JUXTAPOSING BRUSHES: PAINTING COLLABORATIONS IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN

Wai Yee Chiong

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE
BY THE DEPARTMENT OF
ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
Adviser: Andrew M. Watsky

September 2017
Abstract

This dissertation centers on a group of eighteenth-century collaborative paintings from Japan that juxtapose deities and immortal figures with Japanese maidens. The paintings – *Kume the Immortal* by Kano Terunobu and Nishikawa Sukenobu, *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* by Kitao Shigemasa, Isoda Koryūsai, and Tanshukusai Shūboku, and *Enma and His Mirror* by Kō Sūkoku and Katsukawa Shunshō – feature combinations of distinct painting modes, brushed by painters of different ateliers. Produced on silk with rich colors, they were time and labor intensive works that required complex logistical coordination and high material costs. These collective endeavors and others like them raise issues of patronage, artistic lineages, as well as painting practices.

In the three main chapters, I unravel each of these collaborative paintings, analyzing how the various layers of juxtaposition within them functioned, and what they meant to their audiences. I show that modern classifications of the paintings as *ukiyo-e* ("pictures of the floating world") and *mitate-e* ("parody pictures") fail to address the essential aspect of multiple authorship and its implications. These works, I argue, engage both juxtaposition and collaboration, so it is necessary to examine them under both rubrics to broaden our comprehension of painting production and consumption in early modern Japan.

My study compares the paintings to literary illustrations and printed works of the same subjects to investigate the significance of the collaborative process. I employ detailed formal analyses to gain a deeper understanding of painting modes and their relevance to the formation of lineages and artistic reputations. Through a close reading of contemporary sources such as Nishikawa Sukenobu’s 1748 “Painting and Color Application Methods (*Gahō saishiki hō 畫法彩色法*),” and Segawa Tomisaburō’s 1818 published directory, *The Edo Compass (Edo hōkaku*
wake 江戸方角分), I contextualize how painters self-identified and also how they were perceived by others. I consult, too, other primary materials such as diaries kept by painters and daimyo to explore the interactions between painter and patron. I end with a discussion of subsequent painting collaborations in the nineteenth century.
Acknowledgements

This dissertation was a collaborative endeavor that would not have been completed without the efforts of countless individuals. I would like to thank my advisor, Andrew Watsky, for his belief in this project. His close reading of the dissertation and countless edits helped to shape and improve this manuscript tremendously. His guidance and encouragement over the years has enabled me to persevere with my research and to gain confidence in my work.

I would additionally like to express my gratitude to Cary Liu, who has patiently listened to my ideas, and offered me insightful comments and feedback. I greatly appreciate our conversations where I was constantly challenged to broaden my thinking and to consider different approaches in research. I thank him also for generously sharing his knowledge of museum practices and its collections with me, which has sharpened the way I look at objects.

I am indebted too, to the numerous scholars at Princeton University who have shared their expertise with me and offered me invaluable advice. Federico Marcon constantly encouraged me to expand my intellectual thinking and cautioned me to consider various pitfalls in my research. I am grateful to Jerome Silbergeld who challenged me to think creatively and to pursue new avenues. Anne McCauley offered many helpful suggestions to frame the dissertation. Cheng-Hua Wang provided useful ideas as I was preparing this manuscript. A special thank you to Susan Naquin for teaching me to improve my writing and for her advice on structuring this dissertation. I would also like to thank Robert Bagley, whose lectures on technical studies informed some of the methodology in this dissertation.

I have been fortunate to have the encouragement of countless scholars outside Princeton. Julie Davis has been supportive of my project from its inception and has provided invaluable
insights for my research. I am especially grateful to Sebastian Izzard for sharing so many works with me, as well as his own knowledge on ukiyo-e. His generosity has enabled new research and helped bring this dissertation to fruition. Xiaojin Wu mentored me as an intern at Princeton University Art Museum, and her exhibition, “Multiple Hands: Collective Creativity in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Painting,” provided important insights in the early stage of this dissertation. I am grateful to the curators at Princeton University Art Museum who have offered me invaluable advice over the years. Laura Moretti’s rigorous training in reading kuzushiji and hentaigana facilitated my navigation of Japanese primary sources. I am much indebted to the pioneering work of Alexander Hofmann whose research on collaborations has laid the groundwork for this dissertation.

My research year in Japan was fundamental for this project and I am fortunate to have received the guidance of Sano Midori at Gakushuin University, who gave me the opportunity to present my research to Japanese scholars. Shimao Arata kindly listened to my ideas and welcomed me to his seminars and workshops. I owe a debt of gratitude to Naitō Masato for sharing his expertise on ukiyo-e paintings, and who kindly facilitated several painting viewings for me. His wife, Naitō Yukiko, patiently taught me calligraphy each week, enhancing my writing and reading skills. I have also benefitted from Bettina Gramlich and Kate Wildman Nakai, who welcomed me into their reading group at Sophia University, and Gaye Rowley, who arranged for me to gain access to the Waseda University Library. I would also like to thank Tsuda Mayumi, Hinohara Kenji, and Kobayashi Fumiko for sharing their knowledge and research with me.

Various institutions have been instrumental in financially seeing this dissertation to completion. I would like to thank the Japan Foundation for funding my research year in Japan, as
well as the staff there who eased my transition and settling in process. The East Asian Studies Department at Princeton awarded me an additional year of funding to complete this dissertation. The Art and Archaeology Department provided me with a finishing grant at the crucial stage of this project. In addition, the Princeton Institute of International and Regional Studies and the East Asian Studies Department funded me in the summers for language programs and research. I would also like to thank the Tang Center and Dora Ching who have made it possible for me to present my work at professional conferences.

I would be remiss if I did not thank the countless individuals who provided crucial administrative and research support. First and foremost, Diane Schulte has been instrumental in helping me with all the paperwork during my entire graduate school career. I thank also the entire office staff of the Department of Art and Archaeology for all their professional assistance. The library staff of Marquand and Gest Libraries have been fundamental in helping me locate resources for this project. In Japan, Shimizu Tomoko tirelessly assisted me with all the necessary paperwork and ensured that I settled in smoothly.

I am fortunate too, for the support of fellow colleagues and friends who have made this graduate experience a meaningful one. Here at Princeton, Mimi Chusid has been the ideal senpai, providing me with constant encouragement every step of the way. Her careful edits have helped to improve this manuscript. I would like to thank Kim Wishart and Nicole Fabricand-Person too, for all their advice and their confidence in me. I am grateful to Zoe Kwok for all her counsel and feedback. I reserve a special thank you to my writing group buddies – Alexis Siemon, Stephanie Tung, and Bingyu Zheng – who have been fundamental in seeing this dissertation to completion. Their daily support has been crucial during the last stage of this project. I am indebted to Yuanxin Chen for her help with my translations, and to Caitlin Karyadi for helping me clarify
my ideas. Kara and Red Olive have offered me their unstinting support over the years. I would also like to thank the following individuals who have provided personal and professional support: Tim Benedict, Gina Choi, Reut Harari, Mike Hatch, Piet Hut, Jun Hu, Nick and Daya Johnson, Sol Jung, Takeshi Kitagawa, Sammy Li, Skyler Negrete, Peng Peng, Wouter Rock, Greg Seiffert, Adedoyin Teriba, Sara Vantourhout, Mathias Vigouroux, and Mai Yamaguchi.

In Japan, I am especially grateful to Ezaki Yukari, who patiently edited countless presentations and translations of mine. My conversations with Seki Sayoko about painting methods and techniques have been a wonderful learning experience. I would like to thank her for her patient descriptions and explanations. Ishikawa Atsuko always had time to help edit my papers and to discuss new ideas. Additionally, Tanishima Miwano, Inoue Umi, Kikuchi Ayako, Inden Yukiko, Sato Arisa, and Hisano Kaho have all enriched my time in Japan. Sara Sumpter, Kit Brooks, Paula Curtis, Gloria Yu, Ron Wilson, Nick Risteen, Talia Andrei, Frank Felten, Shinobu Iwashita, Sayoko Maruya, Jacob Levine, and Sayuri Yano have all provided tremendous support during my time in Japan.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their belief in me. My father, Sew Kee Chiong, and my stepmother, Celestine Low, have always unconditionally supported my interests. My sisters, Wai Kwan and Whai Whai, and brothers-in-law, Nicholas and Simon, too, encouraged me to pursue my dreams. My parents-in-law, Nancy and Charles Ames, have constantly provided good cheer. My dear friends, Joseph Watson and Michael Warner, have been unwavering in their confidence in me. I give special thanks to Julie Ng for repeatedly reminding me of my own abilities. Lastly, my gratitude to Jeff Ames, who inspired this journey, and Holly Ames, who has been an enormous source of strength for me.
# Table of Contents

Abstract iii  
Acknowledgements v  
Note to Readers x  
List of Figures xi  
Introduction 1  
Chapter 1: Collaboration between Goyō eshi and Ukiyo-eshi 21  
Chapter 2: Assembling Painters for Auspicious Images 66  
Chapter 3: Lineage Perpetuation through Collaborations 111  
Epilogue 153  
Appendix 177  
Bibliography 195  
Illustrations 223
Note to the Reader

I have romanized Chinese names and terms according to the pinyin system, and used the Hepburn system for Japanese terms.

All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

For all illustrations, I have listed the painter, illustrator, or author, as well as the title, date, dimensions, format and materials, and location of the work. In cases where such information was not available, I have left them blank.
List of Figures

Fig. 1. Kō Sukoku and Katsukawa Shunshō. *Enma and His Mirror (Enma jōhari kagami zu 幽魔鏡明鏡図)*. 1785-1786. 89.9 x 34.8 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 2. Hanabusa Ikkei and Utagawa Kunisada. *Enma and His Pure Mirror (Enma nozoki myōkyō zu 幽魔観明鏡図)*. 1830. 96.3 x 41.3 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Location unknown.

Fig. 3. Hanabusa Ikkei and Utagawa Kunisada. *Hell and Pure Land (Jigoku gokuraku zu 地獄極楽図)*. 1830. 99.4 x 37.4 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Ishikawa Nanao Art Museum.

Fig. 4. Nishikawa Sukenobu and Kano Terunobu. *Kume the Immortal (Kume sennin zu 久米仙人図)*. Mid-18th century. 95.9 x 31.9 cm. Calligraphy by Hayashi Hōkoku. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto.

Fig. 5. Kano Eitoku Takanobu and Kitao Shigemasa. *Kume the Immortal (Kume sennnin zu 久米仙人図)*. Late 1770s – early 1780s. 94.5 x 29.2 cm. Calligraphy by Ōta Nanpo. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.

Fig. 6. Komatsuken Hyakki and Yoshida Rankō. *Kume the Immortal (Kume sennnin zu 久米仙人図)*. 1779. Location unknown.

Fig. 7. Tanshukusai Shūboku, Isoda Koryūsai, and Kitao Shigemasa. *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha (Fukurokuju yūjo geigi zu 福禄寿と遊女・芸妓図)*. 1772-1781. 81.5 x 32.7 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 8. Katsukawa Shunshō, Kitao Shigemasa, and Sō Shiseki. *Fukurokuju with Two Beauties (Fukurokuju ni bijin zu 福禄寿二美人図)*. 1777-1779. 72.4 x 47.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk.


Fig. 10. Painter unknown. *Fan Dancer*. 1624-1644. 53.5 x 30.8 cm. Panel; ink and colors on paper. British Museum.

Fig. 11. Suzuki Harunobu. *Legend of Zhang Liang and Huang Shigong (Chōryō Kōseki Kō 張良黄石公)*. 1765-1770. Woodblock print (*Chūban nishiki-e*); ink and colors on paper. British
Museum.

Fig. 12. Nishimura Shigenaga. *An Elegant Reworking of Sōbu and Kyoyū Picture Calendar (Fūryū yatsushi Sōbu Kyoyū daisho 風流やつしそうぶきょゆう大小)*. 1745. 31.5 x 15.2 cm. Woodblock print; ink and limited colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 13. Kano Takanobu (attributed). *Chao Fu and Xu You (Sōbu Kyoyū zu 巾父許由図)*. 1624-1644. 156.5 x 175.1 cm. Two-panel screen; ink, colors, and gold leaf on paper. British Museum, and Figure 7.

Fig. 14. Isoda Koryūsai (attributed). “Iris with Sailboats Returning to Port” (Kakitsubata no kihan 燕子花の帰帆) from the series *Plants and Trees Viewed as the Eight Views (Mitate sōmoku Hakkei 見立草木八景)*. Mid-1770s. 24.6 x 18.1 cm. Woodblock print; ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 15. Utagawa Kunisada. *Shogakai at Manpachirō (Manpachirō no shogakai no zu万八楼の書画会之図)*. 1827. 18.7 x 25.4 cm. Woodblock print; ink and colors on paper. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 16. Kawanabe Kyōsai et. al. *Shogakai (Shogakai zu書画会図)*. Early 1870s. 125.5 x 64.4 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper. Private Collection.

Fig. 17. Kimura Kenkadō. *Elegant Gathering in the Western Garden (Seien gashū zu西園雅集図)*. 18th century. 140 x 52cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Private Collection.

Fig. 18. Ike no Taiga. *Enjoyable Pleasures scroll (Lezhi lun楽志論)*. 1750. 28.2 x 135.5 cm. Calligraphy by Gion Nankai. Title calligraphy by Yanagisawa Kien. Detail from a handscroll; ink and light colors on paper. Umezawa Kinenkan Collection.

Fig. 19. Tani Bunchō, Watanabe Kazan, et. al., *Miscellaneous Paintings and Calligraphy of Bunsei 3.* 1820. 79.7 x 59.4 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 20. Minagawa Kōsai et. al., *Joint Work of Birds and Flowers for the Seventh Commemoration of Minagawa Kien (Minagawa Kien nanakai ki tsuizen yorai kachō zu 皆川渓園七回忌追善寄合花鳥図)*. 1813. 138 x 54.6 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Ōtsu-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan.

Fig. 21. Kitagawa Utamaro II, et. al., *Morning Glories and Poems (Asagao zu朝顏図)*. Circa 1795-1806. 98.3 x 33.1 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Nara Kenritsu Bijutsukan.

Fig. 22. Painter unknown. *Pleasure-seeking Confucius (Kōshi yūkyō zu孔子遊興図)*. 18th century. Location unknown.

Fig. 23. Painter unknown. *Illustrated Handscrolls of Essays in Idleness (Tsurezuregusa emaki徒 xi**
Fig. 24. Sumiyoshi Gukei. *Picture Album of Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa gajō* 徒然草画帖). 1678. 17.5 x 24.1 cm. Folding book; ink and colors on silk. Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 25. Painter unknown. *Folding Screens of Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa zu byōbu* 徒然草図屏風). 17th century. 226.4 x 271.5 cm. Pair of six-panel screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum.

Fig. 25a. Detail of Figure 21.


Fig. 28. Okumura Masanobu. *Nakamura Kumatarō I as Matsuura Sayo no Hime and Ichimura Kamezō I as Kume no sennin* (松浦さよの姫「中村条太郎」條仙人「市村亀藏」). 1754. 42.9 x 31.8 cm. Woodblock print; ink and limited colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 29. Okumura Masanobu. *Courtesan Walking* (*Yūjo* 遊女). 1745-1749. 71.8 x 25.5 cm. Woodblock print (*beni-e*); ink on paper, with hand-applied colors. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 30. Katsukawa Shunchō. *Kume the Immortal* (*Kume sennin 久米仙人*). 1775-1800. Woodblock print (*hashira-e*); ink and colors on paper. British Museum.


Fig. 32. Okumura Masanobu. *Kume the Roof Tiler* (*Yanefuki Kume sennin* やねふき久米仙人). Early 18th century. Woodblock print; ink on paper. Brooklyn Museum of Art.

Fig. 33. Chōbunsai Eishi. *Kume the Immortal with Two Beauties* (*Kume sennin ni bijin* 久米仙人・二美人図). Mid-18th - early 19th century. 79 x 21.2 cm. Set of three hanging scrolls; ink and light colors on silk. Springfield Art Museum.

Fig. 34. Nishikawa Sukenobu. *Kume the Immortal* (*Kume sennin zu* 久米仙人図). 1716-1735. 97.4 x 28.8 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper. Location unknown.
Fig. 35. Detail of Figure 24.

Fig. 36. Detail of Figure 23.

Fig. 37. Detail of Figure 26.


Fig. 39. Detail of Figure 26.

Fig. 40. Detail of Figure 38.

Fig. 41. Details of Figure 4 and Figure 26.

Fig. 42. Detail of Figure 38, and detail of “Ikkaku the Immortal” (*Ikkaku sennin* 一角仙人) from *Collection of Paintings of Gold and Jade* (*Kingyoku gafu* 金玉画府), vol. 1, 1771. Woodblock printed book. National Diet Library.

Fig. 43. Detail of Figure 4.

Fig. 44. Kano Takanobu. *Huang Shigong and Zhang Liang* (*Kōseikō Chōryō zu* 黃石公張良図). Early 17th century. 181.4 x 50.8 cm. Hanging scroll; ink on silk, and Kano Tan’yū. *Fisherman by the Riverbank* (*Taikōbō tsuri hama zu* 太公望釣浜図). Early 17th century. 118.4 x 50.8 cm. Hanging scroll; ink on silk. Arc-en-ciel Art Foundation Collection.

Fig. 45. Kano Eitoku Takanobu. “Winter Landscape,” and Sumiyoshi Hiromori. “Horse Racing” from *Album for a Bride’s Trousseau*. Mid-18th century. 32.1 x 44.3 cm. Album leaves; ink and colors on silk. Yale University Art Museum.

Fig. 46. Tosa Mitsunobu. *Tale of Genji Album* (*Genji monogatari gaigo* 源氏物語画帖). Circa 1509. 24.3 x 36.5 cm. Album; ink and colors on paper. Harvard Art Museum.


Fig. 48. Details of Figure 6 and Figure 4.

Fig. 49. Suzuki Harunobu. *Handaka Sonja* (半託迦). 1765. 27.9 x 21.4 cm. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 50. Suzuki Harunobu. *Girl Riding a Flying Goose* (*Kari ni notte sora o tobu onna* 雁に乗って空を飛ぶ女). 1766. 21.5 x 28.7 cm. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and colors on paper.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 51. Jiang Sansong. *Longevity Star (Shou xing寿星)*. 1572. 146 x 68 cm. Woodcut print; color and ink on paper. Wang Shucun Collection, Beijing.

Fig. 52. Sesshu Tōyō (attributed). *Jurōjin beneath a Plum Tree (Ume moguri Jurō zu 梅潛寿老圖)*. 15th century. 127.7 x 62.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 53. Painter unknown. *Happiness, Emolument, Longevity, and Joy (Fu lu shou xi 福祿寿喜)*. Mid-16th century. 150 x 100 cm. Painting; ink on paper. Former Wang Shucun Collection, Beijing.

Fig. 54. Illustrator unknown. *The Three Stars*. Late Ming dynasty. 100 x 75 cm. Woodcut print; ink and colors on paper. Former Wang Shucun Collection, Beijing.

Fig. 55. Watanabe Shūseki (attributed). *Three Stars of Fortune, Prosperity, and Longevity (Fukurokuju sansei zu福禄寿三星図)*. Circa 1672. 118.1 x 66.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Ōsaka City Museum.

Fig. 56. Tani Bunchō. *Three Stars of Fortune, Prosperity, and Longevity (Fukurokuju sansei zu福禄寿三星図)*. 1789. 147.7 x 135.5 cm. Screen painting; ink and light colors on paper. Private Collection.

Fig. 57. Tani Bunchō. *Three Stars (Sendancei zu三台星図)*. Circa 1841. 120 x 54 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Zuisenji Collection, Toyama prefecture, Inamichō.

Fig. 58. Tani Gentan. *Three Stars of Fortune, Prosperity, and Longevity (Fukurokuju sansei zu福禄寿三星図)*. 1794. 126.4 x 73.7 cm. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.


Fig. 60. Kakizaki Hakyō. *Abbreviated Three Stars (Sansei ryaku zu三星略図)*. 1813. 101.1 x 45.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Location unknown.

Fig. 61. Kitagawa Utamaro. *Three Stars of Fortune, Prosperity, and Longevity (Fukurokuju sansei zu福禄寿三星図)*. 1790s. 83 x 36 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, Matsumoto.

Fig. 62. Isoda Koryūsai. Illustration from *Courtesans in Brocades of the East (Azuma nishiki matsu no kurai 東錦太夫の位)*. 1777. Color woodblock printed book. British Museum.

Fig. 63. Tsutaya Jūzaburō. *Yoshiwara saiken ki (吉原細見記)*. 1797. Woodblock printed book.
Waseda University Library.

Fig. 64. Details of Figure 51 and Figure 58.

Fig. 65. Illustrator unknown. “Dropwort pattern” (Mizu seri 水芹) from Pattern Book of Mountain Dyes (Hinagata some iro no yama 雛形色の山), vol. 2, 1732. 27 x 18 cm. Woodblock printed book. Mitsui Bunko Collection.

Fig. 66. Sō Shiseki. “Three Spring Fruits” (Sanseika 三生果) from Thicket of Ancient and Modern Pictures (Kokon gasō 古今画薮), vol. 7, 1770. Woodblock printed book. Waseda University Library and detail of Figure 8.

Fig. 67. Katsukawa Shunsō. Hinazuru as Kannon (Hinazuru kannon zu 雛鶴観音図). 18th century. 98.6 x 34.7 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Location unknown.

Fig. 68. Katsukawa Shunsō. The Courtesan Eguchi as Fugen Bodhisattva (Mitate Eguchi no kimi zu 見立江口の君図). 1785-1786. 95.8 x 39.2 cm. Calligraphy by Katō Chikage. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 69. Torii Kiyomitsu. The Seven Gods of Good Fortune under the Pine Tree (Matsu no shita ni Shichifukujin 松の下に七福神). 18th century. 31 x 43.9 cm. Woodblock print; ink on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 70. Kitagawa Utamaro. Fukurokuju, Benten, and Hotei at a New Year’s Party (Fukurokuju, Benten, Hotei nenga no utage 福禄寿、弁天、布袋年賀の宴). 1793-1794. 39.4 x 77.2 cm. Woodblock print (nishiki-e); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 71. Kitao Shigemasa. Seven Gods of Good Fortune in a Treasure Boat (Shichifukujin takarabune 七福神宝船). 1772-1781. 32.6 x 46.1 cm. Woodblock print; ink and colors on paper. Library of Congress.

Fig. 72. Isoda Koryūsai. Fukurokuju Riding a Turtle (Kame ni noru Fukurokuju 亀に乗る福禄寿). 18th century. 67.4 x 121 cm. Woodblock print (hashira-e); ink and colors on paper, and Isoda Koryūsai. Courtesan as Jurōjin. 18th century. 72 x 11.8 cm. Woodblock print (hashira-e); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 73. Suzuki Harunobu. “Daikoku and Kagiya Osen” (Daikokuten to Kagiya Osen 大黒天と鍬屋お仙) from the series The Contemporary Seven Lucky Gods (Tōsei shichifukujin 当世七福神). Circa 1769. 27.8 x 21 cm. Woodblock print (nishiki-e); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 74. Chōbunsai Eishi. Kamuro Shaving the Pate of Fukurokuju. 1795-1818. 71.7 x 30.3 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. British Museum.

Fig. 75. Chōbunsai Eishi. The Seven Gods of Good Fortune in the Yoshiwara (Shichifukujin in the Yoshiwara).
Yoshiwara yūkyō zu 七福神吉原遊興図. 1804-1818. 30.3 x 400.9 cm. Handscroll (detail); ink and colors on silk. Roger Weston Collection.

Fig. 76. Details of Isoda Koryūsai and Kitao Shigemasa’s signatures and seals from Figure 7.

Fig. 76a. Detail of Katsukawa Shunshō’s signature and seal from Figure 8.

Fig. 77. Isoda Koryūsai. “Hinazuru from the Chōjiya” from the series New Year’s Designs as Fresh as Young Leaves (Hinagata wakana no hatsu moyō 彼女若葉の初模様). 1776. 38.1 x 26 cm. Woodblock print (nishiki-e); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 78. Isoda Koryūsai. Procession of the Courtesan Hinazuru (Yūjo Hinazuru dōchū zu 遊女雛鶴道中図). 1772-1781. 82.4 x 30.5 cm. Calligraphy by Hinazuru. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 79. Details of Figure 77 and Figure 78.

Fig. 80. Detail of Figure 62.

Fig. 81. Isoda Koryūsai. Portrait of Mitsui Shinna (Mitsui Shinna zō 三井親和象). 1781. 93.5 x 28.1 cm. Calligraphy by Mitsui Shinna. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper. Tokyo University of Fine Arts Collection.

Fig. 82. Yoshimura Shūkei. Jurōjin (寿老人). Mid-18th century. 126.1 x 84.2 cm. One of a set of three hanging scrolls; ink and colors on silk.

Fig. 83. Details of Figure 7 and Figure 82.

Fig. 84. Details of Figure 7 and Figure 82.

Fig. 85. Detail of Figure 8.

Fig. 86. Sō Shiseki. “Fukurokuju with Child” and “Three Stars” from Sō Shiseki Painting Manual (Sō Shiseki gafu 宋紫石畫譜), vol. 3, 1765. Woodblock printed book. Princeton University Library Collection.

Fig. 87. Details of Figure 8 and Figure 86.

Fig. 88. Detail of Figure 7.

Fig. 89. Katsukawa Shunshō. Courtesan and Swallow (Yūjo to tsubame zu 遊女と燕図). 1783-1787. 117.2 x 32.1 cm. Calligraphy by Ōta Nanpo. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 90. Katsukawa Shunshō. Pastimes of the Twelve Months (Fujo fūzoku jūnika getsu zu 婦女
Fig. 91. Chōbunsai Eishi. *Beauty with Morning Glory (Asagao bijin zu 朝顔美人図)*. 1795. 91.8 x 34.8 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Chiba City Museum of Art.

Fig. 92. Kitao Shigemasa. *Geisha from the Nishigashi District*. 1781. Calligraphy by Mizoguchi Naoyasu. Hanging scroll. Private Collection.

Fig. 93. Kitao Shigemasa. *Courtesan and Cat (Bijin tawamure neko zu 美人戯猫図)*. 1785. 33.4 x 96.8 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Ōta Memorial Museum of Art.

Fig. 94. Shiba Kōkan. *Japanese Man and Woman*. 1781. 95.5 x 29.8 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper. Private Collection.

Fig. 95. Katsukawa Shunshō. * Beauties Admiring Paintings (Bijin kanshō zu 美人鑑賞図)*. 1790-1792. 69.4 x 123.3 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Idemitsu Museum of Art.

Fig. 96. Kubo Shunman, Suzuki Rinsho, and Tsutsumi Torin. “Fukurokuju, Jurōjin, and Courtesan” from *Colors of the Spring (Haru no iro 春の色)*. 1794-1795. 25.6 x 37.7 cm. Woodblock printed book with light colors. British Museum.

Fig. 97. Yosa Buson, Maruyama Ōkyo, Tosa Mitsutada, Yoshida Genchin, et.al.. *Turtles (Suichū kame zu 水中亀図)*. 1773-1780. 34.2 x 82.7 cm. Hanging scroll. Location unknown.

Fig. 98. Kitagawa Utamaro II et. al., *Miscellaneous Paintings and Calligraphy*. Circa 1801-1806. 90.1 x 30.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 99. Kubo Shunman. *Courtesan beside a Tree with Kyōka by Seven Poets*. Circa 1802. 94.2 x 31.6 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on silk. Art Gallery of New South Wales.

Fig. 100. Utagawa Kunisada, Katsushika Hokusai, Utagawa Toyoharu, Katsukawa Shun’ei, Utagawa Toyohiro, et. al., *Seven Gods of Good Fortune*. 1810. 67.5 x 82.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Museo d’Arte Orientale Edoardo Chiossone.

Fig. 101. Painter unknown. Detail from the *Illustrated Scripture of the Ten Kings (Jūō kyō zu maki 十王経図巻)*. 10th century. Handscroll; ink on paper. Bibliothèque Nationale Paris.

Fig. 102. Painter unknown. *Enmaten (Enmaten zō 閻魔天象)*. 12th century. 129.1 x 65.4 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Daigoji Collection.

Fig. 103. Jin Chushi. “King Enma” from the *Ten Kings of Hell (Jūō zu 十王図)*. Before 1195. 129.5 x 49.5 cm. One of a set of ten hanging scrolls; ink and colors on silk. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Fig. 104. Tosa Mitsunobu (attributed). “King Enma” from the Ten Kings of Hell (Jūzō zu 十王図). 1489. 97 x 42.1 cm. One of a set of ten hanging scrolls; ink and colors on silk. Jōfukuji Collection.

Fig. 105. Illustrator unknown. “Enma’s Court” from Demon’s Plans (Oni no shikogusa 鬼の趣向草), vol. 1, 1778. Woodblock printed book. National Diet Library.

Fig. 106. Santō Kyōden. “Enma’s Court” from Unsavorily Mismatched Jiffy Shanks (Fuanbai sokuseki ryōri 不案配即席料理). 1784. Woodblock printed book. University of Tokyo Library.

Fig. 107. Kitao Masayoshi. Illustration from Santō Kyōden, Tales of Strange Matters in Nakazu (Kiji mo Nakazuwa 奇事中洲話). 1789. Woodblock printed book. University of Tokyo Library.

Fig. 108. Santō Kyōden. Illustration from Young Sprouts from a Brush of Rootless Weeds (Nenashigusa fude no wakabae 根無草筆茲). 1794. Woodblock printed book. Waseda University Library.

Fig. 109. Isoda Koryūsai. “Enma” from A Miscellany of Yamato Pictures in Cursive (Konzatsu yamato sōga 混雑俳俳画), vol. 1, 1781. 15 x 18.5 cm. Woodblock printed book. British Museum.


Fig. 111. Katsukawa Shunshō. Courtesan Looking into a Hand Mirror. 18th century. 66.7 x 29 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Freer Sackler Museum of Asian Art.

Fig. 112. Kitagawa Utamaro. “Naniwa Okita Admiring herself in a Mirror” from the series Seven Women Applying Make-up in the Mirror (Sugatami shichijin keshō 姿見七人化粧). Circa 1790-1795. 36.8 x 25.1 cm. Woodblock print (nishiki-e); ink and colors on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 113. Kubo Shunman. Chinese Woman Reflected in Mirror (Kagami ni utsuru tōbijin 鏡に映る唐美人). 1808. 20.7 x 14.1 cm. Woodblock print (surimono); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 114. Detail of Figure 1.

Fig. 115. Detail of Figure 1.

Fig. 116. Santō Kyōden. Illustration from The Mirror of a Throughly Trendy Person’s Vanities (Kaitsū unubore kagami 会通己恍惚照子). 1788. Woodblock printed book. Waseda University Library.

Fig. 117. Kō Sūkoku and Kō Sukei. Fukurokuju with Children (Fukurokuju karako zu 福禄寿唐童).
Fig. 118. Hanabusa Itchō. “Taigakura Dance” and “Biwa Player” from Album of Miscellaneous Subjects (Zatsu gajō 雑画帖). Okura Bunka Zaidan Collection.

Fig. 119. Hanabusa Itchō. Fukurokuju (福禄寿). Early 18th century. 112.6 x 43 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on silk. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 120. Details of Figure 117 and Figure 119.

Fig. 121. Detail of Figure 1.

Fig. 122. Detail of Figure 95.

Fig. 122a. Detail of Figure 122.

Fig. 123. Kō Sūkoku. New Year’s Day (Saitan zu 歳旦図). 18th century. Location unknown.


Fig. 125. Kō Sūkoku. Taking Shelter from the Rain (Ameyadori zu 雨宿り図). 18th century. 163 x 376 cm. Six-panel folding screen; ink, colors, and gold on paper. Suntory Museum, and Hanabusa Itchō. Taking Shelter from the Rain (Ameyadori zu 雨宿り図). After 1709. 94.1 x 310.8. Six-panel folding screen; ink and colors on paper. Miho Museum.

Fig. 126. Hanabusa Itchō. Aridoshi (Aridoshi zu 蟻道図). Early 18th century. 96.2 x 37.1 cm. Set of three hanging scrolls; ink and light color on paper. Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 127. Kō Sūkoku. Aridoshi (Aridoshi zu 蟻道図). 18th century. 91.8 x 27.8 cm. Pair of hanging scrolls; ink and colors on silk. Tokyo National Museum.

Fig. 128. Kō Sūkoku. Aridoshi (Aridoshi zu 蟻道図). 18th century. Hanging scroll; ink and light color on paper. Itabashi Museum.

Fig. 129. Details of Figure 1 and Figure 2.

Fig. 130. Details of Figure 1 and Figure 3.

Fig. 131a. Hanabusa Ikkei. “Enma” from Edo Scenes of the Twelve Months (Edo fūzoku ogi men gajō江戸風俗図面画帖). 1835. W. 51.5 cm. One of twelve folios in an album; ink and colors on paper. Price Collection.
Fig. 131b. Utagawa Kunisada. “Courtesan in the Mirror” from Edo Scenes of the Twelve Months (Edo fūzoku ogi men gajō江戸風俗扇面画帖). 1835. W. 51.5 cm. One of twelve folios in an album; ink and colors on paper. Price Collection.

Fig. 132. Hanabusa Ikkei, Kō Sūkei, Kō Sūgetsu, Kō Sōto, and Hanabusa Ippō. Cranes. Fan painting; ink and colors on waxed paper. Ōta Memorial Art Museum

Fig. 133. Hanabusa Ikkei, Kō Sūkei, Kō Sūgetsu, Kō Sōto, and Hanabusa Ippō. Turtles. Fan painting; ink and colors on waxed paper. Ōta Memorial Art Museum

Fig. 134. Hanabusa Ikkei, Kō Sūkei, Kō Sūgetsu, Kō Sōto, and Hanabusa Ippō. Pine, Bamboo, Plum, and the Rising Sun (Kyokujitsu ni matsu take ume旭日に松竹梅). Fan painting; ink and colors on waxed paper. Ōta Memorial Art Museum

Fig. 135. Hanabusa Ikkei. Seven Gods of Good Fortune (Shichifukujin zu 七福神図). 1823. 18 x 45 cm. Fan painting; ink and colors on gold-embellished paper. Ōta Memorial Art Museum

Fig. 136. Hanabusa Itchō. Seven Lucky Gods. Circa 1700. 32 x 54.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper. Private Collection.

Fig. 137. Hanabusa Ikkei. Mill-stone Grinder Toiling in the Snow. 19th century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Private Collection.

Fig. 138. Hanabusa Ikkei. Mill-stone Grinder Toiling in the Snow. 19th century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Private Collection.

Fig. 139. Suzuki Rinsho. “Mill-stone Grinder Toiling in the Snow” from A Swarm of Butterflies (Gunchō gaei 群蝶画英). 1803. Woodblock printed book. Waseda University Library.

Fig. 140. Utagawa Kunisada et. al., Ichikawa Danjūrō VII in a Shibaraku Role. Circa 1810. 16.5 x 43.2 cm. Fan painting; ink and colors on waxed paper. Private Collection.

Fig. 141. Utagawa Kunisada and Hanabusa Ikkei. Woman Tying a Poem Slip on a Cherry Blossom Branch (Tanzaku o musubu bijin zu 短冊を結ぶ美人図). 1841. 98.3 x 36.1 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Roger Weston Collection.

Fig. 142. Utagawa Kunisada and Hanabusa Ikkei. Woman Freeing Sparrows. 1841. 88.5 x 32.6 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Private Collection.

Fig. 143. Utagawa Kunisada and Hanabusa Ikkei. Beauty by a Willow (Yanagi shita bijin zu 柳下美人図). Circa 1841-1842. 23 x 48.4 cm. Calligraphy by Ishikawa Danjūrō VII. Fan painting; ink and colors on paper. University of Leiden Collection.

Fig. 144. Hanabusa Itchō. “Fashionable Four Sleepers” (Fūryū yonsui zu風流四睡図) from
Compendium of Genre Scenes (Fūzoku kaiga kan 風俗絵画鑑). 18th century. 25.8 x 36.8 cm. Album leaf; ink and colors on silk. Itabashi Museum, and detail of Figure 143.

Fig. 145. Kō Sükoku. Genzanmi Yorimasa Killing a Nue (Genzanmi Yorimasa Nue taiji zu 源三位頼政鶴退治図). 1787. 300.8 x 372.1 cm. Votive tablet; ink and colors on wood. Asakusa Sensōji Collection.

Fig. 146. Utagawa Kunisada. Genzanmi Yorimasa and I no Hayata Killing the Nue. 1820s. 37 x 49.2 cm. Woodblock print (nishiki-e); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 147. Utagawa Kunisada and Utagawa Hiroshige. “Akasaka: Manzai Dancers” from the series Fifty-three Stations by Two Brushes (Sōhitsu Gojūsan tsugi 双筆五十三次). 1855. 34.7 x 23.9 cm. Woodblock print (nishiki-e); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 148. Suzuki Rinsho. “Manzai Dancers” from A Swarm of Butterflies (Gunchō gaei 群蝶画英). 1803. Woodblock printed book. Waseda University Library.

Fig. 149. Utagawa Kunisada. Pleasure Boats on the Sumida River. Mid-1830s. 66 x 100.3 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Roger Weston Collection.

Fig. 150. Utagawa Kunisada. “Dance Master” (Odori shishō 踊師匠) from the series A Comparison of Contemporary Beauties (Tōsei bijin awase 当世美人合). Circa 1827. Woodblock print; ink and colors on paper. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden.

Fig. 151. Utagawa Kunisada. Sawamura Gennosuke as Kan Shōjō (Kan Shōjō Sawamura Gennosuke 信府丞澤村源之助). 1831. Woodblock print; ink and colors on paper. Arendie & Henk Herwig Collection.

Fig. 152. Utagawa Kunisada and Utagawa Kunichika. “Actor Holding a Sake Cup” from the series Five Festivals (Gosekku no uchi 五節句の內). 1849. Woodblock print (fan); ink and colors on paper. Princeton University Art Museum.

Fig. 153. Asayama Ashikuni, Katsukawa Shunyō, and Yamaguchi Soken. Courtesans from the Three Capitals (Santo yūjo zu 三都遊女図). Early 19th century. 94.3 x 34.4 cm. Calligraphy by Santō Kyōzan Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Ōta Memorial Museum of Art.

Fig. 154. Kobayashi Eitaku and Kawanabe Kyosai. Kume the Immortal (Kume sennin zu 久米仙人図). Mid-1880s. 92.9 x 36 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Private Collection.

Fig. 155. Torii Kiyomasu II. High-ranking Courtesans of the Three Capitals (Santo tayu sanpukutsui 三都太夫三幅對). Circa 1740. 33.7 x 48.1 cm. Hand-colored woodblock print; uncut triptych. Art Institute of Chicago.

Fig. 156. Okumura Toshinobu (attributed). Courtesans of the Three Cities (Santo no yūjo 三都の
Fig. 157. Ishikawa Toyonobu. *Courtesans of the Three Cities* (*Santo keijō sanpukutsui* 三都契情三幅對). Late-1750s. 29.5 x 43.4 cm. Woodblock print (*benizuri-e*); ink and limited colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 158. Suzuki Harunobu. *Courtesans of the Three Cities* (*Santo no tayu tachi* 三都の太夫たち). Circa 1769-1770. 23.9 x 37.3 cm. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 159. Tsukioka Settei. *Courtesans of the Three Capitals*. 1776. 105.7 x 43.5 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. Freer Sackler Museum of Asian Art.

Fig. 160a. Detail of Figure 153.

Fig. 160b. Detail of Figure 153.

Fig. 160c. Detail of Figure 153.

Fig. 161. Yamaguchi Soken. *Butterflies*. 1795. Wall panel (detail); ink and light colors on paper. Daijōji Collection.

Fig. 162. Yamaguchi Soken. *Screens of Chinese Beauties* (*Tōbijin zu byōbu* 唐美人図屏風). 1792. 121.5 x 50.5 cm. Pair of six-panel folding screens (Sections). Maruyama family Collection.

Fig. 163. Yamaguchi Soken. *Screens of Chinese Beauties* (Section).

Fig. 164. Maruyama Ōkyo. “Sorenko” from the *Collection of Underdrawings from the Maruyama lineage* (*Maruyama-ha shita-e shū* 円山派下絵集), vol. 4. Compiled by Takai Sōgen (Kyoto: Mitsumura Suiko Shoin, 1997).

Fig. 165. Details of Figure 162 and Figure 153.

Fig. 166. Details of Figure 153.

Fig. 167. Detail of Figure 153.

Fig. 168. Asayama Ashikuni. *Arashi Kichisaburō II (Rikan) as Kaiya Zenkichi and Kanō Minshi I as Oroku*. 1814. 17.7 x 25 cm. Woodblock print (*surimono*) (detail); ink and colors on paper. Hendrick Lühl Collection.

Fig. 169. Katsukawa Shun'yō. *Courtesan with Dog*. Circa 1789-1795. 79.5 x 26.4 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk. British Museum.
Fig. 170. Katsukawa Shunshō. *Seven Beauties of the Bamboo Grove (Chikurin shichigen zu)*. Circa 1790s. 94.2 x 34.7 cm. Hanging scroll (detail); ink and colors on silk. Tokyo University of Fine Arts Collection.

Fig. 171. Detail of Figure 153.

Fig. 172. Utagawa Kunisada. *Top Courtesans of the Three Cities Playing Ken (Zensei asobi san tsu no aiken)*. Circa 1818-1825. 39.2 x 78.7 cm. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 173. Kitagawa Utamaro II, Utagawa Kunisada, and Kitagawa Tsukimaro. * Beauties from Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo*. 1813. 21 x 57 cm. Woodblock print (*surimono*); ink, colors, and metallic pigment on paper. Harvard Art Museum.

Fig. 174. Kobayashi Eitaku. *Sugawara Michizane Praying on Tenpai-zan (Michizane Tenpaizan kitō no zu)*. 1860s-1880s. 181.1 x 98.2 cm. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on cotton. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 175. Tsukioka Yoshitoshi. “Sugawara no Michizane” (*Sugawara no Michizane* from the series *Twenty Four Accomplishments of Imperial Japan (Kōkoku nijyōn shi)*). Circa 1880. 35.4 x 23.6 cm. Woodblock print; ink and colors on paper. Location unknown.

Fig. 176. Kawanabe Kyōsai. *Fashionable Battle of Frogs (Fūryū kaeru ōgassen no zu)*. 1864. 35.4 x 73.8 cm. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and colors on paper. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 177a. Detail of Fig. 154.

Fig. 177b. Detail of Fig. 154.
Introduction

The painting *Enma and His Mirror* (1785-86), featuring the juxtaposition of King Enma of the underworld with two Japanese maidens, is at once humorous in its portrayal of a religious figure captivated by feminine charms and intriguing in its incongruity of different painting modes (fig. 1). Moreover, two painters worked together on the painting: Kō Sūkoku (1730-1814), who rendered Enma and his mirror, and Katsukawa Shunshō (1743-1792), who brushed the scene within the mirror. In another collaborative painting, also with distinctly dissimilar formal presentations of its motifs, *Kume the Immortal* (mid-18th century), Nishikawa Sukenobu (1671-1750) painted a Japanese maiden laundering her robes by the river, while Kano Terunobu (1717-1763) added the Chinese immortal, Kume, falling from the skies at the sight of the maiden (fig. 4). Yet another collaboration, *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* (1772-81), combines the brushes of three painters, Tanshukusai Shūboku, Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820), and Isoda Koryūsai (1735-1790), to depict two contemporary females from the pleasure quarters with the god of good fortune, Fukurokuju (fig. 7). Produced in the mid to late eighteenth century, these three collaborative paintings form the core of my dissertation.¹

Executed in ink and color on silk, these paintings were complicated endeavors that would have required much logistical coordination. One of the painters or his assistant would first have prepared the silk with sizing and then stretched it. After that, each painter would have transferred his sketch onto the silk and gone over it with an ink outline; which painter did so first, and which later, is an issue I will address in subsequent chapters. Once a design was on the silk, the process

¹ The titles of these paintings are modern constructions, which raises issues that I will address throughout the dissertation.
of color application began. For paintings such as *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha*, which involved the layering of multiple colors, the painter would have had to wait for each layer of color to dry before starting on the next. Therefore, to create the standing courtesan, Isoda Koryūsai would have first sketched the figure in black ink, articulating eyes, nose, and mouth with thin, curving lines. Then, to show the soft texture of the hair, he painted a series of fine lines, densely arranged together into an elaborate coiffure. For the elaborate patterns on her robes, he started with an application of scarlet color. After it dried, he went over the entire surface with a repetitive cloud pattern in translucent yellow paint to add a thick, brocade-like texture to the robe. Once he colored the robe, he then used gold ink to add the peacock feathers. This attention to detail necessitated much time and effort. Considering the numerous materials and complex procedures, organizing three separate painters to work on the same silk would have been challenging. As such, these collaborations represented a great undertaking that not only required the joint endeavors of the painters, but also workshop assistants, coordinators, and a wealthy patron who could pay for the project.

