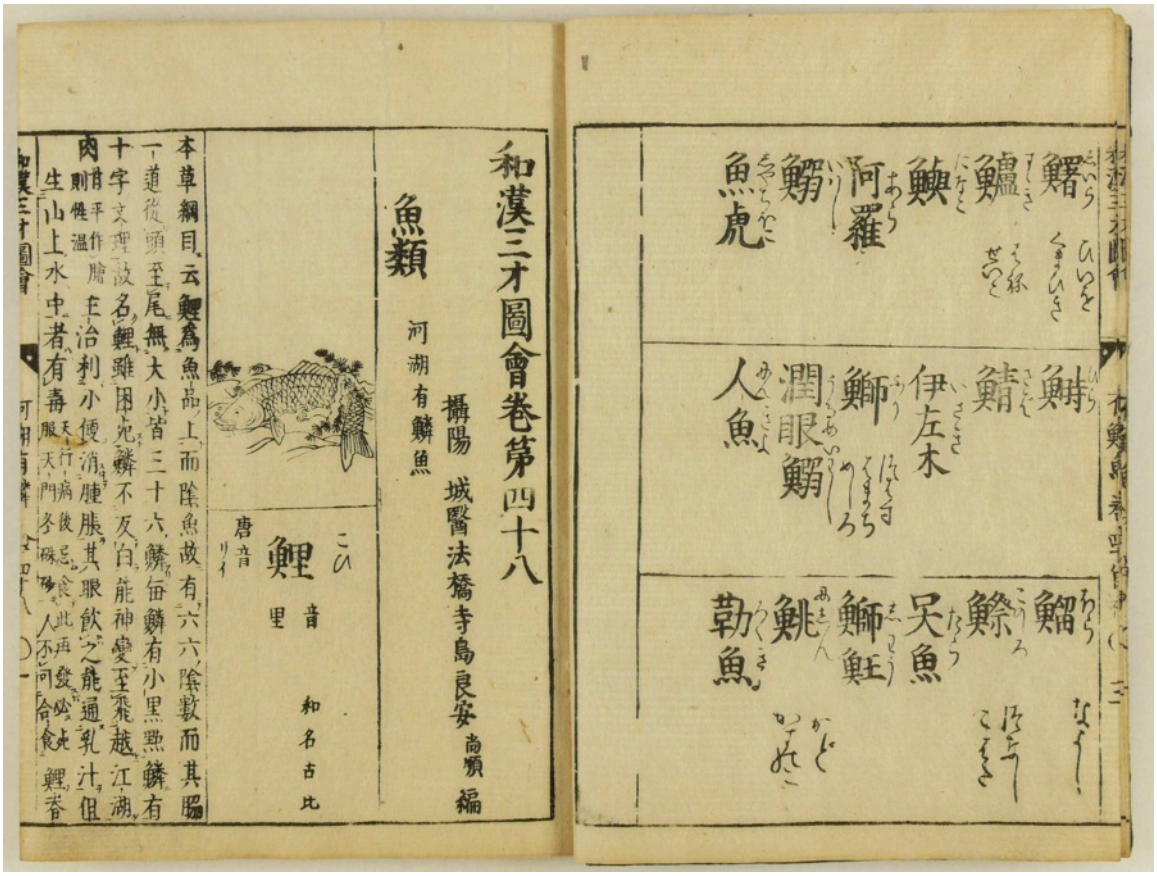


Figure 1.16. *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会, 1715, vol. 48, 3v-4r. Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper, 25.0 x 17.8 cm (closed). Shimane University Library Digital Archive, 1317.

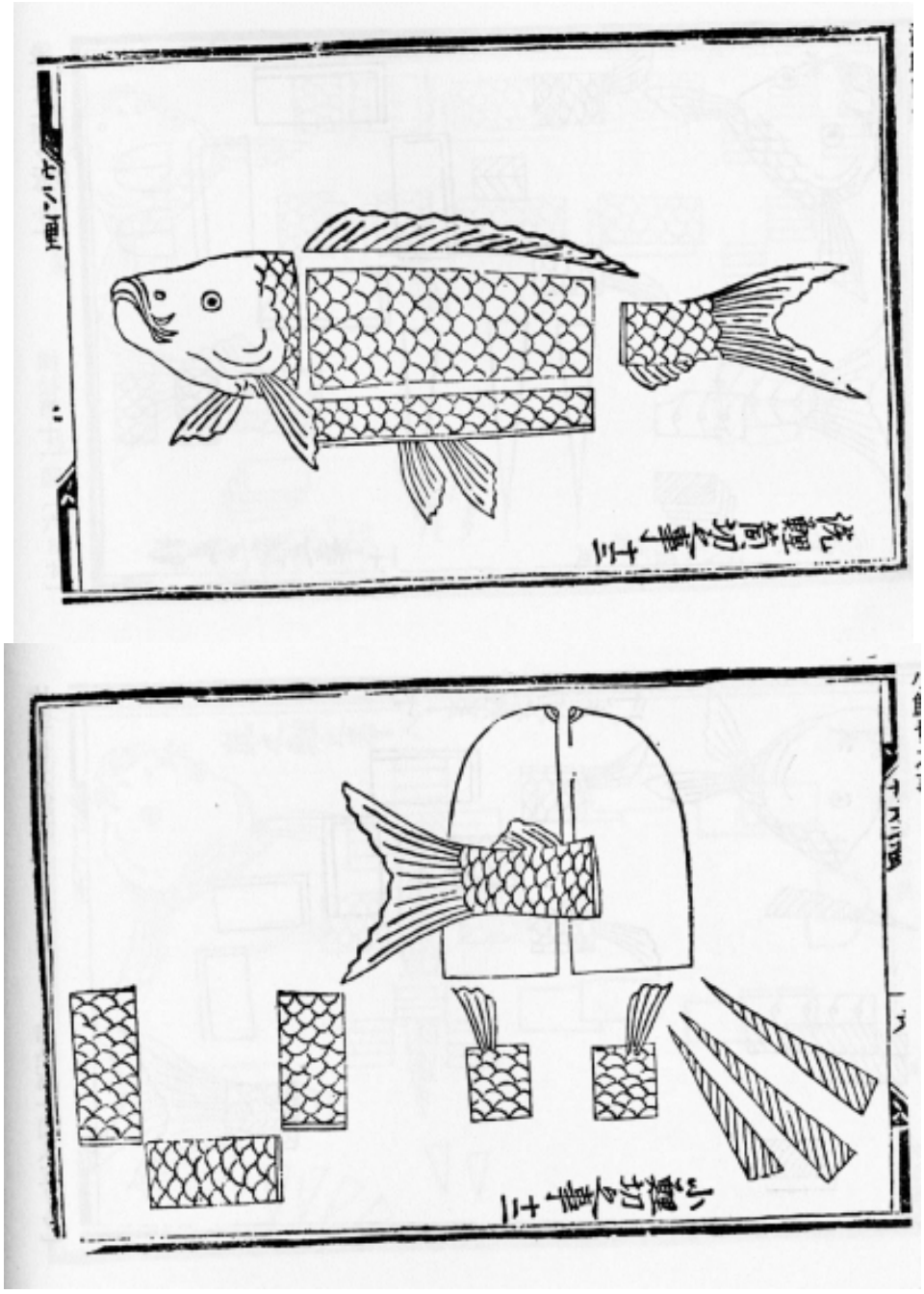


Figure 1.17. Pages showing two carp preparations, from *Sanjūroku no koi hiden* 三十六之鯉秘伝 (*Thirty-Six Carp Secrets*), 8v-9r. (Right: *shō koi kiri no koto* 小鯉切之事. Left: *arai-goi tsutsugiri no koto* 洗鯉筒切之事 [cutting into round slices]). Reproduced in Edo Jidai Ryōribon Kenkyūkai, ed. *Honkoku Edo jidai ryōribon shūsei* 翻刻江戸時代料理本集成. Shohan. Vol. 1 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1978), 80.

