

**HARUNOBU:
AN UKIYO-E ARTIST WHO EXPERIMENTED WITH WESTERN-STYLE ART**

by

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ABSTRACT

From the beginning of serious art historical study of Japanese woodblock prints or Ukiyo-e, the artist Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770) has been accorded a prominent position in the development of that art form primarily because of his role in the creation of the first full colour prints. This, and his particular conception of feminine beauty which he chose to illustrate most often as the main subject of his art, made him the dominant artist of his generation. The popularity he achieved during his lifetime was monumental, but he met with a premature and untimely death. Shortly after his death Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), a young artist just beginning his career, made forgeries of Harunobu's prints and later admitted to doing so in his autobiography. Based on Kōkan's confession, there developed among art historians and connoisseurs, a long running, at times heated and, as yet, unresolved debate focussed upon determining which of Harunobu's prints are in fact forgeries.

Because Kōkan eventually acquired fame as an artist who experimented with styles and techniques newly imported to Japan from Europe, Harunobu's prints that contain linear perspective, one such Western technique, have traditionally and without question been designated as forgeries. To this author, making such an attribution based on this criterion seems somewhat illogical. Why would Kōkan introduce something foreign to

Harunobu's style into prints he intended to pass off as Harunobu's originals? The simplest resolution to this quandary is to assume that Harunobu must have also been experimenting with imported European styles.

Based on this premise, this thesis introduces literary and visual evidence linking Harunobu to a number of sources of European-style art. Much of this evidence was uncovered through a re-examination of Harunobu's prints and literary accounts of his life in accordance with the social and artistic context in which he worked. The prints and the documents which this thesis discusses have long been known to art historians. They simply needed to be reworked to support this premise.

This thesis does, however, introduce one print from the collection of the Oregon Art Institute which seems to have been overlooked by other scholars. It provides a clear example of Harunobu's Western-style art and through visual analysis of it, its sources can be identified among the Western-style megane-e of Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795).

The concluding section of this thesis examines the consequences of this evidence. Two of the so-called forgeries are reattributed to Harunobu and his prints as a whole are recast within the tradition of Western-style art in Japan.

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My wife Coryne deserves credit for, above all else, her patience. That she survived these last two years with her sanity intact is remarkable.

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PREFACE

My interest in Harunobu's prints came about in a most indirect manner. In the course of pursuing a wider interest in the introduction and spread of European-style painting in Japan, quite naturally I encountered the art of Shiba Kokan, the most famous of all Japanese artists to experiment with Western styles and techniques. The fact that Kokan made forgeries of Harunobu's prints early in his career, and the fact that these forgeries made use of linear perspective, a compositional device introduced into Japanese art from Europe, led me to explore Harunobu's art in detail. The justification for moving away from my initial course of study rested primarily on the premise that if Kōkan produced Western-style prints in imitation of Harunobu, Harunobu too must have produced similar designs. In attempting to test the validity of this premise, I encountered enough evidence to convince me that Harunobu deserved to be accorded a place in the history of Western-style art in Japan. This thesis is an examination of that evidence and an expression of that conviction.

My argument is divided into four chapters. The first provides an introduction to Harunobu and his art. It introduces Shiba Kōkan's confession and it reviews the existing scholarship that has resulted from the knowledge that Kōkan was a forger of Harunobu's prints. This chapter also explores the

criteria that art historians have used to determine which of Harunobu's prints are forgeries and it examines the reasons why linear perspective, the most important of these criteria, has been associated with Shiba Kōkan and not Harunobu. My hypothesis, which concludes this chapter, questions the logic of making linear perspective a stylistic trademark exclusive to Kōkan alone. It suggests that Harunobu was capable of working in the same mode. The remaining three chapters verify this. There is enough evidence to not only suggest that Harunobu experimented with linear perspective but that some of the prints once considered forgeries are not necessarily so.

My argument as a whole is contextually based. That is to say the evidence I present must be understood within the context of the artistic and social environment in which Harunobu existed. Beginning in the first chapter and continuing through the last, I have endeavored to recreate that environment.

The premise of this thesis, the evidence I present, and the plausibility of the conclusions I draw, depend upon the reader's understanding of that environment. In the simplest terms, I have used Harunobu's environment to suggest what was possible for him artistically at that time and then I have provided evidence to show how he realized those possibilities.

The issue I have addressed in this thesis is but a single facet of a larger, more complex set of problems. Because of this, I have had to be judicious in my presentation. Wherever possible, primarily through the use of footnotes, I have tried to at least make the reader aware of those issues and problems related to this topic in general. I found that the argument I tried to present was complex enough without wandering off the topic attempting to answer every question, or evaluating every opinion associated with this period in history. I do feel, however, that should this thesis withstand the scrutiny and criticism of subsequent scholarship, it may lend support to the opinions of those scholars who have attempted to answer the other questions surrounding this topic.

A. Harunobu's Position in Ukiyo-e History

In 1769 Ōta Nampo (1749-1823), an author of popular fiction, published a short book entitled Ameuri Dohei Den (The Story of Dohei the Candy Vendor). The illustrator of this book was the popular Ukiyo-e artist, Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770), and in a passing reference to the art of Harunobu and his contemporaries, Nampo wrote:

The black and white prints of earlier days are antiquated now, and the only thing people care for is the newly devised gorgeousness of the Eastern Brocade Pictures.¹

The term "Eastern Brocade Pictures" or, in Japanese, Azuma nishiki-e,² referred to a new style of woodblock print which had come into vogue in 1765. The "newly devised gorgeousness" of which Nampo spoke described these very exquisite, very sumptuous multicolour prints which, as he stated, had achieved popularity at the expense of the antiquated "black and white prints of earlier days."

Prior to the inception of polychrome printing in Japan, Ukiyo-e artists worked within the limitations of a process capable of producing designs in two or three colours at most.³ It is not clear what the precise invention was that enabled the making of multicoloured prints, nor is it possible to accredit a single individual with its discovery,⁴ but it is abundantly clear from the surviving prints that in the earliest stages of

nishiki-e production, Suzuki Harunobu was the most prolific of all designers. The fact that so many prints from that period bear his signature leaves scholars no option but to conclude that Harunobu was in some way connected with the development of the polychrome print. Literary sources⁵ from the time support that conclusion further. As such, Harunobu has come to occupy a significant position with the history of Ukiyo-e. The fact remains, however, that he was not solely responsible for the innovations made in printing technology.

In 1824, in a book entitled Karine no Yume (Dreams During a Nap), the author Shuho Shichizaemon Raimu reflected upon the beginnings of nishiki-e:

As for the nishiki-e of today: in the beginning of Meiwa (1765) there were very large numbers of daishō surimono and people started using different colours in the printing of the woodblocks. Principally through the efforts of Okubo Jinshiro, a bannerman from Ushigome (a district of Edo) who used the haimyō [poetic name] Kyosen, and of Abe Hachinoshin Shakei from the wharf in Ushigome, clubs were formed and daishō exchanged. Later there were big meetings in such places as the Yushima teahouse, but they ended within two years. From that time, nishiki-e were sold on a large scale through the book shops.⁶

It is now known that this individual, Kyosen, and his role in the development of polychrome prints was of particular significance to Harunobu's art. Documentation of Kyosen's affiliation with Ukiyo-e can be found in book he published in 1758 entitled Segen Shiri. This work contained a number of illustrations by various Ukiyo-e artists and by Kyosen himself.⁷ Apart from this and the mention of his name in

Karine no Yume, Kyosen is known primarily through the large number of Harunobu prints that bear his signature or seal. A good deal of these are the type mentioned in Karine no Yume as daishō surimono.

In the early Meiwa period (1765) a number of the prominent kyōka⁸ poets of the time, including Kyosen, formed literary societies known as kyōkaren, and as part of the New Year's festivities, they exchanged amongst themselves daishō surimono. These were prints in the Ukiyo-e style in which the club members, acting as designers, would conceal somewhere in the composition the details of the upcoming year's calendar.⁹ Harunobu was the artist most often chosen to illustrate their designs. To understand the cleverness and ingenuity with which these poets integrated the calendar information into their designs it is best to look at an example. First, however, the workings of the Japanese calendar require a brief explanation.

The Japanese calendar system in use at that time was very complex. Based on a lunar cycle, the year was divided into long (dai no tsuki) and short (shō no tsuki) months of thirty and twenty-nine days respectively. There were generally twelve months in a year, but at certain times an intercalary month called the uruzuki or jungetsu would be inserted to make up for the thirteenth lunar cycle that occurs in some years. Which months were to be long and which short was determined by the government, and it was their policy to reorganize the long-short (dai shō) order each year so as to avoid any repetition.

In addition to the dai shō alignment, the calendar operated on a cycle of sixty years with each kanshi or "year cycle" being determined by a combination of both the jikkan or "ten celestial systems" and the jūni shi or "twelve zodiac signs." In other words, each year would fall somewhere within the ten year jikkan cycle and, at the same time, somewhere in the twelve year jūni shi cycle. Because the lowest common multiple of both ten and twelve is sixty, the kanshi or "year cycle" would repeat every sixty years. Furthermore, the years were also counted in a system called nengō or "era names." With the rise of each new emperor a new era was proclaimed, and the years were counted successively from that date. Of the three pieces of information, nengō, kanshi, or dai shō, it was the latter that no one could determine until the government decision had been reached and released to the public through its official printers, who were licensed as the only legal purveyors of calendrical information. Because the kyōkaren's calendar pictures (or egoyomi as they were called) were exchanged as gifts among club members, their legality was never a problem since the government monopoly extended only as far as the sale of calendars.

A very popular print entitled Girl in a Summer Shower (Figure 1) provides a good example of the egoyomi genre. To the left of the figure we see the signature and seal of Hakusei Kō, the conceiver of the print and most likely a prominent member of a poetry club. On the bottom right we see three more

signatures, each placed beneath a specific title. Reading from right to left, the first says Gakō (artist), Suzuki Harunobu, the middle says Chōkō (blockcutter or engraver), Endō Goryō and the last reads Surikō (printer), Yumoto Kōshi. By tradition almost all Ukiyo-e are inscribed with only the artist's name and perhaps a publisher's seal, but because of the collective effort of all these artisans required to issue prints in the new nishiki-e style, it was common in the initial years of the calendar competition¹⁰ to mention them all. Careful examination of the kimono blowing on the clothesline reveals the calendar information. On it we see the character dai (大) signifying "long" followed by a numbering of the long months in the upcoming year (1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10). Mixed in with these characters, written in kana script, are the words Meiwa ni (明治二), the nengō (i.e., second year of the Meiwa era). On the woman's obi is the character for Kinoto (乙), one of the ten celestial systems, and in kana, the word tori (トリ), the zodiac symbol indicating the year of the cock. Reading these together we get the words Kinoto tori, which indicate where in the sixty-year cycle the new year was situated. The amount of information hidden in a calendar print varied from print to print. Summer Shower contains all three calendar systems while in other prints, only the nengō or the dai shō information may have been hidden.¹¹

From the account in Karine no Yume it appears that the technical advancement to polychrome printing received much of its impetus from members of the kyōkaren. It is apparent as well that the earliest nishiki-e were actually daishō prints, of which Girl in a Summer Shower is only one of many examples. It was no coincidence that the creativity exhibited in a daishō composition should appear hand in hand with the "newly devised gorgeousness" of nishiki-e. The men who designed and commissioned these prints, of whom Kyosen is but one example, brought a new ingenuity to the Ukiyo-e tradition. Spurred on by their desire to create something artistically unique, through their combined efforts with Ukiyo-e artists, block-cutters, and printers, they created the technology to produce prints in several colours. Their creativity extended as well to the content of their designs.

The quote taken from Karine no Yume mentioned that Kyosen was a "bannerman from Ushigome." A bannerman, or hatamoto as he is known in Japanese, was a special rank of the samurai class, created by Tokugawa Ieyasu when he unified the nation in 1603. Hatamoto were direct retainers of the shōgun, and although their salaries varied with their official duties, they were generally well off. No doubt their income made them avid consumers of the products and services available in the pleasure districts of the capital. The Kabuki theaters, the teahouses, and the brothels that they frequented had long provided the themes for the art of Ukiyo-e. It is no wonder

that they took an interest in that particular art form.

If the relationship that members of the kyōka societies had to Ukiyo-e arose from their dilettantish attitude toward literature and the arts, it was to the benefit of those traditions. Apart from the impetus they provided to produce nishiki-e and the cleverness they brought to their calendar designs, they were responsible in part for raising to new heights the level of literacy, wit, and anecdote in Ukiyo-e.

Many of the prints from that time, calendar or otherwise, depicted themes taken from classical literature, history, or subjects related to Buddhism or Confucianism. Most often these themes were variously disguised in what appeared to be simply illustrations of women. Figure 2, for example, depicts three elaborately costumed ladies standing around a large jar of sake. The calendar information is hidden in the decorations of the sake jar. On the surface this print seems nothing more than a simple depiction of the subject, but it actually alludes to a popular theme depicted by ink painters a few centuries prior to Harunobu's time. The three women are intended to represent Buddha, Laozi, and Confucius, the founders of the three great religious doctrines of China and Japan.

Another print, shown in Figure 3, depicts a young woman standing on a reed in a river. This image is an allusion to a legend which tells of Bodhidharma, the patriarch who brought Buddhism to China and Japan, and who was reputed to have crossed the Changjiang River on a reed. In this print his

venerable image has been replaced by the charming beauty of one of Harunobu's girls.

Figure 4 depicts Shōki, the demon queller, who had a reputation as a woman hater. In this print, he is seen completely out of character, carrying one of Harunobu's beauties on his back. The print may be interpreted in two ways; it alluded either to an elopement scene from the Japanese classic, Ise Monogatari, or to a popular legend about a young man who, while carrying a woman on his back, saw her reflection in a stream and discovered she was a demon. It should be noted as well that Shoki is depicted in the brush work of the official Kano school of painters while the woman has been rendered in the somewhat less than official Ukiyo-e manner. Perhaps there is some subtle mockery accompanying the hidden themes in this print. These prints are known as mitate-e, which means "parody" or "analog," and which refers to the practice of hiding a deeper theme within a simple depiction. Like calendar prints, mitate-e were not new to Ukiyo-e, but in the creative environment of 1765 their numbers increased dramatically as did the sophistication and variety of their sources.

The mitate-e produced early in the Meiwa era are further indicative of the creativity of the calendar celebrations and of the input of the kyōkaren.

Given that Harunobu is deemed partially responsible for the invention of polychrome printing, it is astonishing that so little is known of his early training. Traditional historio-

graphy held that he was artistically related to Nishimura Shigenaga (1697-1756). The basis for this view was an announcement in Shigenaga's work entitled Edo Miyage, published in 1753, which stated that Harunobu would be the artist responsible for its sequel, and indeed, in 1768 Harunobu produced Zoku Edo Miyage. The illustrations in this work, although they are similar in style and design to Shigenaga's, nonetheless diverge stylistically from the usual sort of work Harunobu was producing at the time. In other words, as a body of work, they comprise only a singular example of a style derived from Shigenaga. In Harunobu's art, it is possible to observe more convincing associations with the styles of other artists.

It is now acknowledged by all Harunobu scholars that his stylistic roots can be found in the works of the Kyōto artist, Nishikawa Sukenobu (d. 1751). Certainly there are a number of illustrations in Sukenobu's picture books which appear to have functioned as prototypes for some of Harunobu's nishiki-e.¹² This is supported by Hayashi Yoshikazu's discovery,¹³ in a record book of the Nishikawa family, of an entry describing Harunobu's death and his posthumous name. Whether this is indicative of a personal relationship between the two men is questionable since Sukenobu died in 1751. Nonetheless, there seems to be some support here for the notion that Harunobu was associated with the Nishikawa line.

Although the Sukenobu to Harunobu connection may be most strongly established through visual evidence, the connection becomes somewhat problematic if one considers Harunobu's early works, meaning those issued prior to 1765. None of these shows any connection whatsoever to Sukenobu's style. There are a number of actor prints clearly reminiscent of those being produced at that time by Kiyomitsu (1735-1785), the foremost exponent of the Torii school. There are also various hoso-e,¹⁴ which take landscape as their theme, although they are better described as genre scenes.¹⁵ These, along with one or two examples of similar format and concern but depicting Chinese scenes, comprise a group of prints which also bear a vague resemblance to some of Kiyomitsu's hoso-e.¹⁶ All in all, very few of Harunobu's early works resemble his nishiki-e, and although his later works resemble Sukenobu's, the forces and influences at work in Harunobu's life and art during this formative period are very unclear.¹⁷ There is still much to be learned about Harunobu the man, and although this thesis is primarily concerned with his art, it will no doubt shed light on his early life as well.

B. Shiba Kōkan as a Forger of Harunobu's Prints

From the prints Harunobu issued prior to 1765 and the comparatively little biographical information there is concerning his artistic upbringing, it would be difficult to imagine

the subsequent course of his career without his involvement in the production of the first polychrome prints. The popularity of this new art form, it seems, determined that the artist fortunate enough to be the first major exponent of the new technique would achieve a popularity of similar proportion. Between 1765 and his death in 1770, Harunobu's art, like the polychrome print, attracted an immense popular following. Like no artist before him and very few after, his style singularly dominated the Ukiyo-e tradition.¹⁸ Given Harunobu's popularity, it seems inevitable that his art would draw the attention of forgers. No doubt, his premature and untimely death in 1770 provided the greatest stimulus for the issuance of spurious prints bearing his signature.

Between 1890 and 1892 the writings of many old authors were compiled and published under the title Hyakka Setsurin.¹⁹ Volume One contained a piece entitled Shumparō Hikki²⁰ written by Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818). Inserted into this piece was a section entitled Kōkan Kōkai Ki which, as the title implies, was a record of the regrets the author had about his life. A short passage from this section reads as follows:

When I grew up I studied under Kanō Hisanobu (Furonobu). But, feeling the Japanese painting was too commonplace I later studied under Sō Shiseki.

At that time the Ukiyo-e master known as Suzuki Harunobu was marvellous at depicting the manners and customs of women of the day. When he was past his fortieth year he suddenly fell ill and died. I myself drew imitations (nisemono) of these [pictures

of his]; and, when they were cut and printed, there was nobody who called them nisemono, and the world at large took me to be Harunobu. However since I was not Harunobu, I did not follow him abjectly but, taking the art-name Harushige, I drew the beauties of our own country with the color technique of such Chinese artists as Qiu Ying and Zhou Chen.

For a picture of the summer months, I painted a [woman whose] body was visible through a thin dress, after the manner of Chinese paintings; and for a picture of the winter months, a rustic house surrounded by bamboos, a garden with a stone lantern, etc., shading with pale pink ink the snow which covers those objects, like the treatment of snow in Chinese paintings. It was about this time that there came into use the object known as binsashi for the hair of women, which led to a complete change in the style of coiffure. This fashion I portrayed, and my pictures became very popular. However, as I was afraid that I would lose my good name by these pictures, I painted them no more.²¹

This confession by Shiba Kōkan that he had made imitations of Harunobu's prints initiated among Ukiyo-e scholars a long-running, at times heated and, as yet, unresolved controversy, which itself has many facets.

Often questioned is the accuracy of Kōkan's writings, particularly the Shumparō Hikki, an account of his life into which the Kōkan Kōkai Ki was inserted. Although he may have worked on it over a period of time, this manuscript was completed in 1811, meaning that many of the events Kōkan described in it occurred long before he reported them. There has been a natural inclination on the part of scholars to question the reliability of such a document, but in Kōkan's case, any suspicions one has about the Shumparō Hikki are compounded by his often demonstrated arrogance and propensity

to make himself seem more important than he actually was. In one of many such passages from his diary, Kōkan writes:

From my youth I was determined to become famous. I wanted to learn some art for which I would be so well known that my name would be remembered long after my death.²²

From this and other similar passages, one could conclude that Kōkan was a person willing to become a forger in order to achieve a significant spot in history, but at the same time, it is possible to question the confession itself. The possibility that Kōkan simply concocted the whole story of the forgeries has no doubt occurred to all the scholars who have addressed the question. Although no other documents exist to verify the accuracy of the Kōkan Kōkai Ki, the fact remains that there are a number of prints bearing the signature of an artist calling himself Harushige. These not only resemble the Chinese-style paintings described by Kōkan, but they are stylistically similar to some prints signed Harunobu. In short, art historians, although they acknowledge the problems with Kōkan's confession, have enough visual evidence to proceed as though it were reliable.

Besides Kōkan's questionable honesty, interpretation of his confession at one time was further clouded by the existence of a second version of the Kōkan Kōkai Ki, published about the same time as Hyakka Setsurin. The same confession quoted above appeared in a work entitled Ukiyo Hennenshi. However, there was a small variation in one phrase from which Arthur Waley,

then the curator of Asian art at the British Museum, concluded that Kōkan and Harushige were not the same person. Although this conclusion would have effectively negated much of the stylistic comparisons made by Ukiyo-e scholars, these scholars have now unanimously agreed that Waley was wrong. His line of reasoning was too convoluted to be accepted, and the sharp rebuttal it elicited from Kōjirō Tomita, then the curator of the Japanese collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, was so overwhelmingly sound that Waley's ideas have since been relegated to the footnotes of most contemporary scholarship.²³

Like any translation of old Japanese texts, the Kōkan Kōkai Ki is surrounded by questions regarding its precise interpretation. These questions have given rise to another interesting facet of this issue.