---


3 My own experience painting with *gofun*, white pigment made from calcified shells, indicates that once the shell pigments are ground and mixed with sizing, it is extremely viscous, so it needs to dry completely before another color can be applied. As Conder described, pigments were mixed with ink or *gofun* to obtain different tints and colorists usually sat beside a charcoal brazier because most color pigments had to be combined with a bit of water over heat. See Conder, *Paintings and Studies*, 21-23. An eighteenth century essay by Nishikawa Sukenobu, “Gahō saishiki hō,” includes a detailed account of painting and coloring methods including the materials used for such paintings. See a translation of this essay in the Appendix.

4 According to Conder, to complete a painting of a standing female figure that measured 2 feet wide by 4.4 feet high, with ink and color on paper, it took almost six months of concentrated labor. See Conder, *Paintings and Studies*, v.
Other elements of juxtaposition further distinguish each collaborative painting. The subject of each painting pairs a male heavenly deity or immortal with an earthly female. Kume, Enma, and Fukurokuju were all legendary figures of veneration, but in these paintings, they are combined with beautiful women from the eighteenth century. To heighten the contrast, the painters garbed the deities in Chinese-style robes, while depicting the women in the latest Japanese fashions and accessories. They also used divergent painting techniques, juxtaposing broad, sweeping brushstrokes with thin, delicate outlines and fine coloring. These diverse painting modes highlight the different identities of the participants, signaling that they, too, add meaning to the scroll. Each painter is matched to a specific figure in the painting, which he executed with a discrete brush mode. In *Kume the Immortal*, for instance, the monochromatic depiction of the immortal is accompanied by the signature of Kano Terunobu, a painter who served the government, while the colorful depiction of the laundress is attributed to a painter who primarily designed prints and illustrations for books. Each level of juxtaposition within these scrolls needs to be unraveled and studied to unveil the pluralistic nature of the picture-making world in eighteenth century Japan.

The painters involved in these collaborative works belonged to workshops that specialized in different products. The Kano painter who depicted Kume was the leader of a painting lineage that served the ruling elite. As such, the Kano workshop produced paintings that were designed to display power and authority and to signify culture and refinement. In contrast

---

to the Kano, the other painters in the various collective projects were not salaried retainers of the elite. All the painters who depicted the Japanese women in these paintings—Nishikawa Sukenobu, Kitao Shigemasa, Katsukawa Shunshō, and Isoda Koryūsai—were primarily print designers who made pictures of women, actors, and contemporary life. They called themselves *yamato-eshi* (“yamato-e master”) or were referred to by their contemporaries as *ukiyo-eshi* (“ukiyo-e master”), which I will discuss in more detail in the chapters that follow. Suffice to say, these designations indicated that they saw themselves, and their audience perceived them, as different from the Kano. There were participating painters, too, who belonged neither to the Kano nor to *ukiyo-e* workshops, such as Kō Sūkoku. This painter, who depicted Enma, was a descendant of the Hanabusa lineage, whose founder made a variety of pictures including genre scenes and comical images. The pooling together of diverse painters on the same scroll suggests that there was a growing awareness of individuality and a strong sense of painting identities.

This dissertation employs the rubric of juxtaposition and collaboration to understand the assembly of multiple painters on the same scroll. By comparing these paintings to prints and literary illustrations on the same subject, investigating each painter’s life and interactions in social networks, and by closely analyzing brushwork and coloring methods, I show that the collaborations that occurred on these paintings became a means to objectify the painters and to create meaning.

**Ukiyo-e Paintings**

Modern scholars have categorized these collaborative paintings as *ukiyo-e* (“floating world pictures”), a designation that has privileged the subjects of the paintings rather than their
production processes. The term *ukiyo* ("transient world") first appeared as a Buddhist term that connoted the temporal realm of human suffering. In the mid-seventeenth century, writers used a different character, *uki* ("float"), to reconfigure the term, resulting in *ukiyo* ("floating world"), which literally meant "floating world." The author Asai Ryōi (d. 1691) employed the term in the opening chapter of his *Tales of the Floating World* (*Ukiyo monogatari*, 1661), writing, “Living only for the moment, turning our full attention to the pleasures of the moon, the snow, the cherry blossoms and the maple leaves: singing songs, drinking wine, diverting ourselves in just floating, floating... like a gourd floating along with the river current: this is what we call the floating world...” Here, Ryōi imbued *ukiyo* with a hedonistic tone, referring to the floating world as realm of fleeting pleasure. Pictures of the floating world, or *ukiyo-e*, thus referred to a visualization of contemporary diversions. As the accompanying illustration in Ryōi’s book shows, these pastimes included consorting with entertainers and courtesans, to the accompaniment of music, drink, and food (fig. 9).

---


Because *ukiyo-e* focused on contemporary amusements, they primarily included images of actors, courtesans, and scenes of the pleasure quarters. The history of *ukiyo-e* has largely privileged mass-produced woodblock prints, but as Timothy Clark has pointed out, paintings of the floating world, which evolved from genre paintings, emerged long before prints. Screen paintings of individual dancers dating to the early seventeenth century represent some of the earliest examples of *ukiyo-e* (fig. 10). Although there are no designations on the paintings that label them as *ukiyo-e*, art historians have classified them as early *ukiyo-e* based on their subjects. Later images of courtesans on hanging scrolls were also deemed *ukiyo-e* following the same criteria. Since *Kume the Immortal, Fukurokaju with Courtesan and Geisha*, and *Enma and His Mirror* all feature depictions of courtesans and contemporary women, it is not surprising that scholars have grouped them, too, as *ukiyo-e* paintings.

Although produced by diversely associated painters, the paintings have only been mentioned within the oeuvre of the participating *ukiyo-e* painters. *Kume the Immortal*, for instance, has been included in Yamamoto Yukari’s research on Nishikawa Sukenobu, while *Enma and His Mirror*, was mentioned briefly in Naitō Masato’s study of Katsukawa Shunshō’s paintings. Allen Hockley, similarly, acknowledged Isoda Koryūsai’s participation in *Fukurokaju with Courtesan and Geisha*. To my knowledge, however, these same paintings have never been included in catalogs of Kano paintings, in spite of the fact that they were also brushed by Kano painters. Similarly, Kō Sukoku painted a dominating figure of Enma in his

---

10 Ibid., 10.
collaboration with Shunshō, but in the scarce scholarship of his work, there is no reference to Enma and His Mirror.

The labeling of these collaborative paintings as ukiyo-e, and the reinforcement of this classification through their reference only within ukiyo-e painters’ works, obscures our understanding of the agency of non-ukiyo-e painters. By approaching the paintings through the lens of collaboration, this dissertation will provide more details about the role of each participant, specifically concentrating on how painters from discrete painting lineages formed dialogues with each other through the act of working together.

**Mitate-e**

Describing the transformation of the deities in the paintings from sacred to lustful human-like beings, some modern scholars have defined these works as mitate-e, a term they loosely translate as “parody pictures,” referring again to the subject of the paintings. In his catalog entry for Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha, Naitō Masato expressed the vulgarization of Buddhist and Shinto deities as a form of mitate-e, with Fukurokuju being one such example. Kobayashi Tadashi, too, has made similar observations regarding Kume, comparing Kume the Immortal to a painting of a drunken Confucius being carried around by bare-feet young maidens. Kobayashi referred to this conversion as being in the “spirit of reworking (yatsushi no seishin)”. Here, we see mitate and yatsushi being used almost interchangeably to describe

---

13 For now, I use the translation “parody pictures” for mitate-e, but as I will discuss shortly, mitate is a complex term that needs to be properly historicized.
14 Morse et.al., Drama and Desire, 125.
the appearance of the deities and immortals, but these terms carried different meanings in early modern Japan.

Iwata Hideyuki was the first to suggest that ukiyo-e scholars might be overusing the word *mitate* without appropriately historicizing it.¹⁶ Iwata took issue, for instance, with the characterization of Suzuki Harunobu’s (1724-1770) prints as *mitate*, pointing out that the term connoted different things during Harunobu’s time. In many of his prints, Harunobu adapted classical themes, substituting contemporary figures for legendary characters. Timothy Clark, who built on Iwata’s research, points out, for example, that in *The Legend of Zhang Liang and Huang Shigong* (1765-70), Harunobu reconfigured the meeting of the Chinese statesmen, Zhang Liang, with the mountain spirit, Huang Shigong, into a romantic interlude between a young lad and maiden (fig. 11).¹⁷ According to legend, in the Han dynasty, the elderly Huang dropped his shoe on a bridge and asked the younger statesman to pick it up for him as a test of character, but instead of depicting two Chinese gentlemen, Harunobu instead illustrated a young woman returning a fan dropped by the young man on the bridge. This print has no inscribed titles, but art historians have identified the connection to the tale of Huang Shigong and Zhang Liang and deemed the picture a *mitate*-e. This designation, however, is problematic because the term was not used to describe this image when it was made.

Clark traced the usage of *mitate* and other related terms, including *yatsushi* and *fūryū yatsushi*, on Japanese prints in the British Museum, to study the visual manifestation of these concepts, and found that these terms appeared on prints during different periods: *mitate* in the

---


eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and *yatsushi* and *fūryū yatsushi* in the eighteenth century.\(^{18}\) Combining his survey with the research of Japanese literary historians, Clark discovered that *mitate* was employed mainly in pictures that sought to enact a comparison of disparate things. He also suggested the provisional translation of “elegant reworking” for *fūryū yatsushi*, a term that, according to Iwata and Shinoda Jun’ichi, better described pictures of re-invented classical subjects.\(^{19}\)

Alfred Haft developed Clark’s analysis by providing an in-depth analysis of these terms and how they were applied to *ukiyo-e* prints. By mapping the usage of *yatsushi* through theater and literature, Haft explained that the term designated the process of adapting a classical subject into modern guise, a transposition of something formal into the informal.\(^{20}\) He also traced the roots of *fūryū*, finding that it defined the manner in which a *yatsushi* process was managed. Translating *fūryū* as “stylish,” Haft described that in the context of *ukiyo-e* pictures, *fūryū* was employed to suggest elegance or refinement. Thus, when *fūryū* and *yatsushi* were combined, Haft, like Clark, indicated that it implied a “‘stylishly casual adaptation’ of an established theme.” Haft provided a visual example of this process with Nishimura Shigenaga’s (1697-1756) adaptation of an ancient Chinese tale that is titled *An Elegant Reworking of Sōbu and Kyoyū Picture Calendar* (1745)(fig. 12). He compared Shigenaga’s print to a Kano painting of the same subject, and showed how Shigenaga reconstituted the subject into an image of the floating world by replacing the two Chinese recluses with characters from the pleasure quarters (fig. 13).

---


\(^{19}\) Besides Iwata, Clark also cites Shinoda Jun’ichi’s study of *yatsushi* and *fūryū yatsushi* in Shinoda Jun’ichi, *Nise monogatari-e: E to bun, bun to e* (Heibonsha, 1995), 19.

As for *mite*, Haft demonstrated that in comparison with *fūryū yatsushi, mitate* was a literary technique used frequently in linked verse.\(^{21}\) When applied later to *ukiyo-e*, it was used to connect discrete themes together. He cites, for instance, a print series attributed to Koryūsai, *Mitate sōmoku Hakkei* (mid-1770s), that links flowers and birds to the Chinese poetry subject of the Eight Views (fig. 14). Rather than a modification of classical subjects into an early modern form, the series links two disparate subjects together. Through his study of actor critiques and prints, Haft also discovered that *mite* functioned as an evaluation device in the theatrical world, used to link actors with certain topics that emphasized their strengths, and to imagine them in fictional roles that they never performed.\(^{22}\) Haft’s distinctions of *fūryū yatsushi* and *mite* and his examples of how these terms operated in the eighteenth century reveal the complexities of these terms and the need to re-assess modern categorizations of *mite-e*.

Scholars have, despite problems of terminology, produced important scholarship about images they have designated as *mite-e*.\(^{23}\) In her analysis of the *wa/kan* (*Japanese/Chinese*) dialectic within *ukiyo-e* prints, Sarah Thompson, while using *mite* to describe her pictures, demonstrates that visual juxtapositions of Chinese and Japanese subjects could be seen as a manifestation of self-identity.\(^{24}\) In her examination of Okumura Masanobu’s (1686-1784) *Burning Maple Leaves to Heat Sake* (early to mid 18\textsuperscript{th} century) and Suzuki Harunobu’s *Haku*

\(^{21}\) Ibid., 70-85.  
\(^{22}\) Ibid., 117-119.  
Rakuten (c. 1770), Thompson argued that the illustration of Chinese poetry in a contemporary Japanese guise could be understood as the construction of a native Japanese self-image vis-à-vis the continent. Moreover, she stressed that the juxtaposition of Chinese and Japanese subjects has to be contextualized within the intellectual discourses of the time, when there was a resurgence of kokugaku (“nativist”) traditions. Thompson’s analysis, and others like hers, broadens our understanding of what this special class of images that modern scholars term as mitate-e communicated in the early modern period. In other words, even if we ignore the label of mitate-e, there is much to learn from scholarship that examines pictures that refashion classical subjects and those that pair disparate elements.

Building on the works of these scholars, I hope to extend the study of visual juxtapositions beyond subject matter, to discuss the meaning of different painting modes on the same scroll. The collaborative paintings of Kume the Immortal, Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha, and Enma and His Mirror, while displaying an incongruity in subject, also exhibit an array of different brushstrokes. In the painting of Kume the Immortal, the pairing of an earthly maiden with an immortal has long been studied, but the significance of the combination on the same scroll of one motif executed in monochromatic brushwork and another done in finely colored details still needs to be addressed. As we shall see, close analysis of these formal issues will lead to a deeper understanding of these painters and their paintings.

The later usage of the terms ukiyo-e and mitate-e, in their emphasis on subject, limit the scope of study for works that were collectively produced by painters of different workshops. I believe that we must examine these joint works through the rubric of both collaboration and juxtaposition. Doing so expands our comprehension of painting processes and production, and sheds light on issues of social networks in the eighteenth century. By investigating why painters
worked together and the circumstances that brought them together, I aim to uncover the broader significances of what it meant to collaborate.

**Studies on Collaboration**

As a form of artistic practice, collaboration is not a novel concept. To a certain degree, most works of art—all around the world—are products of collaboration. Labor requirements differed according to the specifications of the work, as did the organization of each collaborative endeavor. For the production of illuminated manuscripts in medieval England, scribes and illuminators worked closely to plan the layout of the text and decorations.²⁵ Many forms of classical Greek art were also products of collaboration between different workshops, in which patrons’ needs dictated the employment of specific craftsmen.²⁶ In Japan, engaging different workshops on a single project was also not uncommon. Andrew Watsky has shown that in the sixteenth century, lacquer workers, wood carvers, and painters collaborated on the large decorative ensemble now contained in the Main Hall of the Tsukubusuma Shrine.²⁷ In the seventeenth century, when the Tōshō-gū in Nikkō needed repairs, the Kano painters in charge of the project hired a painter from another workshop, Miyagawa Chōshun (1683-1753), to help with the project.²⁸

Studies on specific workshops in Japan have also uncovered a range of collaborative works between painters of the same atelier, indicating that it was common to join forces in such

settings. Karen Gerhart has discussed, for instance, how several Kano painters worked on the interior of Nijō Castle. Namiki Seishi has demonstrated, too, that Kano painters frequently painted together. Xiaojin Wu, in her 2011 exhibition on collaborative practices, has also showed that the Kano workshop produced many joint paintings. Laura Mueller’s work on joint projects among Utagawa workshop painters has revealed that specialization was an important factor that enhanced the efficiency of collaborations and increased the production of the atelier.

A recent and important monograph on collaborative practices in print by Julie Nelson Davis has highlighted the diverse interactions between ukiyo-e print designers and their contemporaries. Davis’s study encompassed a teacher-student relationship, writer-illustrator collaboration, print designer-publisher association, as well as a joint work between two print designers. By examining the collaborative efforts that were products of these relationships, Davis probed how these works were read and consumed. Her research has provided significant insights into the social networks of ukiyo-e designers, but as she noted, the production of

painting is a different type of social contract between a patron and painter that necessitates its own study.  

Most research on painting collaborations has focused on the phenomenon of shogakai ("calligraphy and painting parties"). These gatherings emerged in the late eighteenth century and evolved into large-scale commercial spectacles in the nineteenth century. Basically, these were venues for painters to fundraise, while promoting their own reputations. Although it is difficult to pinpoint works that were produced at these events, records indicate that they were usually paintings on fans or small slips of paper. In his study of shogakai in the Tenpō era (1830-1844), Robert Campbell cited a publicity flyer where guests were asked to pay gratuities upon requesting a souvenir album or fan from the performing celebrities. A woodblock print by Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864), Shogakai at Manpachirō, published in 1827, depicts famous actors painting fans and scrolls at the Manpachi restaurant (fig. 15). Such records and pictures of early-nineteenth century shogakai show that painters mostly created small, abbreviated sketches at these parties. An exhibition featuring the painter Kawanabe Kyōsai’s (1831-1889) participation in shogakai broadened our knowledge of how these events evolved in the

34 Ibid., 9.
37 Ibid., 139.
39 Hofmann, Performing/Painting, 129. See also Chiba-shi Bijutsukan, Edo no surimono – suijintachi no okurimono (Chiba: Chiba-shi Bijutsukan, 1997), pl 67.
nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{40} The catalog of the exhibition included collaborative paintings of \textit{shogakai} held in this period that illustrates how participants frequently painted ink-based landscapes, bamboo, and other plants (fig. 16).

Several studies on collaborations aside from \textit{shogakai} and that involved painters from separate lineages have focused primarily on Japanese literati painters. Kazuko Kameda-Madar, in her research on the visual representations of literati gatherings, has argued that such paintings were pictorial manifestations of social occasions where painters of different lineages met with scholars, publishers, merchants, and other like-minded individuals to engage in poetry composition, calligraphy, and painting.\textsuperscript{41} An example of one such painting is Kimura Kenkadō’s (1736-1802) \textit{Elegant Gathering in the Western Garden} (18\textsuperscript{th} century), which depicts a group of individuals participating in calligraphy and painting in an outdoor setting (fig. 17). Kenkadō was a rich merchant who often hosted parties for cultural luminaries. According to the literati painter, Noro Kaiseki (1747-1828), it was Kenkadō who started the practice of collaborating on paintings in Japan.\textsuperscript{42} Kenkadō’s Chinese literati-themed painting and accounts of his parties and collaborative activities suggest that Japanese painters desired to indulge in the same cultural pastimes of Chinese literati.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{40} Naritasan Shodō Bijutsukan, Kawanabe Kyōsai Kinen Bijutsukan eds., \textit{Yōte sōrō: Kawanabe Kyōsai to bakumatsu Meiji no shogakai} (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008).
\textsuperscript{42} Noro Kaiseki, \textit{Shihekisai gawa}, 1829; reproduced, cited and translated in Hugh Wylie, “Nanga Painting Treatises of Nineteenth-Century Japan: Translations, Commentary, and Analysis” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1991), 35, 565. The original text reads as follows: 今人合作を好む。日本にて合作に糸を□□浪速乃兼霞堂より始。\
\end{flushleft}
Japanese literati, like their Chinese counterparts, often collaborated to commemorate convivial gatherings. On one occasion where the painter Ike no Taiga (1723-1776) went to visit his friend Gion Nankai (1677-1751), he memorialized the visit with a landscape painting featuring a Chinese-robed gentleman sitting in a hut, hearkening back to Chinese themes of the scholar recluse (fig. 18). Nankai inscribed the essay, “Discussion of Enjoyable Pleasures (Lezhi lun 楽志論)” on the painting, while Yanagisawa Kien added the title calligraphy to the scroll. Such collaborations represent important records of interactions between individuals that shared similar ideals. Alexander Hofmann’s recent monograph on sekiga (“painting on the spot”) included a discussion on painting collaborations, presenting examples of joint works that involved painters of different lineages that were produced for celebratory occasions. He showed, for instance, a painting that was collectively produced by sixty-nine painters, likely to commemorate the sixtieth birthday of Sakai Hōitsu (1761-1828) (fig. 19). In the painting, literati painters like Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841), Rinpa painters, such as Suzuki Kiitsu (1796-1858), the writer, Ōta Nanpo (1749-1823), and sixty-six others, all contributed small drawings and calligraphy on the same scroll to celebrate Hōitsu. The painting displays the brushes of sixty-nine different painters, organized into hive-like partitions, in a collage combining calligraphy and painting in no coherent order. In another joint work that was put together to commemorate the literati painter, Minagawa Kien (1734-1807), we again see miniature paintings by different painters in

---

44 Hofmann, Performing/Painting, 79-80.
46 Ibid., 94-96.
their own separate sections on the same scroll (fig. 20). From their layout and subject matter, these collaborative works were clearly designed to contain the messages of friends and acquaintances for a specific occasion.

As Hofmann pointed out, poetry clubs also produced many collaborative paintings, pooling together the efforts of different painters, writers, and scholars in an assemblage of verse and image. Hofmann explained that at kyōka ("crazy verse") parties, members would often compose images and pictures on a given theme. For example, on the joint work *Morning Glories and Poems* (c. 1795-1806), the painter Kitagawa Utamaro II (d. 1831) painted morning glories on the bottom half of the painting (fig. 21). Each poet then composed a verse related to morning glories and inscribed it on the scroll. Here, although we also see small images of leaves and a dragonfly by other painters, the focus of the painting is the poems. As such, the collaborative painting represents a poetry compilation presented as a hanging scroll.

Unlike the collective works that were the products of shogakai or literati gatherings, the paintings I focus on in this dissertation were not executed in swift brushstrokes, nor do they display a unified painting style. Instead, they presented pairings of monochromatic and lightly colored deities with vibrantly colorful maidens. Compared to paintings of miniature images that are organized into separate sections, paintings like *Kume the Immortal* show an integrated composition where the figures interact to create a narrative. As these paintings do not fit neatly within modern categories that classify paintings by subject or by painter, they are anomalies that have been largely ignored. It is not my intention to construct a separate category for these paintings, but rather to analyze them individually as case studies, so as to broaden our knowledge on painting practices and the ways that meaning is expressed in paintings.

---

47 Ibid., 107-110.
Until now, the scholarship that has focused on these paintings, in using the framework of *ukiyo-e* and *mitate-e*, has prioritized subject and underplayed the formal elements and people who produced the pictures. Collaborative studies, too, in their emphasis on specific painting practices and cooperations among like-minded individuals, have missed paintings that were produced collectively by different workshops. The core paintings in this dissertation, I argue, put both juxtaposition and collaboration in dialogue. Juxtaposition can be a way to elucidate the meaning of collaborations; conversely, collaboration, too, is a means for understanding why juxtapositions occurred. My dissertation, in its focus on these collaborative paintings, also aims to probe the social dynamics of late eighteenth century Japan and to re-assess the meaning and implications of collaborative assemblages. The multiple layers of meaning within these paintings reveal the limitations of modern categories, genres, and classifications. Therefore, by unpacking the levels of juxtaposition in each painting, I seek a more comprehensive approach to understanding painting production and consumption in the late eighteenth century.

Chapter Summary

In Chapter One, *Kume the Immortal* offers a starting point to discuss the social boundaries between a Kano painter, who had the status of *goyō eshi* (“painter in attendance”), and his collaborator, who called himself a *yamato-eshi*. I explore how the popular tale of Kume was adapted to present multiple levels of juxtaposition. I hope to deepen our understanding of how painters were perceived in the mid-eighteenth century, employing a range of primary sources, including the daily records of the *goyō eshi* Kano Seisen’in (1796-1846), entitled *Official Diary* (*Kōyō nikki* 公用日記, 1810-1846); the actor Segawa Tomisaburō’s (d. 1833) 1818 (Bunsei 1) publication, *The Edo Compass* (*Edo hōkaku wake* 江戸方角分); and Nishikawa
Sukenobu’s essay, “Painting and Color Application Methods (Gahō saishiki hō画法彩色法).” Later collaborations on the same subject, by Terunobu’s son, Kano Eitoku Takanobu (1740-1795), and Kitao Shigemasa, an ukiyo-e painter, demonstrated that the trend to pair painters of hierarchically different statuses persisted over time (fig. 5). A third collaboration of Kume, by the writer, Komatsuken Hyakki (1720-1794), and the scholar, Yoshida Rankō (1724-1799), provides clues about the social networks that could have produced these works (fig. 6).

Paintings pairing the lucky deity, Fukurokuju, with courtesans and geisha are the focus of Chapter Two. A member of the Seven Lucky Gods pantheon, Fukurokuju had been a familiar figure since the sixteenth century in Japan. As I will elaborate in the chapter, the deity was in reality, a fusion of the Three Stars of Fortune (Fuku 福), Prosperity (Roku 禄), and Longevity (Ju 寿), a triad that originated from China. Pictures of the Three Stars and Seven Lucky Gods were widely circulated in Japan in the seventeenth century, especially during the New Year’s. In the same period, juxtapositions of the Lucky Gods with Japanese courtesans were equally ubiquitous in prints and paintings. By positioning *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* and other similar paintings such as *Fukurokuju with Two Beauties* (1777-79)(fig. 8) within Three Star pictures and Lucky God imagery, I argue that such works were probably produced as gifts for auspicious occasions. Combining the brushes of three painters and exhibiting unique painting modes and techniques, these paintings would have been, I contend, valuable collectible items for their intended recipients. I explore, too, the background and social networks of the painters, especially their involvement in poetry circles, to investigate patronage links. As some of the painters were also prolific print designers, I will survey their partnerships with writers and publishers in the production of poetry compilations and illustrated books to provide context for the painting collaborations.
Chapter Three examines *Enma and His Mirror*, an unconventional collaboration between the heads of two workshops, who also shared a teacher-student bond. Enma and the underworld became a popular topic for parody, appearing in many illustrated novels in the eighteenth century. By comparing Enma’s depiction in literature with his portrayal in the collaborative painting, I show that painters transformed the deity into a connoisseur of women. Furthermore, I argue that the collaboration became a means for connecting painters with differing workshop affiliations. I demonstrate, through a close examination of Kō Sūkoku and Katsukawa Shunshō’s painting techniques, that the composition of Enma and his mirror allowed two painters to form a visual dialogue with one another. In the second part of the chapter, I bring in Hanabusa Ikkei (1749-1844) and Utagawa Kunisada’s multiple reproductions of the Sūkoku-Shunshō painting (figs. 2 and 3), to show that later generations reenacted collaborations to preserve and perpetuate their lineage. Finally, the epilogue will look at how these eighteenth-century collaborations inspired new collaborative trajectories in the nineteenth century.
Chapter 1: A Collaboration between Goyō eshi and Ukiyo-eshi

A popular motif that circulated in literature, theater, and the visual arts in eighteenth century Japan showed the immortal Kume falling from the sky at the sight of the exposed white calves of a woman. In the Hōreki era (1751-63), the subject became a template for collaboration between two painters from different workshops. Kume the Immortal, in the Japan Ukiyo-e Museum in Matsumoto, is a hanging scroll created cooperatively by Kano Terunobu, a goyō eshi to the shogun, and Nishikawa Sukenobu, a Kyoto painter and print designer who worked as ukiyo-eshi (fig. 4). Below, I will interrogate these two terms for painters and show how, to a period audience, they would have resonated profoundly. To my knowledge, this scroll is the earliest collaboratively produced painting of the Kume theme, though many such paintings by individual painters exist. Moreover, this painting inspired two later collective endeavors on the same subject in the An’ei era (1772-80): a collaboration between Kano Eitoku Takanobu, a goyō eshi, and Kitao Shigemasa, an ukiyo-e painter (fig. 5), and a joint painting involving a writer, Komatsuken Hyakki, and a Confucian scholar, Yoshida Rankō (fig. 6). As I will demonstrate in this chapter, all three paintings provide insight into new painting practices that were based on an acute awareness of social status and its boundaries.

I begin with a discussion of the historiography of the paintings, followed by a study of the development of Kume as a literary and pictorial motif. From folklore to didactic admonition, the story of Kume assumed different guises depending on context and audience. Along with classical narratives, such as The Tale of Genji, Kume became by the Hōreki era a popular subject for parody. Turning then to the collaborative productions on Kume, I will analyze what it meant to be a painter-in-attendance and what the terms ukiyo-e and yamato-e connoted, to understand
the pairing of these painters on the same scroll. Studying excerpts from a Kano painter’s official diary, as well as Nishikawa Sukenobu’s essay on painting methods, I hope to illuminate how these painters were perceived in the eighteenth century. Lastly, I will also address how these paintings were assembled and possible leaders behind the project.

Abuna-e and Ga/Zoku

Referring to the subject matter of the painting rather than its collaborative production, Ozaki Kyūya, the first modern scholar to write about paintings of Kume, described them as abuna-e (“dangerous pictures”). In his study of Komatsuken Hyakki and Yoshida Rankō’s 1779 (An’ei 8) painting, Kume the Immortal, Ozaki stated, “one would not call this [painting] a secret painting, but rather an example of an abuna-e.”48 Here, he explained that these were not erotic pictures for secret viewing, but instead, dangerously provocative images.49 He claimed that the term abuna-e originated in the Meiwa to An’ei eras (1764-1780), though he cited as evidence, the 1830 Catalogue of Pleasure Seeking (Kiyūshōran 喜遊笑覽). I have not been able to locate the term in the aforementioned source, nor found any other reference to the term or what it meant to an eighteenth-century audience. Ozaki believed abuna-e to be pictures of beautiful women that tempted men, like the laundry maiden who bewitched Kume. In addition to Kume the Immortal, he defined pictures of women in various forms of nudity as abuna-e, from images of women in their bath to courtesans consorting with their customers.

49 Ozaki Kyūya, Ukiyo-e to haitai ha (Tokyo: Shun’yodo, 1925), 283-303.
Yoshida Teruji’s three-volume compilation of *Ukiyo-e abuna-e* in 1962 also included several prints of *Kume the Immortal*.\(^50\) Yoshida described *abuna-e* as pictures of semi-nude females that were engaged in their daily routines in private settings.\(^51\) He distinguished these depictions from female nudes in the West by arguing that, for Japanese painters and viewers, the emphasis was not solely on the female figure, but also on her private life. In Kume depictions, the washing women are engrossed in their everyday duties, thus this imagery satisfies Yoshida’s criteria for *abuna-e*.

Ozaki and Yoshida’s classification of *Kume the Immortal* as *abuna-e* reveals how modern scholars have categorized this motif, but obscures how such paintings were understood in the early modern period. Without knowing what *abuna-e* meant to an eighteenth-century audience, in short, reading Kume as “*abuna-e*” is problematic. Furthermore, Ozaki and Yoshida’s definitions of *abuna-e* and subsequent organization of works under this umbrella-term are, in the end, arbitrary. Ozaki argued that *abuna-e* should encompass a broad range of semi-nude images that—in his formulation—were provocative and thereby dangerous to the morals of men, whereas Yoshida emphasized *abuna-e* as pictures of women in private settings. Both scholars, in their efforts to curate a group of pre-selected works, adapted *abuna-e* to suit their purposes without providing evidence of how the term was used or what images it referred to historically.

Kobayashi Tadashi was the first scholar to discuss the collaborative production of *Kume the Immortal*, and he did so within the context of a literary discourse known as *ga/zoku* (“refined/vulgar”).\(^52\) He designated orthodox painting culture as *ga* (“refined, elite, orthodox”)
and depictions of contemporary life as *zoku* ("vulgar, mundane, low-brow"). He applied these binaries to painters, separating them into *ga* and *zoku*, depending on their oeuvre. For instance, he described Kano workshop painters as being the successors to Chinese orthodox painting style, and their works as "orthodox paintings" and "traditional paintings". For him, they were the preservers of an "elite, conservative culture". In contrast, "ukiyo-e painters were those that strove to survive by responding to changes using vulgar expressions". *Ukiyo-e*, in its emphasis on contemporary culture, exemplified *zoku*, and so its creators also became associated with this term. As I will argue below, the *ga/zoku* binary is deeply problematic as an analytical tool, but in the following paragraphs, let us first follow Kobayashi’s discussion as it regards the paintings that are our focus.

In his analysis of Sukenobu and Terunobu’s *Kume the Immortal*, Kobayashi treated the collaboration as a literal juxtaposition of *ga* and *zoku*. He associated Kano Terunobu, who painted Kume in monochrome ink, with orthodox painting, which he considered *ga*, and designated Sukenobu as representing *zoku* because the latter depicted the washing maiden in colorful, contemporary dress. Kobayashi described Sukenobu’s depiction as “a richly colored *ukiyo-e* beauty, painted in the contemporary style, in other words, the trendy *zoku* [culture],” in contrast to Terunobu’s “immortal that is depicted in the archaic, ink-painting method; in other words the unchangeable *ga* [culture].” Here, his qualification of *zoku* as trendy and *ga* as unchanging extended to the painters as well. Reading the plummeting Kume as a decline in orthodox painting culture at the expense of the rising, popular *ukiyo-e* culture, Kobayashi argued

---

54 当世風に描かれた激紅的浮世絵美人、すなわち流行の俗に、古風な水墨描法で描かれた仙人、すなわち不屈の雅… Kobayashi, “Ga zoku no ko ò,” 352.
that this indicated that the Kano paled in comparison to the increasingly prominent *ukiyo-e* painters.

On a broader level, Kobayashi believed that the juxtaposition of *ga* and *zoku* in *Kume the Immortal* represented a weakening of the ruling elite. Comparing Kume to the anonymous painting *Pleasure-seeking Confucius* (18th century), he proposed that the transformation of a noble sage into a libertine was a playful poke at the Confucian-cloaked Tokugawa shogunate (fig. 22). *Pleasure-seeking Confucius* portrays a group of Japanese maidens bearing an intoxicated Chinese-robed Confucius on a sedan chair. Like the laundress in the Kume painting, all the ladies wear colorful *kosode* (“short-sleeved”) robes with their sashes tied in the front. Their bare feet peek out from their robes as they parade around with the sage. According to Kobayashi, *Kume the Immortal* and *Pleasure-seeking Confucius* reflected how “contemporary power dynamics rapidly shifted from the officials to the commoners, from the old to new, and from *ga* to *zoku*.”

Kobayashi detected a similar juxtaposition of *ga* and *zoku* in a later painting of *Kume the Immortal*, produced in the An’ei era (1772-1780) by Kitao Shigemasa and Kano Eitoku Takanobu (fig. 5). He pointed out that a low-status *ukiyo-e* painter, Shigemasa, painted the charming maiden, whereas a *goyō eshi* with the highest rank, Eitoku Takanobu, had the more undesirable role of painting the falling immortal. In this painting, moreover, Kobayashi believed that Ōta Nanpo’s inscribed Chinese poem about the unfortunate Kume was self-referential. Nanpo was born as a samurai but identified himself with popular culture and immersed himself

---

55 時の力関係は急速に、官から野、昔より今、雅より俗へと移り…Ibid., 354.
in it. Kobayashi hypothesized that Nanpo’s poem of Kume falling from his heavenly abode to mortal land was a reference to Nanpo’s own circumstances.\(^{56}\)

Kobayashi’s interpretation of the juxtaposition between Kano and *ukiyo-e* painters on *Kume the Immortal* as a visual manifestation of the *ga/zoku* discourse oversimplifies painting production in eighteenth-century Japan. Reducing painters, styles, and subjects into binaries of *ga* and *zoku* limits our understanding of the painters’ diversity. Scholars have shown that the Kano dominated and secured their position within the realm of painting throughout the early modern period largely due to their versatility and resourcefulness.\(^{57}\) The Kano produced more than just paintings in the Chinese style. They also painted contemporary genre scenes and even pictures of female beauties. Therefore, equating the Kano with only a Chinese-based, orthodox style and designating them as preservers of an unchanging *ga* aesthetic is misleading.

Kobayashi’s analysis, however, places the Kume collaborative paintings within a literary discourse, which as we will see is helpful in opening up inquiries into how this painting was conceptualized. How were painters perceived during this period? Why did Kume become a suitable subject for collaboration? Who was the audience for these paintings?

**The Subject of “Kume the Immortal”**

The Japanese tale of Kume the Immortal, with a didactic theme, made its first appearance around the twelfth century in the *Tales of the Past and Present* (*Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語),


a compilation of myths, legends, folktales, and Buddhist stories. In the tale, a man named Kume lived in seclusion to practice the arts of immortality, and after a while achieved the status of immortal and gained the ability to levitate. One day, as he was flying over the countryside, he looked down and saw a woman laundering her clothes in the river. The woman’s skirts were lifted, and so Kume saw her exposed, white legs. His mind succumbed to carnal desire and he promptly lost his magical powers and tumbled from the sky. Once on the ground, he reverted back to an ordinary mortal and married the maiden. When the emperor of the region decided to build a castle in Kume’s district, Kume participated in the construction project. The officials in charge learned about Kume’s previous abilities and, as a joke, they asked him to use his powers of levitation to transport the newly cut lumber through the air. Kume responded that he was unable to oblige as his passion for his wife had tainted him and made him impure. He said that he would instead assist the officials through prayer. He meditated for seven days and nights, abstaining from food. On the dawn of the eighth day, Kume’s prayers were answered as a strange storm broke out and pieces of lumber flew to the building site. The emperor, after hearing of the incident, rewarded Kume with tax-exempt rice fields, where Kume immediately built a Buddhist monastery. Here, the edifying message is one that emphasizes the efficacies of prayer. Despite losing his powers, Kume’s repentance and devotion granted him deliverance at the end.

In the fourteenth century, the Buddhist monk and poet Yoshida Kenkō (1284-1350) recounted Kume’s story in Essays in Idleness (Tsurezuregusa) as a moral admonition. Essays in Idleness consists of short anecdotal essays, many on Buddhist themes. In Chapter

59 I am indebted to Hickman’s translation of the Kume narrative from the Konjaku monogatari that I have paraphrased. Hickman, “On the Trail of Kume,” 21-22.
Eight, Kenkō warned his readers, “Nothing leads a man astray so easily as sexual desire. What a foolish thing a man’s heart is! Though we realize, for example, that fragrances are short-lived and the scent burnt into clothes lingers but briefly, how our hearts leap when we catch a whiff of an exquisite perfume! The holy man of Kume lost his magic powers after noticing the whiteness of the legs of a girl who was washing clothes; this was quite understandable, considering that the glowing plumpness of her arms, legs, and flesh owed nothing to artifice.” Unlike the version in Tales of the Past and Present, Kume’s tale here ends with his downfall. Instead of a tale of religious efficacy in which Kume’s prayers helped him regain his powers, Kenkō shifted the emphasis of the story to Kume’s fallible character and the dangers of female flesh, and stressed how even immortals could lose their powers at the bewitching sight of a beautiful woman.

The versatility of Essays in Idleness made it easily adaptable for a diverse readership, so many writers appropriated the text for reasons ranging from the didactic to the satirical by the seventeenth century. Even before then, the text had served as a resource for the religious community, which wanted to enhance its teachings, as educational material for the warrior elite, and as sources for storytellers who wanted to increase their repertoire. As time went by, new audiences generated more efforts to adapt and use the text, transforming Essays in Idleness into a canonical work.

The production of Essays in Idleness in different formats, such as handscrolls, illustrated books, and folding screens, led to numerous pictorial manifestations of Kume. A seventeenth-century handscroll of scenes from Essays in Idleness, for instance, shows a Chinese-robed Kume.

---

standing amidst clouds in the sky, looking down on a washing maiden in the river (fig. 23). Both Kume and the maiden are framed within a landscape of rolling green hills, dotted with flowers and grasses, and a meandering stream. In this pictorial compilation of *Essays in Idleness*, the scene of Kume is one of many from the text.63

In a 1678 (Kanpō 6) album of *Essays in Idleness*, fifty selected chapters set text and related image on opposing pages. The transcriptions of the verses of each chapter, executed in elegant calligraphy on gold-embellished silk, was a collaborative endeavor between fifty distinguished courtiers of the time, whereas the colorful images were made by the *goyō eshi*, Sumiyoshi Gukei (1631-1705). The album was part of a dowry for the granddaughter of a nobleman.64 In the Kume chapter, Gukei portrayed the immortal cloaked in leaves with a staff in his hand. Standing amidst the clouds, Kume spies on a woman washing her clothes below (fig. 24). The painter delineated Kume and the female figure in fine lines and colored them with *gofun* and other opaque color pigments.

In yet another variation, twenty-eight *Essays in Idleness* chapters are displayed on a pair of seventeenth-century folding screens.65 Kume appears at the top of the second panel of the right screen, framed within partitions of gold clouds (fig. 25). The Chinese-dressed immortal stands above the clouds as he gazes down at the exposed calves of the laundering woman by the riverbank. The anonymous painter improvised on the conventional depiction by adding a second woman to the scene, pictured here with a wooden tub on her head (fig. 25a). The handscroll, Sumiyoshi album, and folding screens all illustrate Kume and the female figures within

---

landscapes, and the Kume narrative itself is linked with the other chapters of the *Essays in Idleness*.

In the eighteenth century, the growth of woodblock printing spurred the creation of even more images of Kume, some that were related to the *Essays in Idleness* and, significantly, others that were not. Nishikawa Sukenobu’s *Essays in Idleness Picture Book* (*Ehon tsurezuregusa* 絵本徒然草), published in 1740 (Genbun 5), presented the Kume narrative in a printed, illustrated form. Departing from the precedents of the previously mentioned examples, the picture book displayed text and image on the same page. An image of Kume, at the moment he discovers the maiden is on the same page as the text that narrates the story (fig. 26). Unlike the seventeenth-century depictions of Kume, Sukenobu did not place Kume floating amidst the clouds, but portrayed him plunging from the skies at the sight of the bare calves of the woman. Kume also appeared in other printed, non-*Essays in Idleness* materials, such as guidebooks. In the *Illustrated Guide to Famous Places in the Yamato Area* (*Yamato meisho zue* 倭名所図絵, 1791), for instance, Kume’s illustration accompanies a historical account of Kume Temple (fig. 27). Departing from conventional depictions of Kume that picture him gazing at a laundry maiden, the illustrator, Shunchōsai, pictured a maiden standing on a basket of produce in the river instead of washing clothes. The reason for the slight modification is unclear, but perhaps Shunchōsai saw it appropriate to highlight some of the key customs and products of the Yamato region.66

Parallel to its popular presence in literature, the story of Kume also became a ubiquitous theme in theater. The earliest Kabuki performance of *Kume no sennin* occurred in 1688 for the daimyo of Chōshū in Edo. At about the same time, a similar title also appeared in the puppet

---

66 Hickman thinks that the woman might be rinsing *taro* in the river, a specialty of the Yamato region. See Hickman, “On the Trail of Kume,” 28.
After a brief lull, the theme was revived in the mid-eighteenth century in Osaka theaters, in a new guise under the title of *Kume no sennin yoshino-zakura* for the puppet stage. Revising the traditional narrative, the writer portrayed Kume as a villain who used his supernatural powers to create havoc. Eventually, with the help of a young woman, the exalted Prince Shōtoku vanquished the evil Kume. The success and popularity of Kume within theatrical circles spawned new interpretations of Kume in print. For instance, in the 1754 print *Nakamura Kumetarō I as Matsuura Sayo no hime and Ichimura Kamezō as Kume no sennin*, Okumura Masanobu replaced the Chinese-robed immortal with the actor Kamezō, identifiable from the crest on his robes. The object of his affection is not a laundry maiden but a princess who lifts up her robe coyly, exposing her bare calves while she tilts her head up at him (fig. 28).

Kume’s popularity and the wide circulation of his story through literary and theatrical avenues increased the theme’s familiarity and transformed it into a trope for referring to the charms of contemporary women. In the *Sequel to the Clumsy Sermons* (*Zoku heta dangi* 続下手談議, 1759), the townswomen’s actions are blamed for the downfall of men: “It is observed that all the women in the town, when they deliberately flap their hems, showing off their white shins, [they become] a means for making a spectacle of falling immortals.” The publication belonged to a genre of literature known as satirical sermons or *dangibon* that is characterized by its didactic tone and its critique of contemporary society. Here, Kume is referred to as a victim, and the women as the cause of his downfall. Such literature suggests that the subject was used as a moral admonition in the mid-eighteenth century, to warn against becoming prey to female

---

67 Ibid., 31-32.
This is exemplified in the Okumura Masanobu print, *Courtesan Walking* (1745-49), in which a poem alluding to Kume enhanced the beauty of the courtesan. In the print, a maiden dressed in a robe patterned with a swirling stream and reeds lifts her skirt as she walks, exposing her dainty feet (fig. 29). A poem above reads, “Seeing the courtesan on parade, one loses power to resist, like a cuckoo falling in mid-flight.” Here, the poem describes a bird dropping from the sky at the sight of a courtesan, thus alluding by use of an avian image to Kume’s similar plight. Masanobu’s print shows that the presence of Kume was not even necessary; the allusion to him was enough to suggest the beauty of the depicted woman.

