Visualizing the classics : reading surimono and kyōka books as social and cultural history

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Chapter 5: Visualizing the classics: Intellectual networks and cultural nostalgia

5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates how *kyōka* poets acquired their knowledge of classical literature, discusses the way in which poets and illustrators visualized literature in their projects, and reflects on what their motivations were for referring to specific elements in cultural history. Shunman's *kokugaku* connections have been elucidated by Tanaka, and *kokugaku* influences in two *surimono* series that Shunman designed in the first half of the 1810s have been researched by Carpenter.[302] My investigation continues on their approach by tracing how other major *kyōka* poets and *surimono* designers were connected to intellectual networks of their time; in particular to scholars of the classical texts that inspired literary *surimono* series. Moreover, textual information in the *surimono* is matched to contemporaneous scholarship. Did knowledge of classical literature enter *kyōka* society via printed exegetical texts in commercial editions, or are ties to scholars generally so close that *surimono* creators had access to such knowledge already before the general public did? How did *kyōka* poets relate to the ideological underpinnings of the *kokugaku* movement? And is there any relation between birth class and the influx of cultural knowledge detectable in *kyōka* society? Answering these questions will clarify where *surimono* creators gained their understanding of the classical texts they visualized, and what role each of these creators played.

Related to the overall characteristics of visualization of the classics and the provenance of knowledge, is the obvious tendency towards cultural nostalgia. *Kyōka* poets not only referred to the cultural past in their poetry; they also enacted it through competitions in a classical style and some poets were even known to sport classical dress. They not only visualized the classics, they lived it - albeit in the confines of *kyōka* gatherings. This is what McKee calls the "classical revival"; *kyōka* poets' attempts to become the "contemporary manifestation" of an idealized cultural past.[303] The cultural nostalgia that is evident from the *kyōka* materials from the 1780s through 1830s coincides with nativist tendencies in Edo thinking as expressed in the focus in contemporaneous scholarship on the reconstruction of purely Japanese history and arts. The people who engaged in *kyōka*, who present themselves as culturally savvy, appear to form an active part of this wave.

Kokugaku: scholarly and ideological movement

The term *kokugaku* ('national learning') applies to a tradition of philological scholarship aimed at achieving a better understanding of classical texts in Japanese, as well as the ideological movement that it evolved into. Many of the eighteenth century scholars now associated with (the onset of) this tradition actually commonly used the term *wagaku* ('Japanese learning'), as opposed to *kangaku* ('Chinese

[302] Tanaka (1993 [1][2][3]); Carpenter (2004). These two series, *Torikaebaya monogatari* and *Kamakurashi*, were commissioned by poets affiliated to the Hakuraku circle.
[303] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 430.

learning').[304] *Kokugaku* scholars favored the philological method of *kōshōgaku* 考証学, 'critical philology', meticulously tracing the etymologies and meanings of words and expressions encountered in classical texts.[305] Their production of commentaries on classical texts has had three major (interacting) outcomes; wider access to scholarship, the formation of a canon of Japanese literature, and the development of a nativist discourse.

First, *kokugaku* scholars succeeded in breaking through the elite monopoly on the study of texts originally produced largely at and for the imperial court. Earlier commentaries on classical texts were written by aristocrats who were rather secretive about the sources of their knowledge.[306] The divide between 'Old commentaries' from the imperial court tradition on the one hand and the 'New commentaries' by *kokugaku* scholars on the other has been discussed by Thomas J. Harper, who has carefully investigated and discussed the developments in *Genji monogatari* commentaries during the eighteenth century.[307] Respective social backgrounds of the 'Old' and the 'New' scholars played a significant role in approach, asserts Harper.[308] Naturally, the effect of zealous academics who opposed to the secretive stance of earlier scholars was that newly uncovered knowledge of classical texts was disseminated to a much wider audience than before. *Kokugaku* scholars taught students and also published their new commentaries, which in turn led to an emancipation of knowledge of classical literature.

Second, the choice for certain texts as object of study in turn contributed to the formation of the canon of Japanese literature as it was perceived by the non-aristocratic population. When non-aristocratic *kokugaku* scholars devoted their time to texts that had not reached the general population at an earlier stage, this created the possibility relatively unknown texts became part of the body of literature with which the majority of the literate Japanese were acquainted. This meant that judgement of what constituted Japanese literature shifted from the elite - limited in number - to a large part of the entire population. Provided that the elite were preoccupied with any judgement of the Japanese canon in the first place. For, as Harper states: "As far as the nobility were concerned, the notion of what we now call Japanese Literature did not exist. The literature of Japan was not a national heritage. It was the family property of the nobles whose ancestors had written it - or at best the cultural heritage of the aristocratic class."[309]

Third, *kokugaku* scholars were certainly preoccupied with that notion of Japanese literature; the *kokugaku* movement not only studied the contents of classical Japanese texts - they also sought to isolate the essence of the 'Japanese spirit' as captured in these texts. This is particularly true for medical doctor

[304] Burns (2003), p. 2; Nosco (1990), p. 94.
[305] Winkel (2004), explains that *kōshōgaku* 考証学 (which she translates as "evidential research") was a "new development in Confucianism", in China that is, which "emerged as a reaction against the established speculative and normative Neo-Confucian world-view" (p. 3.).
[306] Harper (2000), pp. 113-116; Marra and Motoori (2007), pp. 4-5.
[307] Harper (2000), pp. 106-123.
[308] Harper (2000), p. 121, traces the denomination of 'Old' and 'New' to the poet and literary scholar Hagiwara Hiromichi 萩原広道 (1813/5-1863).
[309] Harper (2000), pp. 119.