From the relatively little that Kōkan said in his confession, a chronology of events has been reconstructed that has profound implications for much of the comparative visual analysis done by recent scholars. According to traditional consensus the order of the events is as follows: (1) Harunobu died in 1770, (2) Kōkan made forgeries of his prints and signed them Harunobu, (3) Kōkan had regrets about being a forger and changed his name to Harushige, (4) he then produced works under that pseudonym, and (5) about the time the hairstyles changed, he abandoned this style of painting altogether.

In terms of verifiable fact, the first and last steps of this chronological sequence are sound. The Kōkan Kōkai Ki, the

Nishikawa family records, and the sudden drop in production of his prints verify the year of Harunobu's demise to be about 1770. The change in hairstyle that Kōkan mentioned occurred around 1774 and can be substantiated by the appearance of binsashi in prints and paintings from that period. If one accepts the credibility of the Kōkan Kōkai Ki, and like all other scholars, I do, then one must acknowledge that the events described by steps two, three, and four of the above sequence did in fact occur. However, it has been the contention of some scholars that some or all of the prints signed Harushige may have been produced while Harunobu was alive.²⁴ In other words, the chronology implied by Kōkan's confession may be open to some interpretation.

This claim is based on the fundamental assumption that Kōkan was at one time a student of Harunobu. Evidence for this comes primarily from a passage in the Ukiyo-e Ruikō²⁵ which states that Harunobu had a disciple who travelled to Nagasaki and learned Dutch (European-style) painting.²⁶ Certainly this description, sparse as it is, fits Shiba Kōkan, for after numerous attempts in a number of different styles,²⁷ he eventually achieved the fame he sought as a Western-style artist. This literary source is not the only evidence for the existence of a relationship between the two men. Indeed, a number of additional arguments exist. First, the prints and paintings signed Harushige reveal a remarkable similarity to Harunobu's art. Further, the choice of the name, Harushige,

may indicate that he received it from Harunobu in that it was common for the students of a prominent artist to adopt a name which contained a reference to their teacher. There is, in addition, one Harushige print which depicts a group of courtesans admiring a Harunobu print, the implication being that this print-within-a-print format was a way of paying tribute to one's teacher.²⁸ And finally, the Kōkan Kōkai Ki is the only record of Harunobu's death, other than the Nishikawa family diary.²⁹ If one accepts the reliability of the Ukiyo-e Ruikō, and ignores the fact that any clever forger could have manipulated the other evidence, then perhaps there is some justification to accept the resulting implication that the Harushige prints may have been produced under Harunobu's tutelage. My feelings toward this issue are ambivalent. How or when Kōkan acquired the skill to produce his forgeries changes little the fact that forgeries do exist, and it is those forgeries which are the concern of this thesis.

C. Stylistic and Calligraphic Criteria for Determining Kōkan's Forgeries

If there is any consensus among Harunobu scholars as to which of the many prints bearing Harunobu's signature are forgeries issued by Shiba Kōkan, then it can best be represented by the following comments of Jack Hillier and David Waterhouse. To clarify their remarks I have provided illustrations of the forgeries as well as some comparative material. Accordingly, each comment is accompanied by some visual

analysis which represents a summation of the stylistic criteria that these scholars have used to determine authorship of the suspicious prints.

In reference to Figure 5, Jack Hillier states:

The exaggerated perspective of the fence, the hair styles and the form of the signature have been more or less universally accepted as confirming this to be a print by Shiba Kōkan, the acknowledged forger of Harunobu's signature.³⁰

This print, which is sometimes titled Making a Snowball, is often compared with Harunobu's similarly conceived print entitled The Snow Dog, Figure 6, as well as with an illustration from a book entitled Ehon Haru no Nishiki (Picture Book: The Brocades of Spring), illustrated in Figure 7.³¹ A comparative analysis of the taller woman in each of these prints reveals that Harunobu's women have a curvaceous or sinuous posture. The woman in the assumed forgery is stiff in comparison. She is also quite thin compared with the other two, particularly about the knees. This thin-kneed quality is common in most of Harushige's prints and can be seen, for example, in Figure 8, The Moon in the Gay Quarters at Shinagawa. Such a quality is rare in Harunobu's designs. For these reasons and because Figure 5 is a composite of motifs and gestures taken from Harunobu's prints of similar conception, it is considered a forgery.³²

The woman depicted in Figure 9, a print also considered a forgery, has a similar thinness about the knees and can therefore be attributed to Kōkan. This print also illustrates

another feature of Kōkan's style. Although it is not always the case, in many of his prints he shows a discernible lack of understanding of the structure of the foot, ankle, and lower leg. The leg itself is generally stiffer than the more anatomically correct renderings in Harunobu's designs. Kōkan has an awkward way of joining the top of the foot to the ankle. The morphological problems of the foot and ankle can be compared with another Harushige print entitled The Archery Gallery, Figure 10. No such problems exist in Harunobu's prints. On the contrary, even a cursory look at any of his designs will reveal his remarkable ability to depict the foot correctly from any angle.

The taller woman in Figure 11 also has the same thinness about the knees that Figures 5 and 9 have, but she has another anatomical peculiarity found in Harushige's prints. Figure 12, The Fukagawa Brothel, depicts two women opening a shōji. The taller of the two is standing with her weight primarily on her right leg while the left leg is about to swing past the weight-bearing leg. The pendulating leg is much longer than the right leg. This peculiarity can be seen as well in Figure 8 discussed above. Although Figure 11 does not depict the pendulating leg, the shape of the drapery implies that it too would be anatomically incorrect and, as such, most likely a forgery.

David Waterhouse has made reference to Figure 13 on two occasions. He states:

. . . a print in Toronto, with its experimental use of Western perspective, marks the transition to the use of the Harushige signature, though it is still signed Harunobu.³³

In addition, he comments that:

The sharply receding perspective, the angle of the kamuro's head, the colouring and the form of the signature are all uncharacteristic even of Harunobu's last manner. It may therefore be suggested that this print is one of the imitations done by Shiba Kōkan in the years immediately following Harunobu's death.³⁴


According to Waterhouse, Kōkan, in what appears to have been a characteristic problem for him, once again misunderstood the anatomical limits of the human form. The kamuro's head has been twisted backward to an inconceivable point. Furthermore, it appears as if it were set haphazardly atop the neck.

From the above discussion, which presented a summary of the analyses of other scholars, it is apparent that the anatomical irregularities in Figures 5, 9, 11, and 13 make these prints the most likely candidates for forgeries. However, these irregularities are not present in every one of these prints. Figure 13, for example, shows none of the thinness about the knees found in the other forgeries. In certain prints, the drapery covers some of the women's ankles and feet, thus obscuring any structural irregularities that might otherwise be visible. This matter is complicated further by the fact that the qualities being used to discern Kōkan's hand are not present in all of his prints signed Harushige. There is considerable variation among those prints, and as we have seen, some show the same faults found in the forgeries while others

reveal, on occasion, a sound perception of the human form. It is fortunate that the prints assigned to Kōkan based on anatomical irregularities have other peculiarities that support such attributions.

Both Hillier and Waterhouse mentioned the form of the signature as being another indicator of the hand of Kōkan. A comparison of a number of examples of the signatures of both artists reveals two main differences. For the sake of comparison Figure 14 is a Kōkan forgery of Harunobu's signature, while Harunobu's style can be seen in Figure 15. In the character for the syllable haru (春), it was Harunobu's practice to inscribe the third horizontal stroke (人) in such a way as to leave an opening between it and the two intersecting diagonal strokes. This gave that character a broader, squarish configuration, quite different from the corresponding character in Harushige's prints and some of the forgeries. Kōkan usually made the character taller by raising that third horizontal stroke to coincide with the intersection of the two diagonals (大). No opening is left between it and the intersecting diagonals.

There are some noticeable differences as well in the way Kōkan formed the character ga (画). In the prints he signed Harushige as well as in his forgeries, he sometimes omitted the central vertical stroke so as to leave the top and the bottom horizontal strokes unconnected from the central element of the configuration (回). On rare occasions Harunobu would fail to

connect the top stroke in the same manner, but on all his prints the bottom stroke is connected (). Based on this calligraphic analysis, the attribution of Figures 5, 9, 11, and 13 to Kōkan is corroborated.

D. Compositional Criteria

Besides the stylistic and calligraphic features of the forgeries which helped scholars to support such an attribution, by far the most noticeable difference between these prints and authentic Harunobu designs is the use of linear perspective by Kōkan to depict the background elements of the composition. Hillier and Waterhouse refer to this, as do all other scholars who have addressed this issue. Indeed, the presence of this pictorial device in a print bearing the Harunobu signature and figural style has come to be regarded as the singlemost reliable indicator of the work of Shiba Kōkan. Since understanding the mechanics of linear perspective and what they demand of the artist who is using them is fundamental to the argument of this thesis, it is appropriate here to describe and define this term as it relates to the art of Harunobu and his forger. Figure 9 has been chosen as a representative example of the forgeries. Much of what is to be said about it will apply to the other forgeries (Figure 5, 11, and 13), although in some instances to a lesser degree.

On the most basic level, that of subject or theme, Figure 9 fits well within Harunobu's most common venue, the beautiful lady print. By far the bulk of his nishiki-e depict the women of his day, and accordingly his choice of subject is always given prominence within the overall design. In this forgery, the human figure is situated close to the picture plane, in much the same way as figures appear in Harunobu's works. Apart from this, however, the compositional structure of the print possesses certain characteristics that are radically different from what is considered Harunobu's compositional norm. That difference lies primarily in the manner in which the architectural motifs have been depicted.

The lines that Kōkan used to delineate the architectural structure, and which begin at the picture plane and recede into the distance, converge as that recession moves toward the horizon line. Apart from a few discrepancies, if those lines were extended past the bounds of the motif, they would intersect at the same point on the horizon. Kōkan has created the illusion of depth in this print using the visual system commonly defined as linear perspective.

To be successful with linear perspective, the artist must choose one stationary position from which he observes and depicts the entire scene. In these prints, that vantage point is situated at the same level as the horizon line. The position of the vantage point in this print is relatively low in terms of the vertical dimensions of the design, so much so that

the roof of the structure dominates the upper half of the composition. This low vantage point effectively predetermines that the ground plane will recede almost horizontally into the distance.

Linear perspective creates the illusion of depth on a two dimensional surface, but the artist must maintain that illusion in the entire composition. To that end, the recession to the distant horizon, as it is defined at first in the architectural motifs, must be supported by a similar recession in the background landscape. Kōkan used the same fixed vantage point to depict the landscape. His motifs overlap as if one is in front of the other, and they diminish in size and clarity as they get farther away from the picture plane. By applying these principles, his compositional design bears a close resemblance to optical reality.

By contrast, Harunobu's prints do not use this type of design. For the most part, his architectural motifs are viewed and depicted from above, as seen for example in Figure 16. This type of composition is known as a bird's-eye-view or aerial perspective, and a characteristic common to these is the angle at which the ground plane tilts vertically toward the picture plane. The tilt of the ground plane gives the viewer the sensation that the furniture and the figures inside the structure could conceivably slide down to the bottom of the design.

Much the same design was used by Harunobu in exterior scenes as well. Figure 17 depicts two lovers at the shore of an iris pond that is spanned by a simple plank bridge. Like the architectural structure in Figure 16, the setting in which the subject is placed has been depicted from a bird's-eye vantage point. The ground plane has its characteristic vertical tilt which prevents any appreciable distant view. It is particularly evident in this print that Harunobu shifted his vantage point to accommodate a more direct frontal view of the figures. In Figure 16, the architectural interior, much the same shift in vantage point is apparent insofar as the standing figure and the young calligrapher are concerned. However, the third figure in that print, the girl kneeling to the side of the desk, has been depicted in the same way as the setting, as if she were viewed from above.

Figures 16 and 17 are only two of many Harunobu prints, and as one would expect, they do not represent all the compositional types he worked with. There are many similar to Figure 1, the calendar print discussed earlier, in which Harunobu's female subjects are placed in the very simplest of settings. One notes in Figure 1 that the ground plane is comparatively level, and even though there is ample room to depict a deep recession, the artist limited his attention to the foreground only. Figure 18 on the other hand depicts in the background a landscape of a considerably deep vista. The ground plane is fairly level, but the architectural setting in the foreground

has been conceived in aerial perspective. This type of design, composed of two juxtaposed views, is common among Harunobu's prints. Despite this variety of compositional types, there are virtually no Harunobu designs which possess the single united visual system of Kōkan's forgeries, nor are there any that depict the architecture according to the principles of linear perspective.³⁵ This is precisely why Figures 5, 9, 11, and 13 are considered forgeries. What requires further examination is the relationship of linear perspective with the art of Shiba Kōkan.

E. The Issue

The process by which the concept of linear perspective came to be associated with the prints of Harunobu's forger, Shiba Kōkan, is the topic with which this thesis is primarily concerned. It is difficult at this point to provide a history of this process for the reason that much of what I will argue may change existing views. Nonetheless it is important to understand that linear perspective was in wide practice in European art but nonexistent in Japanese art before the early 1740's.³⁶ Speaking in only the broadest generalizations, Japanese art at that time did not express the same concern for representing the world in the optically realistic manner found in European art. The concept of linear perspective was an imported European idea, and like European art in general it was admired, experimented with, practised, and taught by a very

select few Japanese artists who, for a variety of reasons, found it worthy of their attention. Shiba Kōkan was one such individual. Working from the descriptions he found in books, he reproduced the copper-plate etching process, which at that time was unknown in Japan. He took a similar interest in oil painting, also a foreign idea, and produced a number of European-looking works. Of note also was his treatise on Western art entitled Seiyōga Dan (Discussion of Western Painting). His etchings and his paintings made use of linear perspective as a compositional device and his treatise extolled the virtues of Western techniques while criticizing the traditional visual aesthetics of Japan. Before Kōkan's time, there were but a few isolated instances in which the concepts of European art found expression in Japanese painting traditions. By comparison, his voluminous outpouring of art and theory gives one the impression that the floodgates had opened. Looking back from our twentieth-century vantage point, his role in the Westernization of Japanese art appears both central and monumental. With his reputation as a man of European learning, it is easy to see why any print in the Harunobu style which shows traces of Western influence would be assumed to be his.

Although this seems a reasonable assumption, there is really no justifiable logic to it. Kōkan's first etching was produced in 1783,³⁷ his first oil painting appeared in the 1780's,³⁸ and his treatise was written in 1799.³⁹ All these

accomplishments, monumental as they were, occurred long after Harunobu's death in 1770. The connection between Shiba Kōkan, the Western-style artist, and the linear perspective in his forgeries cannot be supported by the reputation he acquired ten years after he produced those spurious prints. It is reasonable to assume that his interest in European art began sometime before he reached the point of being able to produce etchings and oil paintings, and indeed, there is evidence to support this notion.⁴⁰ However, if he produced his forgeries during the period of his formative introduction to European-derived, linear perspective, it is entirely possible that the influence he was receiving also affected Harunobu. Furthermore, if Western-style linear perspective is indeed a unique compositional element indicative of the hand of Shiba Kōkan, why would he, acting with the intent of forging the prints of Harunobu, introduce to those forgeries something totally foreign to Harunobu's style? The internal logic of the historical events requires that we consider Harunobu's art as a product of the same environment that affected his forger. Perhaps not all of the prints bearing Harunobu's signature which contain elements reminiscent of the influence of European-style art are forgeries.

The intent of this thesis is to reevaluate the validity of using linear perspective as an indicator of the hand of Shiba Kōkan. Although the opinions of some scholars have been scrutinized, the argument presented below is not a criticism of

their efforts. The conclusions they have reached regarding the forgeries previously discussed are sound. Their stylistic and calligraphic analyses provide sufficient cause in themselves to suspect the authorship of those prints. However, the exclusivity with which they use the linear perspective criterion may not extend to all the prints of that particular compositional and stylistic configuration.

Entitling this work "Harunobu: An Ukiyo-e Artist Who Experimented with Western Style Art" clearly implies that I will do more than reassess the problem of a few forgeries. I will argue that at times Harunobu himself worked under the influence of Western art. Evidence to support this view will be presented, and the implications of this evidence will be discussed. The sources from which Harunobu derived his inspiration will become central in placing his art within the wider context of his generation's encounter with European culture. Thus, while addressing the specific issue of the Kōkan forgeries, this thesis is also concerned with the wider issue of Western-style art in Japan.

NOTES CHAPTER 1

- 1 Quoted from Jack Hillier, Suzuki Harunobu: An Exhibition of His Colour-Prints and Illustrated Books on the Occasion of the Bicentenary of His Death in 1770 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1970), p. 10. Hereafter referred to as Hillier, Suzuki Harunobu.
- 2 Traditionally, Western art historians have translated the term nishiki-e as "brocade pictures," but this has led many to believe that the artists of Harunobu's time chose this name to liken their prints to colours and textures of brocade fabrics. In fact, the first use of the term in reference to woodblocks occurred in 1771 in the title of a book Ehon Haru no Nishiki (Picture Book of Spring Brocades) illustrated by Harunobu but published after his death. The word nishiki here was probably borrowed from the title of a book published in Kyōto in 1739 by Sukenobu entitled Hana Musubu Nishiki-e (Brocade Picture Entwined with Flowers) which was an instructional manual teaching the handicraft practised widely by women of the time in which a picture was made by gluing shaped pieces of coloured cloth on a drawing. An alternative argument, presented in David Waterhouse, Harunobu and His Age. The Development of Colour Printing in Japan (London: British Museum, 1964), p. 11 (hereafter referred to as Waterhouse, Harunobu and His Age), points out that two erotic books from China had in their titles the character for the word qin, which translates as brocade. Whether the writers of the time had referred to these books is as yet unanswered. It should be noted as well that the early references to polychrome prints often called them Azuma nishiki-e (Brocade pictures of the East) perhaps to establish their identity with Edo, the Eastern capital.
- 3 This statement is accurate in a general sense in that it refers to Ukiyo-e artists. There are, however, quite a variety of illustrated books, datable to the early part of the eighteenth century, which were printed in several colours. These are described at length in Waterhouse, Harunobu and His Age, p. 18. I think it is proper to maintain a distinction between these and the polychrome prints issued within the context of the Ukiyo-e tradition. It is clear in literary sources from the time (mid-eighteenth century), some of which are discussed below, that the inception of polychrome printing was a historically significant event, brought about by the efforts of people connected to the Ukiyo-e tradition, in a manner independent of the precedents discussed by Waterhouse.

- 4 There seem to be a number of conflicting viewpoints regarding this discovery. One group of writers, which includes Bakin (1767-1848) and Kitamura Nobuyo (d. 1856), asserts that "a wood-block cutter named Kinroku had a talk with a printer. They devised something which would fix the alignment on the woodblocks, and for the first time produced printing in four or five colours." Ōta Nampō, and the compiler of the Ukiyo-e Ruikō contended that a device called a kentō was invented by Uemura Kichiemon in 1744. This device, which consisted of marks carved into the corners of the blocks enabled the correct registration of the paper as it was passed from block to block. This controversy was discussed at length by Waterhouse in Harunobu and His Age, p. 15, but Hillier, in Suzuki Harunobu, p. 12, mentions the scholarship of Shigekichi Mihara, who believed that the artisans of the 1760's devised a small wedge called a kuiki which was inserted between the kentō and the paper in such a way as to account for the expansion of both the paper and the blocks as the wet pigments were applied.
- 5 In the Anthology of Prose and Verse by Neboku Bunshu, written in 1767, there is the following statement:
- " . . . in the manner of taking impressions of prints everything is changed in the eastern capital, the sheets coloured with beni-e no longer find a market. Harunobu depicts all sorts of men and women in the most elegant manner."
- This passage was taken from Jack Hillier, The Japanese Print: A New Approach (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1960), p. 62, hereafter referred to as Hillier, New Approach.
- The Harunobu entry in the Ukiyo-e Ruikō includes this passage:
- "From the beginnings of Meiwa he drew and put out Azuma nishiki-e and was their originator at this time." (Taken from Waterhouse, Harunobu and His Age, p. 16.)
- 6 This passage appeared initially in Kikuchi Sadao, Ukiyo-e (1975), 176. The translation offered here is from Matthi Forrer, Egoyomi and Surimono: Their History and Development (Vithoorn: J.C. Gieben, 1979), p. 5.
- 7 According to Hillier, Suzuki Harunobu, p. 10, the illustrations in Segen Shūi are in the style of Sukenobu, a Kyōto artist who died in 1750. Contemporary scholars agree unanimously that Harunobu's prints were derived from the Sukenobu style and that his major source of inspiration was Sukenobu's books. Perhaps similar interests in

Sukenobu brought Kyosen and Harunobu together sometime prior to 1765. This seems a little more than a coincidence when one considers as well the contention that the term nishiki-e may have come from one of Sukenobu's books. See footnote 2, this chapter, for more details.