Print designers took advantage of different formats to privilege the female figure vis-à-vis Kume. The pillar print (*hashira-e*) is one example, where they used the narrow and long format of the print to highlight the female figure, reducing Kume to a small speck in the upper half of the composition. Katsukawa Shunchō (d. 1815), in his pillar print, *Kume the Immortal* (1775-1800), increased the size of the female figure to occupy almost four-fifths of the image, while Kume occupies just a small space at the very top (fig. 30). In these pillar prints, the presence of Kume has become, when compared to the prominence of the female figures, merely a thematic referent.

Designers also depicted Kume as voyeur, recognizing the efficacy of this role—common in Edo-period prints—as a means for highlighting the charms of women. Hishikawa

---


71 A *hashira-e* measures 70 cm. in length and 20 cm. in width.

72 Scholars of European painting have shown that internal voyeurs in paintings of *Susannah and the Elders* and *The Bath of Diana* played a fundamental role in objectifying the woman. See, for instance, Mary D. Garrard, “Artemisia and Susannah,” in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 146-171. Both of these paintings show men spying on partially exposed women emerging
Moronobu’s (1618-1694) illustration of Ihara Saikaku’s (1642-1693) *Life of An Amorous Man* (*Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男, 1684) includes a scene of the protagonist, Yonosuke, spying on a woman taking a bath (fig. 31). Moronobu positioned Yonosuke with a telescope on the upper right of the illustration, perched on the roof, training his gaze at a naked woman in a wooden tub, who upon noticing him, clasps her hands pleadingly, in embarrassment. Okumura Masanobu, copying almost the same composition, designed a print of *Kume the Roof Tiler* (early 18th century), where he replaced Yonosuke with Kume, and the bathing woman with a washing maiden (fig. 32); Kume is a roof tiler who loses his balance on the roof at the sight of the beautiful woman he spies in the courtyard below. The comparison between Moronobu and Masanobu’s pictures displays the similarities between Kume and Yonosuke, and highlights their role as voyeurs.

The presence of Kume, and the depiction of him as a peeping tom, function to amplify the charisma of the female figure. A mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth-century hanging scroll triptych of three women by Chōbunsai Eishi (1756-1829) exemplifies this point. *Kume the Immortal* is the central painting, flanked on either side by scrolls that each depicts a seated woman (fig. 33). In the right scroll, a woman sits in profile view, with her hair hanging down her back. Her robes are beautifully patterned and carefully arranged around her. In the left scroll, another seated maiden, with her face slightly lowered, gazes out to the right. Her hair is arranged atop her head and decorated with hairpins and combs. Like the woman on the right scroll, she is also elaborately dressed in luxurious robes. In contrast to both elegantly reposed women, the washing woman in the central scroll is hard at work, her disheveled hair flowing freely about her and her robes fastened loosely by a simple, dark sash. Although she is not as finely dressed as from their baths. Such pictures use the internal voyeur as a device to eroticize the woman, transforming her into a product for appreciation.
her counterparts, the washing woman appears more provocative with her exposed legs. The presence of Kume, too, who peers down from above at her, directs the viewer’s gaze toward her feminine charms. As the three paintings were meant to be viewed together, the women featured in each painting become the focus of the ensemble. Kume’s presence here, as voyeur, highlights the allure of the women, presenting them as objects for appreciation.

**Contrasting Painting Modes**

The pairing of a heavenly being with an earthly maiden in the Kume narrative inspired painters to combine distinct painting modes on the same surface. Nishikawa Sukenobu’s early eighteenth-century *Kume the Immortal* displays the painter’s versatility in employing different techniques (fig. 34). Sukenobu painted the immortal using a combination of bold and thin brushstrokes, applying only a light blue wash to color Kume’s Chinese robes. He accentuated the area around Kume with ink wash, creating an atmospheric quality to evoke the sky. In contrast, he outlined the woman below in light ink and applied rich colors to her robes. Compared to the Kume paintings that we previously discussed, such as the Sumiyoshi album, the seventeenth-century screens, and hand-scrolls, Sukenobu’s painting emphasizes the contrast between Kume and the maiden not only in their attire, but also in brushstroke. For the Sumiyoshi depiction of Kume, for example, Gukei executed both immortal and maiden with uniform ink lines and colored them with *gofun* and light colors (fig. 35). Here, there is no incongruuity in brushwork. The *Essays of Idleness* handscroll, too, shows no difference in brushwork between Kume and the washing maiden. Although the immortal is dressed as a Chinese scholar, his robes are colorful, matching the rest of the scene around him (fig. 36).
Sukenobu’s illustration of Kume in the *Essays of Idleness Picture Book* also demonstrate his mastery of a variety of types of brushwork, raising questions of who he studied and trained with. His portrayal of Kume in the illustration is lively and animated, as he pictured the immortal sweeping down from the clouds in strong, diagonal brushstrokes. Moreover, by using undulating lines to depict Kume’s robes, he added movement to the figure (fig. 37). Sukenobu’s design suggests that he was versed in some Kano painting methods. A copy of Kano Tan’yū’s picture of Kume by Tsukioka Settei (1726-1787) in the *Collection of Paintings of Gold and Jade* (*Kingyoku gafu* 金玉画府, 1771), for instance, shows that Tan’yū executed Kume’s robes using rising and falling, thickening and thinning lines to create a sense of movement as the immortal stands within the clouds (fig. 38). Sukenobu had studied with the Kano, so it is not surprising that he was able to replicate the brushstrokes that they employed in his own work.73

Contrasting his depiction of Kume, Sukenobu displayed his skill in depicting contemporary women by carefully detailing the laundry woman’s facial features and robes (fig. 39). In the same illustration from the *Essays of Idleness Picture Book*, Sukenobu arranged the woman’s hair in the latest fashions, adorning it with a hairpin and comb. Compared with Tan’yū’s depiction of the washing woman, who is dressed in a commoner’s garb with minimal patterns, and expressed in angular lines (fig. 40), Sukenobu used thin, fluid lines to delineate the folds of the woman’s robes, and carefully detailed the floral designs on her clothes. He even added crests on the sleeve and back of her dress. His meticulous depiction signaled that the painter wanted to highlight his knowledge of contemporary fashions as well as his ability to use

---

diverse brushwork. Sukenobu’s deliberate combination of disparate brushwork for his two figural depictions enhances the incongruity between Chinese immortal and Japanese contemporary woman and, in addition, it effectively conveys the plurality of painting traditions active in the eighteenth century. As I will discuss shortly, the ability to display these distinct modes in the form of Kume and the washing maiden lends itself to another level of juxtaposition: a pairing between two painters of differing status.

A Juxtaposition of Two Painters

In the mid eighteenth century, *Kume the Immortal* was transformed into a collaboration between two painters: Nishikawa Sukenobu and Kano Terunobu (fig. 4). Given Sukenobu’s familiarity with the subject, it is not surprising to see the painter’s signature on this collaborative painting. In fact, the woman in the painting, beneath and framed by a willow tree, greatly resembles Sukenobu’s illustration in the *Essays of Idleness Picture Book* (fig. 41). Both figures, in print and in painting, wear robes with patterns of ferns tied together with a dark sash. They have almost identical hairstyles and tilt their heads down demurely as they engage in their labors. These elegantly composed figures were idealized representations of contemporary beauties. In the painting, Sukenobu delineated the woman in thin lines and colored her robes white and her undergarments scarlet. Compared to her, Kume, in the top half of the painting is not only relatively small, but he consists of only a few abbreviated brushstrokes and light ink wash. For Kano Terunobu, Kume was also not a new subject. As we just saw in the *Collection of Paintings of Gold and Jade*, the Kano depicted many pictures of immortals and legendary Chinese characters. Besides Kume, the illustrated book also featured the immortal Ikkaku (*Ikkaku sennin* 一角仙人), Bian He (卞和), and the poet Bai Juyi (白居易). Comparing Tan’yū’s depictions of
Kume and Ikkaku (fig. 42) with Terunobu’s Kume (fig. 43), we see that Terunobu’s image combines features from the two Tan’yū pictures. Like Tan’yū, Terunobu also painted Kume as a bearded Chinese sage, with a topknot on his head. Terunobu, too, used swirling lines to paint Kume’s robes, creating a sense of movement.

The collaborative painting by Sukenobu and Terunobu not only displays two painting modes, but also pairs together two distinct painters. From the examples I discussed earlier, we know that Sukenobu was not only familiar with the Kume subject, he could even single-handedly portray the immortal and maiden with distinct techniques. Instead of getting a painter who was skilled in multiple modes to execute the painting, someone decided to pair two painters on the same scroll. I refer here to “someone” because, as I will demonstrate, Sukenobu and Terunobu did not execute this painting of their own accord nor paint together at the same time.

*Goyō eshi*

Kano Terunobu, the painter of Kume, occupied an important position in the painting world as the head of the Nakabashi Kano workshop. By the seventeenth century, the Kano painters had established for themselves a solid position as painter-in-attendance, or *goyō eshi*, for the shoguns; they were salaried employees of the ruling elite. Although the Kano workshop originated in Kyoto, the Edo-based Tokugawa shogunate provided work for many Kano painters who moved to the new capital. Kano Tan’yū, the most esteemed of the Kano painters in Edo, established a studio in Kajibashi, while his two younger brothers, Naonobu (1607-1650) and Yasunobu (1614-1685), became heads of the Kobikichō and Nakabashi studios respectively; the

---

74 As Yukio Lippit has pointed out, regional daimyo, too, began employing painters and paying them stipends. These painters were also *goyō eshi* and many were recruited from the Kano studios. See Lippit, *Painting of the Realm*, 21.
Nakabashi branch was the main house. Later, Kano Minenobu (1682-1709), Naonobu’s
grandson, was also granted the privilege to have his own branch in the Hamachō neighborhood.
The four studios in Edo formed the nucleus for the Kano network. Before long, the Kano’s
organizational structure consisted of four main houses in Edo, a Kyoto branch, as well as sixteen
subsidiary branches. The Kano workshop maintained a hereditary succession that followed the
iemoto system, a hierarchical familial structure where the head of the household held full
authority. The creation of a culture of exclusivity and maintenance of secret skills and
techniques that were handed down only from teacher to student were all features of this
traditional system. The leadership of the main Kano branches passed from father to oldest son,
indicating that in the situation where a leader did not have a son, he adopted a promising painter
to succeed him. For instance, Kano Terunobu, the eleventh head of the Nakabashi branch, was in
fact the brother of Kano Norinobu, the tenth leader. Because Norinobu did not have a son,
Terunobu, his younger brother, became his adopted son and succeeded him as leader.

As goyō eshi, the Kano painters were further divided into oku-eshi (“inner painters”) and
omote-eshi (“outer painters”). The heads of the four main Kano branches in Edo were
designated as oku-eshi, whereas the painters in the subsidiary ateliers were omote-eshi. The oku-
eshi were samurai with hatamoto (“bannerman”) status, and received land and rice stipends

---

75 Takeda, Kano ha kaiga shi, 429-435.
76 Kono Motoaki, “The Organization of the Kanō School of Painting,” in Fenway Court, trans.
77 Kono placed the Kano within the iemoto system following the criteria of Nishiyama
Matsunosuke. See Kono, “The Organization of the Kanō,” 26. See also Nishiyama Matsunosuke,
78 Terunobu succeeded as leader of the house in 1759 (Hōreki 9). See Yagioka Shunzan, “Kano
go eshi no seikatsu,” in Nihon bijutsu no shakaishi – Jōmonki kara kindai no shijō he – , eds.
79 The following discussion on oku-eshi in the next two paragraphs are based on Yagioka, “Kano
go eshi no seikatsu,” 275-290.
annually. As head of the workshop, Kano Terunobu received annual stipends ranging from a hundred to a hundred and twenty *koku* during his service.\(^8\) When an *oku-eshi* gained promotion to the rank of *hōgen* (“eye of the law”) or *hōin* (“seal of the law”), in addition to an increased annual stipend, he received new robes, the rights to carry two swords, and shave his head. Such distinctions indicated that these painters had privileges that differentiated them from others. The *oku-eshi* were often assisted by *omote-eshi*. Besides the *oku-eshi* and the *omote-eshi*, there were also painters, like Sukenobu, who trained with the Kano but never became a member of an actual Kano workshop.

*Oku-eshi*, such as Terunobu, operated on very restricted schedules and took orders primarily from the shogunate. They worked in the castle’s *ebeya* (“painting studio”). The shogun paid for all their expenses, including renovations and reconstructions of their studios in the event of natural disasters, like fire. The material supplies—paper, silk, gold, and painting pigments, and the like—were all provided by the shogun and stored within the *ebeya*. As inner-court painters, the *oku-eshi* had to be on duty at the castle on fixed days of the month. Sometimes, the shogun would come to the painting studio requesting pictures or that the painter paint for him in front of an audience. Besides such occasions, the *oku-eshi* had to produce paintings for New Year’s as gifts for the shogun’s family and womenfolk, entertainers, scholars, and so forth. Because the *oku-eshi* were dependents of their employers, they had to ask for permission if they were invited to outside events; even if a similarly ranked shogunal retainer invited them for painting sessions, they could not attend unless given permission.

The personal diary of the *oku-eshi* and ninth head of the Kobikichō studio in Edo, Kano Seisen’in (1796-1846), the *Kōyō Nikki*, discovered in the 1950s, has provided scholars with

\(^8\) A *koku* is a Japanese unit of measurement for volume. 1 *koku* is approximately 330 pounds or 150 kg of rice.
important insights into the daily life of a goyō eshi. Consisting of fifty-six volumes, the first dated to 1810 (Bunka 7) and the last to 1846 (Kōka 3), the diary was a personal record that Seisen’in kept during his lifetime. The first to fifty-first volumes included Seisen’in’s daily activities as painter-in-attendance. Up to 1827 (Bunsei 10), he wrote one volume a year, and for the next eleven years after, he divided his records seasonally (Spring-Summer and Autumn-Winter), producing two volumes a year. In addition to the fifty-one volumes of his daily activities, Seisen’in also recorded special occasions, such as the shogun’s move from the Honmaru (main section of the castle) to the Nishimaru (west section of the castle) in 1837 (Tenpō 8), the shogun’s trip to Nikkō in 1843 (Tenpō 14), and the reconstruction of the Honmaru in 1844 (Tenpō 15). The painter also reflected on his father’s death and his own illnesses. This private record that was not kept at the behest of the shogunate, can probably shed light into an eighteenth-century painter’s life and his interactions.

The diary confirms that the oku-eshi had many duties. After he received the rank of hōgen, Seisen’in was obligated to be at the castle on the first, eighth, twelfth, fourteenth, seventeenth, and twenty-eighth days of the month, a total of six days a month. However, the painter wrote that it was not unusual for him to spend up to twenty days on duty at the castle, depending on the number of unfinished works and important projects in which he was

---

82 Ibid.
83 To my knowledge, the Kōyō nikki has not been entirely transcribed. Matsubara Shigeru, in his analysis of the diaries, discussed the difficulty of a full transcription given the many illegible parts within the text. Despite these problems, Matsubara’s efforts at transcribing excerpts from the diaries have yielded important information that allows for the reconstruction of the responsibilities of a goyō eshi. See Matsubara Shigeru, Oku-eshi Kano Seisen’in ‘Kōyō nikki’ ni miru sono katsudō (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1982).
involved.\textsuperscript{84} The nature of the work at the castle consisted of fixed tasks, including the production of New Year’s paintings, \textit{ema} (wooden votive tablets), fan paintings, and screens. Besides these stipulated duties, he also had to attend to a host of unscheduled tasks, such as painting repairs, the production of gifts and dowries, and the sketching of under-drawings for ceramics, lacquer works, and other furnishings. He had to train his disciples, and he did so by producing \textit{funpon} (“copy works”), which were didactic tools for students who learned by copying. \textit{Oku-eshi} authenticated paintings as well. As Lippit has shown, Kano Tan’yū’s authenticating activities were instrumental in establishing the painter’s reputation and authority, thereby increasing his prestige.\textsuperscript{85}

From my study of the structured division of labor within the Kano workshop, I believe that many Kano paintings were collaborative ventures. The \textit{oku-eshi} had two chief assistants and many other helpers.\textsuperscript{86} For instance, the \textit{oku-eshi} seldom applied color pigments on paintings. He delegated that task to his assistants or the \textit{omote-eshi}. A strict internal hierarchy governed the workshop, in which disciples started at the age of fifteen or sixteen and worked their way up from menial tasks, like sweeping and cleaning, to helping the master with a specific work.\textsuperscript{87} Despite having attendants, \textit{oku-eshi} led a busy life; one that was governed by strict protocols and directives. An \textit{oku-eshi} did more than paint. He sometimes functioned as his employer’s attendant.\textsuperscript{88} And when it came to painting, the \textit{oku-eshi} seldom had control over what he painted.

\textsuperscript{84} Matsubara, \textit{Oku-eshi Kano Seisen’in}, 30-31, citing Kōyō nikki.
\textsuperscript{85} Lippit, \textit{Painting of the Realm}, 133-156. See also, Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, \textit{Kano ha no sanbyakunen}, 134-144.
\textsuperscript{86} Yagioka, “Kano go eshi no seikatsu,” 277.
\textsuperscript{88} Ikeda, “Kano Seisen’in Osanobu,” 137.
The Kano painters were no strangers to collaborative practices. As I described above, even the leading painters seldom worked alone. Collaborations happened regularly within the Kano workshop, on large-scale works such as screens and wall paintings. In the massive project of Nijō Castle, for instance, Kano Tan’yū worked with other painters to complete the elaborate decorative program. It was also common to see masters and disciples and fellow painters from the same house collaborating on the same scroll. For example, the brothers Tan’yū, Naonobu, and Yasunobu, the respective heads of the three main Kano branches in Edo, worked together on the “Taimadera engi.” My partial survey of Kano paintings in Japan reveals more than fifty instances of Kano collaborations in Japanese temples and museums.

In one particularly complicated collaboration, ten Kano painters worked together on a set of twelve hanging scrolls of Chinese historical figures, a project that spanned different time periods and involved painters from various Kano workshops. An accompanying slip attached to the paintings’ box records the painters’ names and the title of each painting. The participating painters included Kano Tan’yū, his father, Takanobu (1571-1618), Kano Naganobu (1577-1654), Kano Sadanobu (1597-1623), Kano Saemon (1621-1662), Kano Shutoku, Kano Sōshū (1551-1601), Kano Shin’uemon, Kano Minamoto, and Kano Hidenobu. The generational differences between the painters suggest that the paintings were likely assembled at a later date. Although the twelve scrolls were each painted by a different hand, the paintings display a set of painting

---

90 Namiki, “Kano ha gassaku,” 508.
91 I identified collaborations as works that listed more than one painter. I did not include works that were unsigned, nor did I include those that were in private collections, outside Japan, or no longer extant. I consulted the Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan Electronic Database, 2014 that my graduate student colleagues at Gakushuin University kindly shared with me as well as the Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, Kano ha kenkyū shiryou mokuroku (Tokyo: Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, 1999).
92 Namiki, “Kano ha gassaku,” 484-514.
modes that came to be associated with the Kano. For instance, a comparison of Kano Takanobu’s *Huang Shigong and Zhang Liang* (early 17th century) and Kano Tan’yū’s *Fisherman by the Riverbank* (early 17th century) show that both painters used abrupt, sharp bends to paint the tree in the background, resulting in almost identical compositions (fig. 44).

In addition to in-house collaborations, the Kano also collaborated with non-Kano painters if a project called for it. In an album for a wedding trousseau, for example, Kano Terunobu (painter of Kume on the Sukenobu scroll) worked with Kano Yukinobu (1717-1770), head of the Hamachō Kano house, and Sumiyoshi Hiromori (1705-1777). Currently in the Yale University Art Museum, this mid eighteenth-century thirty-page album is a luxurious work featuring colored images on silk (fig. 45). Like the two Kano painters, Hiromori was also an *oku-eshi*. The Sumiyoshi painters were descendants of the Tosa workshop, who historically painted for the imperial court.93 The Sumiyoshi started serving the shogunate as *goyō eshi* in the seventeenth century, and in 1682 (Tenna 2), Sumiyoshi Gukei (the painter of the *Essays of Idleness* album discussed earlier) rose to the rank of *oku-eshi*.94 Differing from the Kano, the Sumiyoshi painters worked primarily in pictures that were characterized by fine, almost invisible lines and the rich applications of opaque colors. In the Yale album, although the three painters specialized in different painting modes, they collectively created an album that exhibited a diverse range of subjects and brushwork.

Whereas collaborations between the Kano and other *goyō eshi* were common occurrences, Kano collaborations with non-*goyō eshi* were rare, especially on the same scroll. To my knowledge, the Terunobu-Sukenobu *Kume the Immortal*, and another later painting by

---


Terunobu’s son and Kitao Shigemasa, which I will discuss later in the chapter, are the only extant examples where a Kano painter and an ukiyo-e painter worked on the same scroll. Based on the restricted lifestyle of the goyō eshi, it is unlikely that Kano Terunobu or his successor, Eitoku Takanobu, could have instigated collaborative paintings with other painters without their employer’s consent. In fact, I believe their dependence on the directives of their employers indicates that they were probably instructed to participate in the collaboration. To pair goyō eshi with not just other painters, but ukiyo-e painters, suggests that the initiators of this painting had to have been influential figures. As I will show in the next section, painters who worked on ukiyo-e belonged to an entirely different social stratum than Kano painters. In fact, the Kano were specifically discouraged from mingling with ukiyo-e painters.95

**Yamato-eshi**

In the seventeenth century, a time of rapid urbanization and a flourishing mercantile economy, there emerged a group of painters who were not affiliated with the traditional institutions of temple, court, or the military elite. These painters dedicated themselves to the visualization of daily life and the floating world. Besides making painting, many designed prints and also produced illustrations for books. The growth of the print industry, especially the advance in color printing technology in the mid-eighteenth century, spurred the demand for skilled print designers and created many opportunities for those who specialized in the depictions of contemporary life and the floating world. By the end of the eighteenth century, painting biographies such as the *Ukiyo-e ruikō* were referring to those who made floating world pictures

---

95 According to Hashimoto Gahō (1835-1908), Kano students were forbidden from interacting with ukiyo-e painters and to participate in shogakai. See Jordan, "Copying from Beginning to End?" 47.
as *ukiyo-eshi*, or *ukiyo-e* masters. Unlike *goyō eshi*, *ukiyo-e* painters were not employed by the shogunate or provincial lords and received no fixed stipend.\(^{96}\) Although they were prolific, producing large numbers of works that might indicate their individual popularity and fame, these painters depended on the print industry for their livelihood. They received most of their work from publishers, who absorbed the financial risk and played a crucial role in selling and promoting their products. In the production of a print, the publisher first approached the *ukiyo-e* designer and paid him for a design. He then delivered the finished design to the block-cutters and paid them for their work. After the blocks were carved, the publisher took them to the printer and paid him for the number of prints he wanted. The publisher owned the blocks and thus the copyright to the designs, but his profit depended on the popularity of the prints, and so it was in his interest to promote the designers of the prints.\(^{97}\) Therefore, much of the fame of the *ukiyo-e* designer was a result of the promotion and support of the publisher.

Although Sukenobu produced many prints and illustrations of *ukiyo-e*, he never called himself an *ukiyo-e* master, self-identifying instead as *yamato-eshi*. Born in Kyoto, Sukenobu was the son of a medical doctor; he trained with the Kano and Tosa, but ended up working in the print industry producing design books for kimono in his early years.\(^{98}\) He later advanced to

---

\(^{96}\) *Ukiyo-e* painters were primarily townsmen but some also came from samurai background, including Isoda Koryūsai, and Chōbunsai Eishi.


illustrating books for the publisher Hachimonjiya, who produced books ranging from didactic material for kokugaku scholars to books on etiquette and customs of the court, as well as books of the floating world (ukiyo-zōshi). In the Tales of Endurance of Our Land from Past and Present (Honchō kokin shinkanbiki本朝古今新勤忍記, 1708), Sukenobu referred to himself as the “Kyoto yamato-e master, Nishikawa Sukenobu.” Then, in the preface to the Picture Book of Evergreens (Ehon tokiwagusa絵本常磐草, 1731) he wrote that “…although [I] am accomplished in the yamato-e of Tosa Mitsunobu…I have developed a new lineage of painting…” Here, Sukenobu linked yamato-e to Tosa Mitsunobu (1434-1525), a painter who served the imperial court in the fifteenth century. Moreover, he claimed himself to be skilled in the Tosa painting mode. He asserted, however and very significantly, that despite his proficiency in yamato-e, he had invented a new kind of painting. To interpret what Sukenobu meant, we must first examine what constituted yamato pictures and then survey pictures that were produced by Mitsunobu.

Chino Kaori and Ienaga Saburō were among the first scholars to trace the emergence of yamato-e and its sources in the Heian period (794-1185), and their studies show the complexities of the term. Although widely referred to as “Japanese pictures,” or paintings of Japanese

---

100 花洛大和畫司西川祐信. (花洛 refers to Kyoto); cited and transcribed in Narazaki et al., “Kyō no ukiyo-eshi,” 38.
101 …中比土佐光信最俊画に長じて能細密を致しますといへども…よって卑俗のやつがり敏からぬ筆して新に絵流を発して…Ibid.
102 For scholarship on Tosa Mitsunobu, see Melissa McCormick, Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll In Medieval Japan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).
subject matter, in contrast to \textit{kara-e} ("Tang pictures" or "Chinese pictures"), \textit{yamato-e} cannot be reduced to an element of simple binary. As both Chino and Ienaga pointed out, the term evolved over time to connote different things depending on audience. Moreover, the corpus of materials that fall within the category of \textit{yamato-e} range widely in format and subject. For instance, \textit{yamato-e} could, at different times, encompass seasonal pictures, images of famous sites, or paintings with literary references. Sukenobu, on the other hand, connected \textit{yamato-e} specifically to Tosa Mitsunobu, who as court painter, produced diverse works including screen paintings, handscrolls, albums, and fan paintings, depending on the needs of the imperial family.\footnote{Sukenobu discussed \textit{yamato-e} in an essay he wrote about painting methods, “Painting and Color Application Methods,” contained in his 1738 (Kanpō 2) Picture Book of Yamato Things (Ehon Yamato hiji 絵本倭比事). The Picture Book of Yamato Things’ first nine volumes comprise images of Japanese landmarks and scenes of daily life, while the tenth volume features Sukenobu’s essay. Divided into ten sections, the essay details painting techniques as well as general painting practices. In section eight, “On Japanese Paintings 和画の事,” Sukenobu discusses \textit{waga} and \textit{yamato-e}:}

\textit{Waga} ("Japanese paintings"), include [pictures of] immortal poets, the tales of \textit{Genji} and \textit{Ise}, the tales of the origins of temples and shrines, and so forth. When executing these paintings, handle the brush delicately while emphasizing the energy in the brushstroke. There are pre-determined techniques for color application in paintings of the immortal poets and \textit{The Tale of Genji}, and the [methods of] ancient paintings are slightly different from these techniques. Nevertheless, it is important to yield and

\footnote{For a list of works by Mitsunobu, see Melissa McCormick, “Tosa Mitsunobu’s Ko-e: Forms and Functions of Small-Format Handscrolls in the Muromachi Period (1333-1573)” (Phd diss., Princeton University, 2000), Appendix III.}
depend on the ancient examples. But now should we still follow these ancient methods? The experts of the various forms of yamato-e up to now include Toba Sōjō Kakuyū, Tosa Mitsunobu, and Ukiyo Matabei. One should paint in their flavor. Even the old conventions for applying colors on costumes should be understood and practiced. As for the paintings of my lineage, [I] prioritize contemporary fashions. As a result, the painting materials, color pigments, and so forth [that I use] might be different. Again, this is just one method; there are many oral traditions on painting methods. Therefore, it is necessary to be acquainted with the various [methods] and to study them.\footnote{Nishikawa Sukenobu, “Gahō saishiki hō,” in Ehon Yamato hiji, vol. 10, 1738 (Accessed from the digital database of the National Diet Library). See Appendix for my complete translation of the essay.}

Here, Sukenobu defined waga as paintings of immortal poets, pictures of classical tales, for example The Tale of Genji, and paintings depicting the origins of temples and shrines. A few lines later, he used the term yamato-e and associated it with painters, such as Toba Sōjō/ Kakuyū (1053-1140), Tosa Mitsunobu, and Ukiyo Matabei (1578-1650). It is no coincidence that Sukenobu named these painters in the same passage that he listed paintings of immortal poets, classical tales, and tales of temple origins.

Sukenobu linked waga and yamato-e by connecting a group of painting subjects and techniques with a list of painters’ names. As we will see, this becomes an effective device for him to position himself within a native tradition that he called yamato-e. He began by citing a legendary figure from the twelfth century, Toba Sōjō, who at the time of Sukenobu’s writing was known for his narrative handscrolls that depicted the legends of temples and shrines. We do not know the exact paintings that Sukenobu was referring to or their mode of execution, but his
essay indicates that he considered such pictures to belong within the rubric of *waga* and to have been depicted by a *yamato-e* painter.

We have already seen how Sukenobu linked Tosa Mitsunobu with *yamato-e* in his preface of *Picture Book of Evergreens*, but in his essay, by referring to specific painting subjects, we can at least partially understand what he meant by the “*yamato-e* of Tosa Mitsunobu.” One of the subjects that Sukenobu termed as *waga* was *The Tale of Genji*. Within his extensive oeuvre, Mitsunobu produced an album of *The Tale of Genji* in 1509. The album consists of paintings by Mitsunobu and transcriptions of the text by various contemporary calligraphers. From an illustration in the album, we can see that Mitsunobu painted the scenes in very fine lines, privileging color in his compositions (fig. 46). He applied color pigments evenly, using little shading or gradation. Attention is also paid to interior furnishings and decorative patterns on the figures’ robes. When he mentioned the *yamato-e* of Tosa Mitsunobu, Sukenobu was likely referring to such works that were characterized by a combination of detailed outlines and rich colors.

Ukiyo Matabei is a remarkable addition to Sukenobu’s list of painters, as he was not a figure from the past. Active in the early seventeenth century, Matabei made many pictures of daily life, including images of the floating world, which led to his designation as “Ukiyo Matabei.” The eighteenth-century *Ukiyo-e ruikō* records him as having studied with both the Kano and Tosa workshops, but as having later turned to *ukiyo-e*. There are not many works that bear his signature, thus making it difficult for scholars to verify his identity. The discovery

---

107 Yura, *Sōkō nihon ukiyo-e ruikō*, 52.
108 Ibid.
of his portraits of the *Thirty-six Immortal Poets*, however, which were commissioned by Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651) for the Nikkō shrine in 1640, confirmed that Matabei had powerful patrons and was regarded highly. It is likely that Sukenobu added him to his list of *yamato-e* painters not only because of his fame, but also because, like Matabei, he, too, had a similar background of having studied with both the Kano and Tosa.109

Sukenobu’s equating of *waga* with *yamato-e* is self-serving, as it allowed him to highlight his own capabilities. By setting the stage with a discussion of the techniques of *waga*, and lauding the accomplishments of *yamato-e* painters, Sukenobu displayed himself as an authoritative figure on painting and its history. After establishing this historical basis of painting, he then inserted himself into the contemporary painting tradition, stressing the importance of observing current fashions and using different tools and pigments for painting. The rhetoric in Sukenobu’s essay echoes an earlier art historical treatise, the *History of Painting in This Realm* (*Honchō gashi* 本朝画史, 1691). Written by Kano Einō (1631-1697), this seventeenth-century treatise was a history of Japanese painting. According to Einō, there were two main traditions of painting in Japan: a Chinese tradition preserved in the painting of Sesshū Tōyō (1420-1506) and a Japanese tradition, typified by the manner of Tosa Mitsunobu. Each tradition had its shortcomings, but—Einō maintained—the Kano were able to synthesize and unite the two, thus creating a new, superior tradition.110 Clearly, more than two painting traditions operated at the time, and we must understand Einō’s text as one that shaped painting history to serve the

---

109 The discovery of these paintings in Nikkō, bearing the signature of Matabei, resolved a long debate about the identity of this painter and re-established him as a painter of court paintings as well as *ukiyo-e*. See Sandy Kita, *The Last Tosa: Iwasa Katsumochi Matabei, Bridge to Ukiyo-e* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999).

110 Phillips, “*Honchō gashi* and the Kano Myth,” 46-57.
rhetorical ends of the Kano house. Like the History of Painting in This Realm, Sukenobu’s essay too had its own agenda.

To promote the Japanese tradition (waryū 和流) that he inserted himself into, Sukenobu propounded its virtues in relation to Chinese painting subjects and methods. In the last section of his essay, “On the Importance of Executing Many Types of Painting画図広可画類事,” Sukenobu lamented how people in Japan had neglected native subjects in favor of Chinese ones. As such, he wrote that he wanted to “…provide a reproduction of the historical things of Japan, the great figures of past and present, as well as the landscape and nature, for [your] perusal.” In addition, he differentiated native and Chinese painting methods, stating, “When painting buildings and the figures inside, the Chinese and native methods are very different. The methods of this realm [consist of] depicting figural gestures and, moreover, balancing the proportion of figures to buildings. This is where the methods of this realm surpass [the Chinese]. In general, when it comes to Japanese paintings, there are countless inventions. Therefore, it is important to expand [our knowledge to] all types [of painting], and not be biased.” Here, Sukenobu not only noted the superiority of native methods, but by referring to his own accompanying illustrations, he was also asserting himself as an authority on the subject.

Sukenobu’s essay and his perception of yamato-e gain meaning and context when read with an understanding of his network of acquaintances. Sukenobu frequently interacted with kokugaku scholars, such as Tada Nanrei (1698-1750), who produced many writings on Japanese learning and philology. Reacting to Confucian-based Chinese thought, kokugaku scholars advocated for a return to a native traditions through the study of ancient Japanese language and

---

111 Nishikawa, “Gahō saishiki hō.” See Appendix for complete translation.
Sukenobu collaborated with Nanrei on several picture books, and in one of these, the *Picture Book of Snow, Moon, and Flowers* (*Ehon setsugekka* 絵本雪月花, 1753), the writer and illustrator conflated traditional customs with contemporary pastimes in text and image. For example, in one scene where Sukenobu pictured a contemporary group of people passing around a sheaf of papers in a brothel, Nanrei wrote about the historical custom of giving tips on such occasions (fig. 47). The rest of the book contained many more examples that combined Sukenobu’s illustrations of ancient or contemporary events with Nanrei’s explanations.

Sukenobu’s association with kokugaku scholars and his collaboration with them undoubtedly affected how he envisioned his own paintings and designs. By calling himself a *yamato-e* master, Sukenobu perceived himself as a painter well versed in native Japanese techniques and subjects. His images, while grounded in native traditions, were created to display his knowledge of the latest fashions and trends, reinforcing his own assertion of being an inventor of new approaches to painting.

The use of such terms as *yamato-eshi* indicated that painters were conscious of genealogy and lineage. The use of a particular title was one’s way to signify affiliation. By calling himself *yamato-eshi*, Sukenobu differentiated himself from painters who specialized in Chinese-themed subjects. This did not mean that he could not paint Chinese subjects or work in painting modes associated with those subjects. In fact, like Sukenobu, many of these painters started their training with the Kano and were perfectly adept in multiple painting modes. Pictures of landscapes and birds and flowers remained a constant repertoire for many painters, and even

---

those who were known for their images of actors and women showed that they could handle these subjects.

**Ukiyo-eshi**

Early modern writers, too, played an important role in constructing and solidifying painters’ designations. Printed materials, including guidebooks, maps, and encyclopedias compartmentalized information in diverse ways, demonstrating how Edo society conceptualized its world.\(^{114}\) Compilers focused their attention on towns, producing volumes of information on products and merchandise, sites, and city dwellers. They created compendiums of data and organized them in creative ways to appeal to a growing urban community. Using existing frameworks, such as military rosters, they substituted warriors with famous actors and courtesans of the day, ranking them in the familiar format to attract a wide audience. Craftsmen, as important contributors to city life, were also classified within large urban directories. One such compendium, the *Dappled Fabric of Edo* (*Edo kanoko* 江戸鹿子, 1687), listed forty-three categories of over three hundred masters of different trades, teachers, and providers of various services. Over one hundred and ninety-three categories of craftspeople and merchants were also included.\(^{115}\) In terms of painters, the categories of *eshi* (‘painting master’), *yamato-eshi*, and *butsu-eshi* (‘Buddhist painting master’) were included. Four Kano painters were listed as *eshi*,

---


while Hishikawa Kichizaemon was listed as *yamato-eshi*. Here, there is a clear division between painters, indicating an awareness of painting specialization.

Urban directories were not exhaustive lists of all painters working in the city, but they nevertheless offer insight into how painters were classified among other providers of service. Unlike military rosters, which organized people according to rank and status, the urban directories classified people according to their professions. In the *Dappled Fabric of Edo*, for instance, the Kano painters were listed only with their addresses, without any notation of their status as official painters or additional information about their stipends. The naming of workers, and the designation of many as “shi” (“master”), indicates that many of these people were considered to be specialists in their fields. Previously, craftsmen led anonymous existences, but by the seventeenth century, various printed publications afforded them more presence and recognition.

An 1818 (Bunsei 1) publication, *Edo Compass* (*Edo hōkaku wake*), shows a narrower categorization of painters and members of the literary communities. The actor, Segawa Tomisaburō (d. 1833), who compiled the text, stated that his was a compilation of “highly distinguished people in the capital in the last twenty years.” Organized by neighborhood, each entry consisted of the person’s name, surname, pseudonym, and his address. Tomisaburō also placed a mark to indicate the person’s occupation, delineating twelve distinct categories:

---

116 Hishikawa Kichizaemon refers probably to Hishikawa Morofusa (fl. 1685-1703), the son and student of Hishikawa Moronobu. Like his father, Morofusa was a printmaker and illustrator, working primarily on *ukiyo* subjects. See Laurence P. Roberts. *A Dictionary of Japanese Artists: Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics, Prints, Lacquer* (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 112.
117 Zōhō *Edo sōkanoko*, 85.
118 Berry, *Japan in Print*, 159.
“Scholar, Chinese [Poet], Painter, Calligrapher, Japanese [Poet], Renga [Poet], Haikai [Poet], Kyoka [Poet], Gesaku [Writer], Ukiyo-e [Master], Publisher, and Nativist [Scholar].”120 In this text, Tomisaburō makes a distinction between ukiyo-e and painter. The text includes a total of one hundred eighty-five painters and forty-seven ukiyo-e masters. Except for two individuals who were identified as both painter and ukiyo-e master, on the whole, painters were not listed as ukiyo-e master and vice versa. For instance, Kō Sūkoku (1730-1804) and Tani Bun’ichi (1787-1818) were only listed as painters, while Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815) and Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814) were only recorded as ukiyo-e masters.

From the examples above, we see that painters and their contemporaries were highly aware of genre specificity and specialization. Sukenobu’s treatise revealed that he was conscious of his own position within a historical lineage. Contemporary compendiums and compilations participated in genre construction by classifying painters by subject. The growing instances of categorizations not only highlighted the importance of lineages and genre, but it also made the juxtaposition of discrete painters on the same scroll more meaningful. In other words, the deliberate assembly of two distinct painters was designed to demonstrate the coordinator’s understanding of the parallel painting identities that were in existence at the time.

The Assembly of Goyō eshi and Ukiyo-eshi

I return now to Sukenobu and Terunobu’s joint painting, Kume the Immortal, to suggest some possibilities for this collaboration (fig. 4). My research indicates that Sukenobu worked in Kyoto and to my knowledge, never ventured to Edo, whereas Terunobu was an Edo painter. As both painters worked and lived in different cities, this collaboration was likely created by a third

120 Segawa, Edo hōkaku wake, Table of Contents.
party who had access to them and their works. We do not know whether Sukenobu was commissioned to produce a painting of a female without Kume, or whether this was an unfinished painting that was later completed by the Kano. More importantly, however, was the idea for juxtaposing Sukenobu’s woman with a Kano immortal.

On the upper left corner of the painting is an inscription by the leading Neo-Confucian scholar, Hayashi Hōkoku (1721-73), written in Chinese script, warning against the temptations of women:

Kume the Immortal was from Yamato province. Why did he go into the deep mountains? To study the immortal arts. He was clad in a cloak of leaves and reeds and he ate only pine needles. One day, when he was flying in the sky, he saw the white calves of a woman washing clothes. In an instant, he felt a deep stirring in his heart and plunged down [from above]. Alas! What a pity. How lust can make a man lose his way if he is not cautious. Remember the “Li yun” section [of the Liji] states “The things that men greatly desire are food, drink, and sexual pleasure.” From this, we should take caution, and be fearful.

久米仙者和州之人耶何入深山
学仙法耶雖食松葉服薜荔而一
旦騰空飛揚見浣衣女之白腫而
忽生深心即墜落耶惜哉惜哉於
戲色之惑人也可不慎耶記禮運
曰飲食男女人之大欲存焉可以
戒矣可畏矣
Hōkoku followed the standard narration of Kume falling and losing his supernatural powers upon seeing the flesh of the woman, and added to it admonitions from the ancient Chinese Record of Rites (Liji 礼記) and also his own warning.\(^{121}\) Hōkoku’s citation from the Record of Rites demonstrates his Confucian learning, but more importantly, as the Tokugawa rulers subscribed to the tenets of the Hayashi school, of which Hōkoku was the leader, the inscription can also be interpreted to represent an official government caution against the temptations of women.\(^{122}\) However, despite the inscription that warns men against indulging in their lust, the focal point of the painting signals otherwise. In fact, the seriousness of the message emphasizes the charms of the maiden even more. Hōkoku, like Kano Terunobu, was also an Edo resident, and a man of high learning and rank. His participation in the painting suggests that someone influential must have invited him.

To combine the painting of a goyō eshi with the work of an ukiyo-e painter, and then to add the inscription of an elite scholar, undoubtedly required the involvement of high-ranking patrons who had access to such people. Kano painters sometimes received requests from the shogun’s vassals and retainers for paintings, and these they made on commission and were paid for by the patrons.\(^{123}\) Kobayashi, in his study of the painting, conjectures that Sukenobu first painted the laundress, after which Kano Terunobu added the depiction of Kume, and Hayashi Hōkoku, the inscription. Kobayashi also suggested that the coordinator of the collaboration

\(^{121}\) The Liji is a compilation of records of ceremonial rites in the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BC) that was made in the Warring States (247-221 BC) and Han period (206 BC- 220 AD). It is a core text within the Confucian canon. For more on the Liji, see Jeffrey K. Riegel, “Lichi,” in Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley, CA: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), 293-297.

\(^{122}\) The Hayashi school was appointed the main school for Confucian studies in the seventeenth century by the Tokugawa shogunate, and their leaders were conferred the title Daigaku no kami (rector of the school). See Watanabe Hiroshi, A History of Japanese Political Thought, 1600-1901, trans. David Noble (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2012), 79-81.

\(^{123}\) Matsubara, Oku-eshi Kano Seisen'in, 53.
might have been Ōkubo Jinshirō Tadanobu (1722-1777), a shogunal retainer who worked in Edo Castle, because Ōkubo was a collector of Sukenobu’s works. As both painters worked in different cities, and Sukenobu died thirteen years before Terunobu, Kobayashi’s hypothesis is, in terms of chronology, plausible. In this scenario, Ōkubo would have first procured the Sukenobu painting and then enlisted Terunobu to add the image of Kume to the top of the scroll, and Hōkoku to inscribe it. In fact, as I will discuss below, I believe that Terunobu’s contribution was likely the product of a sekiga —“painting on the spot”—session. Indeed, I have found evidence that substantiates Kobayashi’s proposal about Ōkubo as possible patron, to which I now turn.

In 1779 (An’ei 8), two townsman, Komatsuken Hyakki and Yoshida Rankō, produced a collective painting of *Kume the Immortal* that provides clues to the patronage of the earlier scroll (fig. 6). Rankō, who often provided print designs for the writer Ōta Nanpo, painted Kume, while Hyakki, who was a pharmacist by profession and a writer and illustrator on the side, painted the laundry maiden. Rankō’s depiction of a Chinese-robed Kume standing amongst swirling clouds is similar to the seventeenth-century images of Kume that we examined earlier, but Hyakki’s female figure is identical to Sukenobu’s in the Sukenobu-Terunobu collaborative painting (fig. 48). From the outline of the figure to the pattern of ferns on her robe, Hyakki faithfully reproduced the washing woman in Sukenobu’s depiction. The only visible changes are in the landscape, where Hyakki has altered the willow tree that frames the maiden and eliminated her wooden tub beside the river.