and prominent *kokugakusha* of the late eighteenth century Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), who is known for the way he combined literary scholarship and nativist ideology. But also before him, starting with the Shingon Buddhist monk and literary scholar Keichū 契沖 (1640-1701), regarded as the first of the 'New commentators',[310] various scholars took part in what Susan Burns calls "a series of attacks on the transculturalism and transhistoricism that had been the intellectual norm."[311] In the words of Peter Nosco: "One of the most conspicuous features of nativist thought in eighteenth-century Japan was its vilification of Buddhism and Confucianism as "foreign" creeds alleged to have had a deleterious impact upon the national character and polity."[312] In order to counteract the influence of "China" on Japanese language and culture, focus was placed on 'ancient' texts that were thought to contain an uncontaminated version of Japanese culture.

Cultural nostalgia in *kokugaku*

The combination of scholarship on Japanese classical texts and nativist ideologies reflects a distinct longing for a bygone era of Japanese culture. My use of the term nostalgia acknowledges the discussion of that term by Nosco - in relation to Japanese nativist discourse - who describes it in part as an emotion: "When one is dissatisfied with one's immediate situation, it can be a comforting exercise to imagine and construct a more pleasing idealized environment.".[313] This succinct statement actually encompasses an idea of what constitutes nostalgia, why one would harbor such feelings, and how to cope with them. The question that remains is who these sufferers from such nostalgia were. The *kokugaku* movement itself was not main stream during the eighteenth century, explains Harper.[314] If only a handful of early *kokugakusha* and the limited number of their followers could be said to foster this nostalgia for ancient Japan, the movement would have not been of great impact. By the early nineteenth century, however, the work of Norinaga and fellow scholars received further recognition and numbers of scholars and students had increased. Increased publication of *kokugaku* scholarship points to a broader readership as well. This should not be a surprise, given the fact that the *kokugaku* commentaries were in part aimed at making classical texts available, as well as readable, to a wider audience.

The position of *kyōka* networks:
Connections to scholarship

This chapter looks at where the *kyōka* society of the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century was positioned in this context of *kokugaku* scholarship, canon formation, nativist ideology, and cultural nostalgia. I will touch on the main conclusions here in advance, before moving on to the contents of the investigations that led me to these. The interest in *kokugaku* scholarship and the proximity to *kokugaku*

[310] The aforementioned Hagiwara Hiromichi was the first to do so. See Harper (2000), pp. 107-8.
[311] Burns (2003), p. 52.
[312] Nosco (1990), p. 41.
[313] Nosco (1990), p. 4.
[314] Harper (2000), pp. 116-7.

scholars on the part of certain *kyōka* poets has been amply demonstrated in previous studies as mentioned above. Below, I will present further connections to *kokugaku* scholarship that became clear from my investigations of the *Tosa nikki* and *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series. It deserves to be stressed once again here that my research reveals that the many connections to *kokugaku* scholarship were by no means exclusive. The many instances where knowledge of Chinese literary classics and historical figures appears in *surimono*, reveals that Chinese culture was all but ignored.[315] Many *kyōka* poetry groups commissioned (series of) *surimono* on Chinese subjects, even if major figures in that group were themselves *kokugaku* scholars, such as in the case of the Asakusagawa.[316] Another example is prominent *surimono* designer and poet Gakutei, who participated in the translation of a Chinese novel. This does not make him a *kangaku* scholar per se, yet it demonstrates that active engagement with Chinese literature was also present in *kyōka* networks.

Surimono **production as contribution to canon formation**

Surimono inspired by works of classical literature outside the canon that was usually treated in commercially published prints occupy a unique position in the reception history of those texts. Many of the literary *surimono* series were inspired by texts dating from the Heian period, whether well-known or obscure. In the case of the *Tale of Genji*, which from olden times had known a tradition of alternating text and illustrations in the format of picture hand scrolls, *emakimono* 絵巻物, or the *Tales of Ise*, which appeared in an illustrated woodblock printed *sagabon* 嵯峨本[317] edition first in 1608, the iconography for the illustration of the principal incidents had been well-established.[318] However, for *Tosa nikki* or *Torikaebaya monogatari*, for example, no illustrated publications can be identified prior to their illustration on *surimono* by Kubo Shunman in the 1810s.[319] Consequently, these *surimono* feature both novel literary allusions and illustrations outside the realm of existing pictorial traditions. First, an overview of literary *surimono* series will be given, with comments on approach to both illustration and poetry, and their place in the reception history of the respective works of classical literature. Then follow the principal case studies in this chapter; the investigation of the visualization of *Tosa nikki* and *Tsurezuregusa* in *surimono* by Shunman and other designers, analysing what kind of "new iconographies", as Carpenter calls them, were being established.[320] This approach will help judge whether the poets and designers involved in the various *surimono* series should be understood to constitute a cultural avant-garde breaking new ground in the reception of classical literature, or whether they should be seen as enthusiasts who trailed behind

[315] This is actually more often the case in single sheet publications than in *surimono* series.
[316] See biography of Sensōan Ichindo in section 5.2.1, as well as the overview of *surimono* series in appendix III. For connections between the Asakusagawa and *kokugaku* scholarship, specifically for the case of Hokusai, see Machotka (2009), pp. 178-186.
[317] Deluxe productions, printed on tinted paper, usually printed with movable type. Named after the town of Saga 嵯峨 near Kyoto, where these books were produced in the early 1600s.
[318] See for instance Murase (1983), Mostow and Tyler (2010). Mostow (2014), pp. 240-242, has distinguished two lineages of iconographies for *Ise monogatari*; that of the *sagabon* and that derived from the painting workshop of Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達 (n.d., 17th century).
[319] The *Torikaebaya monogatari surimono* series was investigated by Carpenter (2004).
[320] Carpenter (2008).

scholarship of the time, or even followed behind the cross-over from scholarship to popular knowledge.