- 8 Kyōka poetry is written in the same form as the more traditional comic waka of the Heian period. It is, however, very much a product of the mid-Edo period, in that it was filled with the vulgar language commonly associated with the pleasure quarters of Edo.
- 9 Very little is known of the structure and membership of the kyōkaren, nor their reason for commemorating the new year with such an event. The initial event, held in 1765, was followed by a much smaller one in 1766. After that date, there are almost no extant daishō prints for almost a decade.
- 10 It was not a competition in the true sense of the word, but it is often described as such.
- 11 The daishō print was not a new idea. There are a number of examples from earlier times, but they appear only sporadically, in sharp contrast to the large numbers dating from 1765 and 1766. Matthi Forrer's Egoyomi and Surimono, p. 39, contains a list of most of them. It is arguable why so many exist from the Meiwa period. Obviously a calendar outlives its usefulness at year's end, and many examples of earlier years could have been discarded. On the other hand, the fact that the Meiwa examples were so innovative could account for their preservation over the last two centuries.
- 12 In David Waterhouse, "Suzuki Harunobu: Some Reflections on the Bicentenary of His Death (1970)," Oriental Art (Winter 1971), p. 345, the author discusses both the history of this viewpoint and the main examples which help to substantiate it.
- 13 Yoshikazu Hayashi, "Sukenobu kara Harunobu e no keifu," Ukiyo-e, No. 11 (Tōkyō, 1964).
- 14 Hoso-e refers to a type of print generally measuring 12.5 inches by 5.5 inches.
15. Margaret O. Gentles. The Clarence Buckingham Collection of Japanese Prints. Harunobu, Koryūsai, Shigemasa, Their Followers and Contemporaries, Vol. II (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1965), hereafter referred to as Gentles, AIC, illustrates a number of Harunobu's early works.

16. An example of Kiyomitsu's landscape style can be seen in Waterhouse, Harunobu and His Age, p. 188.
- 17 Hillier in Suzuki Harunobu, p. 9, notes that many of Harunobu's early prints bear the mark of a publisher named Suzuki. The implication is that he perhaps came from a family of printers.
- 18 See Gentles, A.I.C. for a complete sampling of the works of Harunobu's contemporaries.
- 19 Hyakka Setsurin (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1892).
- 20 The original manuscript of the Shumparō Hikki was in the possession of Kanda Takahira and was transcribed for the Hyakka Setsurin by Ōtsuki Shūji; it can be found in Volume 1, pp. 119-1187.
- 21 Every scholar who has confronted this issue has offered a translation of this passage. The variety is immense, and the nuances each conveys are quite different. After comparing a number of versions with the original and a number of rewrites in modern Japanese, I have compiled and edited them into the form quoted here. The middle section, beginning with the word 'At' and ending with the word 'Ch'en" is taken from David Waterhouse, "Suzuki Harunobu: Some Reflections on the Bicentenary of His Death (1970)," Oriental Art (Winter 1971), p. 348. The remainder is from Kōjiro Tomita, "Shiba Kōkan and Harushige Identical," Burlington Magazine LV (1929), p. 67.
- 22 This passage was taken from Calvin French, Shiba Kōkan Artist, Innovator and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), p. 10, hereafter referred to as French, Shiba Kōkan. Other examples of Kōkan's arrogance can be found on pages 44, 51, and 114 of this book.
- 23 The entire argument can be found in Arthur Waley, "Shiba Kōkan and Harushige not Identical," Burlington Magazine LII (1929), pp. 178, 183 and Kōjiro Tomita, "Shiba Kōkan and Harushige Identical," Burlington Magazine LV (1929), pp. 66-73.
- 24 Japanese scholars seem more intent on dealing with this issue than do Western scholars. See the following: Masanobu Hosono, "Harushige ni tsuite," Museum (Tōkyō Kokuritsu Haku Butsukan Bijutsu Shi, No. 233, Aug. 1970), pp. 22-29. Jō Higuchi, "Shiba Kōkan (Harushige Gisaku) to Suzuki Harunobu," Bunka shi gaku, No. 42 (1986), pp. 22-41.

Much of what these authors believe has been summarized in the text of this thesis.

- 25 See the Hosono citation, footnote 24.
- 26 The origins of Dutch or European-style art in Japan is one of the subjects discussed at length in this thesis in a variety of contexts. For that reason I will not define it at this point. It will suffice to say that Kōkan figured prominently in its propagation through Japanese art. It should be noted here that when I speak of Western-style art I am referring to material created after the expulsion of the Christian missionaries. Although it is true that they and their disciples produced Western-style art, it went underground during the persecution and had no effect on the later developments.
- 27 The Kōkan Kōkai ki confession quoted above accounts for three of the styles he experimented with, those being the Kanō style, Sō Shiseki's style and, of course, the Ukiyo-e style. Most of his work has been reproduced in French, Shiba Kōkan.
- 28 This print is illustrated in Higuchi (footnote 24), p. 36.
- 29 Higuchi (footnote 24) conducts an interpretive analysis of Kōkan Kōkai ki, stressing the passages in which Kōkan demonstrated some knowledge of Harunobu in such a way as to perhaps indicate that he knew Harunobu personally.
- 30 Jack Hillier, Suzuki Harunobu, p. 219.
- 31 This book was published one year after Harunobu's death, but in the preface the author indicated that Harunobu was indeed the artist. See Hillier, Suzuki Harunobu, p. 235.
- 32 In his analysis of Figure 1, Hillier also mentioned that the hairstyles in this print were unlike those in Harunobu's prints. As he did not specify what these differences were, I can only assume that he was referring to what appear to be "sidelocks" just above the ears. If he considered these to be similar to the "sidelocks" supported by the binsashi of which Kōkan spoke in his confession, then he was wrong, and a comparison of the hairstyles in Figure 1 with Kōkan's paintings will reveal precisely how the appearance of these "sidelocks" changed when binsashi were used.
- 33 David Waterhouse, "Suzuki Harunobu: Some Reflections on the Bicentenary of His Death (1970)," Oriental Art (Winter 1971), p. 349.

- 34 David Waterhouse, Images of Eighteenth Century Japan Ukiyoe Prints from the Sir Edmund Walker Collection (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1975), p. 145.
- 35 This statement may require revision once the evidence I will present in subsequent chapters has been discussed. It is appropriate to leave it unchanged here since it represents accurately the thinking of most Harunobu scholars.
- 36 The earliest uses of linear perspective in Japanese art will be discussed in successive chapters. Here, suffice it to say that they were unrelated to Kōkan's forgeries.
- 37 The first etchings in Japan were produced by the Jesuit missionaries in the early 1600's, but with their expulsion from the country, the technique was lost. For the best description of the Dutch books Kōkan used, see Yō Sugano, "The Literary Source of the Etching Method of Kōkan Shiba," Bijutsu Kenkyū (No. 265, Sept. 1969), p. 81 and (No. 266, Nov. 1969), p. 127. See as well a later article by the same author in the same journal: "Dutch Book Korst Kabinet and Hakūn's "Oranda Dōhan-e-hō" (No. 321, Sept. 1982), p. 1. The etching is entitled View of Mimeguri and is kept in the Kobe City Museum. By 1784, Kōkan had not only improved his technique, but he had constructed a camera obscura for viewing his etchings. True to character, he wrote the following on the bottom of the viewing device:
- "In 1783, he (meaning himself) succeeded in making a copperplate picture. This technique is a Western one and his engravings are the first ever made in Japan. Artists in the future who plan to make copper plates, do not forget that Shiba Kōkan made the first one." (Taken from French, Shiba Kōkan, p. 44.)
- 38 The Kobe City Museum has the largest collection of Kōkan oils. French illustrates most of them in chapter 7 of Shiba Kōkan.
- 39 See French, Shiba Kōkan, Appendix III, p. 171 for a complete translation of Seiyōga Dan.
- 40 The fact that he made forgeries with linear perspective shortly after Harunobu's death is convincing in itself. (The next two chapters will explore his sources in detail.)

A. The Significance of Rangaku to the Spread of Western-style Art in Japan

In studies of European influences on Edo painting, art historians inevitably widen the scope of their research to include some discussion of rangaku (Dutch studies) and the impact this movement had on the visual arts, and this because much of the exposure to European art came as a direct result of the trade relationship between Japan and Holland. A good deal of scholarship concerned with the origins and development of Dutch studies in Japan is available, and a list of the dominant literature on the subject may be found in the bibliography. It is not the intent here to reexamine this material but rather to describe some of the general characteristics of Dutch studies as they relate, albeit sometimes in only the most cursory manner, to Harunobu and his art.

Dutch studies, per se, began in earnest after the Tokugawa regime closed the country to foreigners in 1641. The series of edicts, usually described by the term sakoku or the "closed country" policy was, for the most part, a reaction against the previous decades of meddling by Portugese and Spanish missionaries. Only the Dutch among the European nations were permitted a tightly supervised access to Japan through the tiny island of Dejima, located in the Nagasaki harbour. Trading privileges were granted to them because they did not proselytize Christianity.

At the outset the concern of the rangakusha¹ (Dutch scholars) was directed primarily to the study of Dutch language, a necessity for the sake of trade but equally important as a means of understanding European technology as it was described in books brought to Japan. The Japanese quickly recognized the value of the Europeans' knowledge of astronomy, cartography, natural science, medicine, and the military arts. Before long the government was actively promoting the pursuit of European knowledge, and rangaku as a discipline slowly acquired credibility as it spread from Nagasaki to the rest of Japan. The term rangaku found its way into common usage after Ōtsuki Gentaku published Rangaku Kaitei (Introduction to Dutch Studies) and Sugita Gempaku published Rangaku Koto Hajime (Facts About the Beginnings of Dutch Studies) in 1774. Both these publications appeared shortly after a monumental event in the course of the spread of Dutch studies in Japan, that being the publication of Kaitai Shinsho (New Book on Anatomy) also authored by Sugita Gempaku in partnership with Maeno Ryōtaku.

These men, both trained in Confucian medicine, had spent considerable time in Nagasaki studying Dutch surgical techniques. In 1771 they were granted permission to perform a dissection on a corpse at the execution grounds in Edo. After comparing the corpse with the illustrations in a Dutch medical text,² they were so impressed with the accuracy of the illustrations that they enlisted the help of many Dutch scholars to translate the book. Kaitai Shinsho became the

first translation of a European book to be published and circulated in Japan. The illustrator of this publication, the artist Odano Naotake (1749-1780), made deliberate use of the technique of chiaroscuro to reproduce accurately the illustrations from the Dutch text. This technique of rendering objects in light and shadow in order to give them a realistic, three dimensional appearance, like linear perspective, was new to Japanese art. Odano acquired his knowledge of it through the instruction of a Dutch scholar, Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780). Both Gennai and Naotake had a significant influence on Shiba Kōkan's introduction to European art, but there is also a documentable connection between Gennai and Harunobu. Before this relationship and its implications are explored, however, it would be appropriate to examine briefly some aspects of Gennai's life. In many senses he typifies not only the rangakusha mentality, but he also appears to be a product of the many social, political, and cultural changes sweeping Japanese society at that time. These changes are of particular importance, as well, to Harunobu's art.

B. Hiraga Gennai in the Context of Japanese Society

Hiraga Gennai³ was born into the family of a low ranking samurai in the service of the daimyō of Takamatsu.⁴ Upon his father's death in 1749, Gennai succeeded his position as the keeper of the Takamatsu rice warehouses. In 1754, complaining

of ill health, he obtained a release from his official duties and shortly thereafter renounced his family responsibilities as well. It has been speculated⁵ that one source of his discontent was that his official and family duties kept him from his studies of honzōgaku.⁶ He had been introduced to this branch of Oriental medicine, which specialized in the medicinal application of herbs and mineral products, at the young age of twelve. By his eighteenth year his studious efforts received official recognition, and he was put in charge of his daimyō's personal gardens and pharmacy. Although this position afforded him numerous opportunities for travel and study in other domains, he eventually felt that his connection to the Takamatsu domain had become a severe hindrance to his vocation.⁷ In 1761, after petitioning his daimyō, he was granted release from all his duties. Officially he had become a rōnin, or "masterless samurai."

Although Gennai's passage to rōnin status was in part due to his individualistic nature, in many ways it was symptomatic of a wider social phenomenon occurring in Japan at that time. From its beginnings, the Tokugawa regime was primarily interested in perpetuating its power and maintaining peace by enforcing a rigidly hierarchical society. The upper stratum of the hierarchy was occupied by the samurai class, but it too was sharply divided according to status, with the powerful daimyō at the top, the lowly foot soldier at the bottom,⁸ and a number of ranks in between. Because the entire society and its

economy was agriculturally based, the farmers occupied the second stratum, immediately below the samurai. This was a position of honor more than of actual status or power. For the most part the farmers led a peasant's existence. The artisan class, who contributed to the society through their production of useful commodities, occupied the third level in the hierarchy and the merchants, the fourth and last level. In an agricultural society the merchants, who acted as middlemen between the producers and the consumers, were necessary but considered parasites nonetheless.⁹ Such was the social design promoted by the regime, but as the Tokugawa era entered the eighteenth century, much of the rigidity between classes had begun to dissolve.

Philosophically, the samurai class was solidly entrenched in militaristic values. With the advent of national peace brought about by the ascendance of the Tokugawa family, overt militarism on a large scale was rarely necessary. In an effort to maintain peace among the samurai ranks the government advocated adherence to the traditional Confucian values of loyalty to one's superiors and the pursuit of scholarship. Samurai of all ranks were encouraged to take up the brush, so to speak, and put down the sword. Those of warrior heritage soon found themselves on the leading edge of the traditional arts as well as the newer vocations of, for example, Dutch studies. The arts and sciences were the immediate beneficiaries of national peace and social order. However, by the mid-eighteenth

century, those government policies aimed at maintaining the status quo became increasingly burdensome to the upper class.

In order to keep the powerful feudal class in line, the Tokugawa administration required that each daimyō maintain an alternative residence in Edo. His wife, children, and immediate household were required to reside there permanently while he, accompanied by a large entourage, moved in alternate years between his provincial family domain and the capital. This policy, known as sankin kōtai¹⁰ had profound effects on Japanese society as a whole. Edo became a large metropolis¹¹ supported entirely by wealth from the provinces. This urbanization resulted in a veritable boom of commercial activity in the city. The daimyō and their households, accustomed to living in comparative luxury, required all the amenities of food, clothing, and entertainment that only a large artisan and merchant class could provide. To these lower classes came a new-found wealth which, to a limited extent, meant a slightly higher status, in that they could now afford the luxuries normally reserved for the samurai class.

It is well known that the popularity of Ukiyo-e as an art form found its genesis in the urban society of Japan's major cities. It seems particularly significant, however, that the calendar competitions of 1765 and 1766 bore the fruit of class dissipation. In many senses they are the result of a mingling of artists and artisans with the samurai class, be they rōnin

or otherwise. It is in this context that Gennai would eventually come to be associated with the art of Ukiyo-e.

Of the many laws enacted by the government, the sankin kōtai policy placed its heaviest financial burden on the daimyō.¹² The enormous cost of maintaining two households no doubt escalated as the urbanization process continued. Goods, services, and entertainment became more and more expensive and maintaining the appearance of social status increasingly costly. Samurai of all ranks found themselves in debt to the now powerful merchants who lent them currency at high interest rates.¹³ The samurai population increased in accord with that of the nation, but the second and third sons of samurai families who, under normal circumstances would be guaranteed positions by heredity could no longer find support from the now financially burdened clans. In an effort to find a productive livelihood, many samurai became rōnin, and to the capital they brought the benefits of their scholarly education, which they dispensed to those of the lower classes who could afford it. Many rōnin abandoned their class altogether and became artisans or merchants, while still others, like Gennai, became novelists and playwrights of popular material. In the capital, the once clearly defined boundaries between class roles, occupations, and pursuits became less and less distinct. In the broadest sense, Gennai and the circle of scholars, artists, and writers in which he moved were products of a society in transition.

Gennai's passage to rōnin status had the immediate consequence of leaving him without an income. To remedy this he turned his talents to writing popular literature.¹⁴ At the time, there was emerging a new type of popular novel which took as its subject life in the pleasure quarters of Edo. These works were humorous, witty, and written in the sometimes vulgar and coarse vernacular of the middle class. The practitioners of the new literary form were men of samurai descent. Some were rōnin like Gennai, who had financial motives for adopting this profession, while others chose to maintain their official positions. No doubt they too reaped the monetary benefits of a successful publication, but as a group, men of either status seemed to be attracted to the genre because of its loose and expressive format in which they quite often satirized the administration which employed them.¹⁵ Gennai's immediate circle included Akera Kankō (1740-1800) and Ōta Nampo (1749-1823), both government officials, Hezutsu Tōsaku (1726-89), a fellow rōnin, and Hōseido Kisanji (1735-1813), an important official of the Satake clan from the northern fief of Akita.¹⁶ It appears as well that Gennai had an important disciple in Morishima Chūryō¹⁷ who, like his master, held similar interests in Dutch studies as well as literature. Chūryō even adopted the name Furai Sanjin in imitation of his mentor Gennai. It is in the context of these popular novels that one can find evidence of a connection between Gennai and Harunobu.

C. Gennai's Connection to Harunobu's Art

The book entitled Ameuri Dohei Den (The Story of Dohei the Candy Vendor), from which a short passage was quoted in the preceding chapter, contained a preface by Furai Sanjin (Gennai). Like all popular literature of this type, some scenes from the storyline were illustrated. The illustrator for the book was Suzuki Harunobu. Furthermore, evidence indicates that the relationship between Gennai and Harunobu had begun some years earlier. Writing under the pen name of Banshōtei, in a book entitled Hogokago (The Waste Paper Basket), Gennai's disciple, Morishima Chūryō, wrote:

In Meiwa 2, the Monkey Year [a mistake: Meiwa 1 was the Monkey Year, Meiwa 2 (1765) the Bird Year], daishō pictures were popular: much elegance was put into these abbreviated calendars, and their merits were appraised as if they were paintings. From this time began block-printing with seven or eight printings. The block cutters were Yoshida Hyōsen, Okamoto Shōgyō, Nakade Toen, and others. Surimono before this period differed also in composition from those of the present day. A daishō calendar of the period, for Master Furai [Morishima was Furai II], is a picture by Ōba Hōsui showing three half-length figures: Sawamura Sōjūrō standing in the centre of a circular window playing the Demon King as a servant; Matsumoto Kōshirō standing on his left facing sideways, as Haori Kudō; and Ichikawa Raizō glaring on his right, in kamishimo costume as Gorō Tokimune. At this period the so-called portrait prints (nigao no e) did not exist, and so this print became very famous. It was from it and others that Suzuki Harunobu hit on the idea of putting out to various dealers in illustrated novels (e-zōshiya) the posters (kanban) known as Azuma nishiki-e "Brocade Pictures of the East," and selling them. This was the origin of modern nishiki-e.¹⁸

In the original text Chūryō added a number of footnotes, one of which made further reference to Harunobu.

He was an artist and head of a family in Kanda, Shirakabe-chō. He learnt painting from Nishikawa, and frequented the same places as Master Furai. They say nishiki-e was devised by him as an old man.¹⁹

At the very least, Ameuri Dohei Den and Hogokago provide two solid sources which suggest the possibility that Gennai and Harunobu were acquaintances. Exactly what this acquaintance meant to Harunobu's art is the topic of the remainder of this chapter.

The spirit of inventiveness and innovation that surrounded the calendar events no doubt provided an attractive lure to a man like Gennai.²⁰ It appears from Chūryō's statements that he created at least one design in Meiwa 2 and, in the spirit of innovation, he introduced for the first time a format known as a nigao no e or "portrait print." Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this print are unknown to modern art historians, and its exact appearance can only be imagined from Chūryō's description. It is possible, however, to suggest a source for its design by examining in detail Gennai's association with the rangaku movement. As was pointed out previously, this association had a direct bearing on his artistic endeavours.

Gennai's first encounter with "Dutch Studies" probably came in 1752 when he was dispatched by the Takamatsu daimyō to undertake a year's study in Nagasaki. There is no account of his stay there, so one can only assume that the reason for his

trip was to further his study of honzōgaku. Nagasaki was the centre of Chinese trade as well as Dutch. Honzōgaku had its roots in China and much of the Japanese development of this science was the direct result of trade with China.

The earliest date at which a link between Gennai and the Dutch can be verified is 1760. At that time, while still under charge of the Takamatsu clan, Gennai was studying in Edo. In a memoir written in 1815 by Sugita Gempaku (1733-1817) entitled The Beginnings of Dutch Studies, the author recollected that Gennai and other rangakusha were party to a meeting with the Dutch embassy in Edo.²¹ At that occasion, and at a similar event one year later, Gennai apparently created quite a stir among the Dutch and his own colleagues by demonstrating his pharmaceutical knowledge.²² At the time, and in each successive year until 1769, Gennai regularly received Dutch books as gifts. From his early meetings with the foreigners his reputation as a Dutch scholar grew in a number of fields.