The closeness of the depictions of the woman indicates that Hyakki likely saw Sukenobu’s earlier painting, which raises the question of how he would have had access to it. A writer of comic fiction, an amateur poet, and a producer of erotic books, Hyakki was not

---

someone who would have had normal contact with Kano painters or high-ranking personalities. His participation in picture calendar (egoyomi) clubs, though, provided him with the opportunity to mingle with members who were of higher social status. In the Meiwa era, there was a boom in the production of illustrated calendars and in calendar exchange parties where participants would gather and share their designs with friends during the New Year’s.\(^{126}\) The opening of a new astronomical observatory in 1764 (Meiwa 1) increased public interest and demand in picture calendars even more. It is in this period that Ōta Nanpo observed, “At the beginning of Meiwa, a samurai of hatamoto rank, Master Ōkubo, and a druggist of Iida-machi, Shōemon, together with others made daishō no surimono (deluxe printed picture calendars); and as a result of their holding calendar parties, the thing was a success.”\(^{127}\) The druggist, Shōemon here, refers to Hyakki, who lived in Iida-machi, northeast of Ushigome. More importantly, the text also mentions a samurai who was involved in the calendar parties. Master Ōkubo was Ōkubo Jinshirō Tadanobu, a leading figure in these private calendar clubs. Hyakki’s interactions with Ōkubo undoubtedly placed him within a privileged social network that offered him access to private paintings. The former and the latter both enjoyed Sukenobu’s works and owned large collections of the Kyoto painter’s illustrated books and erotic prints. It is possible, therefore that Ōkubo

\(^{126}\) In the Edo period, the calendar system that was in use consisted of dai (30 day) and shō (29 day) months. As the sequence of the long and short months changed each year, calendars had to be published annually. The publication and sale of these calendars were limited to a licensed few. The restrictions on the distribution of annual calendars likely played a role in the emergence of private calendar clubs and the production of egoyomi. See Matthi Forrer, *Egoyomi and Surimono: Their History and Development* (Uithoorn: J.C. Gieben, 1979), 11.

might have owned the Sukenobu-Terunobu *Kume the Immortal* painting, as Kobayashi proposed, and then showed it to Hyakki who copied it.¹²⁸

As Kobayashi pointed out, Ōkubo’s rank and power within Edo Castle and his influence in literary circles make him a likely candidate for the assembly of a *goyō eshi* and *ukiyo-eshi* on the same scroll. He was employed at Edo Castle with an annual income of 1,600 *koku*. Assigned to the West Castle (Nishijō), he would have served Tokugawa Ieharu (1737-86) before he became the tenth shogun.¹²⁹ Ōkubo left official service in 1773 (An’ei 2), but even after that, he remained a powerful figure with contacts at the castle. These connections meant that Ōkubo had access to the services of *goyō eshi* and could have enlisted these men to paint for him. As I mentioned earlier, Kano painters did paint for shogunal retainers. Considering that Ōkubo was a collector of Sukenobu’s work and a connoisseur of paintings, it is conceivable that he obtained a painting of the Kyoto painter and later enlisted a Kano painter to add the figure of the immortal on it.

As a designer for picture calendars and an active *haikai* poet, Ōkubo certainly had the inclination and motivations for creating what would have been, as I will demonstrate, a witty juxtaposition of *goyō eshi* and *yamato-eshi*. A poetic form that originated in the medieval period, *haikai*, which was defined by an interaction of vernacular and classical language, gained great popularity in the early modern period.¹³⁰ The basic structure of the poem is a five-seven-five syllable verse, which could either function as an independent poem or an opening for a sequence of linked verses. A characteristic feature of *haikai* was its juxtaposition of two incongruous elements, usually manifested through a pairing of classical topic with contemporary image. A

---

¹³⁰ The following discussion of *haikai* is based on Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 177.
special form of *haikai*, known as point scoring (*tentori*) emerged in the seventeenth century and soon became popular all across the land. This form of poetry making was a collaborative endeavor, in which the leader of a group would present an initial verse and distribute it to others, who would then compose linking verses.\(^{131}\) The contributors would then be awarded points for their compositions.\(^{132}\) The point system fostered an atmosphere of competition, but at the same time, also encouraged creativity, as each member thought of clever ways to respond to others’ verses. Ōkubo, who frequently participated in *haikai* gatherings, would undoubtedly be familiar with this creative process.

Ōkubo and his contemporaries, as practitioners of *haikai*, undoubtedly applied their skills in poetic composition in other avenues, including the production of images. Picture calendar designs required a certain amount of cleverness, as the references to the long and short months, the era name, and the year cycle had to be concealed within the image. In other words, each picture calendar was like a puzzle, to be deciphered by the viewer. Thus, members of the calendar exchange parties often tried outwitting each other in producing the most innovative designs. Using his *haikai* pseudonym, Kyosen, Ōkubo generated many ideas for numerous picture calendars, and many extant examples bear his name.

The design of a picture calendar and the construction of *haikai* were similar in that both frequently transformed classical motifs into contemporary guise. A calendar print by Harunobu, *Handaka Sonja* (1765), for instance, alludes to the Daoist Immortal who is always accompanied by a dragon (fig. 49). Harunobu replaced the immortal with a young Japanese woman, who is pictured conjuring a dragon from her bowl. Another print, also by Harunobu, *Girl Riding a*

---


"Flying Goose" (1766), parodies the story of the immortal Liu Nu, who was carried up to heaven on a goose (fig. 50). Instead of the immortal, Harunobu again depicts a young courtesan seated on a flying bird. Both picture calendars have numerals that mark the months and years embedded in the women’s sash. Haikai, too, like these calendar prints, frequently juxtaposed the contemporary with the classical. The Hyakuninin isshu, a classical Japanese anthology of one hundred poems by one hundred poets, was a popular theme that was used in haikai composition. The leader of the group would pick a verse from this classical anthology, after which the poets present would be asked to compose linking verses.\(^{133}\)

For Ōkubo and his contemporaries who frequently immersed themselves in literary arts that demanded clever repartee, the pairing of a Kano painter and an ukiyo-e painter must have, I suggest, been seen as an innovative way to visualize disparate things. The addition of a Kano immortal to an existing Sukenobu maiden can be considered analogous to the practice of adding linked verses in response to the initial verse in haikai. Therefore, the collaboration in the Kume paintings could have functioned as an exercise in wit. To recognize what was being contrasted in the painting, viewers had to be aware not only of disparate painting modes, but also the status and positions of the painters that were being paired.

**Painting as Sekiga**

I turn now to my hypothesis of how the collaboration occurred. Based on the restricted lifestyles of goyō eshi, it is likely that the Terunobu-Sukenobu collaboration was partly the product of a sekiga. As oku-eshi, Terunobu often had to paint before his employers. According to the Kōyō nikki, sekiga occurred about once a month, during which the oku-eshi performed for the

---

\(^{133}\) Tanaka, *Edo no sōzō ryoku*, 89.
shogun’s family. At these events, the painters sometimes executed up to thirty works at a time, encompassing a great range of subjects, including landscapes, sages, and auspicious cranes and pines. Images of sages and immortals were standard subjects within the Kano repertoire, so a figure like Kume would have been easy to execute. Seisen’in’s records in the Kōyō nikki showed that he produced many paintings of sages, and the painter himself noted that many were made during sekiga.

In terms of brushwork and form, Kume fits within the descriptions of paintings that were executed during sekiga sessions. In the Chronicles of the Tokugawa Shogunate (Tokugawa jikki 徳川實記), Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751) noted that sekiga paintings were often sketches and lightly colored. Terunobu’s Kume certainly conforms to such descriptions, as he is relatively small and depicted in abbreviated brushstrokes and ink wash, and could have easily been painted directly onto the surface of an existing painting. The location of Kume, on the upper half of the scroll, completely detached from the female figure below, suggests, too, that any two painters could work on the separate sections of the painting without ever interacting. Therefore, it is probable that a patron could have obtained Sukenobu’s painting with a young beauty washing by the river and then employed Kano Terunobu to add the figure of Kume during a sekiga session. Whether Sukenobu was commissioned to produce a painting of a laundress, leaving blank space for later additions, or someone procured his unfinished painting, we do not know.

The deliberate assembly of two painters from different lineages occurred again several decades later in the form of another Kume painting. In the An’ei era (1772-1781), Kitao

---

134 Matsubara, Oku-eshi Kano Seisen’in, 54-55.
Shigemasa and Kano Eitoku Takanobu reproduced the earlier Terunobu-Sukenobu work, again as a collaboration, (fig. 5). This version, like the earlier one, lined up two painters from different social statuses on the same scroll. Eitoku Takanobu, who was Terunobu’s son and the twelfth head of the Nakabashi Kano workshop, painted Kume, while Shigemasa, an *ukiyo-e* painter from a publishing family, painted the female figure. Here, Eitoku Takanobu, like his father, painted a Chinese-robed immortal facing downwards as he falls, his arms and legs extended. The similarities in composition between the two versions of Kume suggest that Eitoku Takanobu must have seen his father’s painting or a sketch of it. Unlike Sukenobu’s maiden, who is framed by a willow tree and dressed in an elegantly patterned robe, Shigemasa’s wears plain blue robes with her sleeves tied up, so they do not get in the way of her labors. Her hair is not neatly arranged, as before, but hangs loosely over her shoulders with stray wisps falling over her forehead. Unlike Takanobu, who drew on his predecessor’s painting of Kume, Shigemasa did not paint a composed young lady like Sukenobu. Instead, he painted a picture of a disheveled woman absorbed in her work. Departing from painting an idealized beauty, Shigemasa might have wanted to leave his own mark on this joint work.

Like the previous collaboration, this painting, too, has an inscription, this time written in the form of a Chinese four-lined poem by the poet Ōta Nanpo:

A barefoot maiden,
Washing her silks by the shores of the spring stream,
In one moment, makes the heavenly guest,
Forever a fallen immortal.

Hōkoku’s inscription on the Sukenobu-Terunobu painting warned explicitly against indulgence, but Nanpo’s poem here contains a tone of lamentation. As I mentioned previously, Kobayashi
thinks that the poem could have been self-referential, given Nanpo’s own experience of being a high-born samurai who fell into the vices of popular culture.\textsuperscript{136}

The motif of Kume might have inspired assemblages of contrasting painters on the same scroll, but more importantly, these assemblages reveal an awareness of the social hierarchy and status of painters among patrons and viewers. I believe that it is precisely this consciousness and the ability for viewers to recognize the difference between these painters that make these collaborative paintings appealing to their audiences. The pairing of a goyō eshi with an ukiyo-e painter became an innovative addition to the existing juxtapositions within the scroll, precisely because contemporary viewers understood the distinction between the painters. Collaborative paintings that pair two painters of hierarchically different positions within Edo society might give the impression that social boundaries were fluid and that painters were able to interact freely and paint together. To the contrary, however, I hope I have shown that there were restrictions and limitations on social interactions within eighteenth-century Japan, and they are in large part what animated these collaborative works.

\textsuperscript{136} Kobayashi, \textit{Imaging the Floating World}, 418-419.
Chapter 2. Assembling Painters for Auspicious Images

Auspicious pictures of the Three Stars of Longevity, Prosperity, and Fortune, a theme that originated in China and spread to Japan, branched into numerous visual manifestations by the eighteenth century. In the Meiwa to An’ei eras (1764-1780), a number of painters produced new interpretations of the subject by transforming two of the three deities into courtesans, thus juxtaposing the remaining deity with two contemporary beauties. In *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha*, three painters from different workshops, Tanshukusai Shūboku, Isoda Koryūsai, and Kitao Shigemasa, displayed their training, with distinct brushwork, color applications, and composition (fig. 7). In the same period, Shigemasa collaborated with two other painters, Katsukawa Shunshō and Sō Shiseki (1715-1786), to produce *Fukurokuju with Two Beauties* (fig. 8). These two paintings provide the basis for assessing the connection between auspicious imagery and painting collaborations, and in particular, how celebratory occasions created opportunities for engaging multiple painters to work on a single painting. The paintings also challenge us to investigate the patron’s role in picture making and to question why he would want to assemble different painters on the same scroll.

Although pictures of the Three Stars circulated in all ranks of Japanese society, collaborative paintings of it were apparently rare: to date, I have only found two such paintings from the late eighteenth century, the two listed above. Composed of expensive materials and pigments, these collaborative paintings were likely produced for an elite audience that could afford the cost and appreciated paintings of contemporary beauties. I demonstrate that poetry circles served as spaces for the circulation of these paintings as well as opportunities for patrons and painters to meet. Examining the skills and reputations of each painter in these collaborations,
I will argue that such paintings were not only popular, but collectible commodities. I show that the painters on the scroll, too, became objects of display, as much as the pictures they painted.

**Pictures of the Three Stars**

Pictures of the Three Stars originated on the continent and made their way to Japan at different times, resulting in varied portrayals of the subject. The Three Stars (San xing, Sansei 三星) represented Fortune (Fu, Fuku 福), Prosperity (Lu, Roku 禄), and Longevity (Shou, Ju寿). Of the three, the Longevity Star (Shou xing, Jusei 寿星) has the longest history. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.), a treatise on astronomy equated the Star of Longevity with the Old Man of the South Pole; worship of the Star of Longevity became official in the Tang dynasty (618-907). Belief in the Star of Longevity spread to Japan in the Heian period (794-1185), as revealed in records of people praying to the Old Man Star (Rōjinsei) for fortune and longevity. According to Mary Fong, the earliest extant image of the Longevity Star in China dates to 1572 of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and shows an old man with a protruding forehead dressed in Daoist attire (fig. 51). An earlier example of the Longevity Star in Japan is a painting attributed to Sesshū Tōyō, *Jurōjin Under the Plum Blossoms* (15th century), which shows an old, white-bearded man in a scholars cap accompanied by a deer (fig. 52). Unlike the Ming depiction’s man with a bulbous forehead, Sesshū’s Longevity Star appears to be an ordinary, though aged, man. These two prototypes of the Longevity Star, as I will demonstrate, later develop into two separate figures in Japan.

---

139 Fong, “The Iconography of the Popular Gods,” 162.
140 In Japan, the Longevity Star also came to be known as the Longevity Old Man or Jurōjin.
During the Ming dynasty, the popularity of theatrical performances and literature that featured supernatural beings and immortals provided the stimulus for the development of the Three Star triad in pictures. The Three Stars emerged as separate individuals in longevity drama performances for celebratory occasions, bringing fortune, advancement, and longevity to the people.\(^{141}\) Pictures of the Three Stars (*Sanxing tu, Sansei zu 三星図*) became popular gifts for auspicious occasions, such as birthdays and New Year’s. Within the Three Star triad, the Longevity Star figure was always portrayed as notably shorter than the other two, with his head uncovered to reveal his protruding forehead. The Fortune Star, the bearer of gifts from heaven, frequently was depicted wearing robes of a retired scholar-official, whereas the Prosperity Star, who exemplified career promotion, donned elaborate governmental robes with a formal two-winged hat (fig. 53).

Such Ming dynasty paintings of the Three Stars formed the basis for many Japanese depictions of the subject. Ōbaku monks who travelled to China and Chinese immigrants who came to Japan during the seventeenth century brought with them many paintings of the Three Stars. Nagasaki, an official licensed port for foreign trade in the Edo period (1615-1868), became home for many Chinese settlers who had their own beliefs, which included veneration of the Three Stars.\(^{142}\) As they would in China, these immigrants hung and displayed paintings and woodblock prints of the Three Stars during New Year’s and prayed to the deities for longevity, fortune, and prosperity. Most of these imported Chinese pictures showed the three deities surrounded by children and other auspicious symbols, like peaches, cranes, and deer (fig. 54). Japanese painters learned from these pictures and produced many variations of the subject.

---

\(^{141}\) Ibid., 185.  
Watanabe Shūseki (1639-1707), a painter who frequently portrayed Chinese subjects, depicted the Three Stars in Chinese robes with two child attendants in a scroll dated in its inscription by the Ōbaku monk, Ingen, to 1672 (Kanbun 12) (fig. 55). Jurōjin and Fukusei each hold one end of a handscroll, while Rokusei sits to the right, under a pine tree, looking at the scroll. Whereas Jurōjin resembles earlier Chinese depictions of an old man with a tall head, and Rokusei, too, conforms to Chinese examples of a scholarly gentleman, Fukusei is portrayed as dark-complexioned and bearded. Despite the slight alteration to Fukusei’s image, overall, Shūseki draws on Chinese figural depictions.

Scholars have shown that in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, Japanese painters continued to depict the Three Stars.143 Tani Bunchō (1763-1840) produced several pictures of the three deities with Daoist references and auspicious motifs. In a 1789 (Kansei 1) work, for example, Bunchō depicted the three deities perusing a scroll with symbols of the five sacred mountains of Daoism (fig. 56). He added two children pulling a small, two-wheeled wagon with a canopy covered with patterns of bats. Pronounced “fu” in Chinese and “henpuku” in Japanese, the words for bats are homonyms for happiness and commonly depicted in auspicious pictures.144 Another painting by Bunchō shows the three deities studying a scroll with images of pine trees, a traditional symbol of longevity (fig. 57). Bunchō’s brother, Tani Gentan (1778-1840), also produced a Three Star painting in 1794, which has the three deities examining a scroll with the Daoist yin and yang symbol (fig. 58). Gentan’s painting, significantly, is an exact replica of a

144 Matsura, “Kansei gannen no nenki,” 45.
Ming dynasty stone relief representation of the Three Stars, preserved today in a rubbing (fig. 59), demonstrating that he worked directly from Chinese paintings or models.\(^{145}\)

Whereas painters like Bunchō merely varied the auspicious symbols in conventional depictions of the Three Stars, others transformed the subject completely by replacing the deities with clever alternative visual motifs to symbolize the blessings of fortune, prosperity, and longevity. Kakizaki Hakyō (1764-1826), a samurai painter from Matsumae domain, painted a still-life picture of a shrimp, white rat, and pine to represent the Three Stars (fig. 60). A giant shrimp, with its antennae pointing upwards, dominates the center of the scroll, while a small white mouse hovers in the foreground and a sprig of pine peeks out from the back: the shrimp, traditionally associated with longevity represents Jurōjin; the pine, an evergreen that symbolizes fecundity refers to the Fortune Star; and the white mouse, also known as “Daikoku’s mouse,” is a sign of prosperity and abundance in the house, thereby corresponding to the Prosperity Star.\(^{146}\) In another painting, Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806) painted three women of different ages to represent the conventional figures of the Three Stars (fig. 61). At the center of the scroll stands a young lady with an elaborately patterned, long-sleeved kimono. To her left, a seated mother nurses a child, with another child clinging to her neck, and to her right, squats an old woman holding rosary beads. The standing figure, in her rich finery, symbolizes the achievement of high rank and office, the mother with children signifies abundance and prosperity, and the old lady refers, of course, to Jurōjin.

\(^{145}\) Fong, “The Iconography of the Popular Gods,” 191.\(^ {146}\) Daikoku originated from India and is one of the deities in the Seven Lucky Gods pantheon. He is commonly pictured with a mallet and a white mouse, and is associated with wealth and abundance. See Matsura, “Kansei gannen no nenki,” 49. See also Mochida Shōsei, “Shichifukujin to ukiyo-e,” Ukiyo-e kai 3, no. 1 (1938): 25.
In light of the Hakyō and Utamaro paintings, I propose that Koryūsai, Shigemasa, and Shūboku’s collaborative *Fukurokujū with a Courtesan and Geisha*, too, might be an adaptation of the popular Three Star theme (fig. 7). The painting’s modern title circumscribes our reading of the image because it identifies the deity as Fukurokujū, but as I will demonstrate, the auspicious symbols and overall composition of the painting signal that it could be, at the same time, a Three Star picture as well. In the center of the scroll, Shūboku painted a deity with a distinctive enormous forehead, holding a staff and a fan. A richly dressed courtesan grasping one end of a long handscroll stands to the deity’s left and, to his right, a young woman crouches as she holds the other end of the scroll. Shūboku’s deity could well be the Longevity Star, who as we saw in previous examples, was frequently depicted as a short-statured man with a protruding forehead. The two women, dressed in robes with auspicious symbols, by forming a triad with him, may well evoke the theme of the Three Stars.

In pictures of the Three Stars I discussed previously, the Fortune and Prosperity Stars were frequently depicted as well-dressed Chinese gentleman, and in this collaborative painting, too, the painters have portrayed two richly garbed figures—though here, of course, the men have been replaced by women, indeed, courtesans (fig. 7). Koryūsai depicted the standing courtesan wearing a scarlet outer robe adorned with patterns of peacock feathers over an inner white robe decorated with turtles. Peacock feathers were associated with high-ranking courtesans, so the image here could refer to the acquisition of high status. An illustration by Koryūsai from *Courtesans in Brocades of the East (Azuma nishiki matsu no kurai)*, 1777, a book displaying the top courtesans from different brothels in Yoshiwara, includes a depiction of the courtesans Chōzan and Hinazuru from the Tsuruya house. Here, Koryūsai pictured a peacock with its feathers spread out on the outer robe of one of the courtesans (fig. 62). In the
collaborative painting, Shigemasa’s kneeling young lady, in a warbler green robe patterned with pink flowers, is also elegantly garbed. The auspicious motifs of peacock feathers and turtles, and the rich clothing of the courtesans invoke the symbolism of fortune and prosperity. Although the two multi-colored figure form a contrast to the lightly colored Longevity Star, viewed together, the three could likely be a representation of the Three Stars.

Compositionally, the grouping of the three figures, centered on a handscroll, strongly resembles the layout in other Three Star images. In Tani Bunchō’s painting of the Three Stars, the Fortune and Prosperity Star stand slightly behind the shorter figure of the Longevity Star, who holds a handscroll of pines (fig. 57). All three train their gaze on the scroll, leading the viewer’s eyes toward the auspicious symbol of pines. Tani Gentan’s painting, too, arranges the Prosperity, Fortune, and Longevity Star in a diagonally descending order from left to right, with a handscroll unrolled between them (fig. 58). Here, the handscroll features a Daoist yin-yang symbol, instead of pines. Like the Bunchō and Gentan’s pictures, and in fact many other Three Star images shown previously, Shūboku, Koryūsai, and Shigemasa’s collaborative painting also groups the three figures around a handscroll.

Based on its composition and the symbolism of its motifs, Shigemasa, Shunshō, and Shiseki’s painting of Fukurokuju with Two Beauties (fig. 8) likewise can be viewed as an example of a Three Star painting. Slightly off center and facing forward stands the Longevity Star, grasping his staff and peering at the handscroll held by two young women. The two women, each holding one end of the scroll, stand on the right and left of the painting. As in the previous example, the three figures gaze at a handscroll, here painted with the Daoist symbol of yin and yang, which also appeared in other Three Star images (figs. 58 and 59).
On the right foreground of the painting is Shunshō’s lady, garbed in a blue-gray robe adorned with crests of cranes and roundels of flowers, each a motif with symbolic significance. Cranes appeared frequently in pictures of the Three Stars as an auspicious sign of longevity. Here, the round white crest of the crane suggests that the lady might be affiliated with the Tsuruya brothel, the name literally meaning “Crane House,” which used the symbol of the crane in its crest. In the previous illustration from Koryūsai’s *Courtesans in Brocades of the East*, for example, the Tsuruya’s crane crest was displayed at the top of the page as well as on one of the woman’s robes (fig. 62). Guidebooks of the Yoshiwara brothels and courtesans also indicate that the crane crest belonged to the Tsuruya house (fig. 63). The floral roundels on the courtesan’s dress were also a common pattern on kimonos at the time, but we find that they were also employed regularly on the robes of the Three Stars. For instance, in the Ming illustration of the Longevity Star examined earlier, the floral roundel patterns decorate the deity’s robe, and in the Tani Gentan Three Star painting, instead of flowers, the character “ju” has been formed into a roundel pattern (fig. 64). Shunshō’s courtesan with roundels of flowers and cranes on her dress could be referring to such imagery.

Holding the other end of the handscroll, Shigemasa’s young woman standing to Jurōjin’s right wears a green kimono with patterns of Japanese dropwort and fruit, and they, too, are symbolic motifs. Known as *mizu seri*, the dropwort was used as a motif in kimono patterns (fig. 65). It is one of the seven herbs of spring and is usually collected and eaten during the New

---

149 I identified the motif on Shigemasa’s woman as dropwort by comparing the pattern in the painting with a design in the *Pattern Book of Mountain Dyes (Hinagata some iro no yama)*.
Year’s festival. The pictures of fruit on the courtesan’s sash could refer to one of three auspicious New Year’s fruits. In an eight-volume illustrated compilation by Sō Shiseki, Thicket of Ancient and Modern Pictures (Kokon gasō 古今画薮, 1770), one volume is devoted specifically to auspicious imagery; on a page in this volume is a picture of the sanseika (“three spring fruits”) that bear a strong resemblance to the fruit on courtesan’s sash (fig. 66).

The evocation of celestial deities by the courtesans in these two paintings suggests that the latter, too, had talismanic powers. Courtesans were reputed to have special powers, equal to those of the lucky gods. A painting by Shunshō, for instance, depicts the courtesan Hinazuru as a bodhisattva, replete with a jeweled headdress and lotus slippers (fig. 67). Another painting by Shunshō shows a courtesan as the bodhisattva Fugen on a white elephant, calling to mind the twelfth-century tales of monks meeting with prostitutes who were manifestations of deities (fig. 68). The view of courtesans as divine beings shows the exalted presence they possessed in Edo society, so it is not surprising that there was a growing patronage for their images.

The Iconography of Fukurokuju

As I mentioned earlier in my discussion of the Three Stars, the Longevity Star developed into two figures in Japan, Jurōjin and Fukurokuju. In pictures of the Three Stars, the Longevity Star, distinguished by his short stature and elongated forehead, is called Jurōjin. Outside the context of the Three Stars, however, the stocky, bald figure became known as Fukurokuju. His

\(^\text{150}\) As Haruo Shirane’s study on the symbolism of Japanese plants demonstrates, the seven herbs of spring (nanakusa 七草), form the main ingredients for annual New Year observances. Shirane also cited stories that refer to the herbs’ felicitous value. See Shirane, Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons, 135.

\(^\text{151}\) Hockley, The Prints of Koryūsai, 155-156.

\(^\text{152}\) Clark, “Prostitute as Bodhisattva,” 37-39.
name, comprised of the characters for “fuku,” “roku,” and “ju,” indicates that he was a fusion of the Three Stars (Fukusei, Rokusei, and Jusei). Fukurokuju emerged as a distinct figure in the Muromachi period (1336-1573) and formed part of the Seven Lucky Gods pantheon along with six other deities from India, China, and Japan (fig. 69).\(^1\) As Fukurokuju and Jurōjin were both included in the pantheon, painters had to differentiate between the two pictorially. Therefore, they portrayed Fukurokuju with a protruding forehead and Jurōjin as an old bearded Chinese scholar. It is likely that the precedent for Jurōjin came from paintings like Sesshū’s depiction of the Longevity Star (fig. 52). Despite the visual distinction between the two deities, Three Star paintings continued to show the Longevity Star as a short figure with protruding forehead.

The composition and symbolic motifs suggests that *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha*, and *Fukurokuju with Two Beauties* could be viewed as adaptations of Three Star Paintings, but at the same time, the paintings could also be, as their modern title indicates, a juxtaposition of the lucky god, Fukurokuju, with two contemporary women. As the Lucky Gods were bringers of good tidings and treasures, pictures of these deities appealed to a wide audience. Painters and printmakers took advantage of the familiarity and popularity of the Lucky Gods to create many innovative pictures. A print triptych by Utamaro in 1794, for instance, shows Fukurokuju, Benzaiten, and Hotei cavorting in the pleasure quarters with courtesans (fig. 70). With a kettle on his exaggerated pate, Fukurokuju grins while a precocious young courtesan tries to reach the high-positioned object. Further to his right, a young maiden rubs Hotei’s exposed, round belly while the deity holds out his sake cup for more wine. Benzaiten, who appears between Fukurokuju and Hotei, is strumming her lute to a host of admirers. As both the Lucky

\(^1\) The seven lucky gods consists of Daikoku, Benzaiten, and Bishamonten from India, Hotei, Jurōjin, and Fukurokuju from China, and Ebisu from Japan. This grouping emerged in the late Muromachi period. See Sugihara, *Chūka zuzō yūran*, 155; Mochida, “Shichifukujin to ukiyo-e,” 25.
Gods and courtesans were highly popular subjects, combining them was a promising strategy for painters and printmakers.

As symbols of happiness and good tidings, the Lucky Gods were often pictured with motifs associated with New Year’s, indicating that these images were likely produced for this festive occasion. Historically, the seven lucky gods were pictured as divine figures who travelled in a treasure boat bearing gifts for the people during the New Year’s. In a 1770s print by Shigemasa, the seven are depicted sailing on a dragon boat with a crane flying ahead of the vessel and a turtle swimming beside it (fig. 71). Such prints were mass-produced as New Year’s decoration, an economical image for the many who could not afford paintings. Pillar prints were particularly popular, their narrow and long format resembling hanging scrolls. Many extant pillar prints exhibit signs of wear and tear, confirming that they were indeed objects of continuous use. Koryūsai was a prolific producer of pillar prints, and he created many of the Lucky Gods, such as the eighteenth-century Courtesan as Jurōjin and Fukurokuju Riding a Turtle (fig. 72).

Recognizing the high demand for Lucky Gods pictures, publishers also issued prints of the Seven Lucky Gods as a series, frequently portraying them in settings with contemporary characters. Fashionable Scenes of the Seven Lucky Gods at Play (Fūryū shichifukujin tawamure 風流七福神戯), Contemporary Seven Lucky Gods (Tōsei shichifukujin 当世七福神), and A Reworking of the Seven Lucky Gods (Yatsushi shichifukujin やつし七福神) are examples in which each print displayed one of the lucky gods with a courtesan. One of Suzuki Harunobu’s (1724-1770) prints for the Contemporary Seven Lucky Gods series that was published circa 1765 includes Daikoku carrying a young woman on his shoulders while she plays the New Year’s game of battledore with her companion (fig. 73). Viewed within the context of the popularity of

---

Lucky God imagery, and in particular, their ubiquitous pairings with floating world characters, the collaborative paintings that combined a Lucky God with two courtesans does not seem out of the ordinary.

My discussion of the Three Star paintings and Lucky God pictures show that these were auspicious themes used frequently as New Year’s decorations. The association of the Three Stars with longevity, prosperity, and fortune made them an appropriate gift for celebratory occasions. Similarly, the Lucky Gods, as bringers of abundance and good tidings, was also a fitting subject for felicitous wishes. According to Kano Seisen’in’s *Official Diary*, discussed in the previous chapter, Fukurokuju was the subject for New Year’s paintings for seventeen out of twenty years. Seisen’in recorded that he painted the Lucky Gods, sometimes as part of triptychs, combined with other paintings of the auspicious subjects of cranes, plum, or bamboo. The Kano painters created many images of the Lucky Gods, some found in daimyo collections. The auction catalog for the Yanagisawa family collection of paintings, for instance, lists a triptych of Jurōjin, crane, and turtle that was painted by Kano Tan’en (1805-1853). Like pictures of Lucky Gods, Three Star paintings were also commissioned for special occasions. In 1803 (Kyōwa 3), for example, a monk painter from Ise, Gessen (d. 1809), presented the painter Minagawa Kien (1734-1807) with a painting of the Three Stars for his sixtieth birthday.

**Painting Modes and Signatures**

Besides developing new ways to depict the Three Stars and Lucky Gods by pairing them with courtesans (as in the prints discussed above), painters also portrayed the different figures in

---

contrasting brushwork. Chōbunsai Eishi’s *Kamuro Shaving the Pate of Fukurokuju* (1795-1818) displays the deity painted in monochrome ink with two young girls depicted in polychromy (fig. 74). Using a combination of broad and thin brushstrokes, Eishi portrayed Fukurokuju in flowing Chinese robes. The painter also added thin crease lines above the deity’s ears to exaggerate his tall head. He executed the rocks in the foreground and the New Year’s decoration at the back in similar light ink lines and washes. In contrast to the monochromatic hues he used for the rest of the painting, Eishi painted the two precocious young girls around Fukurokuju in bright colors. By using juxtaposing techniques to depict the deity and the two maidens, Eishi enhanced the jarring difference between the two, emphasizing the comical depiction of two young girls preparing Fukurokuju for the New Year’s festivities. In another handscroll, Eishi painted a narrative of the three Lucky Gods on a journey to the pleasure quarters. Again, he painted Fukurokuju, Daikoku, and Ebisu in monochrome ink, while using colorful pigments to paint the courtesans (fig. 75).

Like Eishi’s paintings, our collaborative scrolls, *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* (fig. 7) and *Fukurokuju with Two Beauties*, (fig. 8) also display multiple painting modes on the same scroll; in these cases, though, each participating painter used the distinctive techniques he was trained in, as I will discuss below. In his depiction of Fukurokuju, for instance, Shūboku used only ink and light colors to paint the deity. Shiseki, who painted the other image of Fukurokuju, likewise depicted the deity in ink wash and soft colors. In contrast to these painters’ contributions, Shunshō, Shigemasa, and Koryūsai, who painted the courtesans, used rich color pigments and gold to create detailed images of the contemporary beauties. The contrasting painting modes presented an opportunity to introduce different painters on each scroll. In other
words, formal differences are used to distinguish and to announce the presence of discrete painters.

This interest in differentiation is also emphasized by each painter’s signature and seal on the joint work. The three painters of *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* each signed their name beside their respective contributions. Tanshukusai Shūboku signed his name as “Tanshukusai hōkkyō Shūboku hitsu,” followed by a seal that reads “hōkkyō Shūboku,” which translates as “In the brush of the Bridge of the Law, Tanshukusai Shūboku.” Here, the title of “hōkkyō,” or “Bridge of the Law,” indicates a prestigious Buddhist rank that had been conferred on the painter. Koryūsai and Shigemasa, the other two painters, indicated their contributions by inscribing, “pictured by Koryūsai” and “pictured by Kitao Shigemasa” respectively. Rather than using seals, the two painters used red ink to brush a monogram under their signatures (fig. 76). In fact, in both *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* and *Fukurokuju with Two Beauties*, the painters who depicted the deities used seals while those who painted the courtesans used written monograms (figs. 7 and 8).

The use of red-inked monograms, known as *kaō*, has a long history dating back to the Tang dynasty (618-907), when they first appeared on imperial edicts. Commonly used by the nobility after the Heian period in Japan, *kaō* were generally composed of a character written in a cursive script form. Like a seal, they functioned as verification on official documents. Sesshū and others began using *kaō* to sign their paintings from the Muromachi period. Edo period painters, such as Kano Tan’yū, Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716), Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795), and Soga Shōhaku (1730-1781) also used these written monograms in combination with their

---

signatures on selected works. Before 1765 (Meiwa 2) kaō appeared only on paintings, but after the birth of color prints, they also started appearing on prints. From the An’ei to Tenmei eras (1772-1789), they became especially popular among ukiyo-e painters and print designers, who used them on paintings, in illustrated books, and also on deluxe surimono prints. Whereas earlier painters brushed their kaō in black ink, ukiyo-e painters began using vermillion ink for their kaō, making the written seals resemble carved seals. Given the lowly status of most ukiyo-e painters, it is likely that they personalized the written monograms in this way to signal their erudite knowledge of the ancient past.

In addition to emulating ancient traditions, painters’ kaō revealed their connections to the literary world. Shigemasa composed his kaō from his haikai pseudonym “Karan,” signaling his identity as a haikai poet. Instead of writing a character in cursive script, he took the phonetic reading of the character “ran” and created a kaō based on the two hiragana characters of “ra” and “n.” Shunshō, who painted one of the standing courtesans in Fukurokuju with Two Beauties, also used a kaō beneath his signature, “Katsu Shunshō hitsu” (fig. 76a). Like Shigemasa’s, Shunshō’s kaō demonstrates his links to literary circles. He designed his kaō based on the character “Yū,” taken from his haikai pseudonym, “Yūji.” The painters’ references to their literary identities suggest that they identified themselves not only as painters and print designers, but also men of letters. For a knowledgeable audience, including the patrons, these identities were important elements that added value to the collaborative paintings.

159 Ibid., 97.
160 Ibid., 103.
161 Ibid., 107.
Leading Painters of the An’ei to Tenmei eras

Shūboku, Shigemasa, Koryūsai, Shiseki, and Shunshō’s presence on the collaborative paintings was desirable given their reputations and popularity in the late eighteenth century. Koryūsai and Shigemasa were both print designers and specialized in ukiyo-e subjects, but they received different training and maintained their own niches within the print market. Shunshō, too, began his career as a print designer, making a name for himself in the design of actor prints. He turned to painting richly colored images of courtesans and contemporary beauties in his later years. Shūboku and Shiseki, however, as their depictions of Fukurokuju indicate, belonged to a different painting tradition. Neither designed ukiyo-e prints, working instead on Chinese subjects and themes.

Shigemasa was a self-taught artist from a publishing family. His father, Suwaraya Saburōbe, had a bookshop in Kodenmachō that produced warrior family registers, heraldries, and area maps of Edo, and he belonged to one of the biggest groups of book wholesalers in Edo. Shigemasa apprenticed in his father’s shop before setting up his own store that published historical and illustrated books that he and his students designed. He later focused mainly on designing prints and producing paintings, leaving the publishing business to his brother. Although he worked on a number of collaborative paintings, including Kume the Immortal (discussed in the previous chapter, fig. 5), as well as Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha and Fukurokuju with Two Beauties (figs. 7 and 8), his painting output was not as large as his print output. Shigemasa was a prolific book illustrator, contributing to poetry anthologies, novels, and erotica as well as single-sheet and deluxe prints. As a publisher and bookstore owner, he was connected to many literary personalities. In fact, one of his students, Kitao Masanobu (1761-—

(1816), also known as Santō Kyōden, was one of the leading writers of the time. Shigemasa’s active involvement in *haikai* and *kyōka* circles manifests in the numerous contributions he made to annual poetry anthologies, including multiple *New Year’s Album (Saitanchō)* and several versions of *A Ryō of Verses (Ryōsetsugin)*. Using the *haikai* pseudonym, “Karan,” and the *kyōka* pseudonym, “Kōsuisai,” he made many illustrations for different members of these different poetry circles. From 1765 (Meiwa 6) to 1794 (Kansei 6), he illustrated nineteen *haikai* compilations, many of which were for his *haikai* teacher, Tani Sogai (1733-1823), the leader of the Edo Danrin Haikai group.¹⁶³

Shigemasa’s talent for illustrating poetry was well recognized by his contemporaries. In the preface of *Picture Book of the Four Seasons (Ehon yotsu no toki)*, which Shigemasa illustrated in 1775 (An’ei 5), his teacher Sogai wrote that his student Karan was able to “visualize the images that were contained within the verses.” As described in the preface, each page of the book shows an illustration by Shigemasa that echoed the inscribed verse. Shigemasa’s pictures’ close connection to the text demonstrates that he understood the nuances in poetry and was able to design pictures that highlighted the poems’ different meanings. Shigemasa’s ties to the literary world enabled him to cultivate a wide network of acquaintances that included daimyo and other affluent patrons. This undoubtedly promoted his own reputation and helped secure his participation in collaborative paintings.

Koryūsai, like Shigemasa, was a print designer and painter who developed a reputation for being an expert in courtesan imagery. Born a samurai, he served the Tsuchiya household until

---


¹⁶⁴ 其句中に画ある物に，門生花藍が四時の図を齋て，とりあへず世都の登起と題す。Cited and transcribed by Hinohara Kenji in Hinohara, “Kitao Shigemasa no eiri haisho,” 199.
the family’s fortunes declined, after which he became a master-less samurai, or rōnin.\textsuperscript{165} While still in service, he started a career as a print maker and became a student of Suzuki Harunobu. Through his relationship with Harunobu, he became acquainted with publishers and literary figures who became instrumental in his career development as a printmaker and painter. After Harunobu’s death, Koryūsai’s print output increased as publishers familiar with his work recruited him for different projects. He designed more than thirty erotic novels during the An’ei era (1772-1781).\textsuperscript{166} For the series, \textit{New Year’s Designs as Fresh as Young Leaves (Hinagata wakana no hatsu moyō)}, he designed over one hundred and forty prints of courtesans, working with the publishers Nishimura Eijūdo and Tsutaya Jūzaburō (1750-1797).\textsuperscript{167} The series exceeded expectations and was so popular that its production continued for five years.

Koryūsai’s numerous designs of courtesan prints for the \textit{Hinagata} series honed his skills in the depiction of contemporary beauties and established his reputation as an expert painter of women. The \textit{Hinagata} series featured large print (ōban), multi-colored prints of individually identified courtesans from the Yoshiwara brothels. An example from the series, \textit{Hinazuru from the Chōjiya} (1776), identifies the parading courtesan as Hinazuru from the Chōjiya house in Yoshiwara accompanied by her two attendants (fig. 77). Hinazuru wears an outer robe decorated with pine branches and carp, and her attendants dress in matching outfits. Her hair is swept up in the \textit{tate-hyōgo} style that was fashionable in the An’ei era, showing the designer’s knowledge of popular trends. Koryūsai’s training in depicting courtesans in this series manifested in his paintings as well. After he lost his stipend around 1778 (An’ei 7), there was a marked shift in the trajectory of his career as he began diversifying into paintings, book illustrations, and pictures of

\textsuperscript{165} Hockley, \textit{The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai}, 134-136.


\textsuperscript{167} Hockley, \textit{The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai}, 88.
flowers and birds. Most of his paintings consisted of courtesans, many of which employ compositions that Koryūsai used in his *Hinagata* prints. A comparison of the painting *Procession of the Courtesan Hinazuru* (1772-1781) (fig. 78) with prints of the same subject in the *Hinagata* series (fig. 77) shows that Koryūsai used the same three-quarter view of the courtesan, Hinazuru, trailed by her two attendants. Like the prints, the two attendants wear matching dresses. Koryūsai garbed the courtesan in layers of elaborate fabrics, displaying not only his knowledge of fashion, but also his skill in painting and color application. Her outer robe is similarly decorated with images of carp ascending a waterfall and pine branches. In place of the inscription of her name (as in the print) is a poem on the painting, inscribed and signed by Hinazuru herself. The combination of the painter’s personal brushwork and the depicted courtesan’s inscription personalized and undoubtedly raised the value of the work compared to its printed equivalent.

The standing courtesan in *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* might not be as individually identifiable as Hinazuru, but from my survey of courtesan pictures of the eighteenth century, I found that she conforms to Koryūsai’s courtesan imagery of the An’ei era (1772-1781) based on her hairstyle, accessories, and the patterns on her robes. Her face shares with that of Hinazuru from *Procession of the Courtesan Hinazuru* the same tate-hyōgo hairstyle supported by three tortoiseshell combs and six hairpins. Moreover, the courtesan’s distinct peacock feather outer robe can also be seen in many of Koryūsai’s courtesan pictures. In the Hinazuru print from the *Hinagata* series, Koryūsai used the peacock feather in repeating hexagons on the courtesan’s sash, whereas in the Hinazuru painting, he used it on her attendants’ robes (fig. 79). The design also shows up several times in Koryūsai’s *Courtesans in Brocades of the East*, an illustrated book discussed above, displaying courtesans from the different brothels in Yoshiwara. On the

\[^{168}\text{Ibid., 136.}\]
page depicting the syllable “Ne,” for instance, Koryūsai depicted a peacock with its feathers spread out on the outer robe of one of the courtesans from Tsuruya (fig. 80). There are at least two other instances in the same book where he used the same pattern on the sash and robes of the courtesans, indicating that this was a common motif in courtesans’ kimonos at the time.

Koryūsai’s expertise in courtesan imagery probably attracted many wealthy patrons who desired his paintings of the subjects for their own collections. Like Shunshō and Shigemasa, he was a highly reputable painter in the An’ei era who also participated in haikai circles. Koryūsai contributed to many haikai anthologies, sometimes even to the same ones as Shunshō and Shigemasa, and he also painted for his acquaintances in the literary circles. In 1781 (An’ei 10), he painted a New Year’s portrait of the calligrapher, Mitsui Shinna (1700-1782), who brushed the inscription and calligraphy on the painting (fig. 81). Shinna was a famous calligrapher and this portrait suggests that he held the painter in high regard by letting him paint his portrait and by further inscribing it.