Choice for new or old scholarship and the positions that *surimono* series occupy in contemporary scholarly debate

Around the time the *Tosa nikki surimono* series was issued, the mid-1810s, there was a sudden increase in the publication of commentaries and annotated editions. Until the 1810s, the most recent major commentary to *Tosa nikki* was a written by the famous poet and scholar on classical Japanese literature Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624-1705), issued in 1648. In the second half of the 1810s, three influential commentaries were published: Fujitani Mitsue **富士谷御杖** (1768-1823) from Kyoto wrote *Tosa nikki tomoshibi* **土佐日記灯** (*'Shedding light on Tosa nikki'*) in 1816, which was circulated a year later - apparently in manuscript only. Kishimoto Yuzuru, from Edo, wrote the *Tosa nikki kōshō* 土佐日記考証 (*'Evidential commentary on Tosa nikki'*) that he finished in 1815, and first published in 1819.[321] Another year later, in 1820, *Kōchū Tosa nikki* **校註土佐日記** (*'An annotated Tosa nikki'*), written by Katō Isotari **加藤磯足** (1747/8-1809) from Owari domain (present-day Nagoya), appeared in print. This was a posthumous publication, apparently at the instigation of Ichioka Takehiko **市岡猛彦** (1781-1827), a fellow pupil under Motoori Norinaga.[322] The time lapse between the work of 'Old commentator' Kigin and these three early nineteenth century *kokugaku* scholars is remarkably long. Though other books had been issued in between, these were - judging from their use as reference work to date, as well as the number of copies surviving - not of lasting importance.[323] This is corroborated by Kishimoto Yuzuru, who states that although many annotations had appeared, Kigin was the most widely referred to.[324]

A close comparison to the commentaries reveals that the work by Kigin was relied on for spelling of the introductory paragraphs on the *surimono* in the *Tosa nikki* series. For instance, that of the 22nd day of the 12th month corresponds with the spelling in Kigin, which differs from that in Mabuchi/Nabiko, Isotari and Yuzuru.[325]

On the *surimono*:

kami shi naka mo ei akite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite asareaeru

[321] *Tosa nikki kōshō* was published in two volumes. I hereby express my gratitude to Mr. J. Kikuchi at J-texts (http://www.j-texts.com/pdfcd/0102.html), for providing me with the digital photographs of a (late 19th century) reprint edition of *Tosa nikki kōshō*, kept in the Fukazawa Akio Collection.
[322] As is stated in the preface (dated 1818) to this work, by Hata Kanae 秦鼎 (1761-1831).
[323] An overview of available books concerning the *Tosa nikki* is given in appendix II. Apart from printed editions, copied editions of sorts (*shahon*) surviving today are also added to this inventory. This data is all derived from the online databases of the National Institute of Japanese Literature: http://www.nijl.ac.jp/contents/d_library/index.html.
[324] In his own preface to his *Tosa nikki kōshō*.
[325] Kigin's spelling is congruent with the manuscript copied by Fujiwara Teika. See Hagitani (1974), p. 62. Data and characters for Mabuchi, Nabiko, and Yuzuru to follow below. Commentary by Mabuchi/Nabiko dates from 1771 (see appendix II). The text by Fujitani Mitsue could not be verified.

かみしなかもゑひあきていとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあされあへる

Kitamura Kigin:

kami shi naka mo ei akite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite asareaeru

かみしなかもゑひあきていとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあされあへる

Kamo no Mabuchi/Katori Nabiko:

kami naka shimo ei akite, itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite azareaeru

かみなかしもゑひあきて、いとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあざれあへる

Kishimoto Yuzuru:

kami naka shimo ei sugite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite azareaeri

かみなかしもゑひすぎていとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあざれあへり

Katō Isotari:

kami naka shimo ei sugite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite azareaeru

かみなかしもゑひすぎていとあやしくしほ海のほとりにてあざれあへる

Since Kitamura Kigin wrote the best-known commentaries on *Genji monogatari*, titled *Kogetsushō* 湖月抄 (‘*Moon over the lake commentary*’, 1673), his commentary on *Tosa nikki* was a logical choice for *surimono* creators to rely on. The authority of Kigin’s *Kogetsushō* is acknowledged in several *kyōka* illustrations; see for instance figs 15 and 16.[326] This is actually not unique to *kyōka*; the wooden box holding the 60-volume work appears in various commercially published ukiyoe as well. Despite the fact that new research on *Tosa nikki* was being carried out around the time that this text was chosen as subject for the *surimono* series, the creators of that series rather relied on Kigin’s work that had been the standard for 140 years. Of course, it is possible that this *surimono* series was issued even before the most recent studies - and alternative spellings - by Yuzuru and Isotari had become available to the poets and the designer.

[326] Yet another example is illustrated in Kok (2010), p. 70.

Fig. 15. The poet (Senbaien 千梅園) Karakoto 唐琴 from Sendai, reading the second volume (out of 60) of *Kogetsushō*. Featured on *chō* 3 verso of *Kyōka eiyū jinbutsushi* 狂歌英勇人物誌 (‘*Record of kyōka heroes*’), edited by Shiseidō Sutena, Kinjuen Futaki and Sairaikyo Mibutsu, illustrated by Keisai Eisen. Private publication, possibly instigated by meeting organizer (*saishu* 催主) and Gogawa judge Shōeishi Futaba 松栄子二葉. Not dated, but c. 1820s, coll. National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-229.