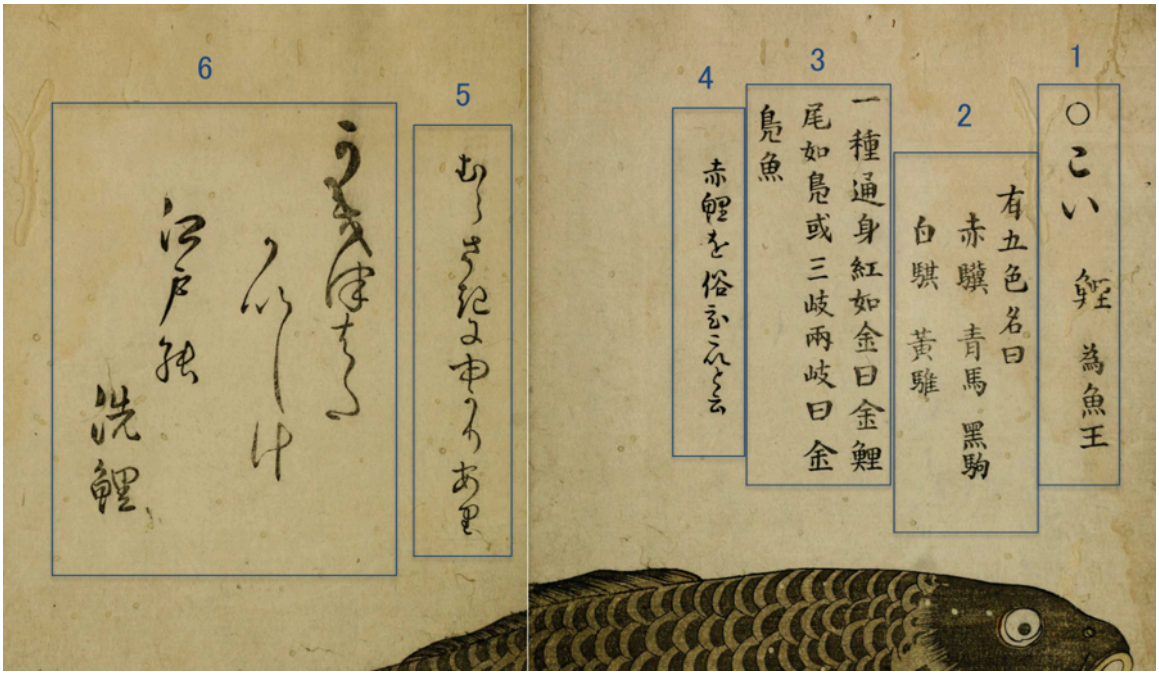


Figure 1.18. Detail of *koi* (carp), *Umi no sachi*, vol. 1, 8v-9r.

Figure 1.19. Detail of *wakanago* (juvenile yellowtail amberjack), *tanago* (striped beakfish), *shimadai* (bitterling), *Umi no sachi*, vol. 2, 18v.

Figure 1.20. Maruyama Ōkyo, detail of butterflies from *Shasei-jō* 写生帖 (*Album of Life Sketches*), album dated 1793, majority of sketches dated to 1770s. Album; ink and color on paper, 26.5 x 19.4 cm (closed). Tokyo National Museum, A168.

Figure 1.21. *Tai* (sea bream), *Umi no sachi,* vol. 1, 21v-22r.

Figure 1.22. *Aka'u* ("red fish"), *Umi no sachi*, vol. 2, 1v-2r.

Figure 1.23. *Sarubō* (type of ark shell clam), *bai* (Japanese babylon), *mirugai* (Tresus keenae), *akagai* (Anadara broughtonii), and *sazae* (turban shell), *Umi no sachi*, vol. 2, 12v-13r.

Figure 1.24. Kitagawa Utamaro, *Shiohi no Tsuto* 潮干のつと (*Gifts of the Ebb Tide*), c. 1789, 4v-5r. Woodblock-printed book; ink and color on paper, 27.3 x 19.5 cm (closed). Pulverer Collection, Freer/Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian, FSC-GR-780.324.

Figure 1.25. Kawahara Keiga, *Carp* (L. Cyprinus carpio), c. late 1820s-early 1830s. Watercolor on Dutch paper. Naturalis Biodiversity Center, RMNH.ART.31, on long-term loan to Japanmuseum SieboldHuis.

Chapter Two

Figure 2.1 Katsuma Ryūsui, *Yama no sachi* 山の幸 (Treasures of the Mountain), 1765. Woodblock-printed book; ink and color on paper, 29.1 x 20.0 cm (closed). Selections from *Yama no sachi*, clockwise from upper right: *fuji* (wisteria) and *hachi* (bee), vol. 1, 10v-11r; *kabocha* (pumpkin) and *imomushi* (hairless caterpillar), vol. 2, 8v-9r; *dandoku* (Canna indica) and *kutsuwa-mushi* (katydid species), vol. 2, 11v-12r; *kyūri* (cucumber) and *kōmori* (bat), vol. 1, 25v-26r. All illustrations of this book from Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2009.2524, unless otherwise noted.