As Allen Hockley has demonstrated, Koryūsai’s well-connected acquaintances helped to elevate his reputation and to solidify his status amongst his peers. One of these individuals was Ōshima Ryōta (1718-1787), a disciple of Hattori Ransetsu (1654-1707) and Koryūsai’s haikai teacher. Ryōta was a well-connected individual and professional haikai poet with over three thousand students, including some from daimyo families. In the preface of Koryūsai’s three-volume A Miscellany of Yamato Pictures in Cursive (Konzatsu yamato sōga 混雑倭俳画, 1781), Ryōta emphasized Koryūsai’s talent and endorsed his pedigree. According to Hockley, who summarized the preface, Ryōta placed Koryūsai’s work within a history of East Asian Painting that included oracle bone inscriptions, the work of Korean painters in the sixth century, Kano

169 The discussion in this paragraph is based on Hockley, The Prints of Isoda Koryūsai, 184-186.
painting traditions, and also *ukiyo-e*. By placing the painter’s work within historical lineages of Chinese and Japanese masters, Ryōta legitimized Koryūsai as a painter of high repute. The illustrations in the three volumes that include Japanese classical tales, still-life pictures of auspicious motifs, and popular deities paired with contemporary women, echoed too, Koryūsai’s versatility at depicting a range of subjects.

In 1782 (Tenmei 2), Koryūsai applied for the court rank of *hōkkyō* to further increase his reputation and status.¹⁷⁰ Such priestly ranks, known as *sōi*, were difficult to obtain and originated in the imperial court. Bestowed on scholars, physicians, and painters, the titles recognized an individual’s talent and represented a form of prestige. The right to grant these ranks belonged to the imperial house, and they were passed down to some temples, such as Ninnaji, Daitokuji, and Sanbōin.¹⁷¹ Whereas it was not unusual for painters that serviced the court and daimyo families to obtain such ranks, it was difficult for those like Koryūsai, who worked for neither court nor daimyo patrons, to acquire them. Koryūsai’s application was particularly complicated, for there was no precedent for a master-less samurai to apply for such ranks. After being rejected on his first application, he sought recommendation letters from high status acquaintances before resubmitting his request. Finally, in the eleventh month of 1782, he received the title, which he used thereafter to sign his prints and paintings. He was so proud of his title that he even used it to sign two erotic paintings of samurai and courtesans.¹⁷² Patrons of these erotic paintings must have valued Koryūsai’s title just as much as he did. In *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha*,

---

¹⁷² These paintings have been published in Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan et. al, eds., *Nikuhitsu ukiyo-e no sekai: Shunga hen* (Fukuoka-shi: Nishi Nihon Shimbunsha, 2015), 39.
Koryūsai did not sign his name with the hōkkyō title, which dates the painting to pre-1782, but he was paired with another painter with the hōkkyō rank, Tanshukusai Shūboku.

Tanshukusai Shūboku, who painted the figure of Fukurokuju in the collaborative painting, is little known to modern scholars, but his name indicates that he was likely a descendant of Kano painting lineages. Names were intimately related to religious, political, social, and economic institutions in early modern Japan. Names not only marked one’s link to an institution, but they also marked shifts in those associations. For instance, after a painter trained with a certain master, he was bestowed a character from the master’s name to signify his inclusion in that lineage. The first character of his name, “Tan,” signal that Shūboku was a Kano affiliated painter. Specifically, he was likely associated with the lineage of Kano Tan’yū’s disciple, Tsuruzawa Tanzan (1655-1729). Tanzan was one of Tan’yū’s students who moved to Kyoto and founded the Tsuruzawa lineage. Tanzan taught many students, who then went on to establish their own lineages. Yoshimura Shūzan (1700-1773) was the descendant of one of these lineages, and he and his son Shūkei (1736-1795) were active in Osaka and specialized in Kano-esque Chinese paintings. Shūboku’s name, written with the characters “shū 周” and “boku 卜” suggests that he could have been affiliated with the Yoshimura lineage, as Shūzan’s disciples all used the same character “shū 周.”

Shūboku’s rank of hōkkyō, which he used to sign his name on the collaborative painting, indicates that he was a painter of high status. As we have seen, the complex application procedure and the exclusiveness associated with these priestly ranks imply that he must have been someone with important connections. Both Shūzan and Shūkei held priestly ranks of

---

173 Tsuji, Bosuton Bijutsukan nikuhitsu ukiyo-e, vol. 2, 165. Catalog entry is by Naitō Masato.
174 Herbert E. Plutschow, Japan’s Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political, and Social Context (Sandgate, Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library, 1995), 1.
175 Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, Kinsei Osaka gadan (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1983), 294.
hōkkyō and hōgen, so it is conceivable that Shūboku might have gained his title through their recommendation or from someone in the Kano lineage.

A comparison of Shūboku’s Fukurokuju with Shūzan and Shūkei’s figural paintings strengthens the hypothesis that he was linked to the Yoshimura lineage. My survey of Shūzan’s painting manuals and Shūkei’s figural depictions reveal that the two were familiar with the subject of Chinese deities, like Fukurokuju and Jurōjin, and suggest that Shūboku could have drawn from their examples. Shūkei painted a triptych of Jurōjin that shows a strong resemblance to Shūboku’s Fukurokuju in terms of its brushwork and coloring (fig. 82). In the painting, Shūkei painted Jurōjin as an old man dressed in Chinese robes and a scholar’s cap. He used thin lines and light ink to delineate the facial features of the deity and contrasting bold brushstrokes to paint the figure’s robes. Then, he applied a faint blue wash to Jurōjin’s robes and added swirling cloud patterns in gold ink. He highlighted the deity’s inner robe and sash with blue, red, and gold, creating an elegant, richly garbed figure. Shūkei’s Jurōjin holds a rectangular fan and wooden staff. Although Shūboku’s Fukurokuju is short and stocky compared to Shūkei’s Jurōjin, they share many similarities. Like Jurōjin, Fukurokuju holds a rectangular fan that is highlighted with color on either end. In his depiction of Fukurokuju, Shūboku also used thin lines, like Shūkei, to articulate the wrinkles and facial expression of the deity and thicker, calligraphic lines to paint Fukurokuju’s robes (fig. 83). Even more striking is the resemblance of patterns on the deities’ dress. Shūboku, too, applied a light blue color to Fukurokuju’s robe and embellished it with opulent gold cloud patterns (fig. 84). It is likely that both painters drew on Shūzan’s depictions of Chinese immortals. Shūzan’s six-volume Painting Treasures (Gahō 画寶, 1771) contains images of Jurōjin and Fukurokuju, executed with bold, angular brushstrokes, that could
have served as didactic manuals for Shūboku and Shūkei’s figures.\textsuperscript{176} The formal similarities between Shūboku and the Yoshimura painters’ works suggests that even if Shūboku was not a direct descendant of this painting lineage, he belonged to a wider network of painters that employed this mode of painting.

Like \textit{Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha}, the collaborative painting \textit{Fukurokuju with Two Beauties} combined three highly reputable painters of the An’ei to Tenmei eras (1772-89). Shunshō, who painted the standing courtesan on the right, was a highly acclaimed print designer and painter. He was the son of a doctor and began his career designing actor prints in the Meiwa era (1764-1771). He lived in Ningyōchō, making and selling his prints in the corner of his shop.\textsuperscript{177} From such humble career beginnings, he gained recognition for designing actor prints with innovative compositions and had a large student following. Shunshō studied painting with Miyagawa Shunsui (fl. 1740s – 1760s), who was a descendant of Miyagawa Choshūn. The Miyagawa painters specialized primarily in paintings of floating world subjects so it is likely that Shunshō developed his techniques for depicting contemporary women under Shunsui’s tutelage. Most of Shunshō’s paintings are defined by careful detailing and elaborate coloring. In his painting of the courtesan Hinazuru as bodhisatva for instance, he depicted the courtesan in no less than three layers of garment, each decorated with intricate patterns of peacock feathers and flowers (fig. 67). The painter’s attention to detail extends even to the courtesan’s headdress, which he adorns with colorful gems and precious jewels. Shunshō’s depiction of the standing woman in \textit{Fukurokuju with Two Beauties} also displays his skill in executing ornate patterns.

\textsuperscript{176} Yoshimura Shūzan, \textit{Gahō}, vol. 4-6 (Osaka: Shōkōdō, 1771). (Accessed from Waseda University Library Collection Digital Database).
Here, he paints embossed floral roundels on the courtesan’s outer robe, while decorating the folds of her inner garments with hexagonal shapes filled with designs of fish (fig. 85).

In his later years, Shunshō stopped making prints and devoted his career to painting. Although his surviving paintings are primarily contemporary beauties, he also painted other subjects, such as landscapes. His fame as a painter, however, was notable and he was even mentioned in contemporary novels. A 1775 (An’ei 4) publication, *Sequel to the Fashionable Sophisticates* (*Kōhen fūzoku tsū* 後編風俗通), has a poem in its preface that begins with the phrase “Shunshō’s one scroll costs a thousand gold.” Here, as Naitō Masato has argued, the reference was not literally that Shunshō’s paintings cost a thousand gold pieces, but rather an indication of the high regard the author had for his work. In another publication, by Koikawa Harumachi (1744-1789), *The Story of an Idiot* (*Sono henpō bakemono banashi* 其返報怪談, 1776), the story’s protagonist fantasizes about a possible career in art and decides to seek the instruction of Shunshō. These An’ei references indicate that Shunshō’s contemporaries held him in high regard and suggest his attractiveness to potential patrons.

The third painter on the scroll, Sō Shiseki, was not a print maker or illustrator, but a painter who trained in Chinese subjects and *shasei* (“painting from life”) techniques. He studied the painting mode of Shen Nanpin (1682-1760), a Chinese painter who came to Japan and gained popularity among Japanese painters in Nagasaki. Although Nanpin only stayed in Japan for a short time, he impacted many painters who preserved his legacy and disseminated his

178 Naitō, *Katsukawa Shunshō to Tenmei ki no ukiyo-e bijinga*, 79-82.
painting techniques. Shiseki adopted Nanpin’s painting mode and played an important role in popularizing it in Edo. Born in Edo, he spent several years in Nagasaki learning from Kumashiro Yūhi (1712-1772) and Sō Shigan (d. 1770), another Chinese painter who visited Nagasaki. From them, he acquired the skills to paint detailed depictions of birds, flowers, and Chinese figures.¹⁸¹ Shiseki took the name Sō and the first character of his given name, shi, from his teacher, Shigan. When he returned to Edo, he lived in Nihonbashi and was neighbors with Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817), a rangaku (“Dutch learning”) scholar. Through Genpaku, he became acquainted with other rangaku scholars, such as Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780). He gained the opportunity to display his dexterity in depicting flora and fauna as an illustrator for Gennai’s scientific manual, *Varieties of Matter* (*Butsurui hinshitsu*物類品類, 1763).¹⁸² Shiseki also published many compilations of his works, including the *Bird and Flower Painting Manual* (*Kachō gafu*花鳥画譜, 1764), the *Sō Shiseki Painting Manual* (*Sō Shiseki gafu*宋紫石画譜, 1765), *Thicket of Ancient and Modern Pictures*, and the *Eight Varieties of Later Paintings* (*Gasō go hasshu*画藪後八種, 1779).

Shiseki’s compilations not only functioned as important didactic tools for his students and followers, but they also provide us with insight into the subjects and techniques he used frequently. In the third volume of the *Sō Shiseki Painting Manual*, Shiseki assembled figural depictions by a range of painters that he had learned from and admired, including Sō Shigan and I Fukkyū (1698-1747). In the same volume there is a picture of the Three Stars as well as an image of Fukurokuju with a child (fig. 86). From these examples, we know that Shiseki was

¹⁸¹ The 1769 (Meiwa 6) publication, *Kokon shoka jinbutsu shi* (古今諸家人物志) records that Shiseki learned from Yūhi and Shigan (熊斐に従いて学ぶ、偶々清人宋紫岩に来遊す、紫岩画を能くす). See Tsuruta, “Sō Shiseki to monjin tachi,” 54; Yamagawa “Sō Shiseki to sono jidai,” 88.
familiar with this subject. Moreover, a comparison of the short, stocky images of Fukurokuju in the Sō Shiseki Painting Manual and the deity in Fukurokuju with Two Beauties reveals a very similar composition (fig. 87). In both the illustration and the collaborative painting, Shiseki used punctuated brushstrokes to create a stubby outline of Fukurokuju’s robes. These non-fluid and irregular lines are extended to the deities’ facial features as well. Shiseki articulated the deity’s voluminous cheeks and wrinkled forehead with short, wavy strokes, creating a soft texture to his facial features.

Shiseki’s knowledge of auspicious motifs is also captured in volume seven of Thicket of Ancient and Modern Pictures, a compendium of propitious pictures, from Daoist Five Mountain diagrams to pictures of individual immortals. This deliberate grouping of propitious symbols and motifs suggests that Shiseki might have used these references regularly, or at the least he must have thought them important enough to be published as a whole separate volume. The contents of his published compilations show that although most of Shiseki’s extant paintings consist of flowers and birds, he actually possessed a large repertoire that included figural paintings and auspicious symbols.

Shiseki’s familiarity with Chinese figural subjects and his expertise in the Nanpin mode of Chinese painting likely gained him the commission to work on Fukurokuju with Two Beauties. It is unlikely that Shiseki himself partook of the collaborative project on his own initiative, as there are no records that show that he was acquainted with the other two painters. More plausible is that a patron who was familiar with his work invited him to participate. Shiseki was well known among various daimyo. Through his acquaintance with Gennai and Genpaku, Shiseki got to know the Akita domain’s daimyo, Satake Yoshiatsu (1748-1785). Yoshiatsu was an enthusiast of western and scientific learning and even learned to paint in the western style. His
retainer, Odano Naotake (1749-1780), studied with Shiseki. Kakizaki Hakyō, mentioned earlier as the painter of the auspicious New Year’s Three Stars painting (fig. 60) also trained with Shiseki. Shiseki tutored Sakai Höitsu, the second son of the Himeji domain daimyo as well. According to Höitsu’s brother, Sakai Tadazane (1761-1829), in the An’ei era (1772-1780), Shiseki and his son, Sō Shizan (1733-1806), frequently painted for the Himeji household in sekiga sessions. Shiseki’s interactions with different daimyo demonstrate that he was a highly popular painter at the time.

As I have shown, each painter that participated in the two collaborative paintings was individually famous in the late eighteenth century, but they did not work in isolation. Shunshō and Shigemasa, as colleagues and participants of the same poetry group, frequently collaborated on a number of projects. When Shunshō moved to his second residence in Hasegawa-chō, he became neighbors with Shigemasa, who lived on the north side of the block. Living in such close proximity to each other must have facilitated their interactions and exchanges. The two often contributed illustrations to the same literary works. Besides serial poetry anthologies, such as the annual New Year’s Albums, the two produced several illustrated books jointly. These works include The Mirror of Beautiful Women of the Green Houses, Compared (Seirō bijin awase sugata kagami 絵本青樓美人合姿鏡, 1776), Picture Book of a Variety of Shells (Ehon mitate kai zukushi 絵本見立假發表, 1783), and Picture Book of Brocades with Precious Threads

---

184 Ibid., 79.
(Ehon takara ito no suji 絵本宝能縄, 1786). They also worked together on erotic books. In The Mirror of Beautiful Women of the Green Houses Compared, Shigemasa and Shunshō are listed in the colophon of the three-volume set as “Kitao Karan Shigemasa” and “Katsukawa Yūji Shunshō,” thus using not only their painting names, but also their haikai pseudonyms, “Karan” and “Yūji.” As the book contains individual verses written by the courtesans depicted, it is likely that the designers felt it appropriate to signal themselves not only as specialists of courtesan imagery, but also as haikai connoisseurs. The painters’ frequent collaborations on printed projects undoubtedly facilitated their collaborations in other mediums.

Having a hōkyō-ranked Kano-affiliated painter join forces with two famous ukiyo-e painters, and a leading expert in Chinese paintings collaborate with renowned painters of courtesans, were not accidental nor everyday occurrences. These collaborations would not have been possible without the input of an influential and affluent coordinator. As I will show, the paintings were expensive objects, composed of elaborate designs executed in rich color pigments, affordable only to wealthy patrons. I argue, therefore, that the instigator of such paintings was, most likely, a powerful patron, who not only had the authority to mobilize leading painters, but who also saw the scroll as a means to collect distinctive and desirable brushes on the same surface.

---

Paintings for an Elite Audience

The intricacy of brushwork and the rich colors on the two collaborative paintings indicate that they were commissioned items. Painted on silk, with an assortment of colored pigments and precious materials, these were paintings that would have been time consuming and labor intensive to produce. For both paintings, the painters would have had to first sketch the outline of the women in ink, then transfer the drawing onto the stretched silk before starting the color application process.\(^{189}\) To achieve the effect of a brocade-like texture in the women’s robes, the painters had to apply the colors in layers, alternating between calcified shell pigments and mineral and plant based pigments. For instance, to create the surface of the scarlet outer-robe of Koryūsai’s courtesan, the painter first applied the opaque red color, then followed with a layer of non-opaque yellow to outline the swastika designs. As a result, the more diluted yellow paint would fuse with the red, producing an imprinted pattern on the fabric (fig. 88). Once they completed all the intricate motifs, they accentuated and embellished the designs with gold. As each color had to dry before another color could be applied, the entire painting process would have had to unfold over a long period of time. *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* would have taken several months to complete, notwithstanding the fact that collaborations between three painters required coordination that took even more time. The material cost of the painting was also significant, as evidenced by the diverse color palette employed. Besides gold, the painters used many opaque colors, including red, yellow, green, and pink, which are sometimes mixed with *gofun* to achieve secondary tints, and various vegetable dyes that are diluted in ink to

\(^{189}\) My analysis of the painting process, and the materials used is based on Nishikawa Sukenobu’s essay, Josiah Conder’s description of painting methods and color pigments, and conversations with Seki Sayoko, graduate student of Gakushuin University and Nihonga painter, as well as my observations at a painting demonstration held at Gakushuin University by Seki Sayoko in January 2015. See also, Conder, *Paintings and Studies*, 15-78 and my translation of Sukenobu’s “Gahō saishiki hō,” in the Appendix.
create lighter washes. Without financial provisions to cover the cost of materials, painters would never produce such an elaborate painting themselves.

The composition of the paintings and its collaborative production imply that the execution of the painting had to be highly coordinated. Based on the overlapping positions of the respective figures in the painting, the two female figures in the foreground had to have been painted before the deity. For instance, in *Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha*, it is likely that Koryūsai began by painting the standing courtesan and the handscroll, after which Shigemasa added the kneeling young woman in the left foreground, and Shūboku painted the deity in the background last. Only those with authority and influence could mobilize such logistically complicated undertakings, and so the paintings raise questions of patronage.

Scholars have shown that the ruling elite and provincial daimyo consumed many paintings of contemporary beauties by *ukiyo-e* painters.¹⁹⁰ Matsura Seizan (1760-1841), the daimyo of the Hirado domain, amassed a large collection of *ukiyo-e* paintings, indicating that he was fond of floating world pictures. Many of these were hanging scrolls of courtesans that probably functioned as items of display and appreciation. Seizan collected many Shunshō paintings, including *Courtesan and Swallow* (1783-87) (fig. 89) and *Pastimes of the Twelve Months* (18th century) (fig. 90), which were exquisite examples of the painter’s fine brushwork and detailed color application.¹⁹¹ When his collection was auctioned in 1929 (Showa 3), many paintings by Nishikawa Sukenobu, Chōbunsai Eishi, and other *ukiyo-e* painters were

---


discovered. One of these paintings, by Eishi, had a poem slip pasted on it. The painting depicts a courtesan sitting underneath a hanging basket of morning glories. A sixteenth-century *tanzaku* (“poetry slip”) written in the hand of a famous poet, Higuchi Nobutada, is attached on its upper right corner (fig. 91).

Some patrons inscribed the paintings they commissioned, leaving important records of why they requested the works and what they were used for. Shigemasa’s *Geisha from the Nishigashi District* (1781) depicts a woman holding a shamisen and is accompanied by a matching scroll that documents the painting’s creation (fig. 92). According to the inscription on the accompanying scroll, the daimyo Mizoguchi Naoyasu (1736-97) from the Shibata domain, who enjoyed the puppet theater and poetry chanting, met a female performer from the Nishigashi district. Enchanted by her comportment and behavior, he sought her company on several occasions. He was so besotted with her that he yearned for her company when she was not with him. To console himself, he asked Karan (Shigemasa) “to copy from life her lovely form just as it was,” and thereupon hung the painting in his chambers to keep him company. The painting is like any other *ukiyo-e* painting of an Edo period maiden, with no distinguishing feature to indicate that this was an actual portrait of the daimyo’s beloved. If we compare Shigemasa’s portrayal of her with his painting of *A Courtesan and Cat*, for instance, we notice that the two faces are almost identical: they both have curved eyebrows and small petite red lips (fig. 93). However, details like the shamisen and the depiction of the lady under the moon probably evoked fond memories for the patron.

---

192 I counted over thirty *ukiyo-e* paintings listed in the 1929 auction catalog. Tōkyō Bijutsu Kurabu, *Bōke shozōhin ten kan nyūsatsu uritate mokuroku* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu Kurabu, 1929)
193 Naitō, *Ukiyo-e sai hakken*, 123.
A similar tale lies behind Katsukawa Shunshō’s portrait of the courtesan Hinazuru discussed above (fig. 67). The inscription on the painting indicates that the patron wanted Shunshō to portray his beloved courtesan as the Bodhisattva Kannon. The painter obliged by painting the courtesan in elaborate robes and a jeweled crown. Moreover, Shunshō also depicted her standing on lotuses, in the manner of the Bodhisattva Kannon, as she makes her way to the Pure Land. The inscription describes how the patron would gaze at the painting with yearning and compose poems to it. One such poem reads, “Even an old man’s body, that looks like a withered tree, this female Bodhisattva, makes flowers bloom.” These examples demonstrate that patrons commissioned and collected paintings of beauties as portraits that reminded them of specific women. Although the beauties might appear generic, they evoked for their viewers memories of the pleasure quarters. In other words, these images functioned as objects of affection, to be perused and appreciated by their owners.

Daimyo sometimes asked ukiyo-e painters to make them pictures during sekiga sessions, as we saw in the previous chapter, and these works occasionally included images of contemporary beauties. The painter Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), who studied with Harunobu, mentioned a painting performance that he gave to the daimyo of the Sendai domain. According to Kōkan, he painted first for a retainer of the daimyo who was impressed by his painting skills and recommended him to the daimyo. He was then invited to perform at the daimyo’s Edo residence with the calligrapher Mitsui Shinna. At the appointed session, the daimyo asked Kōkan to paint him a Japanese beauty, so he complied. He then provided the painting of a Japanese man as a companion to the first painting (fig. 94). Kōkan wrote that he painted for almost twelve

---

hours that day and made many different works on silk for the daimyo and his retainers.\textsuperscript{196} His companion, Shinna inscribed many of these paintings, further increasing their value.

Among those fond of \textit{ukiyo-e} paintings and painters, Yanagisawa Nobutoki (1724-1792), the daimyo of the Yamato Koriyama domain, was a key figure. The grandson of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658-1714), a close aide of the fifth shogun, Nobutoki spent twenty-eight years running the domain and retired in 1773 (An’ei 2) to his villa in Edo. After his retirement, he spent the rest of his days pursuing a variety of leisure activities, including poetry composition, theater-going, as well as art appreciation. He was a kabuki aficionado and a \textit{haikai} enthusiast who belonged to the Edo Danrin Haikai group. He recorded most of his post-retirement activities in a diary, mentioning painters and literary figures that he knew, as well as paintings and prints that he encountered. His diary, \textit{Journal of Pleasures and Feasts (Enyū nikki宴遊日記)}, consists of thirteen volumes of entries written from 1773 (An’ei 2) to 1785 (Tenmei 5).\textsuperscript{197} After he took the tonsure in 1786, he changed the diary’s name to \textit{Shōkaku’s Diary (Shōkaku nikki松鶴日記)} and continued writing until his death in 1792 (Kansei 4). Records in his diary show that Nobutoki was a patron of Shunshō, Shigemasa, and Shiseki’s works.\textsuperscript{198}

Nobutoki’s diary entries indicate that he was familiar with the works by the three painters, sometimes receiving them as gifts, or purchasing them himself. One of his earliest entries, in the first month of 1773 (An’ei 2), shows that he received a foldable pocket calendar and an illustrated book by Shigemasa from his book dealer.\textsuperscript{199} Then, on the thirteenth day of the first month of 1776 (An’ei 5), Nobutoki wrote that he received a copy of the \textit{The Mirror of}

\textsuperscript{196} Hofmann, \textit{Performing/Painting}, 62-63.  
\textsuperscript{198} I am indebted to Naitō Masato’s citations from Yanagisawa’s diaries, and I combine his findings with some of my own.  
\textsuperscript{199} 本屋新助、懐暦・絵本・絵戸二色紅絵を進む. Yanagisawa, \textit{Enyū nikki}, 1.
Beautiful Women of the Green Houses, Compared, the illustrated book by Shunshō and Shigemasa that displayed courtesans from different brothels in Yoshiwara. Nobutoki was a frequent visitor of the pleasure quarters, often arranging his visits through the Yoshiwara teahouse, Shirotamaya. As Julie Davis has revealed, the luxurious picture book was gifted to patrons of the pleasure quarters, so it is likely that Nobutoki’s diary entry was referring to such an occasion. Being a kabuki enthusiast, he was also familiar with Shunshō’s actor prints. Another diary entry mentioned him receiving an illustrated book by Shunshō that featured pictures of actors offstage in 1781 (Tenmei 1). In the same entry dated to the third day of the first month, he recorded that he received an auspicious picture from Shiseki. This was not the first time that Nobutoki received such images from Shiseki; the painter had sent him celebratory paintings since 1774 (An’ei 2). The dates of these records suggest that Nobutoki probably received the paintings as New Year’s gifts. In another entry of the same month, he also received a surimono from Sogai, Shigemasa’s teacher. As mentioned earlier, surimono were frequently gifted during the New Year’s, so Sogai’s token could likely have been a gift for such an occasion. In other instances, he received haikai compilations, including the Haikai yobukodori that was illustrated by Shunshō and the Haikai shi no oku by Shigemasa.

---

200 Yanagisawa, Enyū nikki, 185; cited in Naitō, Ukiyo-e saihakken, 131.
201 Davis cites Nobutoki’s diary entries compiled by Hanasaki Kazuo in Hanasaki Kazuo, Yanagisawa Nobutoki nikki oboegaki (Tokyo: Miki Shobō, 1991), 150-159. See Davis, Partners in Print, 103.
202 Ibid., 102-103.
203 Yanagisawa, Enyū nikki, 531; cited in Naitō, Ukiyo-e saihakken, 131.
204 紫石より吉書の画賛ふ. Ibid.
205 紫石より吉書画「玉堂梅花大黒」賛ふ. Ibid., 57.
Nobutoki’s diaries also record his commissions of paintings from Shunshō and Shigemasa. In 1787 (Tenmei 7), Nobutoki noted that Shigemasa’s four-fold screen featuring autumn grass and deer was completed and had arrived.\textsuperscript{207} Right after that, in the same entry, he mentioned that Shunshō’s two-panel screen of Mount Fuji was also completed.\textsuperscript{208} He also ordered from Shunshō a screen of \textit{Water Fowl and Reeds}, which was finished and delivered in the eleventh month of 1789 (Kansei 1).\textsuperscript{209} These entries demonstrate that Nobutoki admired Shunshō and Shigemasa’s works and was an active patron of their paintings.

Shunshō’s familiarity with Nobutoki is further strengthened by the former’s painting \textit{ Beauties Admiring Paintings}, which depicted Nobutoki’s retirement villa, Somei Sanzō, currently known as the Rikugien, in Tokyo (fig. 95).\textsuperscript{210} Naitō Masato’s comparisons of the garden layout today with historical depictions confirm that Shunshō modeled the landscape in his painting after Nobutoki’s villa. In his scroll, Shunshō paints several women looking at Kano Tan’yū’s hanging scrolls of crane, bamboo, and Jurōjin. A close-up view of these paintings in the painting reveals Tan’yū’s signature and seals. As Naitō has pointed out, paintings like these that were made by Kano painters, actually existed in Nobutoki’s collection, so Shunshō’s reference to them in his painting might be a way of indicating his close ties to this patron.

Nobutoki was an avid consumer of prints and paintings, using them for his own appreciation as well as for gifting to others. As he was a kabuki enthusiast, attending the theater

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[207]{花藍より四本ふすま秋野鹿の画出来へ、来る。Yanagisawa, \textit{Shōkaku niki}, vol. 4, 587; cited in Naitō, \textit{Ukiyo-e saihakken}, 138.}
\footnotetext[210]{Naitō, \textit{Ukiyo-e saihakken}, 139-155.}
\end{footnotes}
as many as 119 times between 1773-1785, he frequently bought actor prints.\textsuperscript{211} In a diary entry from 1774 (An’ei 3), Nobutoki wrote that he bought a print of the actor Ichikawa Yaozō (1747-1819) in commemoration of the actor’s face-showing (kao-mise) performance when he was at Sensōji.\textsuperscript{212} In another entry of the following year, 1775, he wrote again that he bought a likeness picture (nigao-e) of the actor Nakamura Nakazō (1736-1790).\textsuperscript{213} Nobutoki gifted many of the prints he bought to others. A diary entry in the first month of 1774 showed that he bestowed a three-volume pink and green colored picture (beni-e) to a high-ranking person.\textsuperscript{214} He also presented other people with paintings: Nobutoki presented a Sō Shiseki screen painting to an unnamed person who triumphed at the shell-matching (kai-awase) game.\textsuperscript{215}

From these examples of Nobutoki’s commissioning and gifting activities gleaned from his diaries, I argue that he is the type of patron that could have commissioned these collaborative paintings. I have discussed how the elite commissioned auspicious paintings of the Lucky Gods for festive and commemorative occasions, and also how they collected and appreciated paintings of beauties, so a combination of the two subjects on a single painting would have appealed to them. Next, I turn to discussing venues that connected these high-ranking patrons with painters, convivial gatherings that could have inspired the conceptualization and commissioning of auspicious paintings by multiple brushes.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{211} Ibid., 136.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{212} Yanagisawa, Enyū nikki, 110.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{213} Ibid., 165.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{214} Ibid., 58.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{215} Yanagisawa, Shōkaku nikki, vol. 1, 520-521.}
\end{footnotes
Poetry Networks and Painting Together

*Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* and *Fukurokuju with Two Beauties* have no inscriptions or accompanying records that indicate the identity of their patrons, but the collaborative nature of both paintings suggests that they may have been conceived of in social spheres where painters, writers, and potential patrons interacted. In the Meiwa and An’ei eras (1764-1780), the popularity of *haikai* and *kyōka* led to the rise of different poetry circles where participants met to exchange verses. These poetry circles created spaces for people of different backgrounds and occupations to interact.216 This did not mean, however, that participants were free to mingle as equals. When in the company of noblemen, courtiers, and high-ranking samurai, others of lower rank, such as merchants and painters, still had to observe the proper protocol and decorum by addressing and treating those of higher standing as befit their status.217 Social and economic inequality dictated the process of picture making. In other words, painters did not produce images independently, but they did so at the request and demand of patrons who wanted to visualize their ideas. Poetry gatherings provided one venue for the two parties to meet.

Images played an important role in poetry circles, sometimes serving as the catalyst for verse composition and other times accompanying selected poetry compilations. *Kyōka*, a verse form that emerged from traditional *waka* poetry, gained currency among samurai and merchants

---


in Edo in the mid-eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{218} Kyōka poets delighted in using allusive techniques and ‘pivot words’ (kakekotoba) to integrate classical references with subjects of contemporary life. They often treated classical topics with common language, or viewed mundane things from a classical perspective. Kyōka groups often held competitions known as kyōka awase, where poets competed on their verses. Sometimes, a painter would be asked to execute an image and those present would compose verses on the image.\textsuperscript{219} At these events, once the winning verses were selected, they would be sent to the publishers to be made into kyōka books or deluxe prints known as surimono. The publishers or writers would then have to contract print designers for the illustrations and calligraphers to inscribe the verses. In the production of the kyōka book Treasury of Kyōka of the East (Azumaburi kyōka bunko吾妻曲狂歌文庫, 1782), for instance, Kitao Masanobu (Santō Kyōden) designed the illustrations, Ōta Nanpo brushed the calligraphy, Yadoya no Meshimori (1753-1830), who was the actor Ichikawa Danjūrō VII, wrote the foreword, and the publisher, Tsutaya Jūzaburō coordinated the entire project.\textsuperscript{220} Many collaborative endeavors in these poetry circles occurred during special occasions. The production of surimono, for example, often happened during New Year’s, as these deluxe prints were used for exchanging New Year’s greetings.\textsuperscript{221}

Pictures of the Lucky Gods appear in abundance in kyōka books and surimono, particularly during New Year’s and other celebratory occasions. An illustration in the kyōka book, *Colors of Spring* (Haru no iro春の色, 1794), shows a courtesan observing a game of go between Jurōjin and Fukurojuku (fig. 96). Three separate hands created the illustration: Kubo Shunman (1757-1827) depicted the courtesan, Suzuki Rinsho (1732-1803), Jurōjin, and Tsutsumi Torin (fl. 1780-1820), Fukurokuju. Like the collaborative paintings that juxtapose Fukurokuju with the two women, this collaborative print combines three distinct print designers on a single page. Shunman was an ukiyo-e painter and print designer who trained with Shigemasa, whereas Rinsho was a follower of Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1754), an expert of genre scenes. Torin was a descendant of the Tsusumi workshop and a frequent contributor to kyōka compilations. Rinsho depicted Jurōjin as a bearded old scholar accompanied by a crane, while Torin illustrated Fukurokuju with a bald, protruding forehead and a turtle by his side. Both figures are pictured in monochrome. In contrast, Shunman used red, green, and yellow to accentuate the courtesan, differentiating her from the two deities. Viewed within the context of a kyōka compilation that included one hundred and eighty-one poems and seven color illustrations that conjoined the efforts of poets, print designers, calligraphers, and publishers, this joint work between three designers can be considered as a microcosm of a larger collaborative endeavor. Collaborative pictures of the Lucky Gods indicate that the idea for assigning different subjects to distinct designers or painters might have originated from poetry gatherings.

There were many other instances where patrons gathered painters to paint together on auspicious occasions, and the resulting works would then be gifted to others. Paintings that combined calligraphy and small, monochrome images in ink were particularly popular, as they could be executed quickly. Leading daimyo, merchants, and publishers would often organize
special events and invite their coterie of painters and calligraphers. On the occasion of a farewell party for the sake brewer, Kimura Kenkadō, the daimyo Masuyama Sessai (1754-1819) invited painters including Sō Shiseki to commemorate the event.222 Pictures of auspicious subjects appeared frequently on these festive occasions. One such painting featured the brushes of Maruyama Ōkyō; the literati painter, Yosa Buson (1716-1784); a court painter, Tosa Mitsusada (1738-1806); and a Kano-affiliated painter, Yoshida Genchin (fig. 97).223

The tradition to paint together on commemorative occasions might have originated within literati painting circles, but it spread to other poetry and painting networks. As we saw earlier, kyōka groups consistently produced collaborative works in the form of kyōka books and surimono. The participants in these groups also created many joint paintings that combined calligraphy and images. On one unspecified occasion, for instance, fourteen contributors, including Kitagawa Utamaro II (d. 1831), Ōta Nanpo, and Santō Kyōden, worked together to produce a scroll with kyōka and small paintings of maple leaves and white camellia (fig. 98).224 Another scroll combined Kubo Shunman’s painting of a courtesan with seven kyōka poems by different people (fig. 99). This pairing of a courtesan with verses suggests that ukiyo-e subjects, too, became objects of commemoration.

I believe that, based on their subject, collaborative paintings such as Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha and Fukurokuju with Two Beauties were likewise produced for celebratory occasions, but unlike the previously described joint works that paired verse and image, these paintings were not products that were spontaneously executed during a gathering. As I described earlier, the materials that were used for these paintings and their detailed

222 Hofmann, Performing/Painting, 81-82.
223 Ibid., 91-92.
brushwork indicate that they were commissioned works that took much time to produce. The inspiration to create such paintings, however, likely emerged from poetry gatherings, where the painters had the opportunity to meet potential patrons.

Several painters who worked on our collaborative paintings, Koryūsai, Shunshō, and Shigemasa, were active participants in poetry groups, which provided them entry into a wide network of patrons. All three were members of the Edo Za Haikai, along with other print designers and painters, including Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814) and Toriyama Sekien (1712-88). Shigemasa was the student of Sogai, the leader of a sub-branch of the Edo Za Haikai known as the Edo Danrin Haikai group. As Sogai’s student, he contributed many verses and illustrations to Sogai’s annual publications of the *New Year’s Album.* Shunshō was also a member of the same group, and like Shigemasa, he was a frequent contributor to Sogai’s compilations. Koryūsai, too, illustrated *haikai* group members’ *New Year’s Albums.* In a 1774 (An’ei 3) *New Year’s Album*, published by Hakkabō Shinse, also a member of the Edo Za Haikai, Shunshō, Utagawa, Shunsui, and Sekien were among those listed as being verse contributors, while a Kano painter provided the illustrations. Such examples demonstrate that *haikai* groups attracted many participants from different backgrounds.

---

225 The Edo Za Haikai was an organization that was founded by different *haikai* leaders drawing on the lineage of Matsuo Bashō. This organization branched off into many smaller sub-groups over time. See Katō Sadahiko, *Haikai no kinseishi* (Tokyo: Wakakusa Shobō, 1998), 322-327.


228 Katō, *Haikai no kinseishi*, 375.

In the *haikai* anthology *A Ryō of Verses*, the compiler, Gyokushuan Senran, contracted Shunshō, Shigemasa, and Koryūsai for the illustrations. Senran was actually Nanbu Toshimasa (1752-1784), daimyo of the Mutsu Morioka domain, and a *haikai* enthusiast who produced annual publications of *haikai* anthologies. Also a member of the Edo Za Haikai, he probably met the three painters through the poetry network. He requested illustrations from the three painters for his annual publication of *A Ryō of Verses* of 1780 (An’ei 8) and 1784 (Tenmei 3).\(^{230}\) His continuous patronage of the three suggests that he had great appreciation for their work.

For patrons who commissioned and collected paintings, the subject and execution of the painting were important, but the painter who brushed the work was equally significant. We have just seen that in *haikai* anthologies, publishers and poets often asked their favorite painters to contribute illustrations to annual editions. In the same way, patrons would occasionally ask painters to participate in independent painting projects, especially in commemoration of special occasions. To celebrate the success of a recent publication, for example, the publisher Nishimura Yohachi invited the leading *ukiyo-e* painters of the day to paint him a picture of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune for the New Year. The resulting painting features the brushes of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815), Katsukawa Shun’ei (1762-1819), and four painters from the Utagawa workshop (fig. 100). An inscription on the painting by Santō Kyōden reads “At the request of Master Eijūdo (Nishimura Yohachi), on a single scroll, up to seven treasures are gathered, Edo’s famous brushes,” demonstrating how the painters themselves were considered as prized treasures.\(^{231}\) This collaborative painting, like the previous Fukurokuju examples, lined up painters from different workshops and shows them each depicting a single

---

\(^{230}\) Ibid., 320-321.

\(^{231}\) 一幅に千両箱を七つまでよく集まりし江戸の名筆. I re-translated the inscription, based on the version in Jenkins et. al., *The Floating World Revisited*, 175-176.
figure within the painting. For example, Hokusai painted Hotei, Shun’ei, Fukurokuju, Toyoharu, Jurōjin, and so forth. This coordinated effort, with its similar subject of Lucky Gods, might have drawn from earlier precedents, like the Fukurokuju collaborations examined in this chapter.

In this chapter, I have shown that pictures of the Three Stars and images of the Lucky Gods became a versatile theme for auspicious occasions, inspiring numerous interpretations. The collaborative paintings, in their composition and symbolism, evoke Three Star paintings that originated from China, but at the same time, they could also be considered pictures of a Lucky God with two beauties. The multivalent meanings of these paintings undoubtedly added to the appreciation of a discerning audience.

Representing felicitous tidings and good fortune, paintings of this theme were widely circulated. My examination of their materials and reverse engineering of their execution process revealed that these were luxurious objects that could have only been afforded by a wealthy and powerful patron. Masterful juxtapositions of monochromatic brushwork with intricate polychromatic designs, these works exhibited distinct painting modes and techniques, suggesting that they were intended for an erudite viewer. The distinct signatures and seals of each painter in Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha and Fukurokuju with Two Beauties, moreover, indicate that the painters, too, were valuable entities that became items of display. Indeed, the assembly of famous painters on the same scroll demonstrates a recognition of painting identities, and a desire of the patron to collect leading painters. The many daimyo who enjoyed paintings of the floating world, and served as connoisseurs of different painting traditions, represented the most likely patrons of such works.

Poetry networks played an important role in facilitating collaborations between writers, publishers, and painters, creating opportunities for those in the picture-making world to meet
potential patrons. In the same way that different illustrators and designers were gathered for the production of a deluxe surimono, or a luxurious poetry anthology, multiple painters could have been employed for an elaborate painting.
Chapter 3. Lineage Perpetuation through Collaborations

*Enma and His Mirror*, by Kō Sūkoku and Katsukawa Shunshō, transforms the ancient iconography of a King of the Underworld, changing this judge of the dead into a connoisseur of beautiful women and, at the same time, creating a subject perfectly suited to the practice of collaboration between painters (fig. 1). Shunshō and Sūkoku’s scroll, which dates to the Tenmei era (1781-1789), isolates Enma in a space void of furnishings except for the dais on which he stands and his mirror. Enma’s figure, painted by Sūkoku, looms so large that it is partially cropped by the edge of the painting, his mirror prominently positioned at the center of the scroll. Enma’s gaze directs viewers to the tranquil scene within the mirror, executed by Shunshō, where a young maiden stands with a writing brush in hand, accompanied by her young attendant. In contrast to Enma’s red face and bulging eyes, the women’s features are delicate and demure. A few decades later, in 1830, Hanabusa Ikkei and Utagawa Kunisada collaborated to reproduce two versions of Shunshō and Sūkoku’s painting with slight alterations. Whereas Ikkei faithfully copied Sūkoku’s Enma, Kunisada transformed the image in Enma’s mirror, presenting different images of women (figs. 2 and 3). The visual juxtaposition of deity with maidens was not uncommon in early modern Japan, but unusual was the collaborative process of these paintings.

This chapter traces the transformation of Enma from religious icon in the tenth century to parodic figure in the eighteenth century, when at the same time, it offered a subject well suited to painterly collaboration.\(^{232}\) In the eighteenth century, the underworld and Enma were a rich source

\(^{232}\) I have previously discussed the transformation of Enma from sacred to satirical figure in a conference paper presented at the Graduate Student Symposium for East Asian Art at Princeton University on March 1, 2014. I have also addressed the function of Enma’s mirror as a framing device at the Frames and Framing in a Transdisciplinary Perspective Symposium at Gakushuin University, Tokyo on March 8, 2015.
for writers; for painters, the compositional layout that separated Enma from the space within his mirror provided opportunities for collaborative innovation. I argue that painters like Sūkoku and Shunshō created a visual dialogue in their Enma scroll to express their connection to each other: they were, as I will explain below, teacher and student, heading different and very distinctive workshops.

The rich afterlife of Shunshō and Sūkoku’s painting provides a basis for understanding how painters could re-purpose an earlier work to perpetuate their own lineages and legacies. Except for the scenes within the mirror, which Kunisada painted, Ikkei faithfully imitated the composition, brushstrokes, and colors of Sūkoku’s Enma figure. Ikkei was Kunisada’s teacher, therefore, their collaborative paintings, like Shunshō and Sūkoku’s joint work, represent visual displays enacted by teacher and student. Moreover, Ikkei was also Sūkoku’s student. I hypothesize that by retaining the same composition as the previous painters, Ikkei and Kunisada are in fact drawing a connection to their predecessors and developing a continuity that sought to preserve their lineage. Collaboration, as I will argue, was an important tool for lineage construction, and a device that enabled painters to have multiple painting identities. It reveals, too, how painters conceived of painting modes and traditions, and their regard for certain lineages versus others.