Fig. 16. The poet Ikedai Hireo 生鯛鰭雄 (KJJ, p. 190), 4 recto in *Kyōka gazō sakusha burui jō* 狂歌画像作者部類 上 ('*Illustrated categorization of kyōka poets*', upper volume), edited by Rokujuen, illustrated by Hōtei Gosei, published by Bunkōdō 文光堂 in Bunka 8, 1811, coll. National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-237.

***Kyōka* poets did not strictly subscribe to nativist ideology**

The way in which *kyōka* poets of both commoner and samurai descent visualized the classics fits into a pattern of appropriation of the cultural past otherwise guarded by the court nobility such as discussed above, as well as professional *waka* poets who were not members of the nobility. Indeed, *surimono* creators did not shy away from subjects that could be considered as belonging to more elite, and historically unapproachable layers of society. The content of such *surimono* in general prove that allusions were more than superficial, demonstrating a profound knowledge of the classical texts that were eagerly studied and introduced to a wider audience as part of a shared cultural heritage. To some extent, appreciation of the classics made its way also to commercial prints and books, crossing over to popular culture and common knowledge. The sincere and direct interest in the classics as expressed in *surimono* displayed a level of involvement that was, however, beyond the scope of commercial publications. As such, *surimono* - and, to some extent, *kyōka* books - represent material manifestations of larger tendencies towards cultural nostalgia in Edo period intellectual milieus.

In contrast to ideological aspects of *kokugaku*, cultural nostalgia in *kyōka* is inclusive, in the sense

that foreign influences such as Buddhism and Confucianism are not subject to the "vilification" detected by Nosco.[327] This is also one of McKee's conclusions: "*Kyōka surimono* thus operate by extending an open-ended, non-exclusive receptivity to every available aspect of cultural experience, gathering up all manner of categories, beings and activities into its storehouse of signifiers, for meaningful arrangement in the text-image complexes of its signifying space."[328] Indeed, the same Asakusagawa that commissioned *surimono* series on classical Japanese literary themes also issued the series such as *Five Tiger Generals*, *Gokō shōgun* 五虎将軍, essentially a subject of Chinese origin, despite the fact that the *kyōka* circle leader himself was actively involved in *kokugaku*. *Surimono* series related to Confucianism are scarce, but two complete series on the Japanese version of the twenty-four paragons of filial piety prove that such foreign influences were by no means off-limits.

It is questionable, then, whether the treatment of foreign themes and texts in *surimono* and *kyōka* books can be explained as part of a tendency of cultural self-identification - in this case, identifying the other as a means for identifying the self. The aim to distinguish original Japanese values from foreign - principally Chinese - influences, which is attributed to much of the ideological aspects of the *kokugaku* movement, is often interpreted as a way of isolating a national cultural identity. One could indeed argue that the contemporaneous current of cultural self-identification through study of classical texts - whether Japanese or Chinese for that matter - is evident in a good portion of *kyōka* materials. In general, however, the nostalgia prevails over the debate. In an article on Chinese influences in books and prints from the 1750s to the 1850s, Ellis Tinios detects: "a vision of a land in which those disenchanted with their own society imagined men of their sensibilities were valued".[329] Tinios - incorporating a quotation from Marius B. Jansen - states that "For Japan, China 'served as classical antiquity, a Renaissance Italy, and an eighteenth-century France all in one'. China as an abstraction also played an important role within Japan".[330] Evidence of this can be found in the appearance of comparisons between China and Japan in *kyōka* materials, with titles using the term *wakan* 和漢, in fact matching the classical 'Wa (Yamato) and Han'.[331] *Kyōka* materials and *surimono* in particular display an awareness of the debates and developing thoughts on national identity, yet include classical Chinese examples in their nostalgia rather than oppose to these.

Kyōka materials from Edo refer and allude to *kokugaku* thought, but do not take a strong ideological stance. Although the body of *surimono* series displays a distinct penchant for classical subjects throughout,

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[327] Nosco (1990), p. 41.
[328] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 515-516.
[329] Tinios (1998), p. 25. This quote particularly pertains to painting manuals, but I take the notion to apply to printed materials relating to China in a broader sense.
[330] Tinios (1998), p. 19. Quote from Jansen, Marius B. (1995), *Japan and its world: Two centuries of change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 11.
[331] For instance, a set of two commissioned by the Shūchōdōshachū, designed by Gakutei in the 1820s. See appendix III. Another example - despite not mentioning *wakan* in the title - is the series *Bunbōshiyū* 文房四友 ('*Four friends of the writing table*') designed by Gakutei, in which four Japanese and four Chinese literary and historical figures are presented.

surimono series actually directly referring to the ancient texts that were studied by in relation to the (mythical) creation of Japan are rare.[332] Only two sets come to mind: '*The rock door of spring*', *Haru no iwato* 春の岩戸, a pentaptych commissioned by the Taikogawa and designed by Gakutei for 1825, and the series '*Three imperial jewels*', *Sanshu no jingi* 三種の神器, commissioned by the Sugawararen and designed by Sadakage around 1830.[333] McKee states that "Without the textual studies of *kokugaku*, which transformed works such as *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Matters," the primary source of Japanese mythology), *Manyōshū* ("The Collection of Myriad Leaves," the first poetry anthology) and many other texts into available knowledge, the *surimono* movement could not have taken the form that it did, full of cross-references between present configuration and the world of the past that such texts represented."[334] Although I do agree that the philological endeavors by *kokugaku* scholars enabled *surimono* creators to handle such a wide range of classical literature, I have not found the incorporation of the ancient texts to be strongly represented in the oeuvre as a whole. *Kyōka* society in general favored nostalgia over nativism.