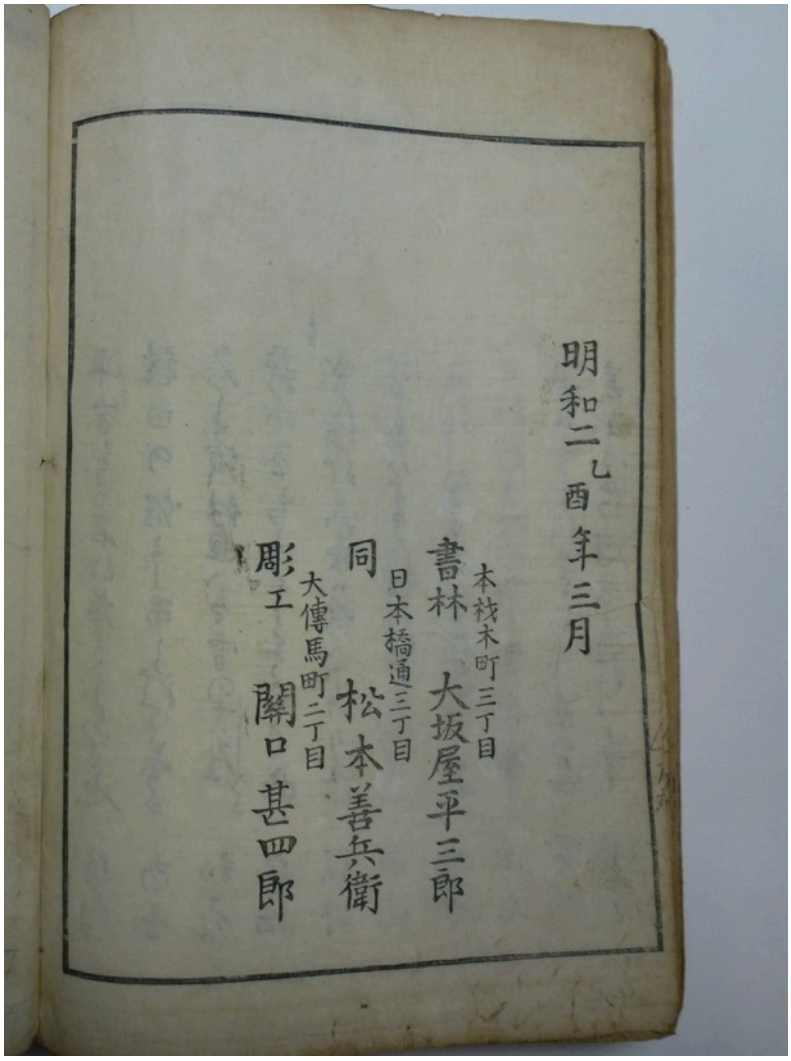


Figure 2.2 Colophon, *Yama no sachi* vol. 2, 29v.

1r

2r 1v

Figure 2.3 First preface, by Katsuma Ryūsui, *Yama no sachi* vol. 1, 1r-2r.

Figure 2.4 *Fukujusō* (pheasant's eye), *Yama no sachi*, vol. 1, 3v-4r.

Figure 2.5. *Nanakusa* (seven herbs of spring), *Yama no sachi* vol. 1, 4v-5r.

Figure 2.6. *Aki no nanakusa* (seven grasses of autumn), *Yama no sachi* vol. 2, 1v-2r.

Figure 2.7. Noh robe (*nuihaku*) with design of butterflies, chrysanthemums, maple leaves, and miscanthus grass, second half of the eighteenth century. Silk embroidery and gold leaf on satin, 161.9 x 137.2 cm overall. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.30.1.

Figure 2.8. Kano school, *Sleeping Cat and Peonies*, early 16th-early 17th century. Fan 110 of *Assembled Fan Paintings* (*Senmen byōbu* 扇面屏風); ink and color on gold-paper ground, pasted on six-fold screen, 168.5 x 358.6 cm overall. Collection Nanzen-ji Temple.

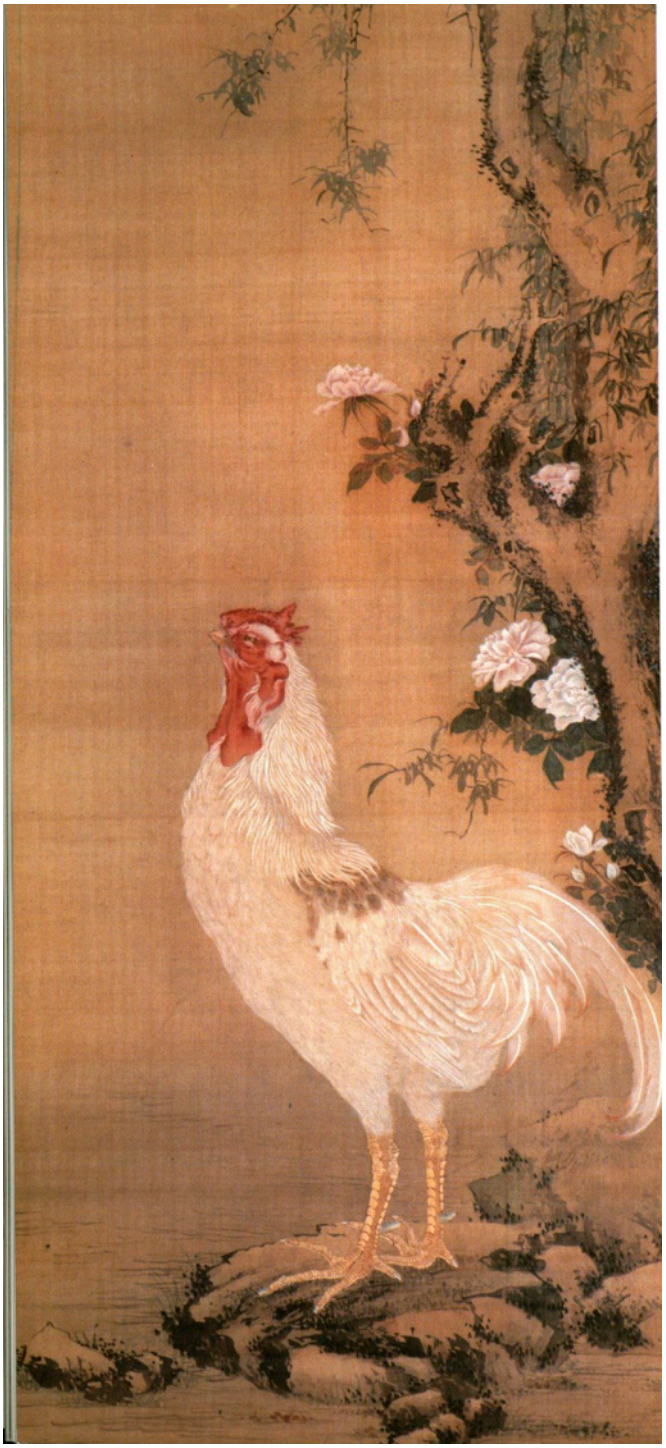


Figure 2.9 Sō Shiseki, *Ryūka no hakkei* 柳下白鶏 (White Rooster under Willow), 1769. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 112.6 x 44.5 cm. Hiroshima Prefecture Museum of Art. Signed 巳丑季春宋紫石寫 Mi no ushi kishun Sō Shiseki sha (Meiwa 6, Late spring, "copied" by Sō Shiseki).

Figure 2.10 Shen Nanpin, detail of *Sankō shukuen zukan* 餐香宿艶図巻 (Illustrated scroll of plants and insects), 18th century. Handscroll; color on silk, 42.0 x 466.5 cm. Sannomaru Shōzōkan. (Signed 南蘋沈銓寫 Nanpin Shen Quan sha).

Figure 2.11 Bamboo and praying mantises, from Part III of *Jiezhiyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), 1701, compiled by Wang Gai, Wang Shi, and Wang Nie. Cut from woodblock-printed book and rejoined as a single-sheet print; ink and color on paper, 27.8 x 32.1 cm. British Museum, 1982,1011,0.22.

Figure 2.12 *Yamabuki* (yellow kerria) and *kawazu* (frog), *Yama no sachi* vol. 1, 7v-8r.