**Enma and the Underworld**

Visual representations of Enma and his mirror had long been produced in diverse formats for ritual use.¹²³ Enma originated in India as an underworld deity and was absorbed into the

---

Buddhist pantheon as a heavenly deity known as Yamaten. Belief in Enma spread to China and inspired numerous interpretations. Besides being worshipped individually, he was also integrated into the Ten Kings of Hell pantheon, as recorded in the Scripture of the Ten Kings (Jūō kyō, 十王経). Illustrated versions of tenth-century Ten King scriptures discovered in the Dunhuang cave complex show each of the ten kings seated behind a desk, surrounded by attendants and deceased individuals. In one section of these scrolls, for instance, Enma wears a Chinese headdress appropriate for a ruler and sits behind a desk with a scroll in front of him. A man stands in front of Enma’s mirror, which is mounted on a vertical stand (fig. 101). According to the scriptures, the deceased was thought to pass after death through the courts of the ten kings, and there they were judged on the deeds of their past lives. The scriptures also describe Enma’s mirror as a magical device that reflects the sins of the dead. When the deceased are brought before Enma, they are forced to confront the sins of their past lives in front of the mirror. According to Stephen Teiser’s translation of the scripture on the Dunhuang illustration, “Yama rāja puts an end to sounds of dispute, But in their hearts sinners are resentful and unwilling. With their hair yanked and their heads pulled up to look in the mirror of actions, They begin to know that affairs from previous lives are rendered distinct and clear.” In the Dunhuang scene, the mirror shows that the man has committed the crime of animal slaughter during his lifetime.

Images of Enma entered Japan as early as the ninth century in the form of Esoteric Buddhist mandala, initiating production in Japan. In these pictures, Enma appears in a

235 Ibid., 213-214.
bodhisattva-like form, with a halo around his head. For example, a devotional hanging scroll from the Heian period that draws on these *mandala* depictions shows Enma as a heavenly being in translucent, flowing robes, seated on a water buffalo. He holds a staff with a human head mounted on top known as a *dandatō* (fig. 102). This painting and others like it that belonged within the Enma-ten *mandala* iconography established Enma as a benevolent figure who granted benefits and long life to worshippers.\(^\text{237}\)

Enma’s appearance in three-dimensional form in temples that were dedicated to his worship demonstrated his veneration as an independent deity. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, two imperial figures ordered the construction of Enma Halls for the worship of the deity. Architectural records of one of these buildings indicate that they housed sculptures of Enma that were surrounded by paintings of hell.\(^\text{238}\) The sculpture’s face was carved with a fierce expression and painted red. The patrons of these buildings, while fearing Enma as a stern judge of the underworld, also believed that they could accumulate merit by constructing the buildings and ultimately acquire worldly benefits from the deity. As Miriam Chusid has argued, Enma devotees saw no contradiction in his dual role as judge and benevolent deity.\(^\text{239}\)

In the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, Chinese images of Enma that drew on the cult of the Ten Kings made their way to Japan. One such export was the *Ten Kings of Hell*, by the Chinese painter, Jin Chushi, of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) (fig. 103). Here, Enma is enthroned in a lavishly decorated court, seated in front of an ink landscape. He is dressed in elaborate robes and

\(^{237}\) As Miriam Chusid described in her dissertation, Enma played multiple roles in medieval Buddhist teachings. He functioned not only as a judge of the deceased, but also a benevolent deity who granted worldly benefits and ended suffering. See Miriam Chusid, “Picturing the Afterlife: The Shōjuraigōji Six Paths Scrolls and Salvation in Medieval Japan” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2016), 101-105.

\(^{238}\) Ibid., Appendix C.

\(^{239}\) Ibid., 108.
a heavily ornamented crown. In front of his desk, a demon attendant drags a victim to his mirror, which shows a warrior killing a monk. These Chinese depictions of the Ten Kings served as a pictorial source for many Japanese paintings. In a fifteenth-century scroll from Jōfukuji, the portrayal of Enma and his court is very similar to the Jin Chushi painting (fig. 104). Here too, Enma is seated behind his desk, dressed in Chinese robes, and framed by an ink landscape. As in the Song painting, the mirror shows a warrior on a boat, dragging a man. In the Jōfukuji scroll, however, the painter has added the bodhisattva Jizō at the top of the painting.

Jizō originated in India and developed his own following in China by the Tang dynasty (618-807). His efficacy as a savior and stories of his past lives had been known in Japan since the Nara period. His role as an intermediary became more significant in the tenth century, with tales describing his willingness to descend to hell and negotiate with Enma on behalf of victims. Some texts also mention Enma as a manifestation of Jizō. Such references suggest that Enma occupied many roles in the religious realm and became a figure of great veneration in medieval Japan.

241 The Shilun jing (Jūrin kyō) that was translated from Sanskrit to Chinese during the Tang dynasty emphasized Jizō’s qualities as a savior, while the Dizang pusa benyuan jing (Jizō bosatsu hongan kyō) described his diverse manifestations. See Hirasawa, “The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom,” 19.
In the eighteenth century, hell imagery proliferated and circulated widely not only within temples but also at festivals and marketplaces in both text and image. Wandering nuns spread images of hell to the populace in the form of picture narrations (etoki).\(^{244}\) At the same time, devices such as the nozoki karakuri, boxes with painted scenes, allowed the public to view scenes of hell and to be informed about the afterlife.\(^{245}\) Even board games that polarized hell and the Buddhist Pure Land emerged in this period. The rapid development of print culture also played an important role in disseminating hell imagery to the masses, in the form of illustrated and printed books. The Scriptures of the Ten Kings, for instance, became available to a wide audience that soon became literate in the iconographies of hell.\(^{246}\) The ubiquity of images of hell and Enma created an environment that was ripe for parody and satire, which depended on shared knowledge to be effective. In other words, for an audience to understand the parodies of Enma and the underworld, and to grasp the intended humor, they needed first to be familiar with its textual and pictorial traditions. It is within this climate that Shunshō and Sūkoku created their painting of Enma and his mirror (fig. 1).

Shunshō and Sūkoku’s painting demonstrates a new understanding of Enma, following some earlier conventions but veering dramatically from others. On the one hand, Sūkoku drew on countless medieval precedents to create his version of Enma. Referring to the many depictions of the deity in sculptural and painted form from temple collections, Sūkoku painted him in Chinese robes with a red face and fierce expression. However, rather than surrounding the


deity with court furnishings and a host of attendants, Sūkoku isolated him in an empty space, leaving him only with his mirror. Instead of being at a distance from his mirror, Enma stands directly behind it, and clutches its top while peering into it. The mirror itself is large and positioned prominently in the center of the painting. Whereas the mirrors in ritual paintings reflected scenes of killing, here the mirror shows a young woman with her writing brush and a sheaf of papers, looking down at her attendant, who holds her writing box with ink stone. In contrast to Enma’s animated appearance, the woman looks calm and composed.

This incongruous pairing of Enma with young women corresponds to a trend in the mid-to late-eighteenth century for combining hell with the actual world. This was a period in which Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788) was in control of the Tokugawa government. He filled administrative positions with people who owed him favors, and his regime was characterized by rampant corruption. Early records of Enma’s henchmen receiving bribes demonstrate that the underworld judicial system was in no way perfect, so one can imagine that such tales might have inspired Edo period authors to use Enma and his court as an analogy for the Tokugawa government. In 1763 (Hōreki 13), Hiraga Gennai published *Rootless Weeds* (*Nenashigusa* 根無草), a satirical tale that appropriated Enma and his underworld setting to critique the real world. Based on an actual event and a scandal—the drowning of kabuki actor, Ogino Yaegiri II (1726-1763) and the homoerotic obsession of the Shibata domain daimyo with an actor—Gennai constructed a tale that conflated the underworld and actual world. The writer set his tale in an underworld that he modeled after a rapidly urbanizing Edo. Describing a cityscape that was rife

with all manner of commerce and entrepreneurial endeavors, and where underworld citizens bribed officials to gain the best concessions, Gennai drew a parallel between hell and the hierarchical and corrupt Edo government. According to Gennai, a priest who had pined to death over the Kabuki actor, Segawa Rokō II (1741-1773), was brought to Enma. After seeing the portrait of the actor, Enma fell in love and demanded the youth. A water sprite (kappa) offered to drown the targeted actor during his boating excursion. However, the sprite ended up confessing his task to Rokō, and the latter’s friend, Yaegiri, sacrificed himself in place of Rokō by jumping into the river. Dissatisfied with Yaegiri, Enma himself went in search of Rokō in Edo, but he was defeated by the actor, Ichikawa Raizō (1724-1767). Gennai’s tale emphasized the similarities between Edo and the underworld, likening Enma to the daimyo who was obsessed with the actor.

With the popularity of Gennai’s tale, other writers, too, saw the opportunity to draw on Enma and his underworld as subject for parody. In a form of popular fiction known as kibyōshi, writers found a salient outlet for political satire. Unlike Gennai’s three-volume novel that had only a few illustrations interspersed within the text, the kibyōshi featured images on every page and the textual narration wound its way around the pictures, creating an integrated reading and viewing experience. Many kibyōshi titles featured Enma and the underworld. In the 1778 (An’ei 7) publication, Demon’s Plans (Oni no shikogusa 鬼の趣向草), a page shows hell in a


251 Adam Kern has argued that the layout of text and image in a cluttered fashion deliberately challenged the conventional procedures of reading and was designed to defy hierarchical structures. See Kern, Manga from the Floating World, 74.
state of recession (fig. 105). With no sinners in court, Enma sits at his desk, tweezing his nose hairs, while his demon attendants loiter on the ground, playing cards. Here, the underworld is portrayed as a neglected space and its officials, lazy and bored.

From the 1780s, the writer and painter, Santō Kyōden, produced at least ten kibyōshi that included Enma and hell imagery.252 In Unsavorily Mismatched Jiffy Shanks (Fuanbai sokuseki ryōri 不案配即席料理, 1784), Kyōden illustrated Enma in his customary position behind a desk (fig. 106). However, instead of picturing his mirror on a tall stand, which was the convention in votive pictures of the deity, Kyōden depicted a hand mirror on a lacquer stand. He described in the text that Enma was in love with the courtesan, Takao, whom he pictured prostrated in front of the hand mirror.253 By illustrating Enma’s mirror as an object of quotidian life, commonly found in a woman’s boudoir, Kyōden alluded to Takao’s life in the pleasure quarters and implied that Enma was familiar with such an environment. As Gennai did before him, Kyōden reduced Enma to a weak man who succumbed to earthly desires.

The illustrations that accompanied text in the kibyōshi not only echoed the writings, but often enhanced the stories by providing additional layers of reference. In Tales of Strange Matters in Nakazu (Kiji mo Nakazuwa 奇事中洲話, 1789), Kyōden playfully linked the unlicensed brothel area of Nakazu to the underworld.254 Closed by the Edo government in the late eighteenth century, Nakazu was sometimes referred to as a “hell” because of the disreputable

252 For a study of Enma and the hell imagery in Kyōden’s kibyōshi, see Ester Glass Gissis, “The Artistic and Metaphorical Role of Mirrors in Ukiyo-e Prints” (PhD diss., Gakushuin University, 2011), 113-140.
prostitutes who lived there.\textsuperscript{255} Built on reclaimed land, Nakazu was often pictured as a lively place, with rows of teahouses on an embankment facing the river. In this \textit{kibyōshi}, the illustrator Kitao Masayoshi (1764-1824) depicted Enma with a rectangular mirror on a stand, and in the mirror, the recognizable landscape of Nakazu (fig. 107). According to the text, Enma was raised in the Edo district of Kuramae, a lively place with strange happenings that occasionally made an appearance in popular literature. It goes on to say that Enma’s mirror sometimes reflected the landscape of Nakazu, “like a brocaded printed fan.”\textsuperscript{256} Both text and image mix underworld and actual world references. Enma, whose origins are now cited as Edo, is identified as a constant figure in popular literature. His mirror refers to an earthly hell. Even the shape of the mirror resembles that of a printed fan, as described in the text. A \textit{tanuki} (“raccoon dog”) dressed as a samurai kneels in front of Enma, telling him about the recent arrival of a young courtesan to the underworld. When the girl is brought to Enma, she laments the fate of Nakazu, which once had the support of Enma, but became a dwelling for lower-class prostitutes. Describing Enma’s patronage of Nakazu through the voice of the young courtesan, Kyōden exposed Enma’s interest in the pleasure quarters and his partiality to womanly charms.

In 1794 (Kansei 6), Kyōden produced \textit{Young Sprouts from a Brush of Rootless Weeds} (\textit{Nenashigusa fude no wakabae} 根無草筆苲), an adaptation of Gennai’s earlier work examined above, demonstrating that popular themes were constantly kept alive through reinterpretations.\textsuperscript{257} One two-page spread in the book pictures Enma sitting at his desk looking at a nine-tailed fox lying face down in front of his mirror (fig. 108). Here, instead of scenes of killing, Enma’s

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnotetext[255]{Timothy Clark, “The Rise and Fall of the Island of Nakazu,” \textit{Archives of Asian Art} 45, (1992): 80.}
\footnotetext[256]{錦絵の団扇のごとし. Transcribed in Kyōden, \textit{Kiji mo nakazuwa}, 49.}
\end{footnotesize}
mirror reflects a standing woman with a fan. The woman is Tamamo no Mae, a character from a twelfth-century classical tale, and in fact a fox that disguised itself as a young maiden and seduced the emperor. According to Kyōden, the fox had lived for a thousand years and had deceived so many people that it finally plummeted into hell. Here, Enma’s mirror reflects the true nature of the beautiful temptress as devious fox.

Unlike the illustrations in *kibyōshi*, Shunshō and Sūkoku’s *Enma and His Mirror* contains no accompanying text other than the painters’ signatures. Moreover, other than the mirror and its pedestal, there are no furnishings to indicate where Enma is. Compared to images that indicate Enma’s importance through elaborate attire and surroundings, Sūkoku’s Enma gains his authority through size, expression, and movement. By enlarging Enma to the extent that he slips beyond the borders of the scroll, Sūkoku magnified the deity’s presence. In the previously discussed Ten King paintings where Enma was a judge of the deceased, his mirror reflected scenes of killing, while in the *kibyōshi*, the mirror presented the ills of contemporary society.

In this painting, however, the mirror’s reflected contents are ambiguous: who the women are, and where they are located, is unclear. Moreover, to my knowledge, no other depictions of Enma, neither in *kibyōshi* nor in earlier paintings, show him having any physical contact with the mirror. Here, hand on mirror, he appears to be directing the viewer’s gaze towards the women, as if introducing them. By prioritizing Enma’s face and gestures, rather than his robes, Sūkoku effectively channels the viewer’s gaze to the deity, transforming him into a connoisseur of women who invites all to peruse the lovely maidens in his mirror.

---

259 As Gissis has argued, Enma’s mirror in Kyōden’s *kibyōshi* reflected bad deeds and forced sinners to recognize their immorality. Gissis, “The Artistic and Metaphorical,” 139.
To date, I have only found one other depiction of Enma that approximates Sūkoku and Shunshō’s painting in composition and content. Koryūsai’s *A Miscellany of Yamato Pictures in Cursive* that likely preceded the collaborative painting includes an illustration of Enma that, like the collaborative painting, isolates Enma with his mirror (fig. 109). In the double-page illustration, Koryūsai fills the entire right page with the upper half of Enma’s figure, emphasizing the deity’s face. Enma’s eyes are directed to the opposite page, where his mirror is positioned. The oval mirror, situated on the left page, shows a courtesan with an umbrella, who has slipped and fallen to the ground, losing a slipper in the process. The deity, whose hand is raised behind the mirror, has his mouth open in a large grin, as if he were enjoying the courtesan’s misfortune. Koryūsai’s depiction of the courtesan’s exposed calves, however, was no accident. The scene is a double entendre, on one hand, inciting humor, and on the other, provoking desire.

As Shunshō and Sūkoku were both painters who produced images of contemporary life in Edo, their collaborative painting must be contextualized within a cultural milieu that was defined by diverse exchanges among the literary, entertainment, and picture-making worlds. Since images played a central role in the *kibyōshi*, writers often worked closely with illustrators. Producing rough sketches of what he envisioned, the writer would then pass the draft to the illustrator to finish. 260 Although the writer was responsible for the text and to a certain extent the illustrations, the production of a *kibyōshi* involved many others. Writers, illustrators, and publishers often met to discuss potential ideas for publication. 261 An illustration in Hoseido Kisanji’s (1735-1813) *Kisanjin: The Monster of the House (Kisanjin ie no bakemono)* 龜山人家妖, 1787), indeed, shows the publisher Tsutaya Jūzaburō paying a new year’s visit to Kisanji to

---

260 Authors sketched and added notes in draft-manuscripts *sōkōbon*, including their instructions to illustrators. See Kern, *Manga from the Floating World*, 66.
discuss the theme for the following year’s kibyōshi production (fig. 110). Such occurrences demonstrate that ideas did not emerge independently from a single person, but rather were produced collectively. As a print designer who frequently illustrated books for publishers and writers, Shunshō was well versed in contemporary literary subjects. Sūkoku, too, as a painter of genre scenes, was undoubtedly familiar with the popular motifs of the day. Therefore, it is conceivable that the two painters participated in contemporary trends to parody Enma, adding new meanings to an iconic figure.

Rather than a device that reflects, the mirror in this painting acts like a picture frame for the display of beautiful women. In the Edo period, pictures of beauties, bijinga, were ubiquitous. Women of the pleasure quarters were particularly popular as pictorial subjects and they were portrayed in the latest fashions and hairstyles. Among these pictures, there were many images of women in mirrors, but these mainly showed women grooming themselves. For example, in a Shunshō painting of a standing courtesan, the woman has her back to the viewer, but she holds a hand-mirror that reflects and magnifies her face (fig. 111). The mirror occupies only a small part of the painting, but affords the viewer a surreptitious glimpse of the woman’s face. Privileging the mirror, Kitagawa Utamaro often enlarged it to cover almost the entire surface of a print, as in one entitled, Naniwa Okita Admiring herself in a Mirror (circa 1790-95) (fig. 112). A woman leans into the mirror, which offers a detailed depiction of her back and coiffure. The viewer of the print would thus peep over her shoulder, treated to a close-up view of her reflected face. In another example, a surimono by Kubo Shunman, Chinese Woman Reflected in Mirror (1808), a still-life image of a mirror encircled by floral designs on a lacquer stand frames the image of a woman fixing her hair (fig. 113). Only the woman’s face and her upper torso are visible, and no

---

262 As I discussed in the previous chapter, Shunshō was a prolific producer of actor prints and he also contributed illustrations to numerous haikai anthologies, and erotic albums.
one is pictured looking into the mirror. Without the physical presence of someone outside the mirror, here the object appears almost as a decorative frame, but the image of the lady grooming herself still alludes to the function of the mirror. These examples, in painting and prints, display the image-makers’ representations of conventional mirrors as objects that reflect what appears in front of them. Seen as such, the mirror would of course only show parts of the women’s features and physiques, depending on its proximity to the woman.

The mirror in the collaborative painting, however, functions like a window into another world, revealing two full-figure women standing in a landscape (fig. 114). It is clear this is no ordinary object. Enma’s mirror remained, as it had long been, as iconic as the deity himself, recognized for its magical abilities to reflect moments in peoples’ lives. The idyllic scene that is pictured here thus surely represented an event in someone’s life rather than a reflection of that which was directly in front of the mirror. The pictured older woman has her hair intricately arranged with six hairpins and she wears her sash tied in the front, suggesting that she could be a high-ranking courtesan. An elaborately dressed young attendant accompanies her and holds her writing utensils. The scene is tranquil, but the identity of the woman suggests that the mirror could be alluding to indulgence in the pleasure quarters. Viewed as such, Enma’s presence could be considered a warning against the sin of earthly desires.

The mirror also acts as a frame that separates Enma and the two women. The two delineated spaces, that within the mirror and that outside of it, are quite different. The space pictured within is entirely filled with architecture and landscape, placing the two women in a familiar, real-world setting. The sliding door behind the women and the raised wooden platform they are standing on indicate that they are outside on a building’s verandah. The partially visible stone basin and green leaves in front suggest a garden. Outside the mirror, other than Enma,
whose figure extends beyond the confines of the scroll (as does the base of the mirror), the space is empty, bereft of anything that could indicate his location (fig. 115). This deliberate destabilizing of space and the absence of other contextualizing objects adds to the intrigue of the painting. By juxtaposing a full scene in the mirror with an empty one around it, the painters created an allusion of Enma looking at a painting. The absence of anyone looking into the mirror, and Shunshō’s signature inside the oval frame, enhance this effect. Viewed as such, Enma appears to be appreciating a painting of women, echoing the viewer’s own experience.

This painting, like popular literature, portrays Enma as a man fond of women, but unaccompanied by text, it allows for multiple interpretations. At the same time that Enma appears to be inviting viewers to indulge, he also serves as a reminder of the sinful nature of such activities. The absence of anyone portrayed in the painting looking into the mirror suggests that the person viewing the scroll could be confronting his own sins. Overindulgence in the pleasure quarters and its consequences often emerged in moralistic tales of the period. In Santō Kyōden’s *The Mirror of a Throughly Trendy Person’s Vanities* (*Kaitsū unubore kagami* 会通已恍惚照子, 1788), for instance, the protagonist, Denjirō, was given a magic mirror that allowed him to see the true nature of people within the pleasure quarters (fig. 116). Denjirō saw the negativity and falseness in people and how the pursuit of pleasure was folly.263 The viewer of Shunshō and Sūkoku’s painting could be undergoing the same experience as Denjirō. The viewer’s contradictory feelings—to indulge or to abstain—are echoed by Enma, who on one hand invites viewers to partake, but also serves as their conscience.

---

Teacher and Student Collaboration

The idea for juxtaposing Enma with courtesans might have resonated with popular literature, but Shunshō and Sükoku’s collaborative endeavor signaled, too, a connection between the two painters. Sükoku, who painted Enma and his mirror, was Shunshō’s teacher, so the painting was a joint work between teacher and student. However, the painters’ relationship is not immediately evident in this painting. Each painter’s signature and seal signaled that the two of them belonged to different lineages. Sükoku’s signature reads, “painted by Kō Sükoku 高嶋谷画,” while Shunshō’s is, “painted by Katsu Shunshō 勝春章画.” The phrasing indicated that the former belonged to the Kō lineage and the latter to the Katsukawa lineage. The eighteenth-century compilation of painters’ biographies, the Ukiyo-e ruikō, reveals that painters had many names during their lifetimes. Sükoku had multiple painting sobriquets that he used, including Toryūō (屠龍翁), Rakushisai (楽只斎), and Suiundō (翠雲堂).264 A painter’s name not only identified them as being part of a lineage, its usage could also signal specific occasions. For instance, Shunshō used various names throughout his life, such as Katsu-Miyagawa (勝宮川) and Ririn Shunshō (李林春章) when he signed his paintings and prints. In addition, he also had the haikai pseudonyms of Yūji (西爾) and Gifu (宣富), which he deployed for his haikai anthologies.265 Despite being Sükoku’s student, to my knowledge, Shunshō did not have a name associated with the Kō lineage, which raises questions of how these painters signaled their teacher and student relationship.

Unlike other joint works between teacher and student, Enma and His Mirror does not show any synthesis in subject or execution. Sükoku frequently worked with his students, painting

264 Yura, Sōkō nihon ukiyo-e ruikō, 126.
265 Ibid., 117.
on the same scroll. Unlike his collaboration with Shunshō, though, all painters involved in these joint efforts display the same brushwork across each entire composition. In *Fukurokuju with Children*, for example, Sükoku and his disciple, Kō Sükei (1762-1817), worked together to paint the lucky god, Fukurokuju, playing with four children (fig. 117). The seals on the painting indicate that Sükoku painted Fukurokuju and the two children to his left, while Sükei depicted the two children on his right. Both painters used short, angular brushstrokes to animate the figures. They applied only light colors to the painting, privileging instead their brushwork in ink. Shunshō and Sükoku’s painting, however, displays divergent techniques by each painter. Sükoku painted Enma in bold, dynamic brushstrokes to create the imposing form of the deity. Shunshō, in contrast, used delicate, pencil-thin lines and light ink washes to depict his women, imbuing the figures with a sense of softness. The *Ukiyo-e ruikō* stated that “Shunshō studied with Sükoku to paint the grass script of Itchō,” indicating that Shunshō learned a specific technique from the former.266 To understand the meaning of Itchō’s grass script, I turn now to an analysis of Itchō and his works.

Hanabusa Itchō was a celebrated painter in the eighteenth century, known for his paintings of genre scenes.267 The younger son of a samurai doctor, he trained with Kano Yasunobu (1614-1685) in his early years. Itchō did not remain with the Kano, however, but formed his own workshop and explored different styles and painted diverse subjects. His extant works encompass a wide range of subjects and painting modes, from Kano-inspired ink landscapes to *ukiyo-e* paintings of women. Itchō’s involvement in *haikai* and music put him in

---

266 春草巻谷にも学びて一蝶の草筆を画しと伝い. Cited in Yura, Sōkō nihon ukiyo-e ruikō, 117.
contact with people from all walks of life. It is perhaps these interactions that inspired him to
develop a painting mode that captured the lively gestures and animated expressions of everyday
figures. Using brushstrokes of varying width and length, Itchō gave motion and life to his
painted characters. The reference to Itchō’s grass script in the *Ukiyo-e ruikō* might be a reference
to his method of painting street characters and genre scenes. Although I have not found an Edo-
period source that mentions Itchō’s grass script, the painter did occasionally use the term
“playfully painted 戯れに描く” when he signed his works. For instance, the painter used this
term to describe *Taigakura Dance* and *Biwa Player*, two paintings in which he portrayed lively
street musicians in a series of rapid, angular brushstrokes (fig. 118). In these two paintings, Itchō
used abbreviated lines that thicken and thin to animate his figures, brushwork that recalls the
movements of the cursive script in calligraphy.

Itchō cultivated a large following of students, one of which was Sūkoku, who later
established his own lineage using the name Kō. Many of Sūkoku’s paintings reveal that he was
well trained in Itchō’s brushwork, and deployed it frequently in his figural depictions. Sūkoku’s
portrayal of Fukurokuju (fig. 117) was likely modeled after Itchō’s own painting of Fukurokuju
(fig. 119). A close examination of both figures shows that Sūkoku used a combination of angular

---

268 Miriam Wattles study on the use of the term “giga” (“playful pictures” or “playfully
depicted”) revealed that Itchō used the term to refer to specific works he painted. See Miriam Wattles, “From Adverb to Noun: Some Thoughts on Hanabusa Itchō and the Instability of the “Giga” Genre,” in *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imeji kakumei – Ehon, edehon shinpōjūmu hōkokusho*, ed. Ōta Shōko (Kanazawa: Kanazawa Geijutsugaku Kenkyūkai, 2007), 126.

269 In the “Gahō saishiki hō,” Sukenobu wrote that when painting in the grass script “Paint
according to the thickness and thinness of the ink, even within a single dot. Depict everything
with one stroke of the brush, including birds and beasts.” Although Sukenobu’s description does
not refer specifically to Itchō’s grass script, it well describes the brushwork of the two examples
of Itchō’s paintings that we just examined. Nishikawa, “Gahō saishiki hō.” See Appendix for
complete translation. In the future, I hope to expand my research on grass script as it relates to
Edo period paintings in the future.
lines, like Itchō, to create a dynamic representation of Fukurokuju (fig. 120). A detail of the two Fukurokuju faces show that they have the same curved brow and rounded cheeks, as well as an almost figure-eight form to outline their ears. In his painting of Enma, Sūkoku used a series of bold, sharp-angled lines to articulate the deity’s robe, and a series of wavy lines to accentuate Enma’s cheeks and jowls, again drawing from Itchō’s painting repertoire (fig. 121). By expressing Enma using painting techniques that were associated with Itchō, Sūkoku positioned himself as a descendant of Itchō, clearly signaling his affiliation with the Hanabusa lineage.

As I described in Chapter Two, Shunshō was affiliated with the Miyagawa Chōshun lineage and was known for his actor prints, so his desire to learn the grass script—as indicated in the Ukiyo-e ruikō passage cited above—could have stemmed from a desire to differentiate himself from other print designers. Although he started his career in prints, he turned exclusively to painting in his later years, specializing in images of women. Characterized by fine details and rich colors, Shunshō’s paintings were quite different from those of Itchō or Sūkoku. In Beauties Viewing Paintings, for example, Shunshō displayed his technical expertise with the depiction of extravagantly dressed ladies (fig. 122). At the right side of the scroll, he painted a woman in a black robe embroidered with patterns of maple leaves in gold, and in front of her, a seated lady clad in a mauve-colored robe decorated with green and blue butterflies flitting amongst golden reeds. Shunshō’s adept manipulation of colors and lines provides a sense of tactility to the different fabrics on display. Also notable in this painting, however, is Shunshō’s display of other painting techniques. On the scrolls that the women are viewing—that is, pictures within pictures—he painted monochrome depictions of Fukurokuju, bamboos, and cranes. He even added Kano Tan’yū’s signature to the scrolls to heighten a sense of Kano authenticity, false as it
Shunshō’s use of different painting modes demonstrates that he not only acquired a wide visual vocabulary, he also deployed it to imitate other painting traditions. From this example, we can see that painting identities mattered to painters, and by contrasting various modes on a single painting, painters found an effective method to convey their own affiliation.

*Enma and His Mirror*, with its jarring juxtaposition of deity and courtesan does not immediately link the two painters as teacher and disciple, but a viewer well-versed in Shunshō’s paintings might recognize that his female figures depart from his conventional portrayals of women. In comparison to the intricate patterns he created with sharp outlines and colorful pigments in many of his paintings of women, including the previous example, * Beauties Viewing Paintings*, his courtesans in Enma’s mirror are not as sharply delineated. In the Enma painting, he used light colors and ink wash to produce a soft, dream-like image. Rather than bright, distinct patterns, he employed tonal gradation of colors to decorate their robes. I hypothesize that Shunshō’s anomalous image might be the painter’s attempt to create the impression that the image is a reflection, and as such, he drew on certain elements of the Hanabusa painting mode to achieve these effects.

Shunshō’s depictions in the collaborative painting, I argue, demonstrate his assimilation of Sükoku’s painting mode. A comparison with Sükoku’s painting of female figures in *New Year’s Day* illustrates this point (fig. 123). In his painting of a woman and child playing the traditional game of battledore, Sükoku painted the figures in ink and light colors. The painter decorated the woman’s upper robes with a simple hexagonal pattern outlined in blue, and colored her *hakama* trousers in plain red. For the child, Sükoku used light blue, green, and yellow to paint designs of pines on her robes. He employed small amounts of white *gofun* to highlight parts

---

270 See Naitō Masato’s analysis of this painting in Naitō, *Ukiyo-e saiakken*, 143-155.
of the females’ robes and the buds on the pine tree. Compared to the thick colors that ukiyo-e painters such as Shunshō used to create elaborate patterns, Sūkoku applied shades of colors that lend his paintings a softer quality. Shunshō’s figures in Enma’s mirror evoke that same quality achieved by color gradation and ink wash. By drawing on Sūkoku’s methods for depicting women, Shunshō succeeded in evoking a dream-like quality for his images and, in addition, his display of Sūkoku’s painting techniques also signaled his association with his teacher.

Besides the visual resemblance between their works, the contents of a recently discovered text has helped strengthened the connection between Shunshō and Sūkoku. *Various Thoughts on Painter’s Ranks (Eshi kanji ruikō絵師冠字類孝)*, by Sūkoku’s student, Kō Sūgetsu (1755-1831), provided new evidence to illuminate Shunshō’s life. Sūgetsu described Shunshō as a close acquaintance, suggesting that he knew the latter well. An opportunity to associate himself with Sūkoku and the Hanabusa lineage was undoubtedly a privilege for an unknown craftsman like Shunshō, who, according to Sūgetsu, did not even attach a seal to his works initially, doing so only after he became popular. Sūgetsu did not mention Shunshō as being a student of his teacher, Sūkoku, but his own friendship with Shunshō suggests that Shunshō interacted with painters of the Kō lineage and knew them well. In the same text, Sūgetsu also listed some of Shunshō’s disciples, including Shunkō, Shunrō, Shunrin, Shunzan, Shun’ei, and Shunchō. According to Sūgetsu, Shunchō frequently forged Itchō and Sūkoku’s work.

271 Kamiya Katsuhiro, who discovered the eighteenth-century text in the Iwase Bunko Collection, revealed new information on Shunshō’s life that had previously not been known, such as the year of his death, his various residences in Edo, as well as his family background. See Kamiya, “Katsukawa Shunshō denki shōkō,” 22-29.


Sūgetsu’s text implies that Shunchō was familiar with Hanabusa works, to the extent that he could fake them. This note also indicates that Itchō and Sūkoku’s paintings were in high demand, generating a market for forgeries.

**Preserving and Perpetuating the Hanabusa Legacy**

Itchō’s students’ activities to sustain his legacy and promote the Hanabusa lineage demonstrated an increasing consciousness amongst painters in the eighteenth century of their own lineages and reputations. Contemporary painters’ biographies not only reflected such awareness but also became an important avenue for constructing identities. In his *Thoughts on Strange Marvels in Recent Times* (*Kinsei kiseki kō* 近世奇跡考, 1804), Santo Kyōden described Itchō as a skilled painter, adding anecdotes and documents from Itchō’s life to add credibility to his accounts. Kyōden included a letter by Itchō in his biography, authenticated by Sūkoku, presenting the latter as a connoisseur of Itchō’s work, and legitimizing Sūkoku’s position within the Hanabusa lineage. Biographies such as the *Ukiyo-e ruikō* also played a crucial role in establishing painters’ lineages. Originally compiled by Ōta Nanpo in the late eighteenth century, the *Ukiyo-e ruikō* was continuously re-edited into the nineteenth century. Each entry in the text listed the painter’s different names, pseudonyms, his birth and death dates, training and background, as well as his key works. The 1802 (Kyōwa 2) version included family trees that chart the major lineages of the period, displaying the founders and listing the names of all subsidiary branches and students. The Hanabusa lineage was prominently positioned within the text, indicating its prestigious reputation at that time.

---

276 For the section on Hanabusa Itchō, see Yura, *Sōkō nihon ukiyo-e ruikō*, 17.
One of the activities that Itchō’s descendants undertook to promote his name and preserve his legacy was to compile and publish his works in the form of woodblock printed painting manuals. Such compilations ensured that his name circulated widely and remained associated with certain modes of painting. These manuals displayed a selection of Itchō’s representative works, or more accurately, what Itchō’s students considered to be their master’s most archetypal works. As Miriam Wattles argued, these manuals functioned to recreate Itchō’s visual legacy. More importantly, they also became didactic material for generations of painters. Itchō’s descendants drew on many pictures in these manuals for their own paintings. Sūkoku’s screen paintings of *Chinese Lions*, for instance, can be found in the *Picture Book of Painting Compilations* (*Ehon zuhen* 画本図編, 1751) (fig. 124). Even without seeing Itchō’s originals, his descendants were able to continue reproducing his works in different formats because of the availability of the painting manuals. Later generations of Hanabusa students could repeat the same themes, thus spreading the Hanabusa name to an even wider audience.

Adaptations and reproductions of Itchō’s paintings strengthened the association of certain subjects with the Hanabusa name. As Nagase Keiko has demonstrated, Sūkoku made many copies of Itchō’s works. Sūkoku’s six-panel screens *Taking Shelter from the Rain* (18th century) was modeled closely on Itchō’s earlier painting of the same subject (fig. 125). The two paintings feature a diverse crowd taking shelter under the eaves of a mansion during a rainstorm. Itchō, in his painting, assembled a lively scene of children playing, various tradesmen with their wares, and itinerant monks and beggars. Using ink and light colors, the scene highlighted the

---

278 Ibid., 169-170.
280 Ibid., 20.
painter’s skill in capturing facial expressions and animating human gestures. Sūkoku’s version is almost identical, except for the addition of two figures in the foreground and the use of a more colorful palette. By retaining Itchō’s subject and composition, Sūkoku established continuity with his inherited Hanabusa past and preserved it for the future. In other works, Sūkoku adapted Itchō’s painting to different formats. Itchō’s painting of the classical tale, Aridoshi (early 18th century) is a triptych, with the tenth-century courtier-poet Ki no Tsurayuki (872-945) on the right scroll, the shrine of Aridoshi in the center, and a shrine official on the left. In the painting, Itchō used colors sparingly, effectively contrasting his painted figures and architecture with the ink-washed background (fig. 126). Sūkoku’s later painting on the same subject collapses Itchō’s triptych into two scrolls, with Ki no Tsurayuki on the right and the shrine official and Aridoshi shrine together on the left (fig. 127). In yet another interpretation, Sūkoku painted Ki no Tsurayuki outside the Aridoshi shrine in a single hanging scroll (fig. 128). By using the same pictorial motifs on different formats, Sūkoku ensured that certain motifs, regardless of format, became recognizable as Hanabusa subjects. Doing this not only solidified Sūkoku’s own reputation as an authority on Itchō’s works, but it also secured his connection to the founder of the lineage.

Shunshō and Sūkoku’s Enma painting, too, I contend, became a model for the perpetuation of the Hanabusa lineage and for later generations of painters who wanted to establish similar associations. In 1830 (Tenpō 1), Sūkoku’s disciple, Hanabusa Ikkei, and Utagawa Kunisada jointly painted Enma Viewing His Pure Mirror (fig. 2), which is identical in composition to Sūkoku and Shunshō’s Enma and His Mirror (fig. 1). A comparison of the two paintings shows that Ikkei faithfully replicated Sūkoku’s Enma and the mirror, preserving the colors and brushstrokes of his teacher (fig. 129). Except for minor differences, such as the
depiction of the character “王,” which means “King,” on Enma’s hat, and a slight extension of the dais that he stands on, Ikkei altered nothing from Sūkoku’s previous image. Kunisada, however, took advantage of Enma’s mirror as a blank canvas for his own creativity. Instead of a young woman and her attendant, he painted a single seated woman with her robes arranged around her. With her hair down and slightly disheveled, she is not as elegantly composed as the young lady in Shunshō’s earlier depiction. Her elaborate robes and hair accessories, however, suggest that she could be a high-ranking courtesan. She grasps a writing brush between her lips as she peruses a scroll, seemingly absorbed in her own thoughts, making no eye contact with the viewer. The three folded items beside her writing utensils could be letters, suggesting that she might be composing a response. The elaborately embellished lacquer writing box and sake cup that accompany her indicate that she could be in her private quarters. Like Shunshō, Kunisada used the mirror as a window that projects into another world, allowing Enma and the viewer to peek into the private world of a courtesan.

In the same year, Ikkei and Kunisada produced yet another Enma painting that drew on Shunshō and Sūkoku’s earlier collaboration (fig. 3). The painting, titled by modern scholars as *Hell and Pure Land*, currently in the Nanao City Art Museum, like the previous Ikkei and Kunisada joint work, retains Shunshō and Sūkoku’s composition (fig. 130). Here again, Ikkei copied Sūkoku’s rendition of Enma and his mirror, making only slight alterations, such as the positioning of the dais and the character on Enma’s hat. Ikkei’s ability to reproduce almost identical versions of Enma indicates that he might have possessed under-drawings or sketches of Sūkoku’s painting. In contrast to Ikkei’s faithful reproduction of Enma, his collaborator, Kunisada, again used Enma’s mirror as a frame for images of contemporary beauties. The painter depicted a woman and her attendant crouching in the opening between a pair of sliding doors.
The two are about to exit a room and the young attendant holds a pillow in her hands. Here again, the women are absorbed in their own activities, oblivious that Enma is viewing them. Their bent-over pose echoes that of Enma, who is similarly crouched above his mirror watching them as they surreptitiously leave the room. This image demonstrates Kunisada’s creativity as he readily modifies Enma’s mirror reflection to display different scenes of women.

Ten years after completing these two paintings, Ikkei and Kunisada returned to the subject of Enma to collaborate in a different format – fan paintings. When Ikkei was eighty-eight years old, he again worked with Kunisada in a project of twelve fan paintings for an album. Ikkei contributed the first painting of the album while Kunisada painted the remaining eleven leaves. Ikkei again painted Enma, but here he depicted the deity alone without his mirror (fig. 131a). His Enma is seated in a cross-legged position on a tiger skin and positioned at an angle to the picture plane. As in the previous paintings, Ikkei drew on Sûkoku’s Enma in terms of brushstroke and color. He used the same bold lines as Sûkoku to outline the figure and the same color palette to paint Enma’s robes and hat. On the opposite page of Ikkei’s Enma painting, Kunisada painted Enma’s oval mirror, replicating the same shape and design of Ikkei’s mirror in the earlier collaborative paintings (fig. 131b). In the mirror, he depicted a seated courtesan viewing a scroll with a brush between her lips, resembling his painting in Enma Viewing his Pure Mirror. She, too, has a lacquer writing box, but unlike the courtesan in the earlier painting, her hair is arranged atop her head. The layout of the two paintings, on opposing pages of the album, suggests that viewers were expected to make the connection between Enma and his mirror and to see the visual dialogue between the two painters. Ikkei and Kunisada’s collaborations on Enma and his mirror form a connection between the two painters just as Shunshô and Sûkoku’s
painting did, and, moreover, their repeated reproductions of the subject strengthened this visual bond.

Ikkei and Kunisada’s multiple replications of Shunshō and Sūkoku’s earlier painting indicate their reverence for the original painters. Rather than connoting something negative, the act of copying and imitating the technique of earlier predecessors was a learning mechanism as well as a display of erudition.²⁸¹ Painters sometimes used terms such as “hitsu-i 筆意” or “sha 写” that have far different, and positive, nuances than copying. The term “hitsu-i” translates into “brush intention” and suggests that the painter was attempting not only to copy the brushwork of another painting, but also the spirit in which it was employed. The term “sha,” too, conveys much more than “to copy,” as it can also mean “to imitate” or “to transcribe.” It did not refer to a blind reproduction of something, but rather, carried the notion of translation as well. In other words, to imitate or to transcribe both require some form of interpretation. Moreover, both terms express the painter’s intentions and explain his act of reproduction. As I will show, Ikkei’s copies of Itchō’s works, and his use of “sha,” was part of his activities to perpetuate the Hanabusa legacy.

The numerous reproductions that Ikkei and Kunisada created should not be viewed as works that lacked creativity or originality. With his faithful rendition of Sūkoku’s Enma, Ikkei sought to establish a visual link with Sūkoku and position himself within the Hanabusa lineage. Ikkei was Sūkoku’s disciple and, at that time, used the name Sūkei, but he was later adopted into

the main Hanabusa lineage to succeed Hanabusa Issen (1709-1788). The Hanabusa lineage consisted of the main branch, where disciples took the name of “I” (一) after Itchō, and the subsidiary Kō branch, where the disciples took the name of “Sū” (fuse) after Itchō’s disciple, Sawaki Sūshi (1707-1771). Despite being adopted into the main branch and assuming leadership of the Hanabusa lineage, Ikkei must have still felt respect for his teacher, Sūkoku, and wanted to maintain a connection with the Kō branch. By reproducing works by Sūkoku, moreover, Ikkei emphasized the importance the Kō lineage within the Hanabusa network.

Ikkei’s collaborations with members of both Kō and Hanabusa disciples demonstrate that the two branches were closely connected. Ikkei painted with Kō Sūkei, Kō Sūgetsu, Kō Sūto, and Hanabusa Ippō (also known as Sūrin) to produce a set of three fans. On one fan, all five painters worked together, with each painting a crane, signing their names and brushing their seals next to their contribution (fig. 132); similarly, they each depicted a turtle on another fan (fig. 133). The last fan in the set combined a plum, bamboo, pine, and lingzhi mushroom against a rising sun (fig. 134). Here, Ikkei painted the plum, Ippō, the bamboo, Sūkei, the pine, Sūto, the lingzhi, and Sūgetsu, the rising sun. These fans, all featuring auspicious subjects and executed in ink and light colors could have been painted at a celebratory occasion such as a birthday or New Year’s and used as a gift. The collaborations between the Hanabusa and Kō disciples indicate that, despite being separate branches of the same lineage, Itchō’s descendants worked together as a united entity.

Many of Ikkei’s paintings demonstrate how he drew from Itchō’s repertoire and used the latter’s painting mode as well as compositions, which he adapted to a different format. An 1823

---

283 Ibid., 20.
fan painting by Ikkei, showing the seven lucky gods captured within circular frames, display how Ikkei copied an earlier Itchō composition of the same subject (fig. 135). On a gold background, Ikkei painted a monochrome pine tree on the right of the fan with its branches spreading to the upper left corner. Then, he depicted each of the seven lucky gods within round frames, lining up Bishamonten, Benzaiten, Jurōjin, and Daikoku across the top and Fukurokuju, Ebisu, and Hotei along the bottom. On the left of the painting, Ikkei inscribed, “celebrating the brush of my ancestor, Itchō, on my seventieth birthday by copying his work.” Indeed, the source painting that Ikkei likely imitated may be one that Itchō created around 1700 during his exile in Miyakejima, which he made as a gift for one of his patrons, Umeda Tōemon. In the painting, Itchō placed each of the seven lucky gods each in a round frame and painted a pine tree behind the figures (fig. 136). A comparison of the brushwork on both paintings reveals that Ikkei, like Itchō, privileged the use of ink lines rather than color, to depict each figure. Although Ikkei noted that he “copied” his predecessor’s work, using the character “sha,” his painting shows that he did not rotely replicate Itchō’s work. Instead of a profile depiction of Ebisu and Jurōjin, Ikkei portrayed a front-facing view of the two lucky gods. Ikkei, by noting that he was “copying” Itchō’s work, might have been referring to Itchō’s general composition and brushwork, and his reproduction reflected his respect and appreciation.