Cultural nostalgia in *kyōka*

Cultural nostalgia presents itself in various forms in *kyōka* materials. Carpenter discussed such nostalgia in the *surimono* oeuvre of Shunman, although he refers to it as "antiquarian imagination" (and also "classical imagination"); McKee favors the term "classicism" in his discussion of *surimono* in general.[335] I have no objections to their use of these terms in the content of their respective discussions. I choose, however, for 'cultural nostalgia' for the manifestations I recognize in *kyōka* publications at large. In my view, the term antiquarian is not applicable to the bulk of *kyōka* materials since many publications take their inspiration from texts considerably 'younger' than the works from Japanese antiquity. Many *surimono* series refer to texts and cultural figures from medieval times, or even as 'recent' as the Genroku era (1688-1704). Furthermore, many *surimono* series actually depict contemporaneous objects and fashions. For that reason, the term 'classicism' also does not always apply. The term 'imagination' corresponds in part to my use of the word 'visualization' in connection to text and image in *surimono*. Although 'imagination' captures the fictional characteristics of the kind of treatment classical texts and historical figures were be often subjected to in *surimono*, I prefer the term 'nostalgia' for carrying a connotation of 'longing for', whether it is for a bygone era, a person or place of cultural merit, or even a local product of superior quality.

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[332] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 471, asserts: "[…] it was far less the ancient past that surimono idealized, rather than the later age of high court […]".
[333] See the overview of *surimono* series in appendix III. *Haru no iwato* depicts five primary figures featuring in the mythical creation of Japan. The 'three jewels' refers to the imperial regalia - the sword Kusanagi (草薙劍 *Kusanagi no tsurugi*), the mirror, and the *magatama* (曲玉, curved jewel). In this case, these are represented as *mitate*: Each print depicts an elegant lady holding for instance make-up mirrors, or a ball (*tama*). See Forrer (2013), p. 299.
[334] McKee (2006), p. 19.
[335] Carpenter (2004); McKee (2008 [1]).

5.2 Intellectual networks and provenance of cultural and literary knowledge

5.2.1 Links between *kyōka* poets and scholars of Japanese and Chinese literature

Surimono research of recent decades has uncovered numerous links between *surimono* creators - both poets and designers - and *kokugaku* scholarship. McKee in particular, provides a general characterization of the relation between *surimono* and classical literature: "Here, in sharp contrast to commercial *ukiyo-e*, which even when reflecting on the past took its primary interest from the twin pillars of urban culture, kabuki and the pleasure quarters, a straight, *kokugaku*-style reverence of literature and the classical work can be seen [in *surimono*].", admitting however, that "[…] although the *kokugaku*-venerated *Manyōshū* was an important inspiration for many *kyōka*/*haikaika* poets, Magao included, the *Kokinshū* style of logical statement and poetic artifice was by far the more dominant model for these poets."[336] Indeed, in spite of the many *surimono* series on classical Japanese literature, references to ancient texts are virtually non-existent.

My focus here is specifically on who brought knowledge of classical literature into *kyōka* circles, what this says about the position of scholarly debates of the time as reflected in *kyōka surimono*, and whether there is any relation between birth class and (access to) knowledge of classical literature. With that aim in mind, I have selected a number of prominent figures, whose connections to scholarship on literature I will investigate. The selection criteria are twofold: first, involvement in *surimono* series that take Japanese or Chinese classical literature as subject, as shown in appendix III. Second, involvement in the *surimono* series taken as case studies in section 5.3; the *Tosa nikki* series and the three series on *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 ('*Essays in Idleness*', written by the priest Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 (c.1283-c.1350)). The networks of these figures are clearly intertwined and additional figures from *kyōka* society will appear occasionally in the description of the selected individuals.

Kubo Shunman (1757-1820)

Kubo Shunman designed and produced the highest number of *surimono* directly linked to classical literature. When Shunman worked on the designs for the *Tosa nikki surimono* series, he was already around 60 years old and could look back on an impressive career as a versatile artist and writer successful in different genres. The wide array of contacts these activities yielded has been part of the articles by Tanaka (1993) and Carpenter (2004). Shunman was of relatively simple birth status - essentially coming from the artisan class - but was well educated in the arts. Focusing on the scholars studying *Tosa nikki* exactly around that time, we find that Shunman was connected to at least one of them directly, or via a common acquaintance. Consequently, he likely had knowledge of, or even access to, ongoing scholarship on this text.

For instance, one of the major exegetical texts on *Tosa nikki* was written by Edo scholar Kishimoto

[336] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 470.

Yuzuru 岸本由豆流 (1788-1846). His manuscript seems to have been finished by 1815, but was only first published in 1819. Yuzuru was a youngster in comparison to Shunman, but apparently a talented scholar. He authored numerous *kōshō* 考証, 'evidential commentaries', some only circulating in manuscript, others also in print. Yuzuru contributed many a preface, for instance to posthumous (annotated) editions of scholarship by Motoori Norinaga. Given Shunman's reverence for Norinaga, and a shared field of interest, Kishimoto Yuzuru must have been an author with whom Shunman was familiar. Furthermore, Yuzuru wrote prefaces to books illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi and Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) too during the Kyōwa and Bunka eras, which shows that he also had links to *ukiyoe* publishers.