Figure 2.13. *Tsuwabuki* (Japanese silverleaf), *kirigirisui* (cricket), and *namekujiri* (slug), *Yama no sachi* vol. 2, 21v-22r.

Figure 2.14 Details of butterflies (*chō*) in *Yama no sachi* (clockwise, from upper right): vol. 1, 6v7r; vol 1, 8v9r; vol. 1, 14v15r; vol. 1, 24v25r; vol. 2, 15v16r.

Figure 2.15. *Semi* (cicada) and *yabukonnyaku* (jack-in-the-pulpit), *Yama no sachi* vol. 1, 17v-18r.

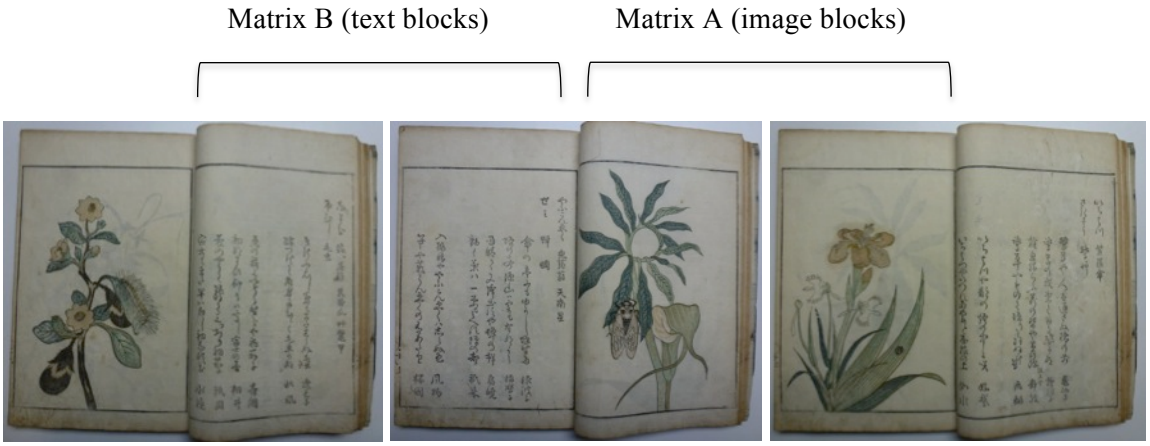


Figure 2.16. *Yama no sachi*, vol. 1, fols. 16v-19r, showing layout of text and image pages. Right: *ichihatsu* (wall iris) and *saigsō* (fringed orchid), 16v-17r; center: *semi* (cicada) and *yabukonnyaku* (type of jack-in-the-pulpit), 17v-18r; left: *nasubi* (eggplant) and *kemushi* (hairy caterpillar), 18v-19r.

Figure 2.17. *Katatsumuri* (snail) and *yukinoshita* (saxifrage), *Yama no sachi* vol. 1, 21v-22r.

Figure 2.18. *Karasu-uri* (Japanese snake gourd) and *minomushi* (bagworm), *Yama no sachi* vol. 2, 4v-5r.

Figure 2.19. Detail of *fukujusō* (pheasant's eye), *Yama no sachi*, vol. 1, 3v-4r.

Figure 2.20. Detail of *katatsumuri* (snail) and *yukinoshita* (saxifrage), *Yama no sachi* vol. 1, 21v-22r.

Figure 2.21. Detail of *hechima* (sponge gourd) and *tonbō* (dragonfly), vol. 2, 16v-17r.

Figure 2.22. Detail of *dokudami* (chameleon plant), *keitō* (cockscomb); and *hatahata* (a type of cricket), vol. 2, 12v-13r.

Figure 2.23. Top: Peony, from Part III of *Jiezhiyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), 1701, compiled by Wang Gai, Wang Shi, and Wang Nie. Cut from woodblock-printed book and rejoined as a single-sheet print; ink and color on paper, 27.5 x 32.5 cm. British Museum, 1982,1011,0.1.

Bottom: Peony, *Kaishien gaden* 芥子園畫傳 (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), Japanese ed., 1748, vol. 3, 9v10r, published by Kawanami Shirōemon, Kyoto, et. al. Woodblock-printed book; ink and color on paper, 28.5 x 18.6 cm (closed). British Museum, 1979,0305,0.91.3.

Figure 2.24: Ōoka Shunboku, bamboo and praying mantises, *Minchō seidō gaen* 明朝生動画園 (Living Garden of Ming Painting), 1746 imprint, vol. 2, 20v-21r. Woodblock- printed book; ink and color on paper, 27.0 x 18.0 cm (closed). National Diet Library, WB1-18.

Figure 2.25: Ōoka Shunboku, lily and dayflower, *Minchō seidō gaen*, vol. 1, 14v15r. National Diet Library, WB1-18.