Ikkei used the character “sha” below his signatures in the paintings Mill-stone Grinder Toiling in the Snow, indicating that they were similarly indebted (figs. 137 and 138). On one painting, the painter signed “Reproduced by Hanabusa Ikkei at eighty-six” (fig. 137) and on the

---

286 I am indebted to Hinohara Kenji who shared these paintings with me.
other, he signed “Painting and calligraphy reproduced by Hanabusa Ikkei at ninety” (fig. 138). The two paintings show an old man wearing a wide-brim hat and straw coat with a mallet on his back pushing his mill stone in the snow. Painted four years apart, the two images are virtually identical except for bits of falling snow in the later version. Hinohara Kenji has shown that Ikkei was citing an Itchō picture, as seen in the printed compilation of Itchō’s work, *A Swarm of Butterflies* (*Gunchō gaei* 群蝶画英, 1778) (fig. 139); he also identified the inscriptions on both paintings as Itchō’s poems.287 Here, the word “sha,” extends also to the copying of Itchō’s poetry on both paintings. In fact, as I will discuss below, the poem was also included in Ikkei’s compilation of Itchō’s literary works that he published to commemorate Itchō. His citation of Itchō in text and image on these paintings represents yet another means of building Itchō’s reputation and fame.288

Besides paintings, Ikkei produced written records and compilations of Itchō’s seals and literary works that functioned to preserve the Hanabusa legacy, as well as to secure his own position as authenticator of the lineage. In commemoration of Itchō’s fiftieth death anniversary in 1809 (Bunka 6), Ikkei erected a monument in front of the temple, Fukagawa Giunji (深川亘雲寺).289 He listed Itchō’s lifetime achievements on the memorial and charted the generations of disciples within the Hanabusa lineage, beginning with Isshu and leading up to himself. A few years after the event, in 1818 (Bunsei 1), Ikkei published *The Extant Literary Works of Old Man Hō* 287 Hinohara “Hanabusa Ikkei kenkyū,” 61. *A Swarm of Butterflies* is a compilation of Itchō’s works by Suzuki Rinshō. 288 Discussing the effects of mass reproduction, Keiko Clarence-Smith cited Walter Benjamin’s argument about how the status of the original work is altered and raised as the desire for authenticity emerges. The value of the original exists relative to its copies. It is the dissemination and popularity of the copies that increases the value of the original. See Keiko Clarence-Smith, “Copying in Japanese Magazines: Unashamed Copiers,” in *The Culture of Copying in Japan: Critical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Rupert A. Cox (London: Routledge, 2008), 53. 289 Hinohara, “Hanabusa Ikkei kenkyū,” 59; Nagase, “Hanabusa ha kenkyū jō (ni),” 23-24; Wattles, “The Lives and Afterlives of Hanabusa Itchō,” 127.
Hokusō (Hokusō ibun 北総翁遺文), a compilation of Itchō’s important literary contributions, as well as seals he used. More than simply a celebration, the compendium demonstrated Ikkei’s wide knowledge of Itchō’s works and established his authority within the Hanabusa network; reproducing all of Itchō’s seals added to Ikkei’s claim to legitimacy as Itchō’s successor.

Kunisada’s Affiliation with the Hanabusa

While Ikkei attempted to preserve the Hanabusa legacy by copying Sūkoku’s painting, Kunisada’s participation in the collaborative Enma paintings, I propose, also indicated his desire to be associated with the Hanabusa lineage. Despite a successful career as one of the top print designers of the Utagawa workshop, Kunisada sought tutelage with Ikkei to learn the painting modes associated with Itchō. His adaptations of Hanabusa painters’ works into print and his numerous collaborations with his teacher, Ikkei, solidified, I will argue, his connection with the Hanabusa workshop. In addition, his frequent use of signatures and seals that were derived from Itchō’s name shows his adoration for the founder and his desire to position himself as Itchō’s successor.

Kunisada began his career designing actor prints, an interest that prompted his apprenticeship with Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825), who was a leading print designer at the time. He made his debut by being formally introduced as an illustrator by his teacher, Toyokuni, in Santō Kyōzan’s (1769-1858) novel Honorable Revenge of Kagamiyama (Kagamiyama homare no adauchi 鏡山誉仇討, 1808). It was Toyokuni’s custom to introduce his students by including formal portraits of them as the frontispieces of books that they illustrated. He would

---

290 Hinohara, “Hanabusa Ikkei kenkyū,” 59. Hokusō was one of Itchō’s sobriquets. See Yura, Sōkō nihon ukiyo-e ruikō, 70.
also add notes of their skills in these books. According to Santō Kyōden’s preface of the book, this was the first book that Kunisada illustrated. However, as Sebastian Izzard noted, this was not Kunisada’s first printed work as he had already illustrated a promotional brochure in 1807. As Sebasti

Two years later, the writer Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822) wrote that Kunisada was gaining popularity rapidly. Sanba recorded in his diary: “Domo no Matahei (1808), an ezōshi (“picture book”), was the first production of Utagawa Kunisada, a disciple of Utagawa Toyokuni. It was a great success at the time. From 1809 onward, [Kunisada] only increased in popularity, and currently [July 1810] he is the star attraction of his entire school.” Although neither Kagamiyama nor Dom

Kunisada was the youngest painter to be invited, and he depicted the figure of Benzaiten at the right. By 1813 (Bunka 10), in an ukiyo-e ranking list, Kunisada was listed as second only to his teacher, Toyokuni.

From a young age, Kunisada’s exposure to actors and other literary personalities cultivated in him a familiarity with contemporary culture that contributed to his success as an ukiyo-e painter. Born into a family operating a ferryboat business on the Sumida River, Kunisada grew up in the Honjo district of Edo, in a neighborhood on the east side of the river that was populated with painters and literary personalities. His father, Sumida Shōgorō, was a haikai enthusiast and a member of the Edo Za Haikai, and used the pseudonym of Gokyōtei Kinrai. Kunisada’s teacher, Toyokuni, was also a member of this poetry circle. As a result, Kunisada grew up associating with poets, actors, writers, and other painters who were also part of the same circle. He, too, became a member of Edo Za Haikai and studied under Tani Sogai using the pseudonym Ichiyūsai. These cultural networks played an important role in establishing Kunisada’s reputation. He developed a close relationship with the actor Danjūrō VII, and his numerous depictions of the actor appealed to Danjūrō’s fans, resulting in a high demand for his work. He was often commissioned by the actor’s fan clubs to produce special commemorative works, such as surimono and fan paintings. One such example is a fan painting that he made in concert with Shōtei Hokuju (1789-1818) and two poets who provided inscriptions: Kunisada painted Danjūrō VII in a role for the play Shibaraku on the right, while Hokuju depicted the priest confronting Danjūrō (fig. 140).

In the late 1820s, to widen his visual vocabulary, Kunisada sought tutelage under Ikkei. After the death of his teacher, Toyokuni, in 1824, Kunisada was passed over as the new leader of the Utagawa workshop in favor of another disciple, Toyoshige (1777-1835), who had married into the Utagawa family. It is unclear what Kunisada thought of the situation, but it was around

295 As we saw in the previous chapter, Sogai was also Kitao Shigemasa’s teacher.
this time that he began lessons with Ikkei. At the time Kunisada was already an affluent and renowned painter, so it is unlikely that he was seeking more work through another painting workshop. Both Izzard and Hinohara hypothesize that Kunisada wanted to explore a different form of artistic expression. Hinohara uncovered in the Essays of an Un-named Old Man (Mumei ō zuihitsu 無名翁随筆, 1833) by Keisai Eisen (1790-1848), the following:

“Recently, one sometimes sees Kunisada using the seal of Itchō. Writing his name as Gototei Kunisada, … [Kunisada] entered the school of Sūkoku’s descendant, Sūryō, because he wished [to obtain] Itchō’s family name. [He did all this because] he yearned for a painting name that was not attached to actor pictures.”

Here, as Keisen noted, Kunisada wanted to diversify and connect with another painting lineage, one that was separate from the world he had become associated with. In other words, he sought an identity that would differentiate him from other ukiyo-e painters and printmakers.

Ten years later, in A Supplement to the Thoughts of a Playful Fiction Writer (Gesakusha kō hoi 戲作者考補遺, 1843), Kimura Mokurō (1774-1856) commented that when he once asked Kunisada to paint him a portrait of an immortal, the painter responded “These days, there are many that ask me for paintings, but they all want portraits of actors or illustrations of sumo

---

297 Sebastian Izzard suggested that Kunisada might have wanted to diversify as a result of his disappointment for being passed over as leader of the Utagawa workshop. See Izzard, “Kunisada the Artist,” 26-27; Izzard, “Utagawa Kunisada,” 24.
299 按るに近頃国肅英一蝶の画印を用る事を度々見たり。五渡亭国肅と画名をかき、英一蝶とありいかなる故ある事にや滝谷の斎豊陵の門にて故人の名跡を望むことによ役者似顔の錦絵には似付し画名を慕し事なり。Cited in Hinohara, “Hanabusa Ikkei kenkyū,” 61-62. The Mumei ō zuihitsu was an 1833 extended and revised version of the original Ukiyo-e ruikō by Ōta Nanpo. Here, in this record, Sūryō refers to Hanabusa Ikkei. See Yura, Sōkō nihon ukiyo-e ruikō, 224.
wrestlers. There are none who desire things that would transcend a hundred years.”³⁰⁰ Kunisada
was thrilled when Mokurō did not request the typical ukiyo-e fare, but a painting of an immortal.
From this record, it appears that Kunisada viewed actor portraits as well as book illustrations as
ephemeral, and that he wished to produce paintings of more serious subjects, such as immortals,
which in his mind would stand the test of time. Kunisada did not mention the Hanabusa school in
this text, nor did he link the pictures of immortals with the Hanabusa style, but this and the
previous sources show that the painter was seeking new forms of expression other than the ones
for which he had become known.

Kunisada strengthened his connection to his teacher Ikkei through numerous
collaborations. To date, I have found at least three other paintings that pair the two, not counting
the three previously discussed Enma paintings. In 1841, the two painters jointly depicted Woman
Tying a Poem Slip on a Cherry Blossom Branch (fig. 141). Kunisada painted a woman standing
on top of a crouching man. She is tying poem slips to blossoming cherry tree. In this painting,
Ikkei painted the tree. Kunisada demonstrated his expertise in depicting women by painting the
young lady in an elaborate purple robe adorned with irises and embellished with gold. Her
dainty, white-clad feet peek out from under her kimono as she reaches up to tie a poem slip on
the hanging branches of a cherry tree. In stark contrast to the elegant young woman, the
crouching man appears uncouth and unrefined, as he is dressed in simple brown robes and a
white loincloth with his hairy buttocks exposed. He turns his leering face up toward the woman
with his tongue slipping out between his teeth. In this collaboration, Ikkei made a relatively
small contribution, painting the partially cut off cherry tree on the upper left edge of the painting.

³⁰⁰ 当時僕に画を需むる者夥しいといへども皆是役者娼妓の肖像或は相撲人の似顔絵本の
差絵草双紙の類にて潤筆は多く得れとも百歳の跡後世に伝ふる物をえがかする人なし。
Kimura Mokurō, Gesakusha kō hot (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 1976), 320-321; cited and
transcribed by Hinohara, “Hanabusa Ikkei kenkyū,” 62.
Ikkei used light ink to delineate the tree trunk, and pink and white pigments to paint the flowers. Kunisada’s central and colorful figures dominate this joint painting, suggesting that he played a larger role in the collaboration. Ikkei’s participation, however, allowed Kunisada to display his link to the more senior painter and his lineage. The two painters’ signatures, “brushed playfully by Hanabusa Ikkei at ninety” and “playfully painted by Kōchōro Kunisada,” implies that the work was of a light-hearted genre—but in expressing the bond between the two painters, it was no less important that it be concretely demonstrated.301

In another collaborative painting done the same year, Woman Freeing Sparrows, the two painters jointly created a picture of a maiden releasing two small birds (fig. 142). Kunisada painted a crouching woman dressed in fine robes of red with patterns of plum blossoms. She wears a sash that is identical in color and pattern to the young woman’s sash in the previous painting, suggesting perhaps that the two paintings were designed as a set. As in the previous painting, Ikkei’s contribution is relatively small, with his depiction of the willow tree and the two sparrows in light ink and color in the right edge of the painting. Both paintings were executed in Ikkei’s ninetieth year, 1841 (Tenpō 14), almost a decade after the Enma collaborations. Compared to the earlier examples, where his Enma exemplified authority and symbolized a past legacy, Ikkei’s minor additions to these later paintings display him in a lesser role, adding his brush merely to support his disciple.

Painting with Ikkei on a fan, Kunisada again took the opportunity to display his relationship with the Hanabusa workshop leader, and also to demonstrate his reverence for Itchō, the workshop’s founder. Currently in the Leiden University collection, this collaborative painting depicts a woman standing beneath a willow tree (fig. 143). Kunisada painted the woman with a

301 Miriam Wattles’ argued that by the nineteenth century, the term “giga” was used to define a genre of playful or humorous pictures. See Wattles, “From Adverb to Noun,” 136-137.
hairstyle reminiscent of beauties from the seventeenth century, and she wears a white outer robe decorated with green bamboo over a red undergarment. Holding her skirts slightly raised, she offers a glimpse of her sandal-clad feet. Ikkei’s role is again relegated to painting the background, here a willow tree delineated with just a few broad strokes of light ink. Notable in this painting is Kunisada’s signature, which reads “brushed by Hokusōō, picture edited by Kunisada 北窓翁筆 国貞編図.” Hokusōō was one of the sobriquets that Itchō used, so here, Kunisada stated that he edited a picture that was brushed by Itchō to place on the fan. In fact, a comparison of Kunisada’s depiction on this fan with the upper right figure in Itchō’s *Fashionable Four Sleepers* reveals similarities between the female figures in both paintings (fig. 144).\(^{302}\) Itchō’s woman, like Kunisada’s, wears a white outer robe with bamboo patterns over a red undergarment and her hair is arranged in a low chignon. Kunisada described that he was editing a picture brushed by Itchō, and indeed he modified the original picture by changing the pose of the woman. By drawing on Itchō’s work visually and describing his role as a picture editor, Kunisada positioned himself as an authority on Itchō.

Kunisada’s adaptation of Hanabusa subjects into woodblock prints also demonstrates his attempts to align himself within the lineage. In one such example, Kunisada appropriated Kō Sükoku’s votive tablet (*ema*) design of Genzanmi Yorimasa and Ii no Hayata killing a mythical beast (*nue*) for a print. The tablet, displayed in the Asakusa Sensōji Kannon Hall, was well known and featured in many popular guidebooks of the day.\(^{303}\) It is massive, measuring more than three by three and a half meters, with a majestic depiction of the warrior Yorimasa and his compatriot subduing a ferocious beast and pinning it to the ground (fig. 145). Kunisada’s print

---


design matches Sūkoku’s painting almost exactly in composition (fig. 146). Furthermore, on the upper left of the print, he acknowledged his indebtedness to Sūkoku by inscribing “Framed in Asakusa Kanzeon (Asakusa Kannon Hall), Toryūō Kō Sūkoku, miniaturized by Köchōrō Kunisada 浅草観世音額 屠龍翁高嵩谷 香蝶楼国貞縮図.” Here, Kunisada explained that his recreation was a reduced scale image of Sūkoku’s votive tablet that was framed and displayed in the Kannon Hall in Asakusa district. By adapting Sūkoku’s renowned work into a different format and size, Kunisada was establishing a connection with Sūkoku, his teacher’s master, thus aligning himself with other members of the Hanabusa network.

Kunisada’s inclusion of Hanabusa subjects within landscapes represents the painter’s desire to create new compositions in print. In Fifty-three Stations by Two Brushes (Sōhitsu gojūsan tsugii 双筆五十三次), a series of fifty-five collaborative prints that Kunisada designed with Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), the former paired his designs of contemporary women and kabuki actors with the latter’s landscape illustrations. In one print of the series, however, instead of a female or actor, Kunisada depicted two comedic manzai dancers in front of a landscape showing the district of Asakusa (fig. 147).\(^\text{304}\) This anomalous print within the series is also the only one that Kunisada signed with the signature “Hanabusa Ittai.” As I will discuss shortly, Kunisada frequently identified himself as a Hanabusa disciple through his signatures and seals. As Hinohara Kenji has shown, the subject of manzai dancers was part of the Hanabusa repertoire and a picture similar to Kunisada’s is found in A Swarm of Butterflies, a compilation of Itchō’s works discussed above (fig. 148).\(^\text{305}\) This example demonstrates that Kunisada, like other Hanabusa descendants, also used Itchō’s pictures that were preserved in printed books for

\(^{304}\) Manzai, literally meaning “long life” is a comedic performance, often occurring around the New Year’s, where two performers trade jokes and puns with each other while bringing auspicious messages to the people.

\(^{305}\) Hinohara, “Hanabusa Ikkei kenkyū,” 61.
reference. Besides just visually displaying his own affiliation with the Hanabusa lineage through the image and his signature, Kunisada’s innovative juxtaposition of a subject popularized by Hanabusa painters with a Hiroshige-designed landscape on a single print resulted in a completely new thematic combination in the ukiyo-e genre.

An important way in which Kunisada signaled his Hanabusa affiliation was to sign and stamp seals with his Hanabusa name to his work. He acquired the name Hanabusa Ittai when he studied with Ikkei and also called himself by the pseudonym Kōchōrō (香蝶楼), using the character Kō (香) from Shinkō (信香), Itchō’s name, and Chō (蝶) from Itchō.306 He began using these names to sign his works as early as 1825 (Bunsei 8).307 My survey of his extensive oeuvre indicates that he frequently used this signature on prints and paintings in the 1830s, the time he was studying with Ikkei.308 On each of the paintings that Ikkei and Kunisada painted together, including the three Enma collaborations, Kunisada signed his name as “Kōchōrō Kunisada ga” and used the Hanabusa Ittai seal. Although Kunisada did not paint with techniques associated with the Hanabusa lineage in these collaborations, he signaled his connection to Ikkei through the use of his Hanabusa names. Notable among the paintings that he made with this signature and seal pairing is Pleasure Boats on the Sumida River from the mid-1830s (fig. 149). The curving Ryōgoku Bridge in the background frames the scene, which features the lively boat traffic on the river. Kunisada painted a number of pleasure boats, filled with people enjoying themselves. On the lanterns of some of the boats, he inscribed the characters “Kōchō-maru,” “Hanabusa-maru,” and “Utagawa-maru,” naming the boats after two different painting

---

308 Izzard, too, states that Kunisada’s use of Kōchōrō predominated in the 1830s. See Izzard, “Kunisada the Artist,” 28.

149
workshops – Hanabusa and Utagawa – as well as after himself. Advertizing the names within the painting helped signal Kunisada’s diverse identities as a painter and it may be possible to understand this work as his attempt to promote himself as the unifier of two distinct painting lineages.

Kunisada’s use of the “Kōchôrō” signature and “Ittai” seal on prints demonstrated his desire to spread the Hanabusa name as well as to position himself within the lineage. Prints circulated much more widely than paintings and thus reached a larger audience. By signing his name as “Kōchôrō” and using the “Ittai” seal on prints, Kunisada differentiated himself from other print designers, presenting himself as someone with ties to both the Utagawa and Hanabusa lineages. A print from the series A Comparison of Contemporary Beauties (Tôsei bijin awase 世美人合), published in 1827 (Bunsei 10), shows a courtesan that Kunisada pictures in the conventional ukiyo-e mode (fig. 150). The print focuses on the woman’s face, outlined with thin, delicate lines as she applies rouge in a lacquer mirror. As in most of Kunisada’s half-length pictures of women, this print is filled with details of fashion and accessories. He composed other similar portraits for the series but only signed this particular one with “Kōchôrō.” His designs of actor prints in the 1830s often featured this signature as well. For example, a print of Sawamura Gennosuke as Kan Shôjô dated to 1831 (Bunsei 14) bears the signature, “designed by Kōchôrō Kunisada” (fig. 151). Like the half-length portrait of the courtesan in the previous example, Kunisada depicted a conventional image of the actor in his role, dramatizing his facial expressions. These examples show no traces of the Hanabusa painting mode, but they reveal Kunisada’s affiliation to the Hanabusa lineage through his signature.

309 Maru (丸) is a suffix for ship names. For a description of this painting, see Schaap et. al., Kunisada: Imaging Drama and Beauty, 148.
310 Izzard, “Utagawa Kunisada,” 55.
Kunisada continued to perpetuate the Hanabusa legacy by introducing his own students into the Hanabusa lineage. A recently discovered collaborative print by Kunisada and his student Toyoharu Kunichika (1835-1900) reveals that Kunisada passed on the Hanabusa name to his disciples. In this print of an actor holding a sake cup from the series *The Five Festivals (Gosseku no uchi五節句の内, 1849)*, Kunisada’s student, Kunichika, portrayed Sawamura Chōjūrō V directing his gaze at a hanging scroll of the Chrysanthemum Boy behind him (fig. 152). The scroll within the print bears the signature “Disciple Hanabusa Ittō 門人英一桃,” suggesting that its designer, Kunichika, considered himself to be part of the Hanabusa lineage. His pseudonyms included “Kachōrō 華蝶樓、花蝶樓,” which employed the same “chō” character from Itchō’s name and Kunisada’s pseudonym, again linking him to the Hanabusa lineage. I have found no records that mention Kunichika having ever studied with any other Hanabusa member except Kunisada, so it is likely that he inherited the name from him.

In this chapter, I have shown that painters appropriated the familiar motif of the underworld King, Enma, and his mirror, to display their mutual affiliation. The distinct spaces carved out by the mirror’s frame, allowed two painters to effectively work on the different sections. Additionally, Enma’s interaction with the images in the mirror, became an ideal compositional device that allowed painters to form visual dialogues. As I demonstrated, two painters, despite being from distinct workshops, utilized this motif to exhibit their teacher and student relationship.

For later generations of painters, I contend, the reproduction of *Enma and His Mirror* in the special form of a collaboration represented a means to connect to the past and to preserve a

---

312 Yura, *Sōkō nihon ukiyo-e ruikō*, 273.
legacy. For example, through the repetition of brushwork and composition, Ikkei linked himself to his teacher, Sūkoku. Later, by collaborating with Ikkei, Kunisada affiliated himself with the Hanabusa lineage. Viewed within the context of Sūkoku, Ikkei, and Kunisada’s activities to promote Itchō’s name and reputation, their repeated collaborations using Enma and his mirror as a compositional device constituted an important way for them to secure their own legacy within the Hanabusa lineage.

Throughout this chapter, I have shown how painters such as Shunshō and Kunisada valued Hanabusa Itchō and his works, and how they actively sought to associate themselves with his visual vocabulary. These painters demonstrate that diversification through the creation of multiple painting identities was important in artistic circles during the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.
Epilogue

The collaborative paintings, *Kume the Immortal, Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha* and *Enma and His Mirror*, were rare occurrences in the eighteenth century, and they demonstrate a consciousness of painting lineage and painter status. It is precisely this awareness that inspired and enriched the juxtaposition of distinct painters on the same scroll, exhibiting their own training in brushwork and coloring. The trend to juxtapose by means of collaboration did not end in the eighteenth century, but became manifest in new forms and trajectories during the next century. As we already witnessed in the previous chapter, Kunisada and Ikkei re-enacted their predecessor’s collaboration to lay claim on their own positions within the Hanabusa painting lineage. Other painters, as I will demonstrate, did likewise. This epilogue will introduce three issues in collaborative practices in the nineteenth century: the increasing popularity of *shogakai*, “calligraphy and painting gatherings”; the development of a painting theme that emphasized regional differences; and the effort to maintain a painting legacy during a period of national transformation, an effort that was exemplified by a joint work treating a subject that had enjoyed previous prominence.

In the early nineteenth century, the phenomenon of *shogakai* (“calligraphy and painting gatherings”) quickly took hold and became an ever more popular avenue for painters to promote themselves and their work. These events produced important records of social interactions, and they also demonstrated new trends in collaborative practices. At these gatherings painters and calligraphers often worked together to swiftly execute piles of paintings for a paying audience that had come to watch their favorite painters perform. The increased recognition of individual reputations from these *shogakai* elevated painters to the level of celebrities.

---

313 For studies of Edo period *shogakai*, see above, footnote 35.
The concern for rank and status, I argue, encouraged the development of new ways for painters to present themselves vis-à-vis each other. One such example was the appropriation of a seventeenth-century theme for collaboration. The theme focused on depicting three courtesans, one each from the cities of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. An early nineteenth-century collaborative painting of the theme, Courtesans from the Three Capitals, matches each of three elaborately dressed women with the signatures and seals of three different painters (fig. 153). Each woman, differentiated from the others by their faces, robes, and coiffures, represents one of the three cities. As in the paintings of Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha, this painting also assembled three separate painters on the same scroll, one each from the respective cities. Here, in addition to a collection of painters that work in different painting modes, the emphasis appears to shift to the gathering of painters with regional expertise. The pairing of the three top-ranking courtesans with painters also reflected the high esteem in which those painters were held.

With the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868 and the following Meiji Restoration, the mid to late nineteenth century was a time of great social, political, and economic upheaval. These events impacted painters’ livelihoods and shaped what they produced. In this period, Kume the Immortal, discussed in Chapter One, became an inspiration for late-nineteenth-century painters. Collaborations on this subject demonstrated a desire to sustain declining painting traditions. The painters, Kawanabe Kyōsai and Kobayashi Eitaku (1843-1890), were both Kano workshop students, and they exhibited their Kano training in a collaborative painting of the Kume theme (fig. 154). The painters executed this painting when Japan was in the process of re-shaping its national identity as it sought international recognition. Viewed within this context, the collaboration can possibly be seen to reflect the aesthetic discourses at a time when painting

---

314 For a more detailed historical account, see Jansen, The Making of Modern Japan, 294-370.
traditions were being selectively revived and discarded, and new approaches to painting were being invented.

**Shogakai – Building Fame and Reputation**

Exactly how the practice of *shogakai* originated is unclear, but it likely evolved from the prevalent literary gatherings of the eighteenth century and celebratory banquets where people gathered to commemorate certain occasions.\(^{315}\) Ōta Nanpo wrote—in a handscroll colophon dated to 1810 (Bunka 7)—that on the seventeenth day of the first month of the year 1792, Tani Bunchō, his wife and daughter, along with a few friends, gathered at the Manpachi restaurant in Yanagibashi to promote their paintings.\(^{316}\) This, it could be argued, marked the beginning of *shogakai*. Although neither the handscroll nor colophon survives, Nanpo recorded the paintings he collected from the occasion, which included landscape paintings by Bunchō and his wife, bamboo images by Kaburagi Baikei (1750-1803) and Bunchō’s daughter, a pheasant by Haruki Nanko (1759-1839), a plum by Suzuki Fuyō (1749-1816), and a lotus painting by Sō Shizan.\(^{317}\)

From the titles of the paintings and the painters, we can ascertain that this was a gathering of painters who specialized in Chinese paintings. In Kyoto, *shogakai* also began to be organized in the late eighteenth century for similar purposes of promoting and selling painters’ works. As

---

\(^{315}\) According to Andrew Markus, there was no single prototype for the *shogakai*. Markus, “Shogakai,” 137.

\(^{316}\) Nanpo’s original colophon is no longer extant but it is transcribed in Anzai Un’en, *Kinsei meika shoga dan*, reproduced in Mori Senzō, “Tani Bunchō den no kenkyū,” in *Mori Senzō chosakushū*, vol. 3, eds. Nakamura Yukihiko et. al. (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1971), 172. For a translation of the colophon, see Hofmann, *Performing/Painting*, 113. In the absence of any descriptions of the purpose of the event, Kobayashi Tadashi suggests that it was probably held by the painters to promote their own paintings. Kobayashi, “Edo jidai no shogakai,” 167-168.

Kobayashi Tadashi has described, painters would gather in restaurants to exhibit their works to a public audience.318

Although some shogakai purported to celebrate specific events, such as birthdays, most were fundraising opportunities for painters, calligraphers, and writers. The publishers Tsutaya Jūzaburō and Tsuruya Kiemon, for instance, put together a shogakai in 1792 (Kansei 4) to raise money for their friend, Santō Kyōden, who was under financial stress.319 The party attracted approximately 180 paying guests and accumulated enough funds for Kyōden to establish a new business selling tobacco pouches. On another occasion, in 1827 (Bunsei 10), Utagawa Kunisada hosted one such affair to promote his son and provided actor prints as gifts for the paying guests.320 These prints depicted actors painting together in a convivial atmosphere at a shogakai, an appropriate subject given Kunisada’s event (fig. 15). By 1810, these gatherings became so lavish that the magistrate of Edo issued an edict against extravagant spending for them.321

Nonetheless, the popularity of these events continued to grow. Robert Campbell’s survey reveals that ninety-four shogakai were held between 1835 and 1843, and 174 between 1848 and 1849.322

The numerous textual accounts of shogakai enable us to reconstruct the types of paintings that were produced at these sessions. Descriptions of the paintings, such as the one included in the colophon by Nanpo, indicate that the subjects consisted of landscapes, bamboo, and flowers. Some records also mention that works were executed rapidly and in abundance. Terakado Seiken’s (1796-1868) Records of a Flourishing Edo (Edo hanjōki 江戸繁昌記, 1833), describe painters at shogakai working with such swiftness that a blur of their brushes produced

319 Markus, “Shogakai,” 139-140.
320 Hofmann, Performing/Painting, 129-130.
dragons and phoenixes.\textsuperscript{323} Painters brushed images on fans and squares of silk and paper, providing their audience with autographed tokens and mementos.\textsuperscript{324} Kunisada’s printed illustration of a \textit{shogakai}, mentioned above, pictures the actors autographing stacks of fans (fig. 15). In fact, Kunisada’s fan painting of Danjūrō VII described in the previous chapter was likely a product of a \textit{shogakai} (fig. 140).\textsuperscript{325} Kunisada used ink and light purple ink to brush a profile view of the actor in a role from the play \textit{Shibaraku}. Here, the actor’s face is not even visible, as Kunisada outlined the actor’s costume and his crest with minimal strokes. Hokuju, who painted the catfish priest confronting Danjūrō on the same fan, also used light colors and quick brushstrokes. Two poems grace the painting, probably inscribed by the calligraphers who were present at the gathering. As a whole, the painting’s execution manner matches the descriptions of works that were usually produced at a \textit{shogakai}. In sum, collaborations frequently occurred at these parties between painters, calligraphers, writers, and other cultural luminaries who were present.

The \textit{shogakai} phenomenon that continued throughout the nineteenth century revealed that painters increasingly wanted to be recognized as celebrities. Their participation and organization of these public events were not motivated only by financial gain, but more importantly, by their desire to join the ranks of the famous actors they frequently portrayed, as well as the highly acclaimed writers and poets for whom they provided illustrations. More so than before, painters were conscious of their position not only within painting lineages, but more broadly in society. The popular reception at these events indicated that viewers, too, played an important role in the construction of the painters’ reputations and subsequently the elevation of their status. As


\textsuperscript{324} Markus, “Shogakai,” 139.

\textsuperscript{325} Izzard, “Utagawa Kunisada,” 12.
viewers became more and more attracted to a given painter, they generated more demand for the painter’s work. And, as notions of eminence and prestige continued to permeate the painting world, concepts of individuality and painterly identity also became more pervasive. It is within this climate that paintings pairing top courtesans with regional painters were conceived.

Courtesans from the Three Capitals

The theme of depicting beauties from different cities emerged in the early eighteenth century in prints, and it evolved into many forms by the nineteenth century. In a triptych dated to the 1740s, the print designer Torii Kiyomasu II (1720-1750) illustrated a standing courtesan on each print (fig. 155). Each courtesan stands outside buildings with curtains respectively labeled “Osaka,” “Kyō,” and “Edo.” All three share the same facial features and hairstyles, making them virtually indistinguishable from one another. They even hold similar poses, with one hand lifting the front of slightly parted skirts, exposing dainty feet. If not for the curtains behind them and the titled cartouches on the prints that identify their origins, these women would be viewed as generic female figures of the eighteenth century. In another single sheet print attributed to Okumura Toshinobu (fl. c. 1717-1750), three women are arranged in a triangular composition, one each on the left and right, and a third elevated between and behind them (fig. 156). Here, we again see three almost identical women with facial features defined by curved eyebrows above slit-like eyes, hooked noses, and small triangular mouths. But for the round crests on their sleeves, which have the characters, “Osaka,” “Edo,” and “Kyō,” it would be impossible to know that they were from different cities.

In the mid-eighteenth century, print designers added variations to the composition of three standing females. Ishikawa Toyonobu’s (1711-1785) triptych Courtesans of the Three
Cities (late 1750s), for example, displays three separate women with young attendants (fig. 157). Compared to earlier designs, Toyonobu’s prints include more background details. The women are framed within an interior space decorated with paintings, objects used in the practice of chanoyu, and books. Surrounded by these lavish furnishings, and each holding a shamisen, a pipe, or brush and paper, the courtesans appear as cultured and refined individuals. On another triptych by Suzuki Harunobu, Courtesans of the Three Cities (1769-70), the three women are depicted in a parade with a full entourage of attendants (fig. 158). Despite efforts to create more contexts, however, the women in Toyonobu and Harunobu’s prints still remain impossible to differentiate in terms of their facial and physical attributes. In all these examples, it is the text and the settings that set the women apart and provide viewers with the necessary clues to identify the theme of the print.

Whereas the assembly of courtesans from Kyoto, Edo, and Osaka occurred frequently in print, its portrayal in painting was rare. Tsukioka Settei’s Courtesans of the Three Capitals is, to my knowledge, the earliest painting of this subject (fig. 159). Settei, a painter who worked on ukiyo-e subjects in the Osaka region, produced the painting in his sixty-seventh year, dating the work to 1776 (An’ei 5). The painting shows three women busy perusing handscrolls. The woman in the left foreground is turned toward the other two, thereby revealing only her profile. The two standing slightly behind face forward, huddling together to read the scroll. Compared to the previous printed examples, Settei’s composition positions the women at different angles, making them appear more personable and less like a window display. Despite wearing different robes and slightly varied hair accessories, however, the women—as in the prints—share similar facial features. It is only the inscription at the top of the painting that identifies the women as being from three different cities. The writer of the inscription laments that the three have become
courtesans, and while praising their beauty, he also warns men of the dangers of losing themselves over such women.\footnote{For a translation of the inscription, see Harold P. Stern, \emph{Ukiyo-e Painting: Freer Gallery of Art Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition} (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1973), 161-162.
\footnote{I dated this painting to the early nineteenth century based on the active dates of the painters involved. Katsukawa Shungyō was active between 1789-1844, and, Asayama Ashikuni, between 1801-1830. See Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, \textit{Kyoto fūzoku ga ten – Kan’ei kara bakumatsu made} – (Tokyo: Ōta Kinnen Bijutsukan, 1993), 59.}}

Departing from such printed and painted examples of generic women posing as beauties from the different capitals, three painters in the nineteenth century collectively created a version of this subject that individualized each female figure (fig. 153).\footnote{The painting depicts three women, two seated and one standing, dressed in elaborate robes. Katsukawa Shungyō (1789-1831) painted the seated women at the right with her robes arranged around her, looking off to the left. Asayama Ashikuni (1775-1818) portrayed the other seated female figure, at the left, holding a writing brush while glancing demurely at her seated counterpart. Yamaguchi Soken (1759-1818) painted the third courtesan, who stands behind and gazes at the seated figures with a wooden battledore in her hands. All three are richly clad and heavily accessorized, but unlike the previously discussed images, each courtesan in this painting has distinctive features. The seated woman on the left, for instance, has eyes that are set far apart compared to the other two (fig. 160a). The one standing has eyes that tilt slightly upwards at the edges and a nose that is shorter and rounder than the other two (fig. 160b). The courtesan in the right foreground has almond-shaped eyes set close together (fig. 160c). Their sashes are tied in different ways: the courtesan on the right has hers bound in the back, the one on the left has hers tied in a rectangular shape, while the standing courtesan’s sash flows down the front. These variations in facial features and fashion show a desire to distinguish these three as separate and distinct individuals.} The painting depicts three women, two seated and one standing, dressed in elaborate robes. Katsukawa Shungyō (1789-1831) painted the seated women at the right with her robes arranged around her, looking off to the left. Asayama Ashikuni (1775-1818) portrayed the other seated female figure, at the left, holding a writing brush while glancing demurely at her seated counterpart. Yamaguchi Soken (1759-1818) painted the third courtesan, who stands behind and gazes at the seated figures with a wooden battledore in her hands. All three are richly clad and heavily accessorized, but unlike the previously discussed images, each courtesan in this painting has distinctive features. The seated woman on the left, for instance, has eyes that are set far apart compared to the other two (fig. 160a). The one standing has eyes that tilt slightly upwards at the edges and a nose that is shorter and rounder than the other two (fig. 160b). The courtesan in the right foreground has almond-shaped eyes set close together (fig. 160c). Their sashes are tied in different ways: the courtesan on the right has hers bound in the back, the one on the left has hers tied in a rectangular shape, while the standing courtesan’s sash flows down the front. These variations in facial features and fashion show a desire to distinguish these three as separate and distinct individuals.
Like the courtesans they portrayed, the three painters, too, were from the cities of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. Shunyō, the Edo-based painter who depicted the courtesan in the lower right, was a student of Katsukawa Shunshō, discussed in earlier chapters. Ashikuni, who painted the courtesan at the left, was an Osaka print designer who primarily worked on actor prints and illustrated books. The painter of the standing courtesan, Soken, was active in Kyoto, and known for his paintings of women. With their knowledge of the fashions and mannerisms of the three cities, these painters imbued their respective figures with distinctiveness that related directly to their own training.

Yamaguchi Soken was a student of Maruyama Ōkyo, a painter who gained recognition for his shasei (“painting from life”) techniques and Chinese figural depictions. According to Kimura Shigekazu, Soken was one of Ōkyo’s top students and participated in a collective painting project at Daigōji in 1795 (Kansei 7) with Ōkyo and other disciples; Soken contributed wall panel paintings of butterflies (fig. 161). The butterfly paintings show Soken’s close study of the insects and his dexterity in the shasei mode, in which he employed very fine brushwork to carefully delineate the antennae, eyes, and wings of the butterflies. Soken might have been adept at the depiction of natural subjects, but most of his extant works are pictures of women.

---


In the *Summary of Painting Essentials* (*Gajō yōryaku* 画乗要略, 1831), Soken was introduced as a painter of contemporary women, indicating that he was probably known for this particular subject. In his study of Soken’s 1792 screen paintings of Chinese women, Kimura Shigekazu has demonstrated that Soken developed his expertise in female depictions from studying Ōkyo’s, works. In this pair of six-panel screens, Soken portrayed a single figure on each panel, painting a total of twelve women in various poses (fig. 162). The paintings include famous Chinese legendary beauties, such as Yō Kihi (Yang Guifei), Sorenkō (Chu Lianxiang), and Ō Shōkun (Wang Zhaojun). Many of these images were taken from Ōkyo’s pre-established forms. Iemura Yuka, in her study of Soken’s *One Hundred Beauties*, showed that Soken frequently re-used the same compositions in his work. Soken’s depiction of Sorenkō, for instance (fig. 163), can be found among Ōkyo’s underdrawings (fig. 164), indicating that he must have referred to them when he composed his painting.

Soken’s training in painting Chinese women is made apparent in his images of Japanese contemporary beauties. A comparison of his depiction of the Kyoto courtesan in the collaborative painting to the Chinese females in the screen paintings shows a similarity in the round profile and the softly curved eyes that he used in both works (fig. 165). Soken’s visualization of female beauty differs in distinctive ways from that of the other two painters. His courtesan has eyes that curve, then taper upward at the edges, compared to Shunyō’s beauty, who has almond-shaped eyes, and Ashikuni’s courtesan with well-articulated eyelids (fig. 166). Soken’s manner of portraying the Kyoto courtesan identifies him as a painter who trained with the Maruyama-Shijō atelier and separates him from the other two painters.

---

331 Kimura, “Tōbijin byōbu,” 76.
332 Iemura, “Yamaguchi Soken,” 81.

162
Asayama Ashikuni, from Osaka, portrayed the seated courtesan on the left with his own pictorial mannerisms, differentiating her from the other two. According to the *Ukiyo-e ruikō*, Ashikuni was from Naniwa (current day Osaka) and made many *yomihon*, which were literally “reading books” that featured historical narratives, in the Bunka era (1804-1818). Besides book illustrations, he also designed actor prints and made paintings and *surimono* of actors. To my knowledge, his contribution to the collaborative scroll was his only painting of a courtesan. Ashikuni painted the courtesan’s eyes slightly further apart compared to the portrayals of the other two painters, as noted, and he also added eyelids (fig. 167). In an 1814 *surimono* of two actors, Ashikuni’s depiction of the *onnagata* (“actor in a female role”), with an elongated face, straight nose, and lidded eyes, strongly resembles his courtesan in the painting under consideration (fig. 168). Ashikuni, by using a distinct manner to portray the Osaka courtesan, not only made her unique compared to the other two, but also distinguished himself from the other two painters.

Katsukawa Shungyō, a painter from the lineage of Katsukawa Shunshō, painted the courtesan in the right foreground. Although not much is known about Shungyō’s life, his paintings show his mastery of Shunshō’s techniques. In *Courtesan with Dog* (1789-95) (fig. 169), depicting a young lady holding a teakettle and looking down at a small black dog, Shungyō deftly copied the slightly rounded forehead, bushy eyebrows, and lantern-style coiffure that Shunshō frequently used. For instance, a detail of Shunshō’s depiction of women in *Seven Beauties of the Bamboo Grove* (1790s) displays the distinctive lantern-style coiffure and softly rounded chin characteristic of his paintings (fig. 170). Although he was well versed in Shunshō’s

---

paintings, Shungyō expressed his knowledge of contemporary trends by constantly adapting his paintings to match the latest fashions. In the collaborative painting, for instance, instead of depicting a courtesan that resembled Shunshō’s beauties, he portrayed the Edo courtesan in a new hairstyle that befitted the styles of the nineteenth century (fig. 171). The yoko-hyōgo coiffure, which featured a division of the hair into two mounds at the top of the head, started appearing in the 1800s, so Shungyō’s depiction demonstrates, too, that these were courtesans from the nineteenth century.

The differentiation of the three courtesans and their portrayal by painters from different cities allowed knowledgeable viewers to recognize the theme of the painting as beauties from the three capitals. Whereas text was necessary in earlier examples, here, each courtesan is clearly distinguished, by facial features and fashion. Equally, if not more importantly, the painters who portrayed the courtesans were famous artists from Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, which undoubtedly aided with their identification. Each used his own methods and mannerisms to brush the features of his courtesan, endowing each figure with characteristics that connected him with specific painting lineages.

An inscription at the top of the painting, added later, in 1836 (Tenpō 7), by Santō Kyōzan, enhanced the painting by adding more details about the courtesans. Kyōzan not only described the well-accessorized beauties as the top-ranking courtesans of the three cities, he also listed their personal accomplishments and individual personalities. I translate an excerpt from the inscription, which reads as follows:

Since the country’s opening, it has been widely known that the three famous courtesans are Kyō’s [Kyoto] Yoshino, Edo’s Takao, and Naniwa’s [Osaka] Yūgiri. From the palace ladies to the cowherds and stable boys, no one speaks of
anything else… One day, I showed this painting to Shikei and requested an inscription. Shikei at once compared the three courtesans of the three pleasure quarters and said, “As for Kyō’s courtesan, she is elegant and refined, Edo’s courtesan is knowledgeable, and Naniwa’s courtesan is passionate.” He judged them and pronounced, “From times past, Yoshino would immerse herself in poetry, such was her refinement. Takao was known for her music, such was her intellect. Yūgiri’s heart was not easily moved, such was her steadfastness.” Even now, the appearances of the three courtesans, like the colors of the dye, do not fade…. Now, what’s left is to distinguish the charms and comportment of each. The one with the willowy waist is Kyoto’s courtesan. Grasping the brush with her jade fingers is Naniwa’s courtesan. Edo’s courtesan has parted red lips. The brushstrokes are lively and the colors superb.