Shunman and Yuzuru may have actually been introduced to each other, for instance through their mutual acquaintance Kitamura Intei 喜多村筠庭 (1783-1856, also Kitamura Nobuyo 信節). According to Tanaka Tatsuya, Shunman and Intei 'understood each other very well'.[337] Intei was a *kōshōgakusha* who had contact with Yuzuru professionally.[338] As mentioned before, this connection suggests that Shunman was aware of Yuzuru's research and had access to it before it was published - i.e. around the same time that the *Tosa nikki* series was issued. Furthermore, among Yuzuru's many books on Japanese classical texts are also evidential commentaries on *Tsurezuregusa*, and *Torikaebaya monogatari*, each in five volumes.[339] Shunman designed two *surimono* series based on these same texts for different poetry groups in 1811 and c.1813. It is unknown whether the period in which Yuzuru worked on his manuscripts for these texts predates the *surimono* series or not, yet it is notable that three major literary *surimono* series revolve around the same texts that Yuzuru researched in his career.[340]

Yuzuru notes that *kokugaku* scholar and painter Katori Nabiko 楫取魚彦 (1723-1782, sometimes also transcribed Nahiko), who had been Shunman's teacher, had also added explanations to an annotated *Tosa nikki* text written by Nabiko's own teacher, the prominent *kokugaku* scholar and poet Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769). This survives in a manuscript from Nabiko's own brush, dated 1771.[341] Although the manuscript did not appear in print at the time, it is possible that former pupil Shunman had access to a copy of this manuscript.

As shown in appendix II, two other exegetical works on *Tosa nikki* were finished and/or published around the same time or shortly after Yuzuru's work. Personal connections between Shunman and the authors of these other two *Tosa nikki* books could not be uncovered. In any case, the other authors lived in Kyoto and Nagoya, which made regular encounters and discussions impossible. Although it is likely that

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[337] Tanaka (1993 [3]), p. 4.
[338] Ichiko (1993-1999), vol. 2, p. 41.
[339] See NIJL databases. Unfortunately, the dates of publication are known for neither *Tsurezuregusa kōshō* 徒然草考証 nor *Shin Torikaebaya monogatari kōshō* 新とりかへばや物語考証. Both seem to have circulated in manuscript form only.
[340] *Torikaebaya monogatari*, *Tsurezuregusa*, and *Tosa nikki*.
[341] Yuzuru mentions the title *Tosa nikki uchigiki* 土佐日記打聞 ('Tosa nikki *from hearsay*'), yet the manuscript is titled *Tosa nikki Agatai no setsu* 土佐日記県居説('*The explanation of Tosa nikki by Agatai*'). Agatai was one of the names of Kamo no Mabuchi. See Ide and Furuta (1955) and (1956).

earlier (manuscript) versions of the *Tosa nikki* were available to Shunman and the poets, it is assumed here that the renewed attention for this classic within the *kokugaku* movement and by Yuzuru in particular, played a role in the choice of the *Tosa nikki* as a theme for the *surimono* series. In section 5.3.1 of this chapter, an investigation of the *Tosa nikki surimono* series will be presented, with remarks on possible traces findings by Yuzuru and others, where applicable.

Bunbunsha Kanikomaru (1780-1837)

Bunbunsha Kanikomaru, common name Kubo Yasujūrō 久保泰十郎, was of samurai birth, and held an official position as *yoriki* (police official) in the *bakufu* administration.[342] Despite his official duties, he apparently managed to spend much time on *kyōka* activities. Poems by Bunbunsha can be found on numerous other *surimono* and in many *kyōkabon* as well. He selected poems for some fifteen *kyōka* anthologies, many of which were illustrated by Gakutei. A portrait and a biography of Bunbunsha are included in *Kyōka kijintan* of 1824, written and illustrated by Gakutei. According to the biography Bunbunsha regularly studied 'classics', *keigaku* 経学, a school of Confucianism aimed at understanding classic Chinese Confucianist texts. The study of Confucianist texts corresponds with the emphasis in the usual samurai education curriculum. When Bunbunsha headed the Katsushikaren in the 1820s, this (large) circle issued *surimono* series and *kyōka* books consistently. These were almost exclusively designed by Gakutei. Many of the *surimono* series revolve around selections of historical figures, of literary or military importance.[343] Only one series commissioned by the Katsushikaren explicitly focuses on a classical literature: *Uji shūi monogatari*, issued in 1826. The overall Katsushikaren 'oeuvre' of books and *surimono*, however, displays no particular preoccupation with Japanese classical literature. Despite the fact that Bunbunsha was apparently well schooled in Chinese, the Katsushikaren did not issue *surimono* series based on works of Chinese classical literature. Bunbunsha's involvement as co-commissioner of the *Tosa nikki* series predates the commissions made by the Katsushikaren by several years.

Shōfūdai Teitei (n.d.)