Gennai's assignment to Edo afforded him the opportunity to study with Tamura Gen'yū (1718-1776), a specialist in honzōgaku. Together the two men organized public exhibitions of the specimens they had collected. In 1763 the fruit of this effort came to bear in Gennai's most noteworthy scholarly publication entitled Butsurui Hinshitsu (Categories and Qualities). In the descriptions in this book one can find references to European art. One mineral he had found and called bercin burau,²³ was likened to the deep blue pigment

used in the illustrations in Dutch books. Another, called ryokuen, he likened to the product supansu gurorin²⁴ or Spanish green. In describing this material, he demonstrated his familiarity with Western painting by commenting, "It is used in the colouring of the Red hair²⁵ painting."²⁶ Butsurui Hinshitsu marked another significant event in Gennai's association with the visual arts. It signalled the beginning of a long relationship with its illustrator, the artist Sō Shiseki (1715-1786).

This artist, who had spent some years in Nagasaki, worked in a style of painting brought to Japan in the 1730's by the Chinese artist Shen Nanpin.²⁷ Primarily a bird and flower painter, Sō Shiseki is credited with bringing Shen's finely detailed, somewhat naturalistic style to Edo. It seems that through Gennai, he was introduced to the style of illustration used in Dutch books. Of these, he made numerous copies in 1768,²⁸ the most notable of which is illustrated here in Figure 19. The etchings from which they were copied, were in a book which Gennai had obtained at one of his meetings with the Dutch embassy. The book was written originally in Latin by the Polish naturalist of Scottish descent, John Jonston (1603-1675), and translated into Dutch by M. Grasius in 1660. Its title was Jan Jonstons Naeukeurige Beschryving van de Natuur der Viervoetige Dieren, Vissen en Bloedlooze Water Dieren, Vogelen, Kronkel-Dieren, Slangen en Draken. It was an encyclopedia of animals, fish, birds, insects, and reptiles.

The prototype on which Sō Shiseki based his lion illustrations is illustrated here in Figure 20.

It is clear from Sō Shiseki's copies that he had a decided interest in the techniques the European artists used to model their images in light and shade. He copied the shading of the underside of the lion in much the same way as was done in the original etching, but what is remarkable is that he consistently applied the same technique to the landscape elements of the composition. Judging from the relationship Gennai had with the other artists he encountered, there can be little doubt that it was through his influence that Sō Shiseki came to experiment with these techniques.

In 1773 Gennai was summoned to the northern domain of Akita²⁹ and there his interests in European art began to take on a new significance. The daimyō of Akita, Satake Shozan (1748-1785), and one of his retainers, Odano Naotake, pursued Western style painting with vigor under the instruction of Gennai. In 1778 Shozan published three albums of drawings entitled Shaseichō (Album of Representational Drawings). This work was actually a compilation of information and illustrations from a number of Dutch sources,³⁰ and it included as well two essays on art entitled Gahō kōryō (A Summary of the Principles of Drawing) and Gahō rikai (On the Understanding of Painting and Drawing). Gennai is mentioned in these essays³¹ as the authority on Western style art from which Shozan derived his ideas. In referring to light and shade, the author stated,

When the sun is in the east, the shaded side is toward the west; and when the sun is in the west, the shaded side is toward the east.³²

He also made one comment about perspective which, given the context of this discussion, seems especially relevant:

The eye sees near things as large and distant things as small When the distance becomes several leagues, the eyes fail and the object cannot be seen. This point of disappearance is at the horizon line.³³

Odano Naotake, the illustrator of Kaitai Shinsho, seems to have been the artist most directly affected by Gennai's teachings. He made copies of Jonston's illustrations³⁴ and, like Sō Shiseki, he showed the same concern with light, shade, and cast shadow. His paintings, one of which is illustrated here as Figure 21, are unique in that their compositions for the most part have in the immediate foreground, a large bird or flower motif, usually rendered in light and shade, and a background consisting of a distant landscape clustered around a low horizon line. Naotake, who spent much of his time in Edo,³⁵ probably encountered Sō Shiseki's bird and flower style through the mutual acquaintance both men had with Gennai. To that compositional format he added the European touches which Gennai had taught him.³⁶

Within Gennai's sphere of influence one must also include Shiba Kōkan. Gennai is mentioned in at least four different places in Kōkan's writings³⁷ and although Kōkan never indicated at any time that Gennai was his teacher, it seems likely that

such was the case. In the Kōkan Kōkai Ki he mentioned that he studied with Sō Shiseki, and there are some of his paintings that closely parallel Sō Shiseki's bird and flower style.³⁸ So too are there paintings of Kōkan which are remarkably similar to Odano Naotake's style, as was illustrated above in Figure 21.³⁹ There are literary sources which indicate that Kōkan may have actually been Odano's pupil,⁴⁰ but Kōkan's writings are devoid of any reference to him. Naotake died suddenly at a young age and perhaps Kōkan, in seeking the recognition he desired, thought it better not to admit to the world that Odano was in fact the first truly European-style painter in Japan.

It is quite apparent, then, that a circle of artists who shared an interest in European-style art formed around Hiraga Gennai, but it is especially significant that members of this circle also held an interest in Ukiyo-e. Chūryō's Hogokago noted that Gennai had designed a calendar print and that he was an acquaintance of Harunobu. Nampo's book, Ameuri Dohei Den, prefaced by Gennai and illustrated by Harunobu is further evidence of their acquaintance. We know that Kōkan had enough familiarity with Harunobu to forge his prints. It is of no small significance that Sō Shiseki also designed calendar prints.⁴¹ Knowing of the personal relationships between these artists and the interests they shared, it is only reasonable to assume that Harunobu too may have worked under the influence of European art. There is visual evidence to support this.

In Hogokago, Chūryō mentioned a calendar print designed by Gennai. He described the figure of an actor standing in the centre of a circular window and he also mentioned that this type of print, known as a nigao-no-e, or portrait print, did not exist at that time. The portrait print composition may have been Gennai's creative addition to the calendar event of 1765. The sources for such a composition may be linked to Western art in which there is a rich tradition of portrait painting. It is entirely possible that Gennai could have seen a European style portrait during his trip to Nagasaki in 1752 or during his meetings with the Dutch mission in Edo in the early 1760's. More likely, though, he got the idea from a Dutch book and, of a number of possibilities, Rembertus Dodanaeu's Kruyt Boeck (Manual of Herbs) is the likeliest. This sort of book would have attracted Gennai because of his interest in honzōgaku. Most likely he received it through the contacts he made at one of his meetings in Edo. He recorded that he obtained it in 1765, and although there has been some conjecture that he may have used the illustrations in it when he produced Butsurui Hinshitsu, it seems unlikely given the discrepancy in dates.

The frontispiece of this book, illustrated here in Figure 22, contains in its design two portraits, in circular frames, placed at the base of each column. Perhaps these provided the inspiration for Gennai's calendar design. Gennai's print no longer exists, but there are Harunobu designs of similar

conception. One pillar print, illustrated here in Figure 23 depicts a woman framed by a circular window in much the same portrait-like manner as was described in the Hogokago.⁴² A Harunobu calendar print from 1766⁴³ (Figure 24) depicts a woman looking at the shadow of her parasol. Perhaps this, the first example of the use of cast shadow in Ukiyo-e, is indicative of an influence of European art passed to Harunobu through Gennai.

By virtue of the inclusion of Sō Shiseki in Gennai's circle it is possible to conceive of another visual connection between that group of artists and Harunobu. Sō Shiseki's calendar print, entitled Fivefold Longlife and illustrated here as Figure 25 is of a similar subject to Harunobu's calendar print entitled Bowl of Chrysanthemums, Figure 26. Sō Shiseki was known as a bird and flower painter, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the inception of bird and flower prints as a genre began in the early years of nishiki-e production. Harunobu made a few designs, but Isoda Koryūsai (fl. 1760's to 1780's) an artist as prolific as Harunobu and who came into the limelight after Harunobu's death, produced comparatively large quantities of bird and flower prints. I am not suggesting that Sō Shiseki was responsible for the beginnings of this genre, but he certainly is an identifiable source who worked within the creative environment of the calendar competition.

Figure 27, another of Harunobu's designs, is clearly reminiscent in subject and conception of the style of painting brought to Japan by Shen Nanpin, Sō Shiseki's acknowledged

master. Figure 28 is one of many examples of the Chinese artist's deer paintings. It is conceivable that Harunobu picked up this theme in the context of his association with Gennai and his circle. Although I have not seen it, Robert Paine⁴⁴ made note of a book in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts entitled Sō Shiseki Gafu. It is comprised of three volumes of woodblock printed, colour illustrations and it is dated 1765. The first volume contains reproductions of Shen Nanpin's designs, the second is Sō Shiseki's material, and the third is a collection of designs from a variety of Chinese painters who had come to Nagasaki. Somewhere in this publication it may be possible to find the source of the few Harunobu bird and flower prints still in existence.⁴⁵

Apart from Chūryō's Hogokago, and Nampo's Ameuri Dohei Den, there is really no verifiable connection between Gennai and Harunobu's art. By inference and conjecture there seem to be some grounds to suspect the possibility of an influence, but the visual evidence simply is not solid enough. On the other hand, the social forces that brought about the calendar events and in them, the mixing of scholars, dilettantes, and artists of various backgrounds were essentially the same forces that created the context in which Western-style art became the subject of experimentation. Harunobu thrived in this creative environment, and there can be little doubt that, at the very least, he was aware of the new found fascination on the part of his contemporaries with the pictorial techniques used by European artists.

NOTES CHAPTER 2

- 1 A term used to describe the Japanese scholars devoted to Dutch studies.
- 2 The text used was Ontleedkunige Tafellen, but this was a translation by Gerard Dieten of Anatomiche Tabellen, a 1731 publication authored by Johan Adam Kulmus.
- 3 Gennai's true name was Shiraishi Kunimune. He changed his name to Gennai in 1749 after compiling a genealogy which linked him to Hiraga Genshin, a once-powerful feudal lord. This sort of thing was a common way for those of lower status to acquire a pedigree.
- 4 Matsudaira Yoritaka (1711-1771).
- 5 Stanleigh Jones Jr., Scholar, Scientist, Popular Artist Hiraga Gennai, 1728-1780, diss., Columbia University, 1968, V.M.I. (Ann Arbor 1971), p. 9. Hereafter referred to as Stanleigh Jones Jr.
- 6 Honzōgaku literally means "the study of roots and grasses." Stanleigh Jones Jr. gives a complete synopsis of its origin and history in Japan, pp. 32-42.
- 7 As evidence of Gennai's discontent, Stanleigh Jones Jr. (p. 12) offers the following quote taken originally from a letter Gennai wrote in 1760. His source was Irita Seizo (ed.), Hiraga Gennai zenshū (2 vols.; Tōkyō, 1935), Vol. I, p. 612:

As for me, I'm terribly busy and making very slow progress. In particular, I am frequently required to be in attendance at the Takamatsu mansion in Meguro, and because of this I am distracted from the exhibits and my medical books, and it seems that my studies are getting nowhere.
- 8 In Japanese a footsoldier was called ashigaru. This was Gennai's official rank.
- 9 For an excellent discussion of the merchant class in the Edo period, I would recommend John Whitney Hall, "The Tokugawa Bafuku and the Merchant Class," University of Michigan Occasional Papers, Vol. 5 (1951): 26-34. This article is devoted to the paradoxical relationship between the samurai and merchant classes. It illustrates how totally dependent the samurai were on the merchants yet,

at the same time, how contemptuously they regarded those associated with mercantilism.

- 10 The literal translation of sankin kōtai is "attendance by turn."
- 11 The historical demography of Edo was the subject of a detailed study by Gilbert Rozman, "Edo's Importance in the Changing Tokugawa Society," Journal of Japanese Studies (Autumn 1974), pp. 91-113.
- 12 In his introduction to Treasures Among Men: The Fudai Daimyō in Tokugawa Japan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), Robert Bolitho, describes the collection of policies known as buke shohatto which placed various financial burdens on the daimyō. His calculations indicate that Sankin Kōtai was the most costly.
- 13 In his article "Social Changes During the Tokugawa Period," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (2nd Series, Vol. 17), pp. 235-254, Herbert Zachert documents cases of high ranking samurai who become so debt-ridden that they had to rent their dwellings to the merchants.
- 14 Gennai's first publication, in 1761, was entitled Rice Cakes Grow on Trees, but his first real success came with the publication in 1763 of The Rootless Grass. For a short introduction to popular literary forms, see James T. Araki, "Sharebon: Books for Men of Mode," Monumenta Nipponica, Vol. 24 (1969), pp. 31-45. According to him sharebon, which literally means "books of sophisticated wit," first appeared in the 1770's. If this is true, Gennai, who wrote primarily in the 1760's, must have been experimenting with some of its earlier forms published in a format commonly known at that time as kusazoshi or "grass books." Araki gives an account of these as well.
- 15 See Adriana Delprat, Forms of Dissent in the Gesaku Literature of Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780), diss., Princeton University, 1985, UMI (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1986). By her accounting, Gennai was highly critical of the Tokugawa regime.
- 16 These men frequently wrote prefaces to Gennai's works in which they eulogized his talents.
- 17 What is known of Chūryō's background is sketchy at best. The most informative document I could locate was Otsuki Nyoden, Shinsen Yōgaku Nempyō (Revised Chronology of Western Learning), Tōkyō, 1927. This work was a later edition of Nihon Yōgaku Nempyō written in 1878. The author was the grandson of Otsuki Gentaku, a Dutch scholar who had connections with Gennai. The translation of the Chūryō information below was taken from C.C. Krieger, The

Infiltration of European Civilization in Japan During the 18th Century (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1940), p. 99.

Morishima Chūryō was a brother of Katsuragawa Hoshū. He was in the service of Matsudaira Sadanobu, lord of Shirakawa. Chūryō was in nature indifferent to worldly and conventional customs. He was a pupil of Hiraga Gennai and had as his penname Fūrai Sanjin in imitation of his master."

- 18 David Waterhouse, Harunobu and His Age: The Development of Colour Printing in Japan (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1964), p. 17. According to Waterhouse's footnotes he took this passage from Kendo Ishii, Nishikie no hori to suri (Kyōto and Tōkyō: Unsōdō, 1929), p. 6. I have left Professor Waterhouse's comments, indicated by the square brackets, because they help to clarify some of the finer points of the text.
- 19 Ibid: p. 17.
- In T. Haga, Hiraga Gennai (Tōkyō, 1981), p. 286, the author has a significantly different interpretation of this footnote to Chūryō's text. The last line, which Waterhouse translates as "They say nishiki-e was devised by him as an old man" is written in Japanese as "Nishiki-e wa ō no kufū nari to iu." The character ō (老), which means "old man" is the key to Haga's interpretation. "Ō no kufū" translates as "the invention of the old man," who is none other than Gennai. In other words Haga thinks that Gennai was the inventor of nishiki-e. If nothing else, this is food for thought. Certainly Gennai's scientific curiosity and his clearly demonstrated ability as an inventor would make him capable of solving the technical problems of multicolour printing. He was definitely in the right place at the right time in the sense that his efforts in the field of popular literature brought him together with both the Ukiyo-e artists and the kyōkaren. Perhaps scholars have been too hasty to correct the discrepancy in the dates reported by Chūryō. Maybe Gennai's calendar design was made in the Monkey Year (Meiwa 2) and Chūryō recorded incorrectly the number of that year and not the name. Of course other literary documents (see Chapter 1) contradict this view, and Haga, like Chūryō, had a personal interest in giving Gennai a significant place in history.
- 20 Stanleigh Jones Jr. (p. 98) mentions that Ōta Nampo was the leader of a kyōkaren. He offers no documentation to support this but if it was so, perhaps it would further explain Gennai's presence in the calendar competition of 1765. Haruko Iwasaki (Harvard) reported in the Japan

Foundation Newsletter (Dec. 1987) that she was conducting research into Ōta Nampo's activities. She has determined that he was responsible for many gatherings of kyōka poets but curiously enough she mentions only those in the 1770's and 1780's.

- 21 The Dutch were required to send a tribute mission to Edo on an annual basis.
- 22 For an accounting of this incident, see Stanleigh Jones Jr., p. 20.
- 23 This is a transliteration of the Dutch term Berlijnsch blauw or, in English, "Prussian blue."
- 24 Supansu guroun was Gennai's transliteration of "Spanish green."
- 25 "Red Hair" was a term the Japanese used to describe the Dutch.
- 26 Taken from Stanleigh Jones Jr., p. 65.
- 27 Shen Nanpin (dates unknown) was in Japan for only two years between 1731 and 1733. Sō Shiseki was probably influenced by his many pupils, the most likely being either Yuhi (1712-1777) or Sō Shigan (dates unknown).
- 28 The basis for this date comes from Sō Shiseki's painting of a lion, illustrated in Hyakusui Hirafuku, Nihon yōga no shoko (Tōkyō 1930), p. 6. It is dated 1768 and its colophon indicates that he derived it from a book in the possession of Gennai. Gennai also recorded that he received the book in 1768. See Stanleigh Jones Jr., p. 68, footnote 101.
- 29 It was mentioned above that one of Gennai's associates in Edo was Hoseidō Kisanji. His official duties included care of the Akita mansion in Edo. Perhaps through this connection Gennai became known to the Akita clan.
- 30 According to Masanobu Hosono, Nagasaki Prints and Early Copperplates (Tōkyō, 1969), p. 61, Shaseichō contains quotes from Gennai's Butsurui Hinshitsu about pigments, illustrations from Groot Schilderboek (Great Painters Book) by Gerard de Laïresse (1641-1711) and a collection of European etchings.
- 31 See Hosono, p. 59.
- 32 Ibid., p. 60.
- 33 Ibid., p. 60.

- 34 These are illustrated in Namban Bijutsu to Yōfūga, Vol. 25 of the series Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1970) plates 60 and 61.
- 35 According to Calvin French, Shiba Kōkan, p. 167, Gennai met Naotake in 1773 when he was in the Akita prefecture. Naotake returned to Edo with Gennai and remained there until he returned to Akita in 1777. In 1778 he came to Edo again but returned to Akita in 1779.
- 36 Stanleigh Jones Jr. (p. 73) quotes the following passage from one of Gennai's letters:

I obtained the other day two paintings by Takesuke (i.e., Odano Naotake) which I had earlier promised you, and I am having them forwarded. As I told you some time ago, they are in the style of painting that I have been promoting.

It is clear from this passage that Gennai had undertaken an active role in the promotion of European-style art. It should be noted as well that there is a portrait painting, executed in oils, of a European lady that has been attributed to Gennai. There is, however, no evidence to support the attribution. It is in the Kobe City Museum collection and is illustrated in Vol. 25, Genshoku nihon no Bijutsu, plate 63.

- 37 Kōkan's Shumparō Hikki and Seiyōga Dan contain these references to his contacts with Gennai. See French, Shiba Kōkan, pp. 41, 42, 79, 121.
- 38 These are illustrated in French, Shiba Kōkan, plates 16, 17, and 18.
- 39 It is entitled "Willow and Waterfowl in Winter" and it is in the collection of Kimiko and John Powers, New York. See French, Shiba Kōkan, p. 101, for an illustration.
- 40 The information I have concerning this comes from French, Shiba Kōkan, p. 182, footnote 6, but apparently French's source was an article by Rintaro Takehana and Fujio Naruse entitled "Odano Naotake to Shiba Kōkan no kankei ni tsuite, Bijutsushi 70, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Septmeber, 1968), pp. 33-51. Apparently, some documents belonging to the Akita clan reported that Odano Naotake taught Western-style painting to Shiba Kōkan. The provenance of those documents is quite complex. For precise details please refer to the citations mentioned here.
- 41 This little-known fact was reported by Robert T. Paine Jr., in the Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston),

No. 42 (1946), pp. 42-45. The article was titled "Japanese Prints by Sō Shiseki in the Literary Man's Style." He illustrated and discussed two calendar prints, one dated 1768 which is discussed below in this text, and another dated 1770.

- 42 Another print of similar design is illustrated in Gentles, AIC, plate 43. Although this print is unsigned (the seal says "Shimpo" and probably belongs to a member of a kyōkaren) it is in Harunobu's style.
- 43 The dai no tsuki (long months) and the nengō (era name) Meiwa 3 (corresponding to 1766), are inscribed in the clear circles of the kimono pattern.
- 44 Robert T. Paine, Jr., "Japanese Prints by Sō Shiseki," Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, No. 42 (1946), p. 44.
- 45 Of course there are other Chinese books that had been imported to Japan in the mid 1700's. Any of them could have easily provided source material for Harunobu. Paine also noted that the Boston collection has two other untitled volumes of Sō Shiseki's books, dated 1771 but prefaced 1769. These too would have to be scrutinized before any solid conclusions could be reached regarding Harunobu's prints in the bird and flower genre.