The text, apart from identifying the individual courtesans, defines, too, their distinct specialties and skills, imbuing each woman with unique characteristics. Compared to the previously discussed inscription on Tsukioka Settei’s painting, Kyōzan extols the beauty and fame of the women rather than lamenting their fate. Besides comparing and celebrating the individual talents and charms of the courtesans, he acknowledged the skills of the participating painters with his note of their brushstrokes and color application.

The practice of pairing courtesans with corresponding painters from each city extended, too, to matching courtesans with famous poets from the three capitals. In an early nineteenth-century triptych, on each print, Kunisada illustrated the courtesans from Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo playing *ken*, a game where each person displays signs and symbols with their hands (fig. 172). Kunisada portrayed each woman according to the fashions of each city, with the courtesan from
Osaka (in the left print) with her sash arranged in a rectangular shape, and the one from Kyoto (on the right) with her sash flowing down the front. On each print is an accompanying poem from important haikai leaders associated with each city. On the right print, Hinaya Ryūho’s (1595-1669) poem is linked with the Kyoto courtesan. Ryūho was born in Kyoto and was one of the pioneers of haikai.\(^{335}\) The center print features a poem by Takarai Kikaku (1661-1707), an Edo-based haikai poet who was one of Matsuo Bashō’s (1644-1694) disciples and who played an important role in the development of the Bashō School of haikai.\(^{336}\) On the left print, Nishiyama Sōin’s (1605-1682) poem appears with the Osaka courtesan. Sōin was the founder of the Edo Danrin haikai group, and spent time in Osaka teaching poetry at the Tenmangū shrine.\(^{337}\) The pairings of poems by famous haikai personalities associated with Kyoto, Edo, and Osaka with the top courtesans from those cities is comparable to the matching of distinct painters with beauties in the previously discussed collaborative painting. Both works exhibit a desire in the nineteenth century to distinguish groups of renowned personalities from similar geographical regions within the same work.

The theme of beauties from the three cities also inspired other forms of collaboration in prints, such as *Beauties from Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo* (1813), a joint work between three print designers and three writers (fig. 173). Pairing verse and image, this surimono could have been the product of poetry gatherings that were prevalent during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Unlike the painting that exhibited the skills of three painters from Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, the surimono collaboration was a product of Edo-based print designers and writers. Instead of a picture of three courtesans, the print juxtaposes two elaborately dressed women with a


\(^{337}\) Ibid., 21.
woman in plain indigo robes and straw-sandaled feet. Each writer’s verse is matched to the depicted women, suggesting that this might have been a coordinated project among literary club members.\textsuperscript{338}

The penchant to associate different personalities with the three major cities in Japan indicates an increasing awareness of regional specialization and individuality in the early nineteenth century. The practice of assembling discrete painters to paint in distinct painting modes on the same scroll had already started in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, it took new forms.

\textbf{Kume the Immortal}

In the late nineteenth century, Kawanabe Kyōsai and Kobayashi Eitaku jointly painted \textit{Kume the Immortal}, and in so doing, demonstrated a consciousness of past collaborations on this subject. Both painters were students of the Kano school, and as I will demonstrate below, they likely knew of the eighteenth-century collaborations between Kano Terunobu and Kano Eitoku Takanobu with \textit{ukiyo-e} painters discussed in Chapter One (figs. 4 and 5). Like the earlier collaborations, Kyōsai and Eitaku’s painting depicts the immortal, Kume, falling from the sky at the sight of a woman washing her clothes in the river below (fig. 154). Kyōsai used ink and light colors to paint Kume plunging to the ground, his arms outstretched to catch his flying sandal, and with knitted brows, expressing concern at the loss of his magical abilities. In response to Kyōsai’s Kume, Eitaku painted a maiden with her back to the viewer, turning her head to witness

\textsuperscript{338} As I have not had the opportunity to view this work in person, I have not been able to decipher all the text in the image. I hope to investigate this work and the printed text more thoroughly in the future.
the spectacle above. One hand holds the forgotten wash, still half-submerged in the water, while the other hand is arrested in mid-air, indicating her surprise.

Earlier collaborations on *Kume the Immortal* connected Kano painters with *ukiyo-e* painters, but this nineteenth-century collective work links together two men who had much broader associations. Despite studying with the Kano in their early years, Kyōsai and Eitaku both explored other painting techniques and their works defy easy categorization. As I will show, their shared experiences and background brought them together as friends and, later, collaborators.

Kyōsai, the older of the two, was born in 1831 (Tenpō 2) and brought up in Edo. He showed an early affinity for painting, so his father enrolled him in the studio of Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861) at the young age of six. These studies greatly impacted Kyōsai, especially Kuniyoshi’s emphasis on *shasei* techniques, and it was here that Kyōsai learned the importance of sketching from life. He remained under the tutelage of Kuniyoshi for only two years, after which he left to study with a Kano-trained painter, Maemura Tōwa. The latter, however, soon fell ill and introduced Kyōsai to Kano Tōhaku Norinobu (1818-1851), head of the Surugadai Kano, one of the fifteen *omote-eshi* branches of the Kano school. Kyōsai spent ten years in the Surugadai school, pursuing the rigorous Kano curriculum that emphasized the

---


341 Kuniyoshi was quoted as saying to Kyōsai, “To my mind, in order to draw *musha* (‘warriors’), [you must] look carefully at the way a person suddenly throws down another person, and the position that the person takes while falling. Or else, focus on the appearance of a person who pins another down, and of the man resisting him. You must paint that spirit and force.” See Kawanabe Kyōsai, *Kyōsai gadan*, vol. 3, ed. Uryū Masakazu (Tokyo: Iwamoto Shun, 1887), 5; cited and translated in Jordan, “Strange Fancies,” 16 and Appendix III.


343 Takeda, *Kano ha no kaigashi*, 432.
practice of funponshugi (“copybook method”).

Even after mastering Kano painting techniques, Kyōsai continued to explore other modes of painting, diligently collecting manuals and old paintings to study diverse brushstrokes and expressions. He produced many personal adaptations and versions of old paintings, recording them in the Kyōsai gadan. These sketches demonstrate his interest in various painting methods and also his creativity in assimilating the different techniques and producing new images.

Eitaku’s early life and training were very similar to Kyōsai’s. He was born into a family of fish wholesalers, but due to his talent for drawing at a young age, his father sent him to study with Kano Eitoku, the head of the Nakabashi Kano, the main oku-eshi branch in Edo. This was the same Kano branch whose tenth and eleventh heads participated in the paintings of Kume the Immortal with ukiyo-e painters; Eitoku was the fifteenth head of the school. Although Eitaku was a diligent student, like Kyōsai, he constantly explored other painting methods, hoarding manuals and copybooks related to shasei and western painting methods. As the Kano forbade the study of other painting modes within their curriculum, his fellow trainees would sometimes expose his activities but he was never expelled. When he was eighteen, he became the adopted son of the Kano painter that served the Hikone domain, but left service when the chief of the domain was assassinated in 1860 (Ansei 7). After working for a while with another Kano painter from the Himeji domain, Eitaku finally retired from official service and returned to his family.

---

345 The Kyōsai gadan was compiled by Uryū Masakazu (1823-1893), a writer, and one of Kyōsai’s students. It is a compilation of Kyōsai’s oral histories and ideas and included pictures and images provided by the painter. Not only an illustrated biography, it also contained descriptions of methods and materials for painting. It was published in 1887, two years before Kyōsai’s death in 1889. See Jordan, “Strange Fancies,” 228-229.
346 For a study of the life and career of Kobayashi Eitaku, see Matsura Akiko, “Kobayashi Eitaku no hito to sakuhin,” Museum 534 (1995): 19-35. The following discussion on Eitaku’s life is based on this article.
347 Takeda, Kano ha no kaigashi, 430.
home in Edo in 1864 (Genji 1). Eitaku continued exploring other picture making techniques, and ventured into illustrating floating world pictures. In fact, in the early Meiji era, he was even touted as an *ukiyo-e* painter by local newspapers.\(^{348}\) His paintings in this period departed from conventional Kano works, incorporating instead, methods the Kano did not employ, such as European-derived shading and the modeling of human figures. In *Sugawara Michizane Praying on Mount Tenpai* (1860-80s), for example, Eitaku used various shades and tones on Michizane’s neck and the back of his hand to highlight his neck muscles and protruding veins, heightening the dramatic scene where Michizane transformed into the god Tenjin (fig. 174). Scholars have compared this painting to Tsukioka Yoshitoshi’s (1839-1892) print of *Sugawara no Michizane* (circa 1880), which also depicts a wind-swept Michizane with his robes swirling around him (fig. 175).\(^{349}\) Yoshitoshi was a close acquaintance of Eitaku’s and had a tremendous impact on his work, but since Eitaku’s painting is undated, it is unclear whether Eitaku based his work on Yoshitoshi’s or vice versa.

With the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868, painters who served it, such as the Kano, lost their stipends and status.\(^{350}\) Despite the decline in the Kano painters’ fortunes, other painters who continued producing pictures that depicted the changes in contemporary life

\(^{348}\) In 1876 (Meiji 9), Eitaku sponsored a *shogakai* at the Nakamura restaurant and newspapers wrote of the event as “a lively affair by Tokyo’s top *ukiyo-e* master.” *Yomiuri shinbun*, Meiji 9, September 22; cited in Matsura, “Kobayashi Eitaku,” 20.


\(^{350}\) Jordan, “Strange Fancies,” 95-96. An anecdote recorded by Kyōsai’s son relates that Kyōsai encountered Kano Eitoku Tachinobu (head of the Nakabashi Kano branch and also Eitaku’s teacher) in the street one day, and upon asking him how he was doing, Eitoku responded that his household could no longer afford to employ women servants because of his financial difficulties, so he was reduced to eating sweet potatoes for lunch. See Kawanabe Kusumi, “Chichi Kyōsai o kataru – bō Kyōsui joshi no igo –,” *Kyōsai* 14 (1983): 15-16; cited in Jordan, “Strange Fancies,” 123.
Kyōsai and Eitaku exemplify painters who adapted by producing works that responded to the changing times. During the late 1860s, Kyōsai made many satirical prints that alluded to the chaos that ensued with the change in regime, in battle scenes with rabbits, badgers, and frogs (fig. 176). He was even imprisoned for his performance at a shogakai in 1870 (Meiji 3), when an official who was present at the party took offense at his satirical works. After prison, Kyōsai continued to supply pictures to his friend Kanagaki Robun, who wrote satirical pieces that targeted the authorities who aped western foreigners. Despite his critique of the numerous reforms that occurred in the early 1870s, Kyōsai did create works that showed his support of the new administration’s philosophy of Bunmei kaika (“civilization and enlightenment”). He produced, for instance, thirty-five illustrations for Watanabe Tazunu’s Aesop’s Fables, which was considered a key reading for understanding Western thinking and was later incorporated into children’s textbooks.

Differing from Kyōsai, Eitaku focused primarily on historical subjects and figures, combining his Kano training with western techniques to create dramatic compositions. He regularly participated in government-sponsored exhibitions and won awards for his paintings. He also exhibited in the first exhibition that was organized by the Ryūchikai, a quasi-governmental organization that was established to oversee overseas exhibitions, in Paris. In the first exhibition organized by Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) and the Kangakai (Society for the Appreciation of Painting) held in 1885 (Meiji 18), Eitaku’s painting won first prize. His

---

354 Clark, Demon of Painting, 23.
355 Ibid., 24.
356 In the first Domestic Industrial Exposition that took place in 1877 (Meiji 10), Eitaku submitted two paintings for the exhibition and won a prize. Matsura, “Kobayashi Eitaku,” 20-21.
submission of Tenson Kōrin at the National Exhibition to Promote Far Eastern Painting the following year was also awarded a prize. His work was well received by Fenollosa, who, according to Kano Tomonobu (1843-1912), said that it was seeing and collecting paintings by Kyōsai and Eitaku that inspired Fenollosa to study Japanese art when he arrived in 1878.\(^{357}\)

Kyōsai and Eitaku were close friends from the early 1870s, brought together by their comparable backgrounds. When Kyōsai held a *shogakai* in the Kawauchi restaurant in Ryōgoku, in the fifth month of 1873 (Meiji 6), he invited Eitaku and other good friends, such as the writer Robun, Chikaramochi no Tōsuke, and Ishizaki Fusakichi.\(^{358}\) When Eitaku encountered difficulties with the Kano for making prints and illustrations in the *ukiyo-e* mode, Kyōsai defended the younger painter.\(^{359}\) According to his biographer, Iijima Kyoshin (1841-1901), Kyōsai saw Eitaku as a kindred spirit, someone who shared similar experiences, and he often discussed painting methods with Eitaku.\(^{360}\) Besides *Kume the Immortal*, the two also collaborated on a painting of *Three Beauties*, with Watanabe Settei (1852-1918).\(^{361}\)

The Kume collaboration between Kyōsai and Eitaku, however, was a painting that drew on eighteenth-century precedents. In 1884 (Meiji 17), Kyōsai was summoned to the deathbed of Kano Tōshun Hidenobu, head of the Surugadai Kano branch where Kyōsai had trained.\(^{362}\) Toshun pleaded with Kyōsai to maintain the Surugadai lineage, as he saw no other qualified disciple who would be capable of doing so. Kyōsai agreed, and upon the death of Tōshun, he sought instruction from Kano Eitoku, head of the main Nakabashi Kano branch. Eitoku, as


\(^{361}\) Isao, “Kyōsai o meguru,” 29.

discussed above, had been Eitaku’s teacher, and as the head of the main Kano branch, had the authority over all matters regarding the extended Kano network. As Nakabashi Kano leaders had executed the two earlier Kume collaborations, the records of these paintings, if not the actual works themselves, likely remained in the Nakabashi Kano repository. It is possible, therefore, that Kyōsai discovered these earlier examples and saw them as an opportunity to re-establish a link with Kano traditions. Eitaku, being a close friend and also a descendant of the Nakabashi branch, must have made an ideal candidate for the collaboration.

Rather than juxtaposing two different painting modes, however, Kyōsai and Eitaku instead displayed their knowledge of Kano brushwork. Kyōsai painted Kume with swirling brushstrokes of varying lengths and ink tones, producing an animated figure falling from the sky (fig. 177a). He used only ink and a light blue wash to accentuate the figure. Eitaku portrayed the woman with a more colorful palette, but he, too, demonstrated his Kano training by using calligraphic lines to delineate the folds in the woman’s robes (fig. 177b). In the background, Eitaku painted a rocky riverbank with grass, and here, his use of the side of his brush to apply the ink and create a rough textured surface highlighted his knowledge of Kano techniques. By drawing on eighteenth-century collaborations of Kume, executed by their predecessors, the two painters appear to have been positioning themselves within the Kano lineage, signaling that they were familiar with the traditions and techniques of the school. This collaboration can be seen as a revivalism of Japanese painting tradition, not only to maintain the prestige of the Kano lineage, but also to support the construction of a new Japanese painting tradition.

363 In the catalog description of Eitaku and Kyōsai’s Kume the Immortal, Eitaku’s depiction of the laundry maiden was described as a contrast to Kyōsai’s Kume. See Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, Kano ha: Yonhyakunen no eiga, Heisei nijūichinendo shūki kikakuten (Tochigi: Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2009) 115. Eitaku might have used thin lines for the maiden’s face, arms, and legs, but on the whole, I think that his articulation of her robes, and the riverbank behind adheres more to a mode of depiction that is frequently employed by the Kano.
In this dissertation, I have introduced a group of exceptional collaborative paintings that defy conventional categorization. I have shown, through close analysis of each joint work, that painting production in the eighteenth century was inextricably linked to literary practices. Painters participated in complex social networks that greatly impacted how they worked and what they created. The collaborative paintings provide a window into these networks. Equally important, the collaborations show how the painters themselves became commodities and items for juxtaposition. By contextualizing these collective endeavors within a growing consciousness of painting lineages and reputations, I have demonstrated that it is precisely this awareness that made it possible for the painters to be objectified on a scroll.

By examining Kume the Immortal through the lens of collaboration, I showed that the juxtaposition of painter-in-attendance with ukiyo-e painter was not so much a contrast of high and low culture, but rather a comparison of distinct painting traditions. Nishikawa Sukenobu’s essay, and especially his discussion therein of yamato-e, revealed that the painter positioned himself within a line of painters that he considered yamato-e masters and that he saw himself also as an innovator of a new painting mode. My research on the lifestyle of a Kano painter-in-attendance also raised the question of agency. As I proposed, shogunal retainers who had access to the Kano painter-in-attendance, specifically those who were frequent composers of literary juxtapositions, would have been likely candidates to be the patrons behind the Kume collaboration.

Technically complex collaborations like the Fukurokuju with Courtesan and Geisha, which required extended time and labor, provided another basis for studying patronage activities of the elite. The assembly of multiple brushes here, unlike other collective works that were made
for celebratory occasions and were usually painted impromptu, suggests a coordinated effort to gather leading painters of the day to produce a highly-detailed work. Furthermore, the subject of the painting, which can be read as an interpretation of Three Star pictures or a Lucky God with two contemporary women, implies that these paintings were likely made for New Year’s. My investigation of the painters’ lives and their participation in poetry networks revealed that these paintings might have been conceived of in poetry gatherings, where painters were able to meet potential patrons.

*Enma and His Mirror* and its subsequent reproductions provided the opportunity to study how painters from different workshops formed connections through collaborations. The narrative of an underworld king engaging with contemporary maidens lends itself to connecting painters of a prestigious lineage with painters of the floating world. By contextualizing the collaborative paintings within the Hanabusa painters’ efforts to promote and perpetuate their founder’s legacy, I demonstrated that working collectively on Enma, too, became a means for strengthening visual bonds between past and present.

Only through the unraveling of each painting collaboration are we able to properly comprehend why painters worked together and to untangle the nuances of their efforts. It is my hope that my attempt to break down the conventional classifications of these paintings and study them through period evidence has revealed how complex painting practices and reception were in the eighteenth century. The presence of disparate painters on the same surface denoted the collaborative process, but at the same time, encouraged us to consider other related phenomena, such as lineage construction, visual poetry, and the objectification and collection of famous painters. This study has focused on examples in the late eighteenth century, with a glance at the
subsequent nineteenth century—but I hope my work encourages others to engage this area of research, in the spirit of collaboration, to examine other instances of joint cultural production.
Appendix

Nishikawa Sukenobu, “Painting and Color Application Methods Gahō Saishiki hō 画法彩色法” in Picture Book of Yamato Things (Ehon Yamato hiji 絵本倭事), 1738.1

The Picture Book of Yamato Things was published in 1738 (Genbun 3) in Osaka. It consists of ten volumes, nine of which contain illustrations by Nishikawa Sukenobu that are accompanied by explanations. The tenth volume features Sukenobu’s essay “Painting and Color Application Methods.” The book includes pictures of Japanese scenic sites, historical events and monuments, portraits of legendary heroes, famous court women, and men of letters. Sukenobu’s essay, appended to the ninth volume of the compilation, is a discussion of painting practices and methods, as well as a record of the painter’s perception of painting.

On the Practice of Painting (画図稽古之事)

When it comes to learning about paintings, it is difficult to [do this] only from one’s own understanding. It is essential to seek an outstanding master to study with. Writing characters is a different skill than painting. That is to say, mountains, streams, grasses, trees, human figures, birds, and beasts are each unique. As these myriad things are all different and not static, it is difficult to depict them as they appear. Pick a craftsman that one highly regards as master from whichever lineage, and concentrate on the following: first, learn the brushstroke and ink wash; next, practice painting the picture. The form of the painting will be weak if [the painter] delights in the outline of the picture and focuses only on the details of the painting. Even if one has painting talent, it would be difficult to attain profundity [in skill]. It

---

is important to grasp that every grass, tree, and figure possesses yin and yang (light and shade). For example, when depicting the overlapping leaves on the tree, the top surface that can be seen is in the light, whereas the side that faces the bottom is in the shade. Every element has these aspects, whether they are trees or rocks. Even the folds of garment on human figures have [areas of] light and shade. For good reason then, one should discern [these things].

On Brushstrokes that Accord with [various] Things (筆勢は物に応じる事)

To create a painting, the brushstroke must first be prioritized. The speed, strength, texture of the brushstroke must change [accordingly] when painting figures, birds and beasts, mountains and streams, and grasses and trees, which are varied in appearances. This has been the same from the ancient to present times. For example, when painting a dragon, the dragon's vigor should emerge from the tip of the brush. The dramatic forms of cliffs and rocks should be charged with the painter’s intention. For all things, follow and use the methods of the brush accordingly. Even if the painter is proficient at detailing the outlines of the picture, if there is no force in their brushstrokes, [the painting] will have no spirit. Consequently, [their painting] would look like embroidered patterns on cloth, and not [ink] on a painting. This is the same [when depicting] the beauty of the grasses and trees, and the
lustrous shapes of human figures. These methods have been found in numerous treatises left by the talented painting masters of ancient times. Pay attention to famous paintings of the past and present and learn from [them]. There is no time to record each of these things but how can a painter achieve profound skill if they view paintings by famous experts of the past without an understanding of the ways of the brush? Even the Six Laws of Painting by Tang scholars included these [concepts]. For the people learning painting, these things must be internalized.

On the Execution of Painting (画図運動の事)

According to old proverbs, paintings are said to be like shadows. However, this shadow does not [refer to] shade. Rather, it is like the resulting silhouette that is produced for instance, when the moonlight shines on the grass and trees. The reflected outline resembles a painted picture. Like a shadow, the higher and lower, the front and back, and the top and bottom surfaces of twigs and leaves on the trees appear distorted. When painting, if the painter considers the images of these distorted reflections, he will inherently internalize the

---

On Old Methods that Must be Preserved (古法を守るべき事)

It is important not to be biased toward aspects of life-likeness when considering how myriad things come into being. Being single-mindedly focused on painting from life will lead to [producing] mundane paintings. It is said even in proverbs that there are many exaggerated fiction [in painting]. Although it is not common to paint fictional scenes, [such pictures do exist]. According to ancient painting laws, [these include] the painting of the four seasons on a single scroll, Wang Wei’s banana tree in the snow, applying red and blue onto a blue and green painting, and so forth. Many of these painting methods have become unchanging rules. Therefore, it is important to think of these ancient examples [to offset] the bias towards life-

appearance and state of all things. This is the way of painting. By attentively observing warped impressions, as well as light and shade, one’s painting, like the sanctity of all things, will naturally come to life. It is easy to reproduce things freely. [To pay attention to misshapen images and light and shade, on the other hand, is difficult]. There are many stories of marvelous, transcendent masters such as the Tang painter, Wu Daozi, who depicted lively dragons with smoke and fog, Gu Guangbo, whose depictions of lions could heal one's fevers, and the excellent painters of our realm. These [individuals] became painting masters because they were all well versed with the way [of distorted images]. This is the true meaning of painting techniques. It is not necessary to think too deeply of this logic, but practicing it will enable the painter to understand all other things.

古への諫に絵は影の如しといへり、所謂影とは陰陽の陰にはあらず、たとえば草木など、月の影にてすきうつりたるが、繪を書きたる様に見ゆるをいふなり、其影のごとく、草木の枝葉高下前後表裏の體は、ひづみて明らかにみゆるなり、此ひづみを能々心懸て書得る時は、万象おのづから気色風情能こもる物なり、繪の道理といへる事こゝに有、此ひづみと陰陽とをつらつら心得ぬれば、万象聖のごとく図をなし、自然にはたらき有、諸事心にまかせて撰写することやすし、唐の呉道子画る龍の烟霧を生じ、顧光宝が画る獅子にて猟を癒せしたぐひ、本朝絶妙の画人等、屢神妙飛動の説あるも、皆此理に通達して画聖に至るものあり、画術の奥意こゝに止る、深くももび入て、此理を発明せんにはしかじ、餘は誰知すべし
On Ink Paintings and Grass Script (墨繪草筆の事)

The correct balance of ink and water must be properly understood when painting in grass script.³ Paint according to the thickness and thinness of the ink, even within a single dot. Depict everything with one stroke of the brush, including birds and beasts. Do the same whether it is the wings of the bird, the branches of the tree, or flowers and leaves. Do not repeatedly dip the brush when painting these forms. It is best not to let the ink crack while painting.

凡そ万物出生的道理を考へよく写すといへども、あなた生にのみ偏事有べからず、ひたすら写生を好み俗になる事多し、譜にも繪空事といふ事あり、すべてそらごとを書にあらねど、古へよりの画法に、或は四季を一紙に図し、王摩詰が雪中に芭蕉をゑがきし類ひ、丹青の疎の色を緑青にて塗来りたるなど、皆法則となりて是を改めざるるイ又多し、さばば専ら古例を考へ、生にかたよりて画法を亂しあやまることなかれどなり

On the Difference between Large and Small Paintings (大画小画差異之事)

For large paintings, brushstrokes are the first priority; wield the brush with considerable power. By painting weakly, [the final result] would be seen as a mistake. For deity votive tablets, temple doors and ceilings, or two-fold panels, it is customary to depict dragons and tigers, Chinese lions, and large birds and figures. To paint these pictures, it is best to use a brush with a long shaft. For small paintings, wield the brush lightly and paint in a soft manner. Strongly applying the brush in layers will result in a vulgar painting. Balance the ink

³ Grass script refers to cursive script in calligraphy.
wash so that it is not too thick. Small Oshi-e and handscrolls should be painted [in this manner].

大画は筆勢を第一に用ゆ、随分急筆に書べし、和らかに書ては、ぬかみて見ゆるものなり、社頭の繪馬、堂塔の天井或は杉戸、二枚屏風等の繪なり、是等は龍虎、獅子、大鳥、大人形の類多くゑがけり、これを書には、筆の軸の長さを用ひて尤よろし、小画は又筆法やはらかにして軽く書べし、強く重ければ繪様険しくなりて、必ず見飽ものなり、水墨を濃しつこからぬ様にと々のぶべし、小押繪、繪巻等の繪なるべし

The Secret Transmission of Painting Faces in Figure Painting (人形繪面體画様之秘伝)

In figure painting, first start with the nose and then paint both eyes. The nose is in the center of the face, so start from there to determine the rest. Take into account the various techniques when painting the overall form. Consider these aspects even when learning to paint grasses and trees.

人物をゑがく時は、まづ鼻より書はじめ次に両眼を書なり、是鼻は面體の中央なれば、是より書始る時は、顔の肉おき能定るなり、形ちを書には其はたらき次第にて、蒐角まへに成出る所を詮と書たるかよし、草木を書習ふも是にて能々辨知すべし

On Japanese Paintings (和画の事)

Waga (“Japanese paintings”) are [pictures of] immortal poets, the tales of Genji and Ise, the tales of the origins of temples and shrines, and so forth. When executing these paintings, handle the brush delicately even while emphasizing the energy in the brushstroke. There are pre-determined techniques for color application in paintings of the immortal poets and The Tale of Genji, and the [methods of] ancient paintings are slightly different from these techniques. Nevertheless, it is important to yield and depend on the old examples. But now should we still follow these ancient [methods]? The experts of the various forms of yamato-e up to now include Toba Sōjō Kakuyu, Tosa Mitsunobu, as well as Ukiyo Matabei. One
should paint in their flavor. Even the old conventions for applying colors on costumes should be understood and practiced. As for the paintings of my lineage, [I] prioritize contemporary fashions. As a result, the painting materials, color pigments, and so forth [that I use] might be different. Again, this is just one method, there are many oral traditions on painting. Therefore, it is necessary to be acquainted with the various [methods] and to study them.

On Avoiding Vulgarity in Painting (画図が俗を去ること)

In general, there are vulgarities that must be avoided in paintings. This is essential. When it comes to vulgar things, it is not that the figural form is not inelegant. Rather, it is when a painter captures the shapes of the grass and trees, lining up the branches and piling up the leaves, but does not reveal the essence of the tree groves and flowers. [In other words], it is like the elaborate patterns on women’s robes. It is [also] like the maki-e lacquer on vessels, where the brush’s lightness or heaviness and tonal gradations [cannot be detected]. The light and shade, [too], cannot be distinguished. It is the same [for the depiction of] birds and beasts or human figures. It is exceedingly unsightly to depict clothes and so forth as one pleases, capturing only the shape, without any vigor of the brush, or depicting the average face, hands, and feet without displaying the beauty of the brushwork. With the beautiful form of Japanese paintings, it is also the same. Eradicating the vulgar in grass [script] ink landscapes is even more important. Paintings of amateurs invariably all have [vulgarity] in them. Even so, it is difficult to understand how to avoid it. Therefore, seek a skilled painting master to

---

4 Maki-e refers to a technique of sprinkling gold or silver powder onto Japanese lacquer.
study with. In addition, observe the famous paintings of the ancients, and [consequently] the meaning [of painting] will dawn. By doing so, a painter will come to understand the profundity in the paintings of the experts. A painter will be able to paint at will upon reaching this point.

On the Importance of Executing Many Types of Paintings (画図は広く類を書くべき事)

There is nothing that cannot be depicted. Therefore, a painter must learn to depict many types [of painting] and should not be biased against one type or another. Learning to paint one thing, while overlooking a great variety of other [paintings], will result in an inability to develop one’s own skills. Paintings such as Zhi’ang’s horses and Bu Zhi’s plums are not part of the repertoire of craftsmen; rather, they are refined paintings of scholars. [These masters], for many years, enjoyed painting things that gave them pleasure, consequently, achieving expertise [in painting]. People have admired their superb [skills] and promoted their fame. Those who work on paintings should not be biased, [instead] they should paint and learn a wide [range] of things. In ancient times, to master the Chinese painting mode, many made paintings of sages, poets, and immortals. [To depict] people of this realm was a rarity. Occasionally, there would be a [Japanese] portrait, but everyone still used the painting mode
to depict Chinese or Indian figures. This brush method, however, does not apply to native people. Therefore, when depicted in such a manner, the images of Japanese people are not filled with spirit. It is erroneous to have this prejudice. Painters continue to learn from [previous] practices and return to the Chinese mode, depicting landscapes, cultivation scenes, and children playing, [consequently] discarding [subjects of] this realm. They believe in that other, far land, with disdain in their heart for their native country that is near. There is no difference between a Chinese and Japanese brush method, the slight difference in the resulting painting is namely a variation in water and earth [in both locations]. Even in our realm, from ancient times, we have had legendary heroes and prodigies. If the ancients did not paint [Chinese] figures, the people of this world would have seen [these native heroes]. How pleasurable it would be if [the people] could view the customs of this land. It is lamentable that they cannot. Even if I wholly put paintings of this land in my heart and paint it, against the forces of prejudice, there is no shortage of Chinese figures and landscapes painted by the ancient geniuses. To see things [depicted] in native mode is somewhat rare. Now, through this book, it is my humble intention to compensate and provide a reproduction of the historical things of Japan, the great figures of past and present, as well as the landscape and nature, for [your] perusal. When painting buildings and the figures inside, the Chinese and native methods are very different. The methods of this realm [consist of] depicting figural gestures and, moreover, balancing the proportion of figures to buildings. This is where the methods of this realm surpass [the Chinese]. In general, when it comes to Japanese paintings, there are countless inventions. Therefore, it is important to expand [our knowledge to] all types [of painting], and not be biased.

未絵画をなす事、天地の間物としてあづからずといふ事なし、さらば博く類をおし極めて偏るまじきわざなり、一品をのみ書習ひて、衆類に渉らざれば、芸せばくして共用あるべからず、所謂子昂馬補之梅の類は皆画工の仕業にあらず、何れも好事の士にして、我すける物について夫をえがき、自ら楽しむ事数年にして終りに玄妙
を得たは、世人の絶妙を感じて名を挙する物なり、縁を業とする者リ事に偏るべけんや、依て博く物を画して書習ふべき事あり、上古の縁多く唐画を師とし学びねばれ、唐流に着して其図する所、皆當時又は詩人仙客のたぐひのみにして、本朝の人物稀なり、たまたま神像などを画といへども、皆唐流を用ひさながら唐土天竺の人倫のごとし、筆法又は唐に着して和人に応せず、故に偶々和人形を書るも、唐めきて精神こもらず、是偏なるに非ずや、此故に其得たる所に本付て和流をいやしめ図形をなすにも唐山水、唐耕作、唐子遊ひなど、皆唐に帰して本朝を捨、是遠く他の国を信じて、近きわが国をいやしむの心ならずや、唐土日本筆法別なるにはあらずといへ共、すくしく違ふ所は是則和漢文士の異なるが故なり、本朝に古へより英士秀才なきにしもあられど、古人其人物を図せざれば世人見ることなし、此国にして此国の風俗を見識せば、豊楽しからざらんや、嘆息せずにば有べからず、予専ら和画に心を立ててかこそも此意にして強て偏にはあらず、唐流の人物山水等は先古の妙手時々縁がきて欠うことなし、和流の物は稀見る事稀なり、今この書によって本朝の故事、古今の人々及び山水草木を模写して参見に備ふ、いささか欠たるを補ふの微志ならんか、蓋し家台を画きて人物を中に書る事も、唐土の法は人と家宅との分量大に相違す、吾朝の法は人物の所作、おもかまに書かさされて、しかも家宅と人とのわりふすこそもし違はず、本朝画法の勝たる事、此類をもて量知すべし、総て和画に発明した事技挙するに違あらず、依て著く類にわたりて、一事に泥み偏るべからずとぞ。

Yamato-e master Bunkadō Nishikawa Sukenobu from Rakuyō (Kyoto)

洛陽大和繪師文華堂西川祐信

A Summary of Color Application Methods (彩色之法大意)

According to the Six Laws [of painting], it is most important to know how to apply color according to what is being depicted. Paintings that use thick color pigments are known as goku saishiki. A slightly abbreviated [version] of this is called chū saishiki. A light application [of color] is known as usu saishiki. Since ancient times, goku saishiki were mostly done by preparing the under-drawing, then painting the various color pigments thickly above it. Ink was then used to delineate the folds in the garment and so forth, and after that, the patterns were produced. This is known as nuritsuke. Indeed, this was a process that was easy and resulted in lively pictures. Although it appeared simple, when inking above the applied color pigments, the ink strokes would easily seep into the colors and run. As a result, the ink lines appeared indistinct and unrefined. This technique was discontinued in the early
modern period. The goku saishiki of contemporary times involves attaching an under-drawing, then tracing the sketch onto [the painting]. Then, the color pigments are applied, and the shading of the draperies created. The patterns and so forth are produced afterwards. When done in this way, the brushstroke appears distinct and refined. However, even now, the nuritsuke method is still used on small paintings. As these paintings are usually executed with light colors, [the nuritsuke method] is efficient. When it comes to goku saishiki, it cannot be done without the thick application of colors. If the [pigment] powder is too thick, however, it will result in flaking. On old paintings, there are many paintings with applied colors that have fallen off due to the thick layering of pigments. For silk paintings, [the pigments] flake off even easier. Chū saishiki is done by applying colors on the ink tracings before brushing the folds in the draperies. In Chinese paintings, regardless of the color of the clothing, an organic red dye (shō-enji) is used for the shading. As a result, even now, in Japan, the painters of Buddhist figures still use this [painting] mode. For traditional paintings, they do not make use of this at all. Painters use various colors to depict the folds of the garment. Bear in mind that when brushing on the color pigments, make sure that the brush has a considerable purplish appearance.

六法にも随類賦彩といへり、彩色の法大概知ずんば有べからず、其法丹青の委き物をして、極ざいしきといひ、稍是を略せるを中彩色とし、かろく施すを薄彩色といへり、古来の極彩色といふ物、多くはまづ地絵をとへ、其上をそれぞれの絵具にて濃めつて、かさせて衣紋等を墨にて書わり、其後模様地絵等をなす、これを塗付仕立てといへり、尤もその手際奇麗にして、しかもなし易しけど、彩色の上にて墨書をする時は、筆勢ぬらめきて、俗になり安し、仏仏世これを止む、當時の極ざいしは白紙にとくと地絵を付、其墨痕を彫出して、総地に絵具を塗て、衣紋をまをなし、其後模様地絵等を急ぐ事なり、如此する時は、筆勢もありととして俗ならず、然れども今も細画には、塗付彩色を用むるなり、是又かろく清らかにして、絵画に益あり、総じて極ざいしきなりとて、みだりに絵具を厚く付べからず、粉厚ければ必ず後に落损する物なり、古き絵に彩色の著る物すくからず、これ粉厚さが故なり、絹地は猶更落やすき物なり、中彩色は塗跡の上へ、一面に絵

---

Josiah Conder identifies shō-enji as rose madder, a vegetable dye that is commonly used as a glaze over other colors. See Conder, *Paintings and Studies*, 21-22. See also Winter, *East Asian Paintings*, 19.
There are various kinds of gofun. The gofun that is made from calcified shells is best.\(^6\) To prepare it, place it in a deep cup, grind it well, and mix with animal glue (nikawa). Then gradually add some water before using.

Among vermilions, the bright red version known as kōmeishu from China have the best color. Japanese vermilion is not good. As for its preparation, it is the same as that for gofun.

The best lead red is called kōmeitan. The preparation is the same [as gofun and vermilion]. For a short moment, lead red has a beautiful color, but after a year or two, it will rust and turn dark and become extremely unpleasant. For that reason, it is not used in contemporary paintings.

Copper blue (konjō) is a sand known as iwa konjō (azurite) that comes from silver mines.\(^7\)

There are various kinds and one should use those with the best color. The ones that come

---

\(^6\) Here, the term “顔胡粉” probably refers to “面胡粉,” which is gofun that is derived from calcified shells. (I am indebted to Seki Sayoko for patiently describing to me the various types of gofun.)

\(^7\) Conder describes konjō as a blue carbonate copper that is a deep, lapis-lazuli blue. See Conder, *Paintings and Studies*, 21.
from China, known as *hana-konjō* is inferior. Traditional paintings do not use this. [As for the preparation], combine with animal glue and slowly stir it with a brush before painting.

For copper green (*rokushō*), malachite (*iwa-rokushō*) is best. It is derived in the same way as copper blue. As for the preparation and application of copper green, it is the same as copper blue. Copper green from Nara, called *nara-rokushō*, is a manufactured pigment so it is inferior. Never use [such products].

*Gunjō* is a finer form of copper blue (*konjō*) with a color that has a light red [tinge]. White-azurite (*byaku-gunjō*) is a paler product. Depending on the color you want, apply accordingly. As for the preparation, it is the same as with copper blue. With this, one also needs to stir it well before applying.

White-copper green (*iwa byaku-roku*) is a fine version of copper green. Its color is whitish, which accounts for its name. Its preparation is the same as for *gofun*.

---

8 Conder describes *rokushō* as a copper powder that is emerald green in color. He also noted that *iwa-rokushō* is the brightest kind. See Conder, *Paintings and Studies*, 21. Winter explained that *iwa-rokushō* is malachite, a basic copper carbonate. See Winter, *East Asian Paintings*, 26.

9 *Gunjō* and *iwa-gunjō* are both derivations of azurite. Winter, *East Asian Paintings*, 28.

10 Conder noted that *byaku-gunjō* was a blue that approached cobalt. Conder, *Paintings and Studies*, 21.

11 Conder describes it as a milky emerald green. Ibid.
Reddish-purple (*enji*) is prepared from the sappanwood tree. Like *gofun*, it is solid in form, and purple. Its preparation is the same as with *gofun*.

Yellow ochre (*ōdo*) is an earth [pigment]. Its preparation is the same as with *gofun*.

Manufactured yellow ochre is made by mixing a good quality vermillion stick with gamboge (*shiō*), and then *gofun* is added.

Purple is likewise, an earth [pigment]. Its preparation is the same as yellow ochre.

The organic red dye (*shō-enji*) comes from China. It is dampened on cotton. There are large and small wads of this dye-soaked cotton. Whichever it is, the color is always an unchanging red. Soak it in water, and when you squeeze it with your finger, a red liquid will emerge. Use that without adding any animal glue.

Gamboge comes from China. It is a hard rock that is yellow in color. The sand version of this pigment does not have a good color. A single, smooth rock is best. Place some water in a saucer, and rub the rock back and forth like [an] ink [stick] in order to use. This is also not mixed with animal glue.
The raw cake-form of indigo (ai) is difficult to produce. There are prepared forms of indigo for sale. This is largely what is used. First, fill a vessel with water, then place the lump of indigo inside. After filtering out the impurities, grind it to use. Animal glue is not added.

To obtain gold paint (kindei), place a small amount of animal glue into a saucer, [then] take some gold leaf on your finger and add it into the [saucer]. With your finger, grind it into powder. After that, sprinkle some water [in the mixture] and use.

With silver paint, one uses it in the same way as gold paint. However, although silver paint is beautiful at the moment [of application], after a year or two, the color changes and it becomes dark. Therefore, in recent years, [I] do not like to use it as much. Use a little only when it is difficult not to.

The best animal glue are the ones known as translucent animal glue (suki-nikawa). Fill some water in a vessel and place the animal glue inside. Boil it over the fire. When it has dissolved, mix in the color pigments. At the bottom, there might be remnants and so forth, strain it with a cloth before using.
On Applying the Alum  
(とうさ引の事)

To create a painting with applied colors, whether it is on silk or paper, alum is employed. Grass script paintings in ink do not use alum. To prepare [alum], place a bit of animal glue and alum in water and boil it until it is well dissolved. Strain it with a cloth, and then apply with a flat, broad brush (hake). Depending on the occasion, raw silk is sometimes used for traditional paintings.

When it comes to ink, the best ink soot comes from Nara. The ink used for painting has weak animal glue. Soft ink is best. The ones with a lot of animal glue are sticky and inferior. Dry the ink well before using.

For painting brushes, use [those made with] the deer’s long fur in the summer for large paintings. Deer’s fur in the winter, which is shorter, is best used for small paintings.

For flat, broad brushes, use deer’s fur in the winter. There are brushes that range from five bu (bun), to one, two, and five sun.¹² To apply the alum, a thick, broad brush with a long tip is best.

¹² Here, I believe bu (歩) means bun (分). 1 bun is approximately 3mm, 1 sun is approximately 3.03 cm. The sizes likely refer to the width of the brush. I am grateful to Seki
刷毛は冬鹿毛にてゆふ、五歩より一寸二寸五寸に至る、どうさばけは、はゝ廣く毛さき長くして、毛の厚きを用てよし

_Yakifude_ ("burnt brush") [is made] with cypress bark without nodes, that contain no resin, and that are not greasy. Dry it well before splitting and charring it for use.¹³

朽筆は、檜の節なく脂油気なき、能かれたらをわりて焼つかふなり

As for paper, Chinese paper without impurities are used. For handscrolls and so forth, _torinokoshi_ (a brownish-white paper), manufactured in Echizen (present-day Fukui prefecture) was previously used. However, after a while, _torinokoshi_ had creases so it was not good anymore. Chinese paper used for painting is an extremely good product.

紙は唐紙の塵なきを用ゆ、巻物などには越前生瀬の鳥子紙を用ゆ、但し鳥子は後に折目付てあしき物なり、唐紙は絵に用ひて甚能ものなり

As for silk, use raw silk where the vertical and horizontal threads are even and untangled. [Such silk] is called traditional painting silk. In paintings of sacred images, gold leaf that is [pasted] on the back surface of a silk that has course weaving is sometimes used. However, for traditional paintings, silk [with course weaving] is not suitable.

The above items are all descriptions and aphorisms by ancient masters. Over the years, I have used them myself and recorded the beneficial [methods]. Responding to the good intentions of the Kanseidō bookstore, I have translated these jottings into the common language for those who are keen on painting.

---

¹³ This is similar to charcoal in western painting.

Sayoko for pointing me to Hayashi Moriatsu’s 1721 _Gasen_, which includes an illustration of various types of broad brushes used for painting. See Hayashi Moriatsu, _Gasen_, vol. 1 (Naniwa (Osaka): Hojudō, 1721), 15. (Accessed from the Waseda University Library of Japanese and Chinese Classics Database.)
絵絹は生絹の堅横そろひ絹のふしなき本絵絹といふ物を用ゆべし、裏箔絹とて薄き絹あり、佛像絹などに用ゆ、絹目透て本絹にはよろしからず右数條は平昔師に就て聞る所の要旨格言にして、且愚家に年末用ひ来り、其益有事共を書記して、畵の事に心を寄する童蒙晩進に便りせんと、其孤陋を忘れて、漫に俚語を綴り、書林管生堂の善念に應ずる事爾なり、

Spring, Tsuchinoeuma (1738) Kyō (Kyoto) master Bunkadō

戊午春 京師 文花堂右京誌

194
Bibliography


Fong, Mary H. “The Iconography of the Popular Gods of Happiness, Emolument, and Longevity (Fu Lu Shou).” *Artibus Asiae* 44, no. 2/3 (1983): 159-199.


Isoda, Koryûsai 磯田湖龍齋. *Konzatsu yamato sōga* 混雑倭神画. 1781. British Museum Collection (1979,0305,0.141.1).


202


219