Shōfūdai is the elder brother of Bunbunsha's, also of samurai extraction. A portrait and poem of his feature in the *kyōka* anthology *Kyōka gokusaishiki hyakunin isshu* ('*One hundred poets in multicolor, one kyōka each*', date unknown), selected by Bunbunsha and illustrated by Gakutei.[344] He is seated in front of a large and well-filled book cabinet, reading in a book that lies on a red lacquer table. Both the table and the Chinese sword stand in the background seem to point to a taste for Chinese objects. Shōfūdai is portrayed as well-read man, but unfortunately, no titles are inscribed on books or book cases, which would have

[342] KJJ, p. 51.
[343] For instance the largest series '*Twenty-four generals for the Katsushikaren*'. See Kok (2008). Another example of a set of military figures is *Buke rokkasen* 武家六歌仙, '*Six immortal warrior poets*', issued in 1825.
[344] A copy of this book is kept in the Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 5-1-33. Last illustration, sheet number unknown. Not all copies of this book contain the *kuchie* in the front and the portraits of Shōfūdai, Bunbunsha and Sutena in the back.

made it possible to judge his literary interests. According to KJJ, he was judge for the Kankōgawa (the *kyōka* circle of Akera Kankō) and Kankō later bestowed his pen name Wainandō 淮南堂 upon him. He (co-)compiled a number of *kyōka* publications under this name, one of which was illustrated by - among others - Shunman somewhere during the Bunka era.[345] Shōfūdai was involved in several *surimono* commissions to Shunman - *Tosa nikki* being one - and the connection between the two seems to have been lasting.

Hisakataya Misora (n.d.)

Despite appearing on *surimono* frequently and obviously leading an active *kyōka* group, Hisakataya Misora 久堅屋未曽良 cannot be found in KJJ. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is the fact that Hisakataya - oddly - was not the selector for any *kyōka* books, keeping him out of publishing records. Hisakataya cannot be found in *kyōka gazō sakusha burui* either. Therefore, little biographical information, nor information on his social status can be presented here. Besides the *Tosae awase* and *Tosa nikki* series, connections between Hisakataya and Bunbunsha can also be found in other *surimono* series. They issued a series on the *jūnishi* 十二支 (*Twelve zodiac signs*, artist unknown) in 1819 together, yet from 1820 onwards, they seem to go their separate ways. Hisakataya's circle issues at least three pentaptychs around the mid 1820s, two of these designed by Gakutei and one by Ryūryūkyo Shinsai. Bunbunsha does not appear in these sets. The pentaptych Hisakataya Nakanochō 久かた屋仲の町 ('*Nakanochō street*[346] *for the Hisakataya poetry circle*', designed by Gakutei around 1827). Out of ten poems in this pentaptych, three poems are written by Hisakataya, and among the rest one each by Hanamitei Tokiwa 花見亭常盤 (n.d.), Amanoya Wakashiba 天の屋若芝 (n.d.), Suihōtei Komatsu 翠峯亭小松 (n.d.), and Sawanoya Katsumi 沢の舎勝見 (n.d.).

Hisakataya's circle is clearly tightly knit, since these four poets are also found in the *Tosa nikki* series of some ten years earlier and in other series issued in between as well. Apart from Tokiwa, these poets have not been found in connection with Bunbunsha anywhere else, which suggests it was Hisakataya who introduced them to the earlier *Tosa nikki* project. Tokiwa seems to be the only one who keeps in touch with both Hisakataya and Bunbunsha, although he appears far more often on *surimono* from Hisakataya's circle. Hisakataya and his circle of poets can be regarded as wealthy patrons rather than the more successful poets in a large organization. Many of their *surimono* series feature the same poets and in some cases, Hisakataya himself is featured on almost every print in a set. The *surimono* commissions by the Hisakatayaren are not marked by a specific *kokugaku* interest. If anything, focus was placed on the depiction of fashionable women.

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[345] Tanaka (1993 [3]), p. 25. This book is called *Kyōka hototogisu sanjūrokkasen* 狂歌時鳥三十六歌仙 ('*The 36 immortal kyōka singing cuckoos*'). NIJL gives 1831 as date for this book, but this seems unlikely given the years of death of Shunman (1820) and Rokujuen (1830). Perhaps this concerns a later reprint (one copy, kept in TNM).
[346] Main street in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter. Information on this series in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), pp. 74-75, and Forrer (2013), pp. 236-237. In both catalogs, all five prints are reproduced.

Sensōan Ichindo (1755-1821)

The head of the Asakusagawa was the successful *kyōka* poet Sensōan Ichindo, also known as Tsubotsubo Chinjin. He made his money as a pawnbroker and started his own *kyōka* group after leaving the Hakurakugawa 伯楽側 poetry group headed by Shunman.[347] This new group was initially called Tsubogawa 壺側 ('Jug group'), after his other pen name; the name Asakusagawa based on the fact that the circle was located in Asakusa. The Sino-Japanese pronunciation of Asakusa is Sensō, as in Sensōji 浅草寺, the main temple in Asakusa. Sensōan functioned as judge at poetry contests and selected the poems for many Asakusagawa *kyōka* books. Most of these books were privately published for distribution among the club members. These appear in varying bindings and with varying covers and titles in Japanese collections.[348]

According to Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1766-1822) in his overview of the *kyōka* world *Kyōkakei* 狂歌觿 ('*Kyōka connections*')[349], Sensōan lived on the corner of Tawaramachidōri, in Higashinaka-chō, in the Asakusa district of Edo. As with every judge in *Kyōkakei*, a brief biography is given for Sensōan, together with ten poems on various subjects by the master, and twenty *kyōka* poems by other poets, which he gave high scores. Convenient for the *kyōka*-lover of those days, a sample of Sensōan's handwriting and his method of rating poems are given too. Apparently, he writes the number of points in red ink on the back of *tanzaku* poem slips that are submitted to him, ranging from a minimum of three to a maximum of thirteen points. Beneath this are samples of his personal stamps, one of which closely resembles the jar-shaped series cartouche that was used for the *Tsurezuregusa* series.[350]

Sensōan and Shunman had been members of the same Hakuraku poetry group in earlier times, and Sensōan could still depend on Shunman to design a *surimono* series for him after he established his own poetry group. Carpenter describes the relationship between Shunman and Sensōan as follows:

> Along with Rokujuen, the original Hakuraku Circle included several members who would eventually establish reputations as scholars of classical literature and National Learning, most notably Sensōan

[347] Suga (1936 [1]), pp. 319-20. For some facts, Suga quotes from an unpublished manuscript by Emaya Gakusuke IV, most likely that which is now kept in the Collection Iwase Bunko, Nishio Municipal Library, Aichi Prefecture. See also Carpenter (2004).