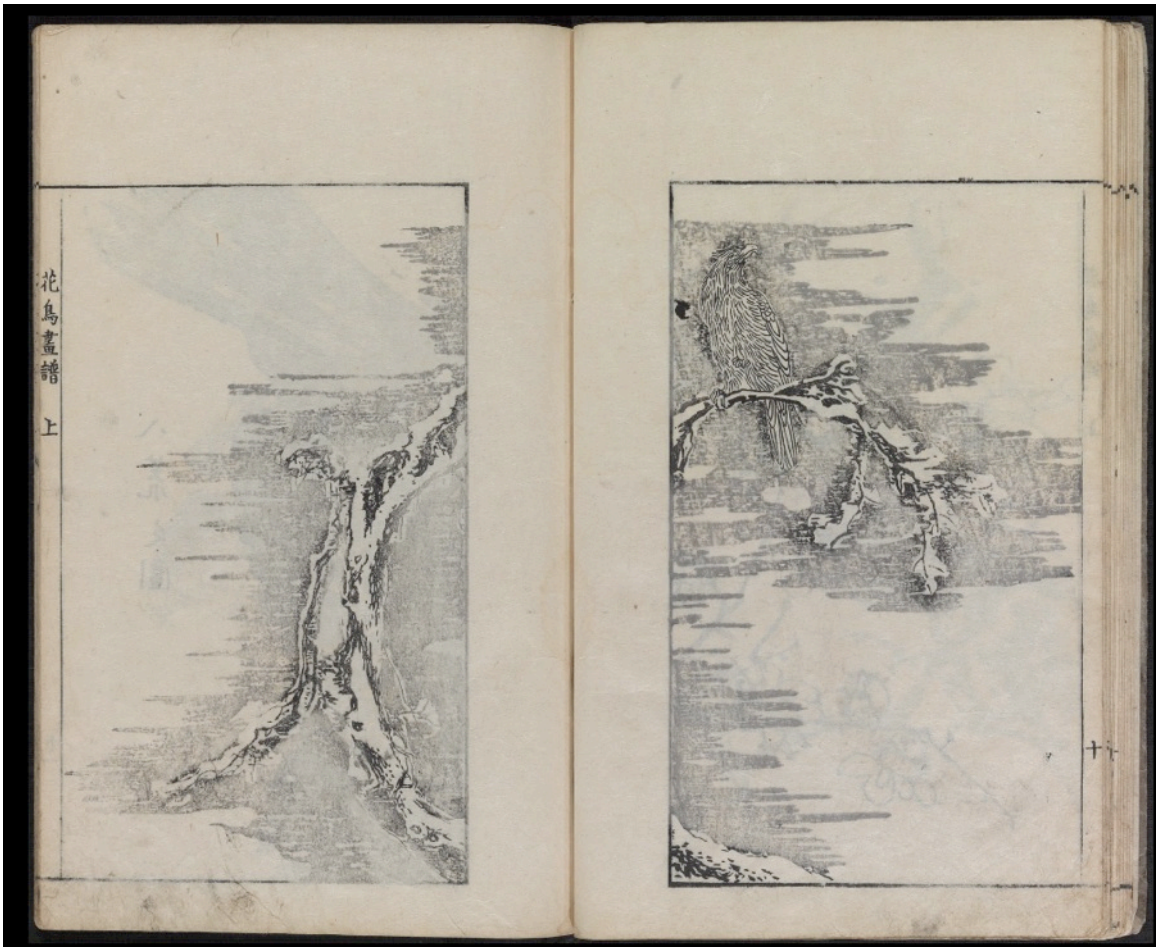


Figure 2.26. Sō Shiseki, winter crow in forest, *Sō Shiseki gafu* 宋紫石画譜 (Painting Album of Sō Shiseki), 1765, vol. 1, 15v-16r. Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper, 27.0 cm x 16.6 (closed). Rare Books, Princeton University Library, ND1053.5 .S6 1765.

Figure 2.27. Sō Shiseki, lily with pinks, *Sō Shiseki gafu*, vol. 2, 6v-7r. Rare Books, Princeton University Library, ND1053.5 .S6 1765.

Figure 2.28. Top: Sō Shiseki, bitter melon with bird, *Sō Shiseki gafu*, vol. 2, 16v17r. Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper, 27.1 x 16.7 cm (closed). Pulverer Collection, Freer/Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian, FSC-GR-780.546.1-3.
Bottom: Photos from conservation studio, Freer/Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, showing examination of page under microscope.

Figure 2.29. Top: Detail of *semi* (cicada) and *yabukonnyaku* (jack-in-the-pulpit), *Yama no sachi* vol. 1, 17v-18r.
Bottom: Maruyama Ōkyo, detail of cicadas from *Shasei-jō* 写生帖 (*Album of Life Sketches*), album dated 1793, majority of sketches dated to 1770s. Album; ink and color on paper, 26.5 x 19.4 cm (closed). Tokyo National Museum, A168.

Chapter Three

Figure 3.1a-h Suzuki Harunobu, *Zashiki hakkei* 座敷八景 (*Eight Views of the Interior*), c.1766 (first state). Full-color woodblock prints, chūban size (*chūban nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper, approx. 28.8 x 21.7 cm each. Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1928.896-1928.903.

3.1a. Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges

3.1c. Evening Chime of the Clock

3.1b. Clearing Breeze from the Fan

3.1d. Autumn Moon in the Mirror

3.1e. Evening Glow of the Lamp

3.1g. Returning Sails of the Towel Rack

3.1f. Night Rain on the Tea Stand

3.1h. Evening Snow on the Lacquer Stand for Cotton

Figure 3.2. Suzuki Harunobu, *Ehon seirō bijin awase* 絵本青楼美人合 (*Picture-book of the Beauties of the Yoshiwara, Compared)*, 1770, vol. 4, 8v-9r. Woodblock-printed book; ink and colors on paper, 27.2 x 18.2 cm (closed). National Diet Library, WA32-5.

Figure 3.3. Katsukawa Shunshō and Ippitsusai Bunchō, *Ehon butai ōgi* 絵本舞台扇 (*Picture-book of the Stage in Fan Shapes)*, 1770, vol. 1, 20v-21r. Woodblock-printed book; ink and colors on paper, 28.5 x 19.0 cm (closed). Pulverer Collection, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, FSC-GR-780.164.1-3.

Figure 3.4. Unkoku school, *Chinese landscape: Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (museum's title), late Muromachi period, 16th century. Pair of folding screens; ink and light color on paper, 178.3 x 375.5 cm each. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, F1904.354.

Figure 3.5. Hasegawa Tōun 長谷川等雲, Night Rain over Xiao-Xiang, from *Shōshō hakkei zuga shiika* 瀟湘八景図画詩歌 (Drawings and Poems of the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang), 1695, 3v4r. Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper. National Institute of Japanese Literature, Microfilm ナ 8-3.

Figure 3.6 Okumura Masanobu, Night Rain at Karasaki (*Karasaki no yau*), from an *Ōmi hakkei* series, c. 1730. Handcolored woodblock print, hosoban size (*hosoban beni-e*), with metallic pigments; ink and color on paper. Museums Angewandte Kunst, Frankfurt am Main.

Figure 3.7. Suzuki Harunobu, *Ichimura Kamezō in the Role of Tachibanaya Hikosō*, 1760. *Benizuri-e* woodblock print, hosoban size; ink and color on paper, 30.5 x 13.8 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1925.2011.

Figure 3.8. Suzuki Harunobu, *Night Rain at Karasaki (Karasaki no yau)*, from an *Ōmi hakkei* 近江八景 series, earlier 1760s. *Mizu-e* woodblock print, hosoban size; color on paper, 31 x 14 cm. Collection Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 21.4581.

Figure 3.9. Suzuki Harunobu, *Night Rain at Karasaki (Karasaki no yau)*, from an *Ōmi hakkei* series, earlier 1760s. *Benizuri-e* woodblock print, hosoban size; ink and color on paper, 30.9 x 14 cm. Collection Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 21.4582.

Figure 3.10 Suzuki Harunobu, *Parody of Son Kang*, 1765 (first state; calendar print (*egoyomi* 絵暦). Full-color woodblock print, chūban size (*chūban nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper, 26.8 x 20 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 11.19438.

Figure 3.11 Suzuki Harunobu, *Parody of Son Kang*, 1765 (third state; commercial print). Full-color woodblock print, chūban size (*chūban nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper, 28.3 x 29 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 11.19439.

Figure 3.12 Suzuki Harunobu, *Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges (Kotoji no rakugan)*, from the series *Zashiki hakkei* (see Fig. 3.1a-h). Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1928.899.

Figure 3.13. Suzuki Harunobu, *Night Rain on the Tea Stand* (*Daisu no yau* 台子の夜雨) from the series *Zashiki hakkei* (see Fig. 3.1a-h). Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1928.897.

Figure 3.14. Detail of *Night Rain on the Tea Stand* (see Fig. 3.13). *Karazuri* visible in pattern of boy's robe.

Figure 3.15. Detail of *Night Rain on the Tea Stand* (see Fig. 3.13). Silver and gold highlights visible on rim of tea vessels.

Figure 3.16. Detail of *Autumon Moon in the Mirror* (see Fig. 3.1d). Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1928.898. Gold visible in the eyes of the lion.