A. The Uki-e Genre

In the previous chapter it was suggested that Harunobu could have had an introduction to Western-style art through his association with Gennai. Although the frontispiece of the Dodanaeus book has, along with the two portraits, a depiction of a European herb garden rendered in linear perspective, it would take much convoluted reasoning to make a connection between this source and the application of linear perspective as seen in Kōkan's forgeries. Furthermore, as for the low horizons and distant landscapes of Naotake's paintings, although their genesis lay in the same environment in which Harunobu met Gennai, they were undoubtedly produced too late to be of any specific importance to Harunobu's art. The literary and visual evidence presented so far is at best circumstantial, and since the basic intent of this thesis is to show that Harunobu worked in the Western style, we must look to other sources for more conclusive verification.

Twenty or so years prior to Harunobu's rise to prominence, artists of the Ukiyo-e tradition had their first encounter with European art. Sometime in the early 1740's Okumura Masanobu¹ (1686?-1764?) began issuing prints known as uki-e,² in which the architectural elements of the composition were rendered according to the laws of linear perspective. The prototypes on

which Masanobu and his associates based his work have never been convincingly identified, but most scholars acknowledge that his introduction to linear perspective was through imported books--much the same route by which Gennai and his circle were introduced to light, shade, and cast shadow some twenty years later. The prints these artists issued need to be examined, even if only briefly, because they do represent a possible prototypical source on which Harunobu, or his forger, could have based their designs. Although this possibility will seem remote after the ensuing discussion, examination of these prints will suffice to open up a subsequent discussion of another very similar body of art, produced much closer in date and style to Kōkan's forgeries.

The uki-e produced in the 1740's can be divided into three groups according to subject matter. A large number of them depict theatre interiors, relatively fewer are of teahouse interiors, and some present street scenes. Of these three groups, the teahouse interiors are closest in compositional structure to the Harunobu-style perspective prints. Some of these are strictly interior scenes with little or no view of any surrounding landscape. There are, however, some in which the compositional design includes large areas of landscape positioned behind or off to either side of the structure. In that sense they are quite similar to Kōkan's forgeries, and for that reason they will be the focus of this discussion. A representative example is illustrated here in Figure 29.

This print by Okumura Masanobu depicts an evening's revelry in a teahouse situated on the banks of the Sumida River. Through the rooms of the teahouse one can see in the background boaters enjoying the cool evening air. To the left of the teahouse is the famous Ryōgoku Bridge over which people are crossing to the opposite shore. In the top left corner one can see a distant temple, and in the clouds above it, the faint outline of the moon.

In this composition there are a number of characteristics common to nearly all of the early uki-e. Note first that the architectural structure is positioned directly against the picture plane, and that some of its supporting members form a frame around the entire print. Masanobu used this device in his theatre interiors and his street scenes, the latter of which were quite often framed by a large gate. The architectural motif has been rendered according to the laws of linear perspective, that is, most of the parallel lines converge on a single vanishing point. Note, however, that there are some inconsistencies, particularly in the rooms to the right of the main veranda. The floor board that sections off that room from the room on the extreme right is not angled consistently with the converging parallel lines that define the rest of the structure. The balcony behind the figure of a man holding a fan over his head has been rendered in bird's-eye perspective, and because of this it appears as if it is floating away from the ground plane described by the remainder of this motif.

Inconsistency of vanishing point, especially in the adjoining rooms of a teahouse, or the rooms behind the stage in a theatre print, is a trait common to all the early uki-e.

By far the most unusual feature of this print is the relationship of the structure, rendered in linear perspective, to the landscape, which has been depicted from a bird's-eye vantage point. This juxtaposition of visual systems is common to all uki-e produced prior to 1765, in which the artists show some degree of interest in the landscape component of the print. It is precisely this juxtaposition of vantage points that makes these early uki-e so different from the Kōkan's forgeries, which feature a clearly united visual system with the background landscape depicted from the same vantage point as the architectural structure. In other words, Kōkan demonstrated in his forgeries a much more sophisticated and consistent understanding of linear perspective than did those artists who produced the uki-e prints. Of course, the question remains whether or not we are to credit Kōkan with these advances he so clearly demonstrated in his forgeries.

From what is known of extant uki-e prints it seems that 1740-50 was not only the decade in which the genre became popular, but it was also the decade in which that popularity began to wane. Masanobu and Shigenaga produced the largest quantity of designs, but their enthusiasm for this format declined in the early 1750's. Between that time and the inception of nishiki-e productions, the issuance of uki-e designs

was sporadic and choice of subject matter never extended farther than those used by the innovators of the genre. In the five years between 1765 and Harunobu's death in 1770, the artists and patrons of Ukiyo-e shared a one-pointed fascination with the beautiful lady print and as such, uki-e were not produced. Kōkan's forgeries represent not only a return to the uki-e concept, but they are the first examples of uki-e in combination with the beautiful lady genre. It is no coincidence that they were produced at about the same time as Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1811) began to revive the popularity of the uki-e composition. Toyoharu's designs, therefore, warrant some mention in spite of a number of reasons which discount them as source material for Kōkan's forgeries.

Toyoharu was unquestionably the most prolific of uki-e designers from any generation. His range of subjects include pure landscapes, battle scenes, theatre interiors, teahouse interiors, scenes of China, scenes of Europe, and depictions of kabuki dramas. All his compositions demonstrate the same understanding of perspective that is evident in Kōkan's work, but among his one hundred or so uki-e there are none whose compositions are similar enough to be considered prototypes for Kōkan's forgeries. His landscapes are vista-like. Their field of vision encompasses large areas in which the human figures are comparatively small. His teahouse interiors and his scenes from kabuki dramas include in their composition the necessary elements of architecture, landscape, and human figures, but

their field of view is expansive, unlike Kōkan's prints, where the focus is decidedly on the foreground figures.

Most of Toyoharu's uki-e can be eliminated as prototypical material for Kōkan's forgeries by virtue of their production dates. Many have been imprinted with a kiwame censor's seal, which came into use in 1789. In most of those that remain, the women have been depicted with binsashi in their hair, indicating that they were produced after 1774. There are a few designs, although their dating is uncertain, that could have been produced at the earliest in the last year of Harunobu's life and could therefore have had some bearing on Kōkan's work, but as was pointed out above, they are strikingly dissimilar in composition to the forgeries. In this context, one must also consider Toyoharu's beautiful lady prints. In the late 1760's his career had just started, and like the other artists of that time, he was busy issuing prints clearly influenced by Harunobu's style. Finally, it should be noted that there are clearly definable prototypes for Toyoharu's uki-e which demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of linear perspective. One naturally has to assume that these comprised source material as available to Kōkan as they were to Toyoharu.

B. Maruyama Ōkyo's Megane-e

Outside of the early uki-e experiments of the 1740's, the

megane-e of the Kyōto artist Maruyama Ōkyo comprise another large body of Western-style art that predates Harunobu's nishiki-e. Megane-e or "eyeglass pictures" referred to wood-block prints³ designed specifically for a device known as an optical diagonal machine,⁴ illustrated in Figure 30.⁵ Megane-e were placed on a flat surface below this device and their image would be reflected through the viewing lens by the mirror positioned at a forty-five degree angle behind that lens. Such devices were imported into Japan in the late 1750's where they soon became a popular novelty.⁶ From the inscription on Ōkyo's megane-e, it is clear that he produced them for a toy and novelty merchant⁷ in Kyōto between 1759 and 1763.⁸

A quick survey of Ōkyo's work and the background behind the megane-e phenomenon in general, will be beneficial in understanding later developments in uki-e prints. Much of this information is relevant to Harunobu's art as well.

The optical diagonal machine, because of its arrangements of lenses and mirrors, enhanced the three-dimensional appearance of the prints and etchings that were viewed through it. For that reason, the art produced in Europe specifically for use in this device most often depicted landscapes in an exaggerated linear perspective style. An example of a European vue d'optique, as they were popularly known, is shown here in Figure 31. This is an engraving by Edward Rooker (1711-1774) depicting, and titled accordingly, The Grand Walk in the Vauxhall Gardens in London. The linear perspective used in it

is obvious, but not so obvious are two other features which indicate that it was made for an optical diagonal machine. Because of the single mirror used in these devices to reflect the image through the lens, the image the user perceived would appear reversed. The artist, knowing this, would compensate by reversing the image in his design so it would appear correctly through the viewer. The prototype for Rooker's engraving, seen here in Figure 32, is a painting⁹ by Giovanni Antonio Canal (Canaletto) (1697-1768), an artist who excelled at this low vantage point, deep perspective style of composition. One can see that Rooker's design reversed the original.

Besides the reversed image, bilingual titling is also a characteristic of European vues d'optique. When the optical diagonal machine became popular in Europe, the large publishing houses¹⁰ that produced designs could barely keep up with the demand. To maximize the marketability of their designs they were often issued with titles in more than one language.

Sometime in the mid 1700's, optical diagonal machines and etchings designed for them were brought to China from Europe.¹¹ As the device gained popularity, Chinese artists, particularly those in the Suzhou area, began adapting the European designs to Chinese scenes. Figure 33, Trees in Zhejiang, is one example of a woodblock printed,¹² Chinese vues d'optique. It has been speculated¹³ that it is an adaptation of Rooker's Grand Walk. The figures are Chinese and the European buildings have been removed, but the tree-lined boulevard, complete with

cast shadows, is similar to its suggested prototype. There is no record of which engravings went to China, nor are there any known vues d'optique, European or Chinese, in Chinese collections. For that reason, European prototypes for Chinese designs are difficult to identify conclusively.

The fact that the only collection of Chinese vues d'optique are in the Tenri University Library¹⁴ in Nara, provides sufficient cause to suspect that Ōkyo's megane-e are based on Chinese rather than European models. The virtual one-to-one correspondence between a number of Chinese scenes depicted by Ōkyo and the Suzhou prototypes confirms this. Figure 34, View of the Wannian Bridge, Gusu, China, is a megane-e of Ōkyo's. It is based on the Suzhou woodblock illustrated in Figure 35 which, in turn, was based on a Canaletto etching of Westminster Bridge, Figure 36. There are other Ōkyo designs and Suzhou woodblocks in the Tenri collection which illustrate a similar prototypical correspondence.¹⁵

The Tenri Library also possesses a number of Ōkyo's megane-e which depict Japanese subjects. These range from scenes of upper class leisure, as depicted in Figure 37, entitled The Archery Contest of Sanjūsangendō, to genre scenes such as Figure 38, A Theatre in Kyōto.¹⁶ In much the same way that Chinese artists adapted European compositions to Chinese themes, it is presumed that Ōkyo made a similar switch from Chinese to Japanese material. Ōkyo's megane-e lie somewhat outside the mainstream of the Ukiyo-e tradition, but there

is evidence that links his designs to the woodblock prints of Toyoharu. This can be easily demonstrated by Figure 39, Toyoharu's version of the Archery Contest at Sanjusangendo.¹⁷

The significance of Ōkyo's megane-e to the Ukiyo-e tradition rests upon the fact that he was the first Japanese artist to demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of linear perspective. Arguably he obtained his knowledge from the Suzhou artists, but that his first works were copies of Chinese material does not diminish the significance of his contribution. In making the switch from copyist to creator of material based on Japanese themes, he was able to maintain the integrity of a visual system unified by the principles of linear perspective. In none of his work is there the juxtaposition of bird's-eye and linear perspective as was seen in the early uki-e prints. Kōkan and Toyoharu, and for that matter the generations of uki-e designers that succeeded them, were the direct beneficiaries of Ōkyo's knowledge. It remains to be seen if Harunobu can be connected to the megane-e tradition as well.

C. Harunobu's Familiarity with the Megane-e Genre

The popularity of the optical diagonal machine in Kyōto no doubt had its counterpart in Edo. In a print issued by Harunobu and illustrated here as Figure 40, he depicts two people enjoying this novelty. Obviously, he knew enough of

the device to be able to depict it so precisely. The title of this print, written in the cartouche, says Tama River of Mount Kōya, indicating that it was part of the popular "Six Tama Rivers" theme that Harunobu depicted a number of times. Harunobu never produced pure landscape prints, and in the themes he depicted which alluded to specific topographical sites, the landscape elements were always subjugated under his overriding concern with the human form. Similarly, the landscape elements in this print, which have considerable significance to the theme, are present only in the composition of the megane-e under the viewing machine.

Although this miniature landscape has no part of its composition rendered in linear perspective, the fact that it is a landscape is significant. In the Ukiyo-e tradition, landscapes comprise a genre unto themselves, but their genesis occurred after Harunobu's death. Prior to Harunobu's time the closest thing to a landscape print was produced in the 1720's and 1730's by Nishimura Shigenaga.¹⁸ In two untitled series he depicted the Eight Views of Ōmi and the Eight Views of Lake Biwa, both popular subjects for the more painterly arts. By comparison, these prints show much more concern with landscape than do the figure prints of his contemporaries.¹⁹ Nonetheless, there is in Shigenaga's designs a focus on the human figures that effectively removes these prints from consideration as pure landscapes per se. Toyoharu was the next Ukiyo-e artist to depict landscapes, but as was mentioned above, these were

produced just before Harunobu's death at the earliest. In the intervening years between Shigenaga's prints and Toyoharu's, landscapes were depicted primarily for use in optical diagonal machines. That Harunobu chose a landscape as the subject for the image under the viewer he depicted in the Tama River at Mt. Kōya print, indicates his familiarity with the subjects most often chosen for megane-e designs. Other internal evidence in that print adds additional support for this observation.

Ōkyo's megane-e, many of the Suzhou prototypes, and Toyoharu's earliest uki-e²⁰ are contained within wide, dark borders.²¹ One reason for the use of a dark frame around these designs is that there were a variety of European and Japanese (and possibly Chinese) viewing machines in use at that time. Some were adjustable, like the one Harunobu depicted, and the mirror and lens assembly could be raised and lowered to accommodate different-sized prints. Others, however, had no adjustments and therefore were perhaps limited in the size of print they could accommodate. For the convenience of easier placement under different types of viewers, the frame was vital in that regard. Their generally ample width would allow for simpler or no adjustments. Furthermore, a dark frame would help the user focus his vision on the image by deadening the glare and reflections produced by the room lighting. Harunobu's familiarity with the megane-e genre was precise enough to have him frame his Mt. Kōya landscape in a fashion

similar to what was commonly done in the genre he was imitating. It seems entirely possible, then, that he may have experimented with images related in some way to those produced for optical diagonal viewers.

D. New Evidence: A Harunobu Perspective Print

I would like to introduce now a print from the collection of the Oregon Art Institute²² illustrated here as Figure 41. To Harunobu scholars, this untitled, badly damaged,²³ and strangely conceived design will no doubt prove controversial. The fact that the print is a landscape puts it outside Harunobu's most common choice of subject, the human form. Furthermore, that it depicts a view of a harbour in China, confirmed by Chinese attire worn by the people in the scene, makes it even more unusual. In the face of these observations, if one were to remove the signature from this print, there would be no reason at all to consider it as Harunobu's.

On the other hand, it is precisely the characteristics and features of this print, described in the above observations, that make it a prime candidate to be a megane-e derivative. It contains the necessary elements of linear perspective, and the fact that it takes as its theme a scene of China is certainly in keeping with Suzhou prototypes upon which Ōkyo based his work. Given Harunobu's familiarity with the megane-e tradition, this print is really not that unusual. It would seem

only natural that an artist, familiar with something as unique as the megane-e, would eventually experiment with those characteristics that made them so unique, that is, Chinese themes and linear perspective. Thus, there is some justification to consider the O.A.I.²⁴ print as Harunobu's. An indisputable authentication is, however, not so easily come by.

Unlike Harunobu's figure prints, of which there are an abundance of designs to which comparisons can be made, the O.A.I. print, because its subject and composition are so unusual, has little to which it can be compared. Scattered throughout Harunobu's nishiki-e, in the bits and pieces of landscape that form backgrounds to his figures, one can find a large repertoire of motifs which, in form and style, resemble what can be seen in the O.A.I. print. These include trees rendered in the dot style seen on the right, the huts in behind those trees, the houses built on pylons seen in the upper right corner, groupings of boats like those at the end of the pier, distant boats like those on the horizon, distant mountains sketched with the same hatching strokes as those in this print, and birds soaring in the distant skies. These similarities could be illustrated and discussed at length and still a conclusive attribution of the O.A.I. print would remain elusive. They are, after all, only secondary motifs in the O.A.I. print, and in Harunobu's figure prints their importance to the theme and their significance to the structure of the composition is minimal at best. Furthermore, as I have not yet

discussed the dating of the O.A.I. print, comparisons of it to Harunobu's nishiki-e (i.e., prints made after 1765) may be premature.

In regard to the fact that the O.A.I. print takes as its subject a scene in China, I know of only one other similar print by Harunobu. It is in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago and is entitled Chinese Scene. It is illustrated here in Figure 42.

Apart from the thematic similarities between Chinese Scene and the O.A.I. print, they both utilize the same motif of a low arched, stone bridge approached by a promenade on either side.²⁵ A shared motif such as this in no way precludes the authenticity of the O.A.I. print, but the fact that it has in both prints been rendered in a uniquely sophisticated way is perhaps indicative of a common source. In the O.A.I. print, the low vantage point from which the foreground motifs have been depicted permits a view of both the underside and the top-side of the bridge. The unique "roll" or "twist" this motif possesses has been duplicated in reverse in Chinese Scene despite the fact that the vantage point is considerably higher in that print. An arched bridge viewed in such a manner was unique to Japanese art at the time. One need only compare this view to the bird's-eye-view of the bridge in Masanobu's teahouse interior (Figure 29) to see the difference. In this small way, Harunobu's Chinese Scene may in part help to authenticate the O.A.I. Print.

In terms of comparative internal evidence, the signature on this print may also help to make its authentication more conclusive. In Harunobu's short career there seemed to be one major change in form of his signature--from his full name, "Suzuki Harunobu" to its shortened version, "Harunobu."²⁶ Apart from this, there are some minor changes in the calligraphy of individual characters, but these are more apparent in the shortened version. He wrote the word "Suzuki" fairly consistently and this consistency is most evident in the way he formed the character "suzu" (鈴). In the "kin" or "gold" radical on the left, a trademark of his personal calligraphic style is evident in the two small strokes that straddle the long vertical spine of the character. In "block style" writing these would both angle down from the outside of the radical towards the spine (𠂔). Harunobu usually wrote this radical in a more cursive style, in which these two strokes were connected with a thin horizontal line (𠂔). The stroke on the right side of the spine would angle opposite to normal direction. Sometimes, as seen in Figures 43 and 44, details from the O.A.I. print and one of his nishiki-e, the horizontal connecting stroke would be made so quickly that it would disappear altogether. Nonetheless, the final vertical stroke would retain its characteristically opposite angle. This calligraphic feature and the manner in which the right side element of that character (𠂔) encroaches on the kin radical in such a way that it appears to be tucked underneath it,

comprise two clearly distinguishable features of Harunobu's calligraphy which appear consistently in all his prints bearing the full signature. The "Harunobu" portion of his signature on the O.A.I. print has been partially obscured by what appears to be water damage. Any corroborating evidence here is impossible to discern. The process by which the O.A.I. print can be dated in itself provides further evidence for its authenticity.

The fact that the O.A.I. print is not a nishiki-e,²⁷ argues strongly for a pre-1765 date. This is supported by a number of correlations. In the discussion above it was suggested that the print, Chinese Scene, was related to the O.A.I. print. The manner of depicting the low-arched, stone bridge, common to both prints, could only have come from a low vantage point composition. For that reason it is possible that Chinese Scene may have been a derivative of the O.A.I. print or both prints may have stemmed from the same prototype. Since the colouring scheme of Chinese Scene is also pre-nishiki-e,²⁸ it is safe to assume that Harunobu was experimenting with megane-e derived, thematically Chinese material sometime before 1765. This assumption seems to fit well with what little we know of Harunobu's formative years.

Before the inception of nishiki-e production, Harunobu produced a number of prints which emphasized landscape. One series, entitled Six Saints of Poetry, is shown here in Figure 45. It was conceived in the same hoso-e format and coloured by the same method as Chinese Scene. It is evident from

Harunobu's actor prints that at that time in his career he was producing designs similar in style to Torii Kiyomitsu. It is no surprise that Harunobu's Six Saints of Poetry series bears a close resemblance to the Kiyomitsu hoso-e illustrated here in Figure 46. Another of Harunobu's pre-nishiki-e prints (Figure 47) demonstrates that his interest in landscape extended to his early figure prints. The sketch-like qualities of its middle and distant views is similar to the manner in which he depicted the landscape elements of the O.A.I. print. If these early prints are compared to Harunobu's calendar prints and to the designs of all other Ukiyo-e artists who worked in the decade prior to 1765, the amount of landscape they contain is considerable. In other words, Harunobu seemed to be predisposed to working with landscapes at that time. The O.A.I. print can be seen as a natural extension of this predisposition.

In the discussion above it was noted that the O.A.I. print depicts a Chinese scene in a manner incorporating linear perspective. This suggests that it may have been based on a Suzhou vues d'optique, or a Japanese megane-e of a Chinese scene. The low-arched, stone bridge in the O.A.I. print was shown to be similar to that in Harunobu's Chinese Scene by the unique manner in which it was depicted. The signature on the O.A.I. print was shown to be consistent with Harunobu's calligraphic style. Furthermore the dating of this print places it within a period in Harunobu's career when he was known to have been experimenting with landscape.