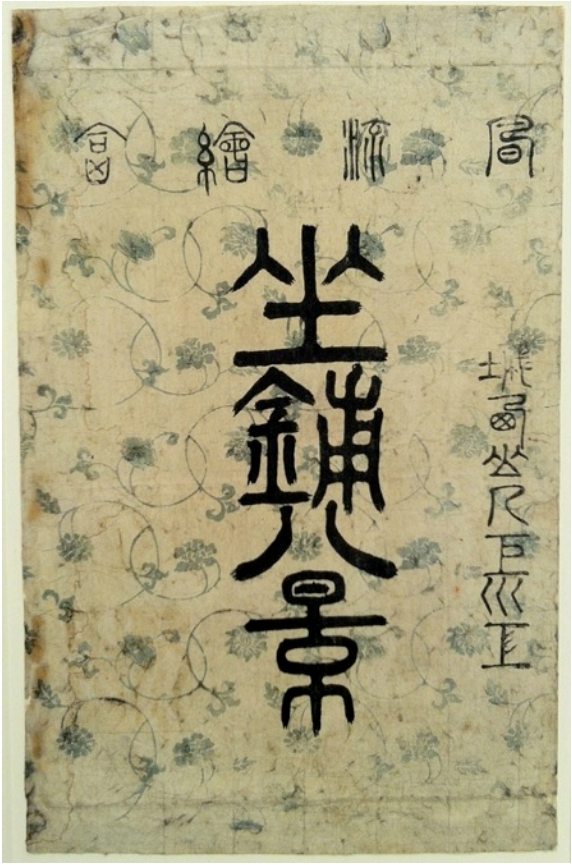


Figure 3.17. Wrapper for the first state of *Zashiki hakkei*, 1766. Color and ink on paper, 35.4 x 22.8 cm (see Figs. 3.1a-h). Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1928.895.

Figure 3.18. Left: *Autumn Moon in the Mirror* (first state; see Fig. 3.1d). Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1928.898. Right: *Autumn Moon in the Mirror* (third state).

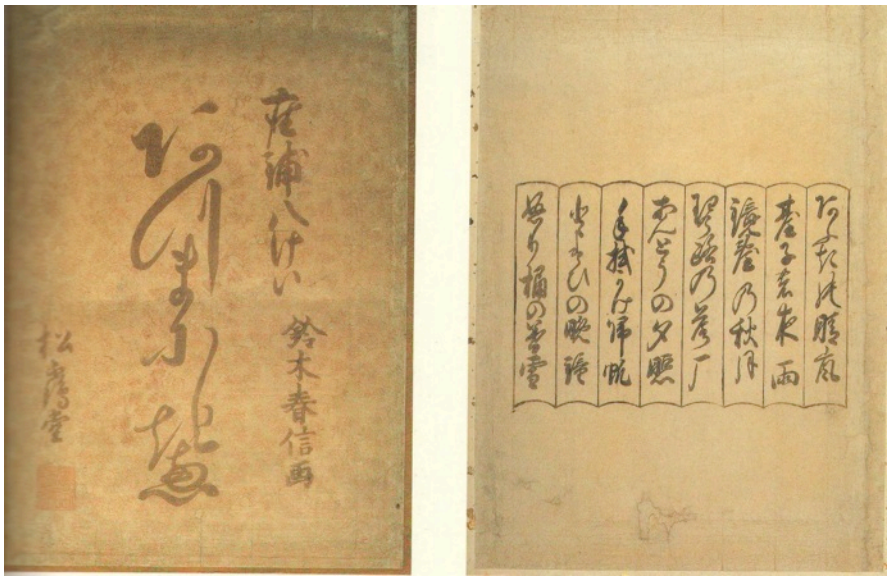


Figure 3.19. Recto and verso of wrapper for second state of *Zashiki hakkei*, c.1766-1772. Color and ink on paper, 33.9 x 24.2 cm (see Figs. 3.20a-h). Hiraki Ukiyo-e Museum.

Figure 3.20a-h. Suzuki Harunobu, *Zashiki hakkei* 座敷八景 (*Eight Views of the Interior*), c.1766-1772 (second state). Full-color woodblock prints, chūban size (*chūban nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper, approx. 28.0 x 21.2 cm each. Hiraki Ukiyo-e Museum.

3.20a. Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges

3.20c. Evening Bell of the Clock

3.20b. Clearing Breeze from the Fans

3.20d. Autumn Moon in the Mirror

3.20e. Evening Glow of the Lamp

3.20g. Returning Sails of the Towel Rack

3.20f. Night Rain on the Tea Stand

3.20h. Evening Snow on the Floss-Stretching Form

Figure 3.21. Suzuki Harunobu, *Autumn Moon in the Mirror (Kyodai no shūgetsu)*, from the series *Zashiki hakkei*, third state or later. British Museum, 1906,1220,0.57.

Figure 3.22a-h. Suzuki Harunobu, *Fūryū zashiki hakkei* 風流座敷八景 (Eight Modern Views of the Interior), c. 1769. Full-color woodblock prints, chūban size (*chūban nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper. Private Collections, Japan.

3.22a. Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges

3.22c. Evening Chime of the Clock

3.22b. Clearing Breeze from the Fan

3.22d. Autumn Moon in the Mirror

3.22e. Evening Glow of the Lamp

3.22g. Returning Sails of the Towel Rack

3.22f. Night Rain on the Tea Stand

3.22h. Evening Snow on the Lacquer Stand for Cotton

Figure 3.23. Katsukawa Shunshō, pair of full-color actor prints, perhaps a dipytch. Left: *Actor Ōtani Hiroemon III as Hige no Ikyu*, 1764. Full-color woodblock print, hosoban size; ink and color on paper, 33.8 x 14.5 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Frederick W. Gookin Collection, 1939.726.
Right: *Ichikawa Raizō I as as Hanakawado no Sukeroku*, 1764. Full-color woodblock print, hosoban size; ink and color on paper, 31.6 x 14.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1925.2358a.

Figure 3.24. Torii Kiyomitsu, *Vendor of bird cages* (museum's title), 1765 (calendar print (*egoyomi* 絵暦)). Full-color woodblock print, *chūban* size (*chūban nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper, 27.0 x 18.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 11. 20129.

Figure 3.25. Torii Kiyomitsu, *Iwai Hanshirō IV*, c. 1766. Full-color or *benizuri-e* woodblock print, hosoban size; ink and color on paper, 30 x 14.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 11.13396.

Figure 3.26. Katsukawa Shunshō, *Actor Ōtani Hiroji III*, 1765. *Benizuri-e* woodblock print, hosoban size; ink and color on paper, 32.5 x 15 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1925.2358b.

Figure 3.27. Katsukawa Shunshō, *Actor Ōtani Hiroemon III as Hige no Ikyu*, 1764.
Left: Art Institute of Chicago, Frederick W. Gookin Collection, 1939.726.
Right: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Spaulding Collection, 21.4323.

Figure 3.28. Suzuki Harunobu, *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, vol. 1, 9v-10r. National Diet Library, WA32-5.

Figure 3.29 Katsukawa Shunshō and Ippitsusai Bunchō, *Ehon butai ōgi*, vol. 2, 16v-17r. Pulverer Collection, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, FSC-GR-780.164.1-3.

Figure 3.30 Suzuki Harunobu, *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, vol. 2, 17v-18r. 26.0 x 18.9 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2006.1537.1-5.

Figure 3.31 Katsukawa Shunshō and Ippitsusai Bunchō, *Ehon butai ōgi*, vol. 2, 9v-10r. Pulverer Collection, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, FSC-GR-780.164.1-3.

Figure 3.32. Suzuki Harunobu, *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, vol. 2, 8v-9r. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2006.1537.1-5.

Figure 3.33. Suzuki Harunobu, *Ehon chiyo no matsu* 絵本千代の松 (*Picture Book of the Eternal Pines*), 1767, vol. 1, 8v-9r. Woodblock-printed book; ink on paper, 21.7 x 15.8 cm (closed). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1997.490.1-3.

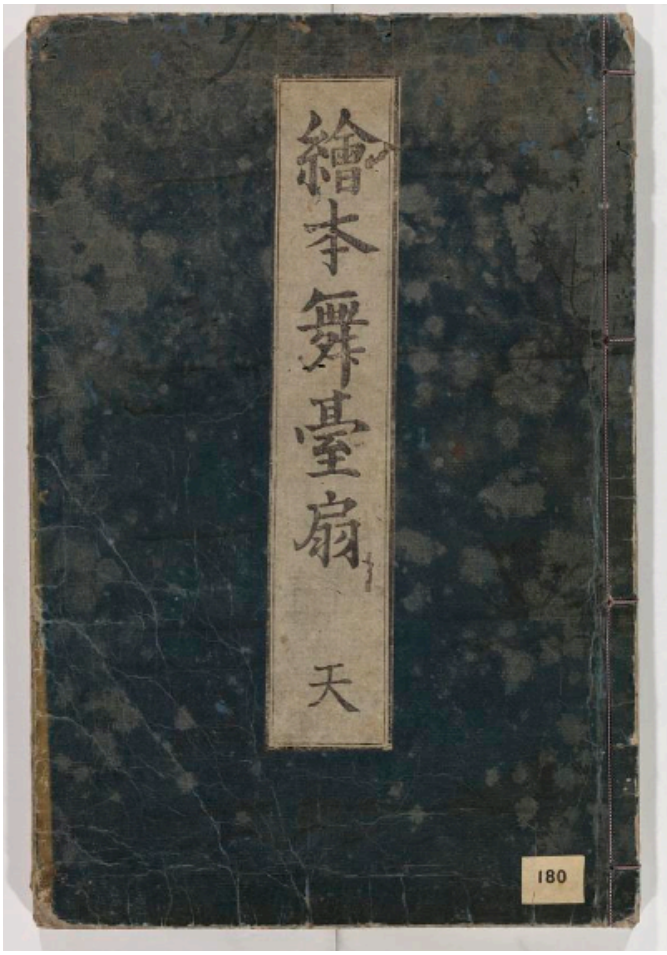


Figure 3.34. Outer cover of Volume 1 of *Ehon butai ōgi*. Pulverer Collection, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian, FSC-GR-780.164.1-3.

Figure 3.35. Detail of Onoe Kikugorō, from *Ehon butai ōgi*, vol. 2, 17r (see Fig 3.31).

Figure 3.36. Detail from *Ehon seirō bijin awase*, vol. 4, 8v-9r (see Fig. 3.2).

APPENDIX A
Lists of Individual Titles of the Eight Views Theme

Table 3.1 List of the standard Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang (*Shōshō hakkei*, C. *XiaoXiang bajing* 瀟湘八景)
(Sequence follows the Song Di poems recorded by Shen Gua; see Alfreda Murck, "Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers," in *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University*, ed. Wen Fong (Princeton, NJ: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 220. Japanese transliterations given.)

平沙落雁	*Heisa rakugan*	Wild Geese Descending to the Sandbar
遠浦帰帆	*Onbō kihan*	Returning Sails from Distant Shores
山市晴嵐	*Sanshi seiran*	Mountain Market in Clearing Mist
江天暮雪	*Kōten bosetsu*	River and Sky in Evening Snow
洞庭秋月	*Dōtei shūgetsu*	Autumn Moon Over Dongting Lake
瀟湘夜雨	*Shōshō yau*	Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang
烟寺晩鐘	*Enji banshō*	Evening Bell from Mist-shrouded Temple
漁村夕照	*Gyoson sekishō*	Fishing Village in Evening Glow

Table 3.2 List of the standard Eight Views of Ōmi (*Ōmi hakkei* 近江八景)
(Sequence follows the Eight Views of Xiao-Xang list; there is no known fixed sequence.)

堅田落雁	*Katata rakugan*	Descending Geese at Katata
矢橋帰帆	*Yabase kihan*	Returning Sails at Yabase
粟津晴嵐	*Awazu seiran*	Clearing Storm at Awazu
比良暮雪	*Hira bosetsu*	Evening Snow on Mount Hira
石山秋月	*Ishiyama shūgetsu*	Autumn Moon at Ishiyama
唐崎夜雨	*Karasaki yau*	Night Rain at Karasaki
三井晩鐘	*Mii banshō*	Evening Bell at Mii Temple
瀬田夕照	*Seta sekishō*	Evening Glow at Seta

Table 3.3 List of the Eight Views of the Interior (*Zashiki hakkei* 座敷八景) prints by Suzuki Harunobu

(Titles and sequence as given on the wrapper of the set of eight prints from the second state. See Kobayashi Tadashi, ed., *Seishun no ukiyoeshi Suzuki Harunobu--Edo no kararisuto tōjō* 青春の浮世絵師鈴木春信一江戸のカラリスト登場 (Chiba: Chiba City Museum of Art and Hagi Uragami Museum, 2002), 85.

あふきの晴嵐	*Ōgi no seiran*	Clearing Breeze of the Fan
台子の夜雨	*Daisu no yau*	Night Rain on the Tea Stand
鏡台の秋月	*Kyōdai no shūgetsu*	Autumn Moon in the Mirror
琴路の落雁	*Kotoji no rakugan*	Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges
あんとうの夕照	*Andō no sekishō*	Evening Glow of the Lamp
手拭かけ帰帆	*Tenugui-kake kihan*	Returning Sail of the Towel Stand
とけひの晩鐘	*Tokei no banshō*	Evening Bell of the Clock
ぬり桶の暮雪	*Nurioke no bosetsu*	Evening Snow of the Floss-Stretching Form

Table 3.4 List of the Eight Modern Views of the Interior (*Fūryū zashiki hakkei* 風流座敷八景) prints by Suzuki Harunobu

(Titles as written on the individual prints. Sequence follows Hayakawa Monta, *The Shunga of Suzuki Harunobu: Mitate-e and Sexuality in Edo*, trans. Patricia J. Fister, 1st English ed, Nichibunken Monograph Series, no. 4 (Kyoto, Japan: Nichibunken, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2001), 89-103; but as the prints are unbound, the intended sequence, if there is one, is as yet unknown.)