Although each of these arguments is inconclusive in itself, taken together the evidence provides solid grounds to confirm the attribution of the O.A.I. print to Harunobu. This being accepted, an analysis of the print's formal and stylistic qualities will help to clarify the context in which Harunobu designed it.

It appears from the way in which the artist rendered the elements of the O.A.I. design that it may actually be a composite of sorts. The upper portions of the composition, meaning the middle and distant landscapes that protrude from the right border of the print, have a loose, sketch-like quality. The scene has been captured quite aptly, but the structure and form of the distant mountains, and the near shoreline of the middle ground, are ambiguous due to the rather haphazard application of texture strokes.

By contrast, in the rendering of the foreground motifs, particularly those that required attentiveness to the rules of linear perspective, there is evidence of a much more systematic meticulousness on the part of the artist. Great attention has been paid to the linearity of the motifs. Notice the comparatively cleaner look to the image, facilitated mostly by crisper line. This is particularly evident in those architectural structures, like the wall along the promenade, that give the print its perspective qualities. Meticulous linearity is of tantamount importance to perspective prints, a prerequisite of sorts, and that in itself may be its raison d'etre. But the

fact that the same meticulous line is used to depict the boat in the foreground most probably indicates that these parts of the design were carefully copied from another source. The upper part of the image, and perhaps the left bank of the harbour, may have been simply added to balance the design. Certainly they do not help maintain the illusion of a continuous ground plane, unbroken to the horizon.

In terms of what we know of Harunobu's familiarity with the megane-e genre, a print like the O.A.I. landscape is perhaps an example of experimentation on his part, with the linear perspective he may have encountered in a Chinese vues d'optique or a Japanized derivative. The inconsistency of vanishing points between the left and right banks of the harbour, the fact that neither vanishing point sits on the horizon, and the combination of a sketch-like and meticulously linear style characterize the experimental quality of this print. Despite the incongruous mix of styles and despite the inconsistencies in the design, in this experimental print Harunobu has shown clearly that he was aware of the relationship between perspective and the view of a distant landscape clustered around a low horizon. All of the essential elements required to create a perspective print are present in the O.A.I. design in crude rudimentary forms.

NOTES CHAPTER 3

- 1 Okumura Masanobu is considered by most scholars to be the originator of uki-e but this has never been proven conclusively.
- 2 The origin of this term is unclear, but the early practitioners of uki-e used it from the outset.
- 3 Some of the earlier megane-e were hand-drawn. The later ones were printed but hand-coloured.
- 4 "Optical Diagonal Machine" or "zograscope" are English names; in French, it is optique; in German, guckkast, in Dutch, optica or optica-toestel. The Japanese name was nozoki karakuri.
- 5 There are a variety of makes and designs. The one pictured here was popular in France and England.
- 6 The history of the optical diagonal machine in Europe, China, and Japan is not clear. The most extensive treatment I have seen is Julian Lee, The Origin and Development of Japanese Landscape Prints: A Study in the Synthesis of Eastern and Western Art, diss., U. Washington, 1977. He provides a thorough introduction to the types of machines, the art produced for them, their popular appeal in China and Japan, and the effect they had on Japanese art. There are tremendous problems with the dating of everything to do with this topic. For that reason, all the dates I have quoted so far and will quote in this discussion of megane-e should be accepted in only the most general sense.
- 7 Many of Ōkyo's works are inscribed with "Owariya Kambei" seals. He was the proprietor of the toy store.
- 8 These dates seem verifiable. Julian Lee (p. 307) discusses two megane-e depicting the theatre districts in Kyōto. From the banners and posters in these prints, which advertise specific plays performed by specific actors, it is possible to determine the dates of the prints by correlating them to the dates of the performances, provided that one believes the print was issued at the same time as the performance.
- 9 Many of Canaletto's paintings were made into etchings by other artists. It is conceivable that Rooker based his design on one of these as opposed to the original painting.

- 10 According to Julian Lee (p. 263) there were four publishers of vues d'optique, one each in Paris, London, Augsburg, and Bassano.
- 11 Exactly which of the thirteen European nations trading with China at that time brought the optical diagonal machine to China is not known. Nor is the exact date.
- 12 Woodblock printing was the only means of mass producing art in Asia at that time.
- 13 By Julian Lee, p. 267.
- 14 Most of this collection is illustrated in Julian Lee.
- 15 For example, Ōkyo made three copies of the Chinese vues d'optique, Trees in Zhejiang, illustrated above as Figure 33.
- 16 According to Julian Lee (p. 286) the production of genre scenes corresponds to a shift in the popularity of megane-e from the upper to the lower classes. He used this idea to suggest a dating for Ōkyo's designs but failed to take into account the long history of genre painting patronized by the upper class.
- 17 In this particular print it is possible to see a direct connection between Ōkyo and Toyoharu, but it seems apparent from the evidence presented by Julian Lee that two, lesser-known Kyōto artists, Fuinsai and Kōkkadō, were the first to copy Ōkyo's work. They produced stencil coloured versions of many of Ōkyo's megane-e, and it is possible that these may have been the prototypes to which Toyoharu turned for his uki-e.
- 18 These are illustrated in Howard Link, Primitive Ukiyo-e (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), pp. 155-158.
- 19 Excluding, of course, the uki-e prints from that period.
- 20 Not all megane-e have borders, which may indicate that they could be enjoyed without the optical diagonal machine. There is, however, evidence that many of the borders were cropped off when some prints, especially those of Ōkyo, were remounted in other formats.
- 21 Toyoharu produced a number of very small uki-e in which two scenes, each measuring 11 x 15 cm, were printed side-by-side on a single hosoban sheet of paper. These have particularly wide borders; this, along with their small size, indicates that they were made specifically for

viewing machines. Julian Lee (pp. 845, 849) illustrates some examples. The presence of similar borders formed by the architectural motifs in the early uki-e, makes one wonder if they too were meant for viewing machines. This idea has never been explored to my knowledge.

- 22 In June of 1987, Donald Jenkins, the curator of Asian Art at the Oregon Art Institute (formerly the Portland Museum of Art), courteously agreed to spend an afternoon with me looking at Harunobu's prints in that collection. This particular print was in the back of Harunobu's folder and to Mr. Jenkins' knowledge it had never been exhibited nor illustrated in any scholarly publication.
- 23 The edges of the print are rather ragged. It is very faded and stained in some areas.
- 24 This acronym will be used henceforth when referring to the Oregon Art Institute.
- 25 This same type of bridge can be seen in Ōkyo's megane-e entitled Lake Qingcao which is illustrated in Figure 101, Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu, volume 25. Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1970.
- 26 Donald Jenkins informed me that the longer signature was used more often in the early years of Harunobu's nishiki-e production. Harunobu's pre-nishiki-e prints, however, use both the long and short forms.
- 27 It was coloured with beni, yellow, and perhaps some blue. This combination of pigments indicates that it is most likely a benizuri-e, the most popular print prior to 1765.
- 28 Chinese Scene is a mizu-e. These were popular just prior to the introduction of polychrome printing.

A. The Reattribution of Forgeries

In Chapter 1, I criticized the long-standing tendency among scholars to use the presence of linear perspective in a Harunobu-style print as the main criterion by which to attribute the print to Shiba Kōkan, a self-admitted forger of Harunobu's designs. Specifically, I challenged the logic of that scholarship. I said:

If indeed Western-style linear perspective is a unique compositional element indicative of the hand of Shiba Kōkan, why would he, acting with the intent of forging the prints of Harunobu, introduce to those forgeries something totally foreign to Harunobu's style?

Chapters 2 and 3 introduced evidence and arguments which affirmed that Harunobu was in some ways susceptible to the currents of Western-derived influences at work in Japanese visual art at that time. Given such an affirmation, the so-called forgeries must be re-evaluated. No longer does it seem so illogical for Kōkan to have added linear perspective to the composition of a print he intended to pass off as a Harunobu original. In doing this, he simply extended in his art a trend toward Westernization that Harunobu had begun earlier in his career. If this is so, then linear perspective in a Harunobu-style print no longer automatically and exclusively means that such a print is a forgery.

In Chapter 1, I analysed four forgeries according to various stylistic and calligraphic features. Even ignoring the linear perspective in those prints, the criteria that arose from that analysis provided a workable means to support the attribution of those prints to Shiba Kōkan. Among this group (Figures 5, 9, 11, and 13) none therefore are suitable for re-evaluation. There exist three other questionable prints that warrant similar scrutiny--but now with the knowledge that Harunobu was familiar with linear perspective.

Of the prints commonly considered to be Kōkan forgeries, Figure 48 is particularly difficult to assess. The human forms, as they have been depicted here, show none of the overt anatomical problems so clearly visible in the other forgeries, and yet their faces betray a maturity uncommon to Harunobu's prints. The signature, an enlargement of which is shown in Figure 49, is most assuredly in the style of Kōkan and as such is probably the most convincing evidence to attribute this print to the forger.¹

Figure 50 is compositionally unlike any of the other forgeries. The room, containing two figures seated around a writing table, and its adjoining veranda have been conceived in bird's eye perspective, and hence the structure retains the strong diagonals and sloping floors common to that compositional style. The structure behind those figures has been depicted according to the rules of linear perspective, and the background landscape fits into that conception accordingly. From

the compositional standpoint Figure 50 possesses the juxtaposition of visual systems common to many of Harunobu's prints in which he conveyed some concern for a level ground plane and a comparatively deeper recession into the distance. In that sense, this print fits nicely within the confines of Harunobu's compositional repertoire. An analysis of the figures themselves in a search for anatomical irregularities is hampered somewhat by the fact that there are no standing figures on which to base a comparison. Such being the case, the most that can be said is that they have the youthful robust look common to Harunobu but uncommon in Kōkan's prints. Finally, the signature is more in keeping with Harunobu's calligraphic style.

Among the prints once assumed to be Kōkan's forgeries, Figure 51 in particular is the strongest candidate for reattribution to Harunobu. The figures depicted show none of the anatomical inconsistencies found in Kōkan's prints, and in their facial features they are the most Harunobu-like of the lot. Furthermore, the signature on this print is most definitely Harunobu's.²

B. Western-style Art in the Context of Harunobu's Nishiki-e

Of all the evidence presented here to demonstrate Harunobu's exposure to the influences of concepts and techniques derived from European art, the O.A.I. print is the most

crucial. It is the one verifiably authentic extant example of Harunobu's exploration of linear perspective. Even the reattributed forgeries, which now seem in all probability to be Harunobu's work, would not be attributable to him without the affirmation provided by the O.A.I. print that Harunobu was familiar with the rudiments of perspective compositions. However, by virtue of the differences in theme and composition between it and the reattributed forgeries, it certainly does not constitute a viable prototype for those later prints.

The reattributed forgeries, if they come to be accepted as authentic Harunobu designs, could be considered as prototypes for Kōkan's forgeries. Certainly those two groups of prints are similar enough in conception if not in detail to be considered in such a relationship. Yet the fact remains that a wide gulf exists between the O.A.I. print and the later material. Although clear prototypes are not to be found, I believe it is possible to bridge this gap.

The fact that Harunobu was working in the Western manner before he rose to popularity with the inception of nishiki-e production is significant for a number of reasons, the least of these being that we now know a little more of what he was doing during his formative period. This has a profound bearing on our understanding of his nishiki-e in that it is now possible to define, in part, the basis of his compositional aesthetic.

Figure 52, entitled Courtesan Playing a Samisen, represents one of five Harunobu prints³ which are compositionally

unique because of the manner in which the landscape has been depicted. It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that linear perspective required of the artist a certain degree of understanding of its principles. In this print Harunobu has demonstrated such an understanding, for his landscape affords the viewer a level, unobstructed view underneath a bridge to a clearly defined horizon. Compare this view of the bridge with that in Masanobu's teahouse interior (Figure 29), and compare this view of the landscape with those in Ōkyo's megane-e (Figures 37 and 38) or Kōkan's forgeries (Figures 5, 9, 11, 13, 48). It should be evident that Harunobu is demonstrating that clear difference in understanding possessed by only the later generation of Western-style artists.

Prior to 1765 Harunobu was experimenting with landscape as a backdrop in his figure prints. The evidence presented so far indicates that his experiments extended into the realm of Western-influenced compositions. With the advent of nishiki-e production, he rose to popularity primarily as an illustrator of beautiful women and, as such, tended in the earliest years of his popularity to exploit that aspect of his ability. His calendar prints are the simplest of his compositions in that the figures are set in a minimal environment.⁴ Shortly after Harunobu renewed his fascination with the setting of his figures. Of the compositional types he explored, ten percent⁵ of his designs show an interest in middle and distant landscape and all of these depict the landscape motifs in a manner that

implies a level recession of the ground plane. The "view under a bridge" prints are by far the most sophisticated, but there are others, like those illustrated here as Figures 53 and 54, which included in their design distant views of low horizons.⁶ The composition of these prints, unique among the Ukiyo-e produced before them, represents the assimilation into his prints of landscape as it was depicted in European-influenced linear perspective compositions.

There is an implied chronology to the series of prints discussed so far in this chapter. The beginning of that chronology is represented by the O.A.I. print, with its production date being sometime before 1765. The end of the chronology is anchored by Harunobu's death in 1770. Just prior to this he produced the reattributed forgeries (Figures 50 and 51) and shortly after Kōkan issued his forgeries. From the period between 1765 and 1770 we have a number of Harunobu's nishiki-e which contain landscape motifs rendered in a manner similar to what is commonly found in perspective compositions. His "view under a bridge" prints collectively represent the most sophisticated of the sort of intermediary designs he produced between 1765 and 1770. Although they do not depict the architectural motifs in linear perspective, the rendition of the landscape elements approaches that which is seen in the reattributed forgeries and Kōkan's prints. With these intermediary prints in the sequence one must also include Harunobu's Tama River of Mt. Kōya print (Figure 40), since it is a nishiki-e and since

it contains an accurate illustration of an optical diagonal machine.

The O.A.I. design is Chinese in theme, implying that its prototype was a Suzhou vues d'optique or a Japanese derivative of one. As the megane-e genre developed popular appeal, Japanese themes took precedence over Chinese material. Ōkyo replicated the "view under a bridge" concept in the megane-e depicted here as Figure 55. It is clearly a Chinese scene, but he also used the same concept to illustrate Japanese themes.⁷ It is likely that Harunobu adopted this compositional scheme from one of the Japanese versions because his bridges are of the arched, wooden variety found in the depictions of Japanese topography but not in those of China. The forgeries, reattributed or otherwise, are similar to some of Ōkyo's teahouse interiors in that the architectural motif is on the right side of the composition and the perspective view of the landscape is on the left.⁸ The attention given to the foreground figures in the forgeries is, however, something quite new, although it is certainly in keeping with Harunobu's aesthetic preferences.

The evidence clearly shows that Harunobu's exposure to megane-e related material was of a continuous nature. The prints he issued between 1765 and 1770 make reference to different aspects of that tradition. There may not now be a clear prototype for those prints once assumed to be Kōkan's forgeries, but in the context I have recreated above, the possibility that they existed at one time seems great.

C. Concluding Remarks

Of the many artistic schools and traditions that flourished in the Edo period it is a testament to the adventuresome creativity of the Ukiyo-e artists that their genre maintained over the longest period of time the strongest fascination with Western-style art. From the uki-e of the 1740's through the landscapes of Toyoharu, Hokusai, and Kuniyoshi, one can perceive a continuity to their experiments with perspective and chiaroscuro. Similar interests can be found here and there in the works of the Ōkyo-Shijō school and to a lesser extent among Nanga paintings, and although the Yōfūga artists like Odano Naotake, Shiba Kōkan, and Aōdō Denzen could possibly be organized into a continuous tradition, it would still be no match for the Western-style tradition within Ukiyo-e.

It is possible to visualize the chronological stream of Ukiyo-e being intersected at various points by currents carrying in their flow influences ultimately derived from European art. Harunobu's significance to the Westernization of Ukiyo-e arises in part because he occupied a position situated at one such point of confluence.

It should be clear from the evidence and the arguments presented in this thesis that Harunobu's immediate artistic environment conditioned receptivity to these cross-currents of outside influence. Through the auspices of the calendar competition members of the kyōkaren brought a new literary element

to Ukiyo-e. Gennai and his circle of artists stimulated an interest in European art and the megane-e of Ōkyo and his followers brought a new understanding of linear perspective to the already strong uki-e tradition. Collectively Harunobu's prints comprise a record of these new currents as they entered Ukiyo-e. Yet his prints reveal that he was more than someone merely in tune with his times; they reveal a willingness on his part to experiment, to understand, and to innovate with the new material available to him.

His calendar print entitled Woman Looking at the Shadow of Her Parasol demonstrated the first use of cast shadow in Japanese art. The O.A.I. print is perhaps the earliest Ukiyo-e print to approach the realm of pure landscape. His "view under a bridge" prints demonstrated a unique amalgam of a landscape conceived in a European fashion and the bijin theme. Those prints once assumed to be Shiba Kōkan's forgeries, represent the introduction of linear perspective to the bijin-ga tradition. Surely, in light of these innovative achievements, Harunobu ought to be accorded a position in the history of Western-style art in Japan.

NOTES CHAPTER 4

- 1 Calvin French, Shiba Kōkan, p. 32 went to great lengths to prove this print was a forgery. He spoke about the still left arm and the posture of the young man seen here holding the fan, claiming that this was unlike any of Harunobu's prints when in fact there are numerous Harunobu prints in which this can be seen. The authentic Harunobu print to which he made his comparisons was so different from this forgery that his analysis was akin to comparing apples with oranges. Nonetheless, his comments about the mature look of the faces were appropriate but like Waterhouse and Hillier, he too emphasized the presence of linear perspective in this print as the prime indicator of Kōkan's hand.
- 2 This was Higuchi's conclusion as well. See Higuchi, "Shiba Kōkan (Harunobu Gisaku) to Suzuki Harunobu Kōkaiki ni tsuite no, ni san no mondai," Bunka Shigaku, #42, 1986, pp. 23-41.
- 3 The other four are illustrated in Seiichirō Takahashi, Harunobu (Tōkyō and Palo Alto, CA: Kōdansha, 1968), p. 90; Jacob Pins, The Japanese Pillar Print, Hashira-e (London: Robert G. Sawers, 1982), p. 123, Illustrated Catalogues of Tōkyō National Museum Ukiyo-e Prints 1 (Tōkyō: 1960), plate 438; Hillier, Suzuki Harunobu, plate 126.
- 4 Exactly what role the designers of these prints had in formulating their compositional structure is unknown but perhaps this simplicity somehow reflects an aesthetic fostered by hatamoto sensibility.
- 5 This figure is a result of surveys I have conducted of the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago and the Tōkyō National Museum.
- 6 The Tōkyō National Museum Collection has a proportionately large number of prints which use this type of composition. See Illustrated Catalogues of the Tōkyō National Museum Ukiyo-e Prints 1, illustrations 438, 450, 451, 452, 481, 500, 535, 560.
- 7 Ōkyo's megane-e is entitled Festival of the Tamma Shrine in Ōsaka. Fuinsai and Kōkkadō replicated it as did Toyoharu. They are illustrated in Julian Lee, pp. 816, 832, and 849, respectively.
- 8 The early uki-e have this configuration as well, but they do not have the adjoining landscape integrated into the perspective system.



FIGURE 1. Suzuki Harunobu. Girl in a Summer Shower.

FIGURE 2. Harunobu, Three Sake Tasters.



FIGURE 3. Harunobu, Daruma Crossing the Water on a Reed.



FIGURE 4. Harunobu, Shōki Carrying Girl.



FIGURE 5. Shiba Kōkan (as Harunobu's forger), Making a Snowball.



FIGURE 6. Harunobu, The Snow Dog.



FIGURE 7. Harunobu, illustration from Ehon Haru no nishiki.

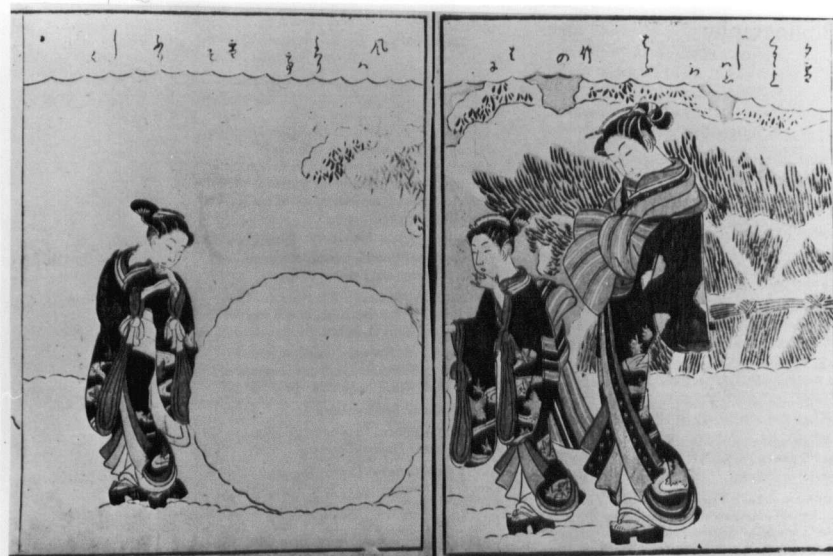


FIGURE 8. Harushige, Moon in the Gay Quarters of Shinagawa.



FIGURE 9. Shiba Kōkan (as Harunobu's fogger), Beauty on the Veranda.



FIGURE 10. Harushige, The Archery Gallery.



FIGURE 11. Shiba Kōkan (as Harunobu's forger), Flying a Kite.

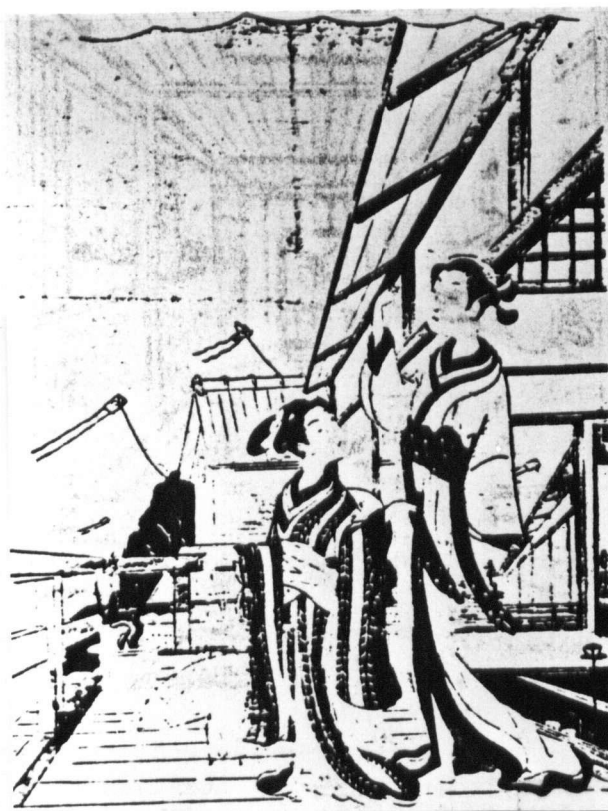


FIGURE 12. Harushige, The Fukagawa Brothel.



FIGURE 13. Shiba Kōkan (as Harunobu's forger), Courtesan Reading a Letter.

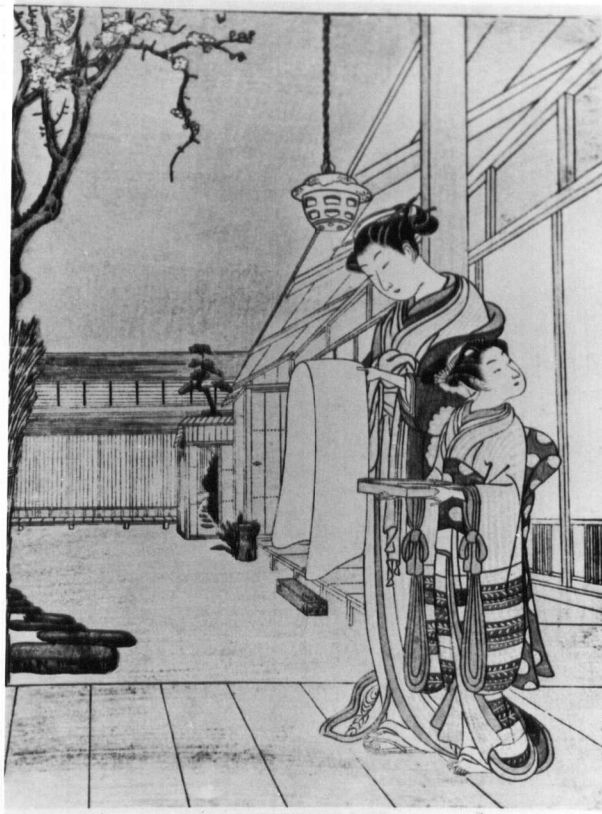


FIGURE 14. Kōkan, Forgery of Harunobu's Signature, detail of Fig. 9.

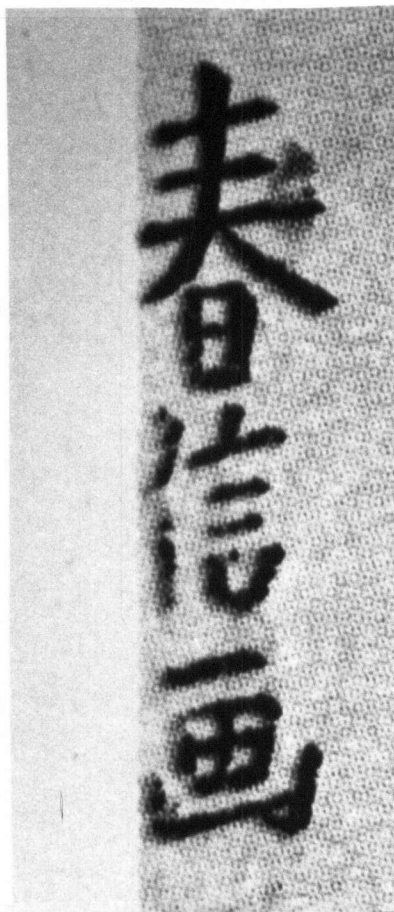


FIGURE 15. Harunobu's signature.

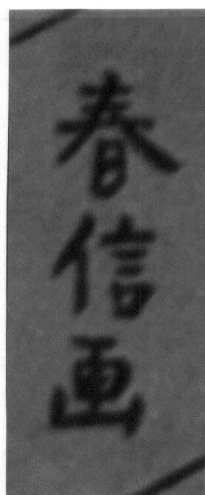




FIGURE 18. Harunobu, Returning Sails at Shinagawa.



FIGURE 19. Sō Shiseki, Lion Illustration.

FIGURE 20. Lion illustration taken from Jonston's text.

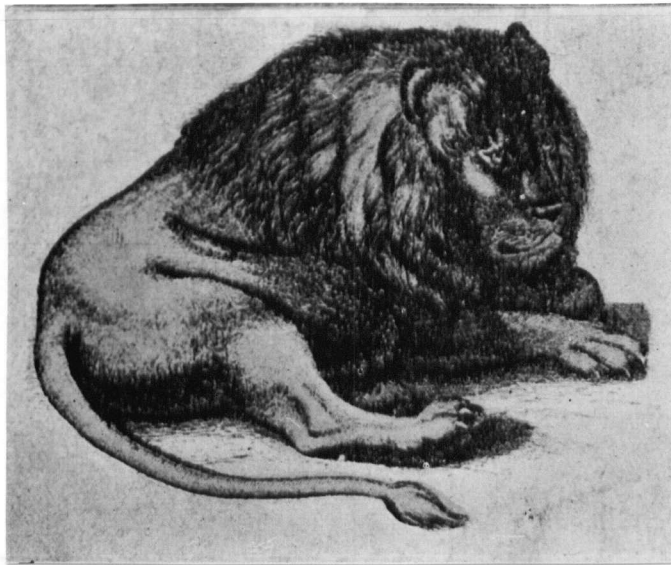


FIGURE 21. Odano Naotake. Shinobazu Pond.





FIGURE 22. Frontispiece from Rembertus Dodanaeu's Kruyt Boeck.



FIGURE 23. Harunobu, pillar print.

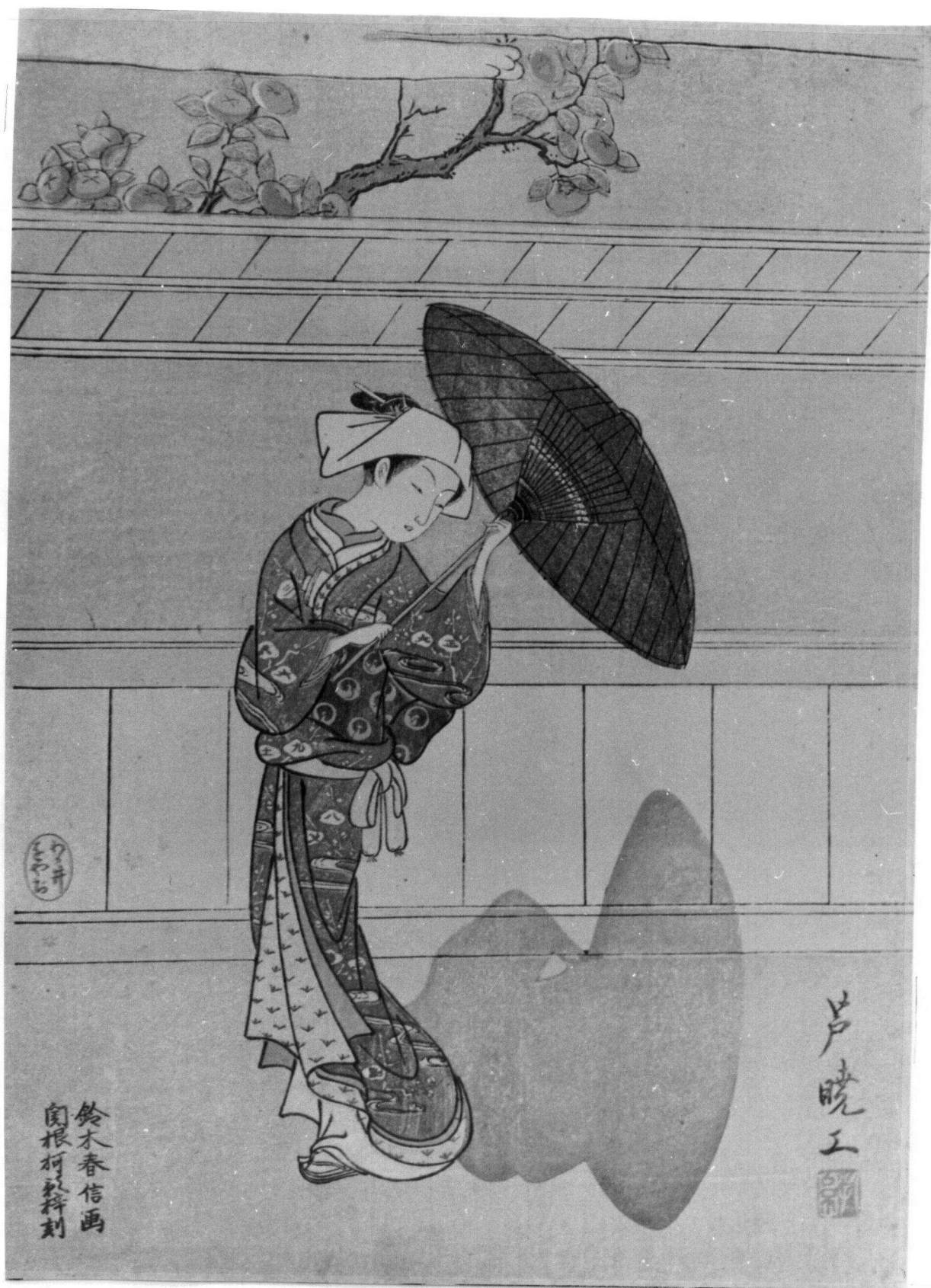


FIGURE 24. Harunobu, Girl Looking at the Shadow of Her Parasol.

FIGURE 25. Sō Shiseki, Fivefold Longlife.



FIGURE 26. Harunobu, Bowl of Chrysanthemums.

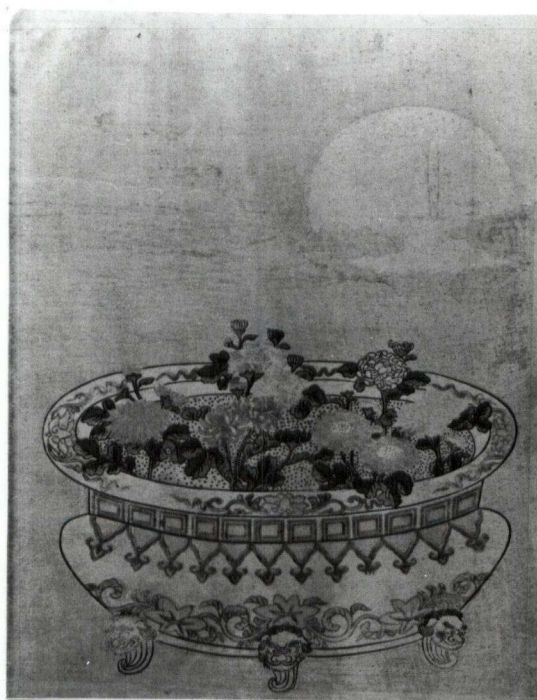


FIGURE 27. Harunobu, Stag.

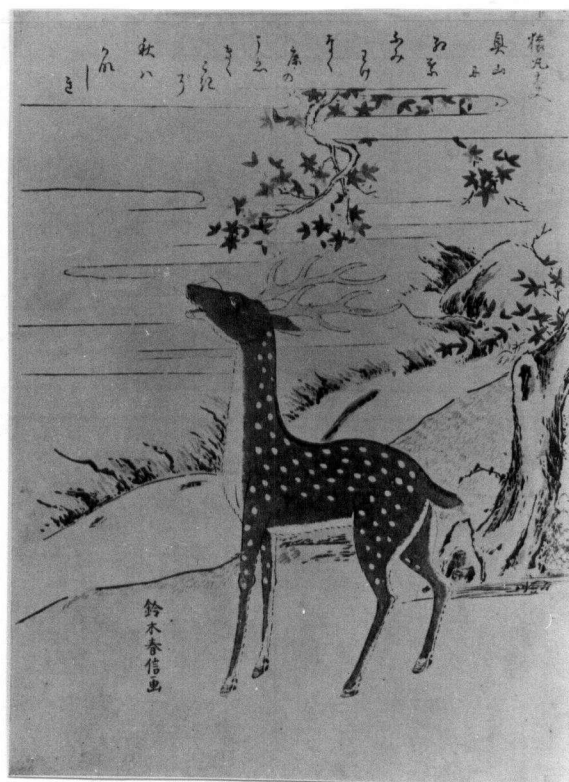


FIGURE 28. Shen Nanpin, Deer.





FIGURE 29. Okumura Masanobu, Evening Cool by Ryōgoku Bridge.

FIGURE 30. Optical viewing device.

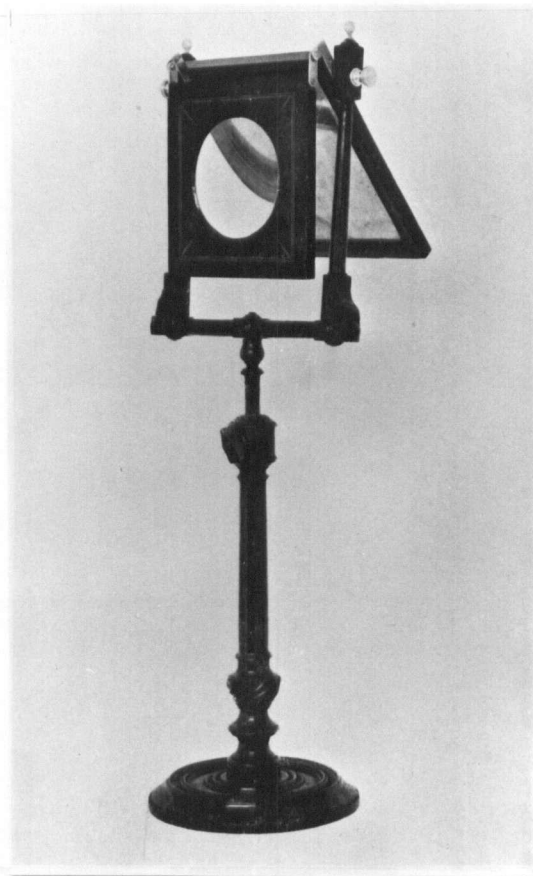


FIGURE 31. Edward Rooker, The Grand Walk in the Vauxhall Gardens in London.

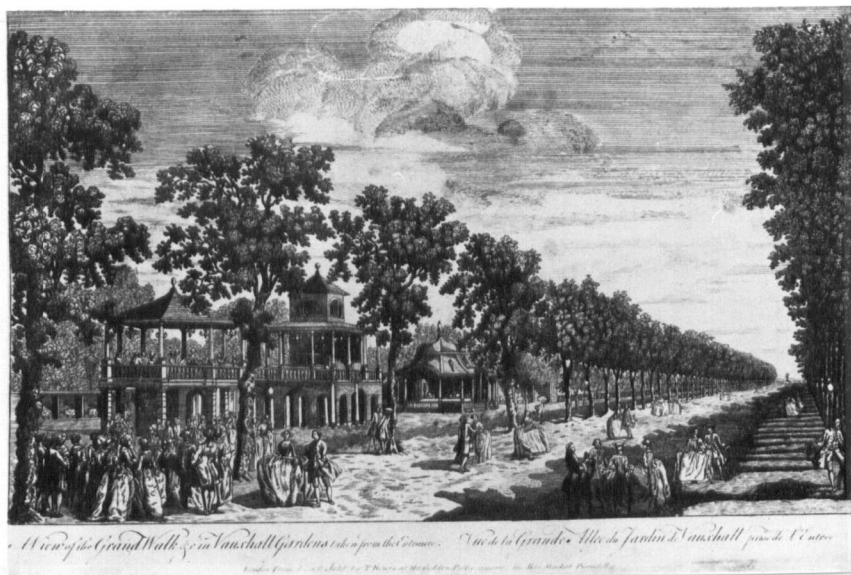


FIGURE 32. Giovanni Antonio Canal, Vauxhall Gardens in London.

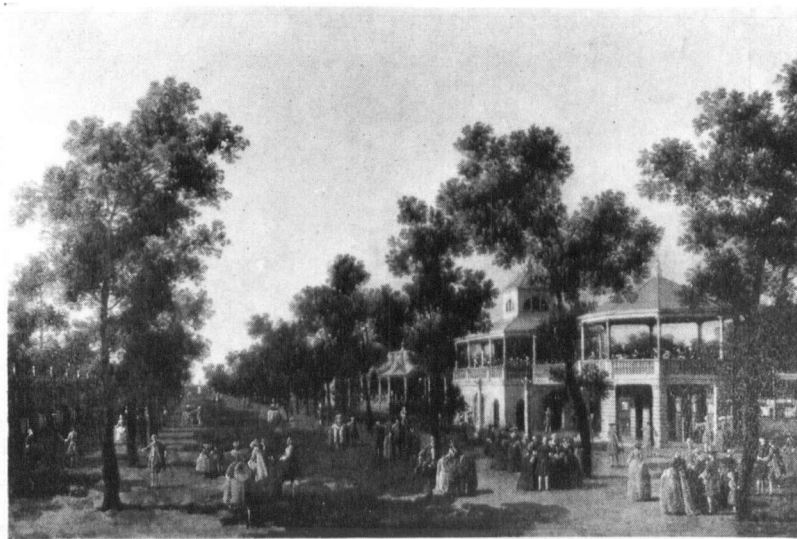


FIGURE 33. Anonymous Suzhou artist, Trees in Zhejiang.

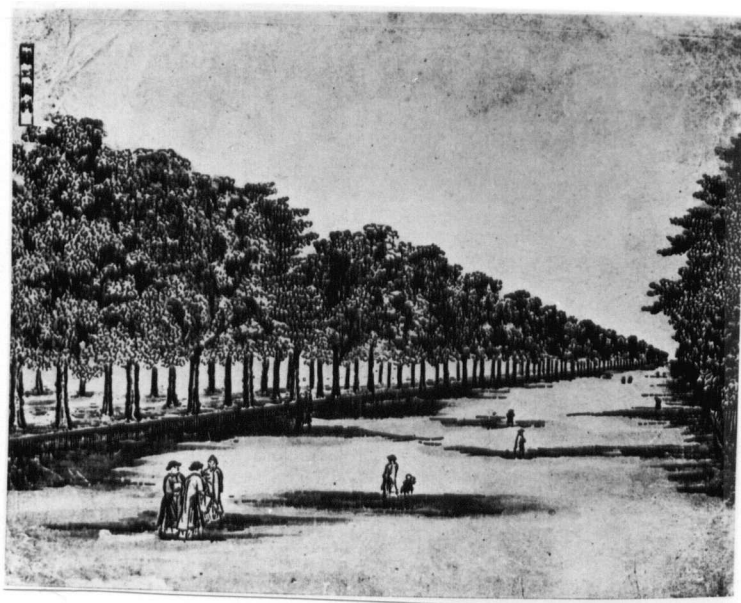


FIGURE 34. Maruyama Ōkyo, View of the Wannian Bridge (megane-e).