琴柱落雁	*Kotoji rakugan*	Descending Geese of the Koto Bridges
扇子晴嵐	*Sensu seiran*	Clearing Breeze of the Fan
時計晩鐘	*Tokei banshō*	Evening Bell of the Clock
鏡台秋月	*Kyōdai shūgetsu*	Autumn Moon in the Mirror
行燈夕照	*Andon sekishō*	Evening Glow of the Lamp
臺子夜雨	*Daisu yau*	Night Rain on the Tea Stand
手拭掛帰帆	*Tenugui-kake kihan*	Returning Sail of the Towel Stand
塗桶暮雪	*Nurioke bosetsu*	Evening Snow of the Floss-Stretching Form

APPENDIX B
Glossary of Japanese Characters

ai	藍
Anzai Un'en	安西雲煙
Azuma nishiki-e	東錦絵
Azuma ōgi	東扇
Baba Songi	馬場存義
Baimei	買明
beni-e	紅絵
benizuri-e	紅摺絵
bijinga	美人画
bokashi	暈し
chūhon (chūbon)	中本
daishōkai	大小会
Echizenbōsho	越前奉書
egoyomi	絵暦
Ehon butai ōgi	絵本舞台扇
Ehon chiyo no matsu	絵本千代松
Ehon hōkan	絵本宝鑑
Ehon mushi erami	絵本虫えらみ
Ehon noyamagusa	絵本野山草
Ehon ōshukubai	絵本鶯宿梅
Ehon seirō bijin awase	絵本青楼美人合

Endō Matsugorō	遠藤松五郎
fūryū	風流
Fūryū zashiki hakkei	風流座敷八景
fūzoku	風俗
haikai	俳諧
Haikai na no shiori	誹諧名知折
Hanabusa Ippō	英一峯
Hankyokuan Isshi	半局庵逸志
hanshibon	半紙本
Hasegawa Tōun	長谷川等雲
Hayano Hajin	早野巴人
Hayashi Moriatsu	林守篤
Heisa	平砂
Hi Kangen	費漢源
Hiraga Gennai	平賀源内
Hishikawa Moronobu	菱川師宣
Hōgu kago	反古籠
Honchō gahō taiden	本朝画法大伝
Honzō kōmoku	本草綱目
honzōgaku	本草学
hōsho	奉書
Hyakuan Gonman	百菴言満
Ichikawa Danjūrō IV	四代目市川團十朗

Ichikawa Danzō	三代目市川團蔵
Ike Taiga	池大雅
Imayō heta dangi	当世下手談義
Ippitsusai Bunchō	一筆斎文調
Iseya Jiemon	伊勢屋治右衛門
Ishikawa Toyonobu	石川豊信
Isoda Koryūsai	磯田湖竜斎
Iwai Hanshirō	岩井半四郎
kachōga (C. huaniaohua)	花鳥画
Kaisaku zu	海錯図
Kaishien gaden (C. Jiezhiyuan huazhuan)	芥子園畫傳
Kameya Tahē	龜屋太兵衛
karazuri	空摺
Kasaya Saren	笠屋左簾
kasen-e	歌仙絵
Katsukawa Shunshō	勝川春章
Katsuma Ryūsui	勝間龍水
Katsushika Hokusai	葛飾北斎
Kawahara Keiga	川原慶賀
Kiitsu	紀逸
Kikai zufu	奇貝図譜
Kimura Kenkadō	木村兼葭堂
Kinmōzui	訓蒙図彙

Kinsei meika shoga dan	近世名家書画淡
Kitagawa Utamaro	喜多川歌麿
Kitao Shigemasa	北尾重政
Kojū III	湖十
Kokinshū	古今集
kokkeibon	滑稽本
Komatsuken (i.e. Komatsuya Hyakki)	小松軒 (小松屋百亀)
Konoe Nobutada	近衛信尹
Kumashiro Yūhi	熊代熊斐
kyōka	狂歌
kyōka	狂歌
Kyosen (i.e. Ōkubo Jinshirō Tadanobu)	巨川　（大久保忠舒）
kyūhan	求板
Maekawa Rokuzaemon	前川六左衛門
Man'yōshū	万葉集
Matsumoto Zenbē	松本善兵衛
Matsuo Bashō	松尾芭蕉
Matsuoka Jōan	松岡恕庵
Mino-bon	美濃本
mitate	見立
mizu-e	水絵
Morishima Chūryō	森島中良
Nagasaki-ha	長崎派

Nagata Teiryū	永田貞柳
nishiki-e	錦絵
Noda Shichibē	野田七兵衛
ōgi-e	扇絵
ōhon (ōbon)	大本
Okumura Masanobu	奥村政信
Ōmi hakkei	近江八景
Ono Ranzan	小野蘭山
Ōoka Shunboku	大岡春卜
Ōoka Shunsen	大岡春川
Ōsakaya Heizaburō	大阪屋平三郎
Ōta Nanpo	大田南畝
Ōtani Hiroemon	大谷広右衛門
Ōtani Hiroji III	大谷広次
Ōtsuki Gentaku	大槻玄沢
Rangaku kaitei	蘭学階梯
renga	連歌
ryōshi	料紙
Ryūtei Tanehiko	柳亭種彦
Saiga shokunin burui	彩画職人部類
saiken	細見
Sakei (i.e. Abe Hachinojō Masahiro)	阿部八之丞正寛
Segen shūi	世諺拾遺

Sekiguchi Jinshirō	関口甚四郎
Sekiguchi Tōkichi	関口藤吉
Sekijukan Shūkoku	石寿観秀国
senmenga	扇面画
Shen Nanpin (Shen Quan)	沈南蘋
Shiba Kōkan	司馬江漢
Shiohi no tsuto	潮干のつと
Shirai Tōkichi	白井騰吉
Shōshō hakkei (C. XiaoXiang bajing)	瀟湘八景
Shōshō hakkei zuga shiika	瀟湘八景図画詩歌
Sō Shiseki	宋紫石
Sō Shiseki gafu	宋紫石画譜
Sugita Genpaku	杉田玄白
Suharaya Mohē	須原屋茂兵衛
Suharaya Shirōemon	須原屋
sumizuri	墨摺
surimono	摺物
Suzuki Harunobu	鈴木春信
Tachibana Morikuni	橘守国
Tachibana Yasukuni	橘保国
Takebe Ayatari	建部綾足
Tamura Ransui	田村藍水
tashokuzuri	多色刷

Tawaraya Sōri	俵屋宗理
Tegara no Okamochi	手柄岡持
Terajima Ryōan	寺島良安
Torii Kiyomitsu	鳥居清満
Toriyama Sekien	鳥山石燕
Tosa Mitsuoki	土佐光起
Tsurezuregusa	徒然草
Tsutaya Jūzaburō	蔦屋重三郎
tsuyukusa	露草
Umi no sachi	海の幸
uta-awase	歌合わせ
Utagawa Hiroshige	歌川広重
Wakan sansai zue	和漢三才図会
Wakana	わかな
yakusha hyōbanki	役者評判記
yakusha-e	役者絵
yakusha-ehon	役者絵本
Yama no sachi	山の幸
Yamase Harumasa	山瀬春政
Yamazaki Kinbē	山崎金兵衛
yatsushi	やつし
yomihon	読本
Yosa Buson	与謝蕪村

Zashiki hakkei 座敷八景

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