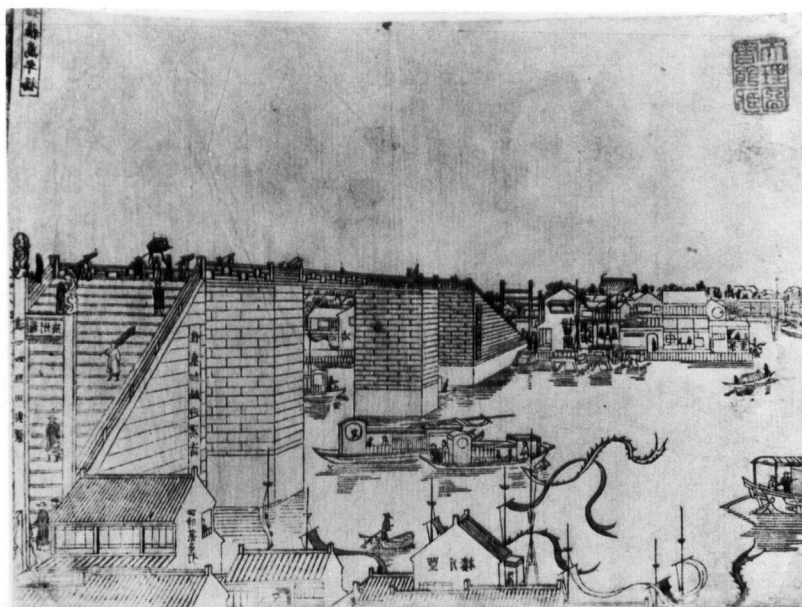


FIGURE 35. Anonymous Suzhou artist, Wannian Bridge (detail).

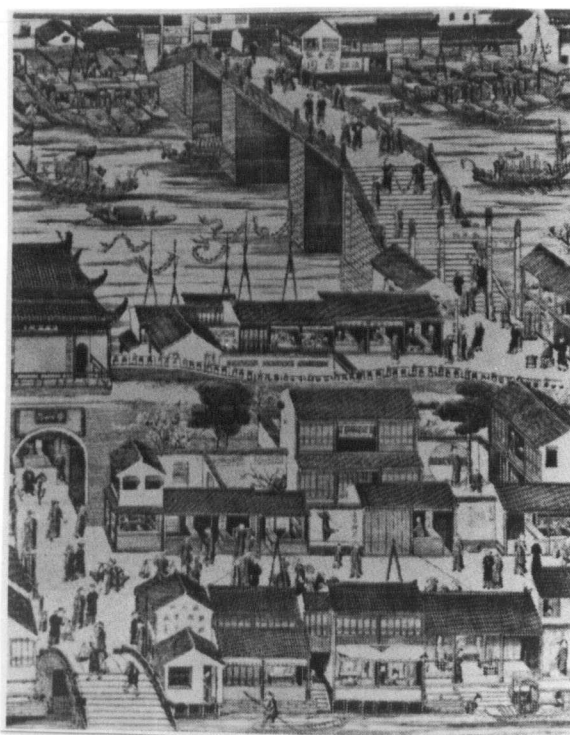


FIGURE 36. Canaletto, Etching of Westminster Bridge.

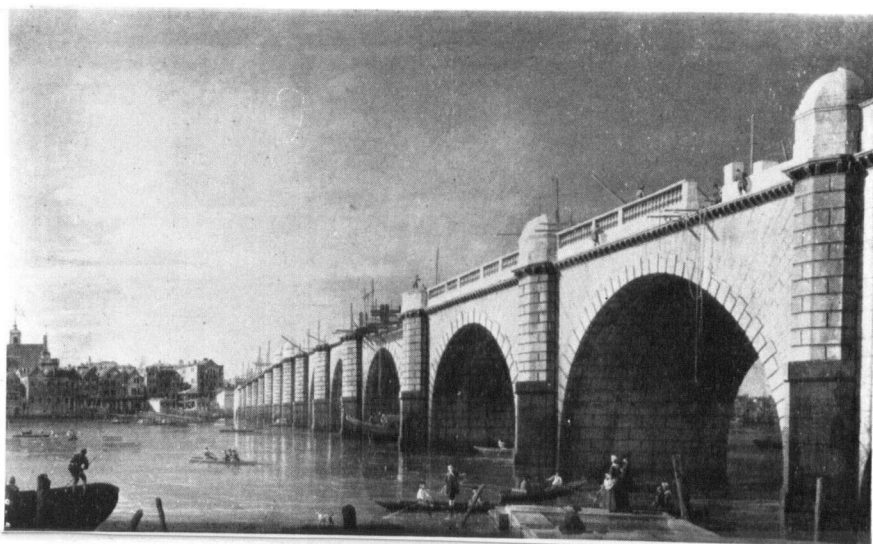


FIGURE 37. Ōkyo, Archery Contest at Sanjūsangendō (megane-e).

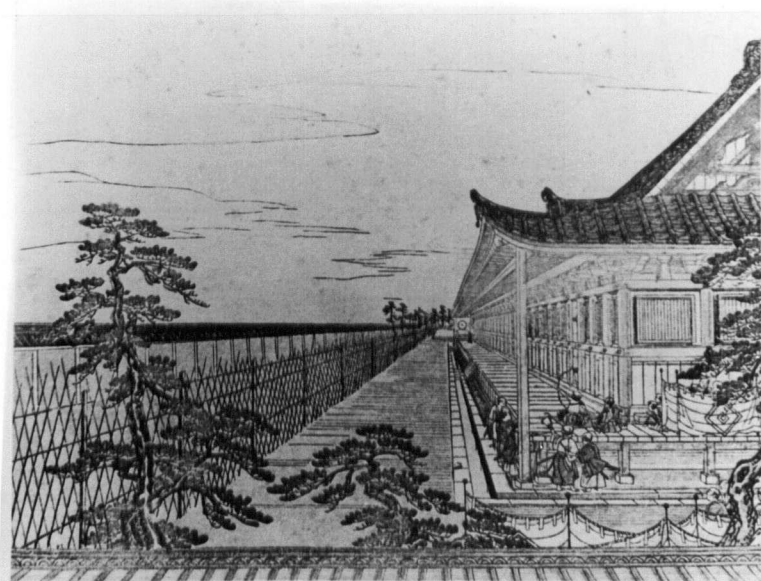
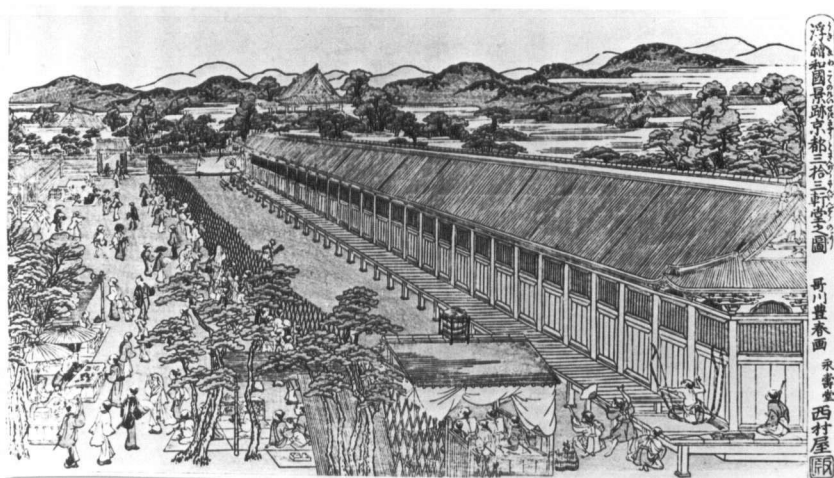


FIGURE 38. Ōkyo, Theatre District in Kyōtō (megane-e).



FIGURE 39. Utagawa Toyoharu, Archery Contest at Sanjūsangendō.



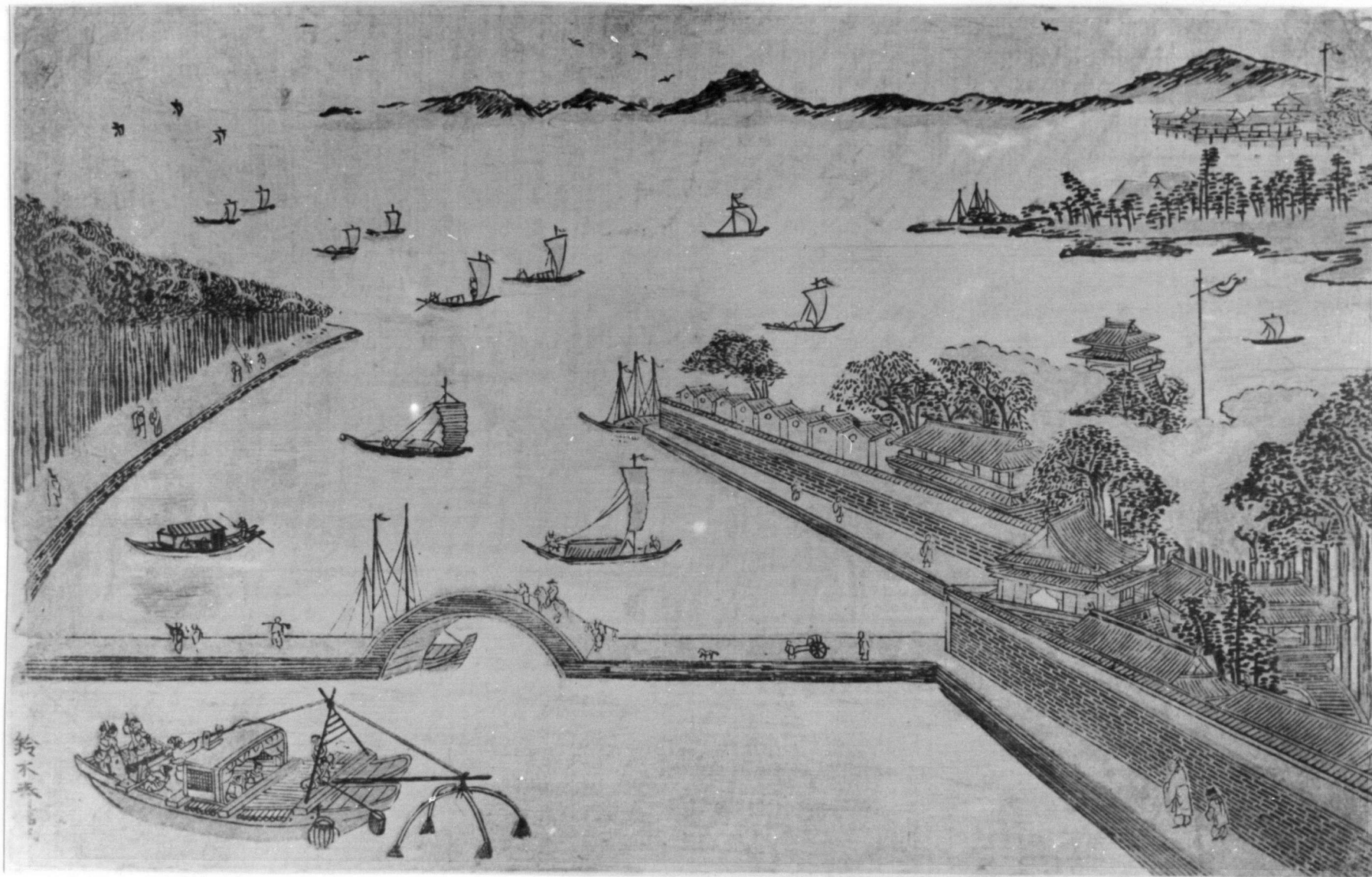


FIGURE 41. Harunobu, untitled perspective view of harbour in China, Oregon Art Institute.



FIGURE 42. Harunobu, Chinese Scene.

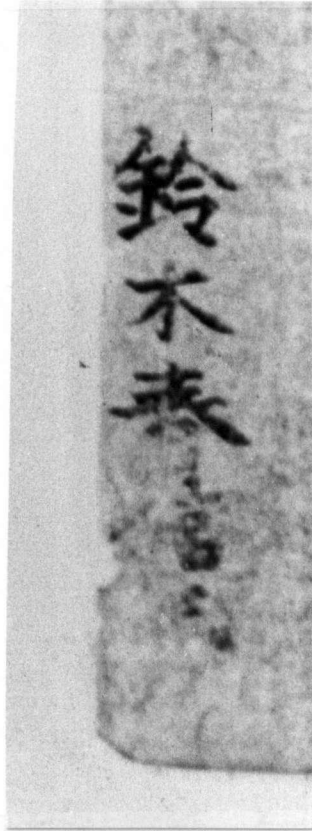


FIGURE 43.
Harunobu, detail of Figure 41.



FIGURE 44.
Long form of Harunobu's signature.



FIGURE 45.
Harunobu, Six Saints of Poetry.



FIGURE 46.
Torii kiyomitsu, Six Saints of Poetry.

FIGURE 47. Harunobu, Three Summer Evenings.



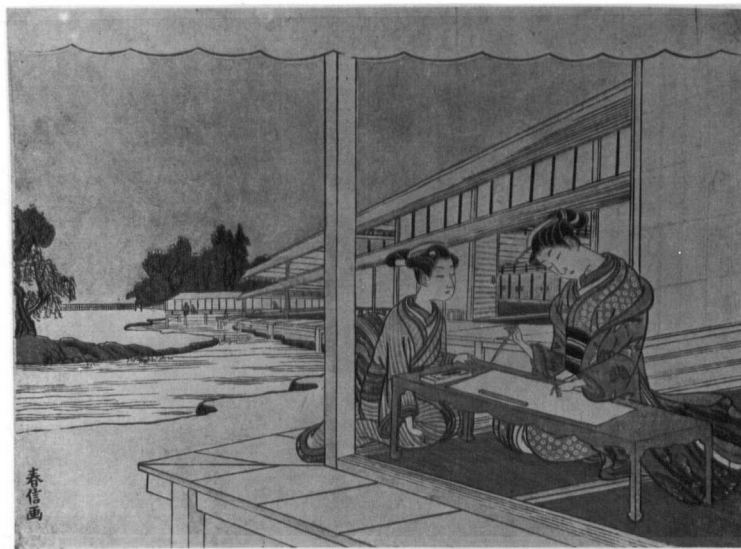
FIGURE 48. Kōkan (as Harunobu's forger), Enjoying the Cool Air.



FIGURE 49. Kōkan, detail of Figure 48.



FIGURE 50. Harunobu, reattributed forgery.



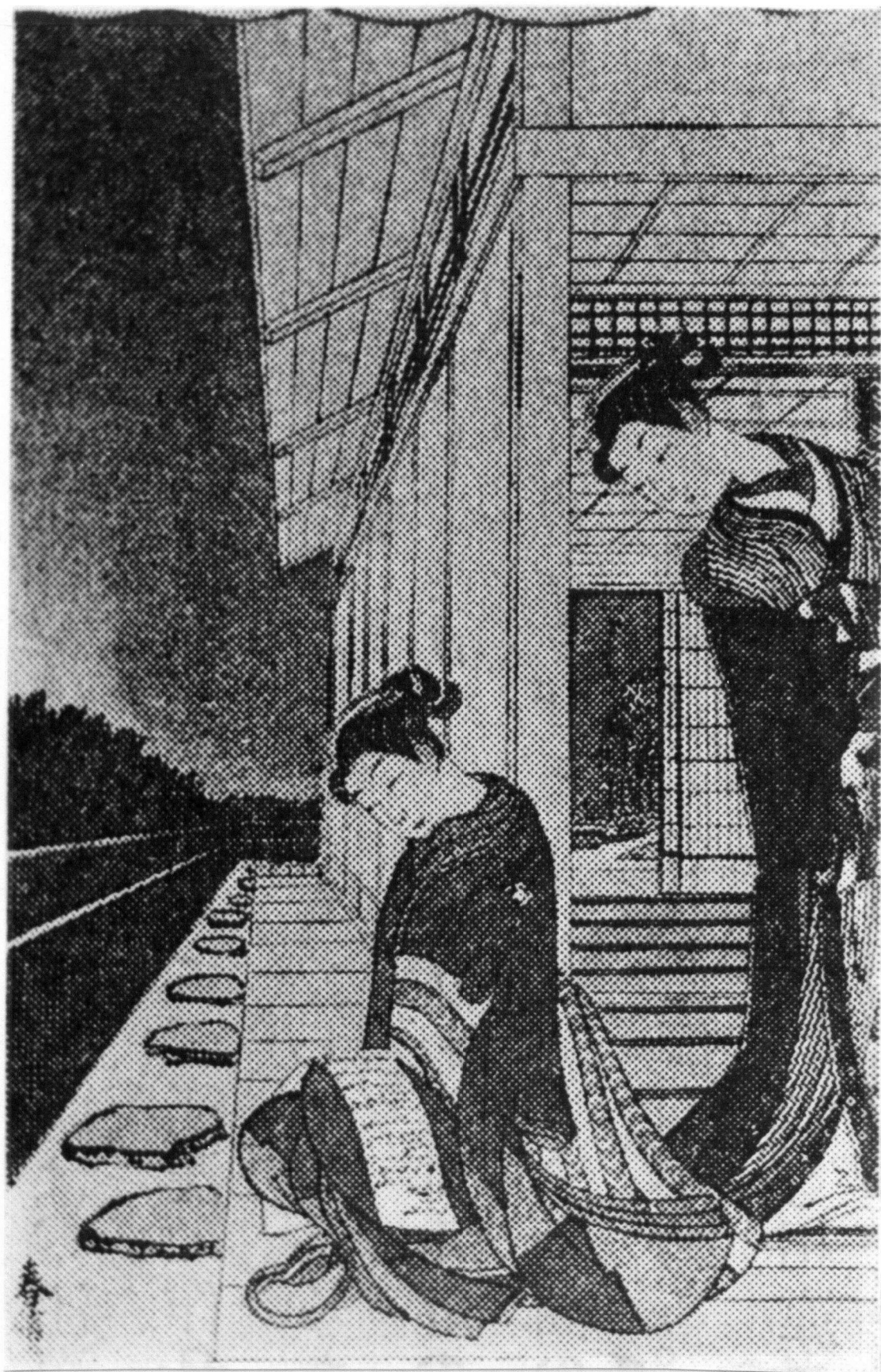


FIGURE 51. Harunobu, reattributed forgery.

FIGURE 52. Harunobu, Courtesan Playing a Samisen.



FIGURE 53. Harunobu, A Lovely Flower.



FIGURE 54. Harunobu, Fidelity: One of the Five Cardinal Virtues.

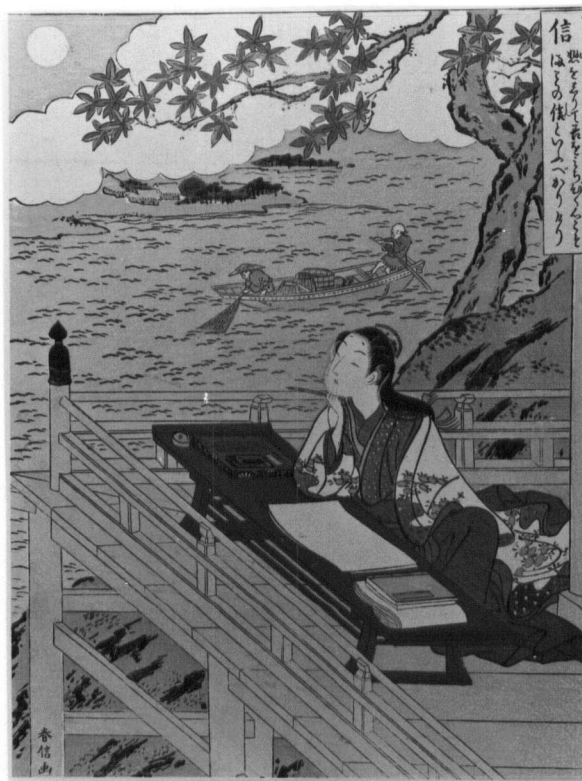
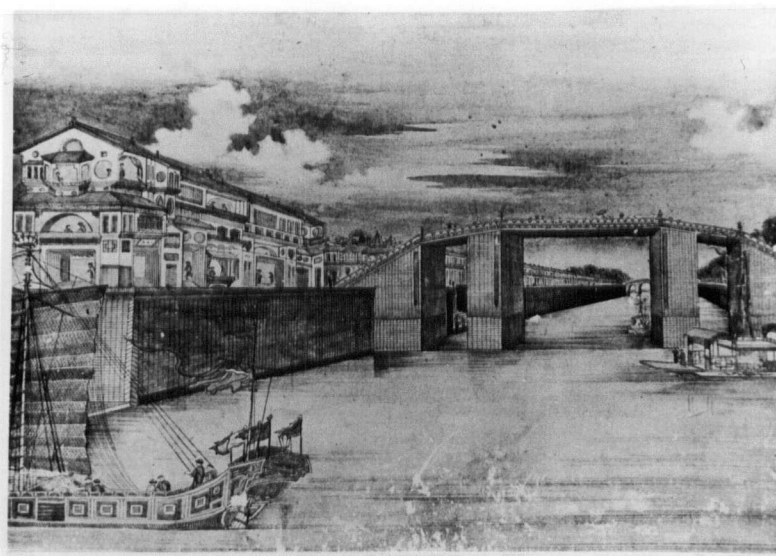


FIGURE 55. Ōkyo, Wannian Bridge (megane-e).



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