[348] See section 3.3.2 on the Asakusagawa *kyōkabon* publications.

[349] Based on the copy kept in the Waseda University library, inv. no. 〳〵09 02839 0001. This copy contains an addendum to (the) earlier edition(s), which introduces the judges of the Asakusagawa. On the first page of the colophon, an announcement is squeezed in between two book adverts, stating that the second part of *Kyōkakei* (in two volumes) will be published next spring without [further] delay. Since the second part of *Kyōkakei* was issued in 1806, it appears the Waseda copy of the first part was printed in 1805 (the original year of publication was 1803).

[350] The jar or jug (*tsubo* 壺) as personal logo is no doubt connected to Asakusaan's pen name Tsubotsubo Chinjin. The basis for this pen name is, however, unclear. The name Asakusaan - 'an' 庵 basically meaning hermitage - is clearly derived from the place where he lived. The pseudonym Ichindo seems to mean 'merchant', the implications of which will be dealt with later on in this section.

> Ichibito (also pronounced Asakusa no Ichibito or Sensōan Ichindo, 1755-1820) and Chigusaan Shimodoke (1761-1811). Eventually these two secede, amicably, from the circle to jointly establish their own group, the Asakusa-ren, named after the Asakusa neighbourhood in Edo, and later variously the Asakusa-gawa (Asakusa Group) or Tsubo-gawa (Jug Group). Even when the Asakusa Circle became one of the most popular poetry clubs in Edo, its leaders maintained personal and artistic ties with Shunman. His poems are included in anthologies sponsored by members of the Asakusa Circle, and his designs often accompany poems on *surimono* commissioned by Asakusa Circle members.[351]

Carpenter notes that Sensōan and Chigusaan 千種庵 (perhaps - or even likely - pronounced Senshuan, in the Sino-Japanese pronunciation, as for Sensōan) visited Motoori Norinaga in his hometown in Ise province, and did in fact "register as official disciples".[352] The claim that Sensōan grew to be a respected scholar of classical literature and National Learning, however, cannot be backed by facts. Sensōan's list of publications features almost exclusively *kyōkabon*, and no works on classical literature. It may well be that he circulated manuscripts of a scholarly nature, but it seems they never made it into printed books.

Among the *surimono* commissions of the Asakusagawa are three series that stand out for their relations to *kokugaku* and Norinaga's school in National Learning: *Tsurezuregusa*, *Ise monogatari* and *Isegoyomi*, each designed by Shunman. *Tsurezuregusa* and *Ise monogatari* are classics in Japanese that received much scholarly attention, as will be further elaborated on further below. *Isegoyomi* refers to Ise calendars, almanacs distributed by the priest of the Ise shrine (Ise jingū 伊勢神宮) from the early Edo period.[353] Ise Shrine is dedicated to Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大御神, the principal goddess in the origin myths of Japan and the imperial line in *Kojiki* 古事記 ('*Record of ancient matters*', 712), the part-mythical, part-historical record that was extensively studied by Norinaga. Therefore, the Asakusagawa's choice for Ise calendars as series' subject appears to be directly inspired by both the content of *kokugaku* debate, and reference to Norinaga's home province.

It deserves mention, however, that the Asakusagawa commissioned several *surimono* series on Chinese subjects. For instance, in the early 1800s, Asakusagawa poets commissioned a series on the subject of the '*Eight immortals of the wine cup*', *Inchū hassen* 飲中八仙 (Ch. *Yinzhong baxian*) from Teisai

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[351] Article by Carpenter (2004), p. 84. A few remarks to this paragraph: Asakusaan actually died in 1821, see note 8; The exact pronunciation of his name remains inconclusive, since no kana rendering has surfaced in contemporary sources thus far; There is no evidence to suggest that the Asakusagawa ever was the most popular *kyōka* group. They have not issued large numbers of *kyōka* books, nor any substantial *surimono* series after the *Isegoyomi* series of 1814.

[352] Carpenter (2004), p 89-90, based on an article about the records of visitors to Norinaga: Iwakiri, Shin'ichirō 岩切 信一郎 (1987) "Motoori Norinaga no raikōsha kiroku ni miru: Tsutajū, Asakusaan, Shimotoke, Shunman, Yūshi no dōko 本居宣長の来訪者記録にみる--蔦重、浅草庵、霜解、俊満、融思の動向", in *Ukiyo-e Geijutsu* 浮世絵芸術 Vol. 89. (Yūshi is Ishizaki Yūshi 石崎融思 (c.1786-1846), painter from Nagasaki.)

[353] See Carpenter (2008), p. 79.

Hokuba.[354] The poems in these prints are written in a mock Chinese style as if they were *kyōshi*, using Chinese characters only, though they are to be read as *kyōka*. To that end, some of the characters actually need to be read as *man'yōgana* (*kana* as used in *Man'yōshū*). In 1810, the Asakusagawa commissioned a series about Chinese sages from Shunman, one year before their major *kokugaku*-related productions. This series carries the title *Ressen gessen zu* 列仙月仙図, '*Images of the sages in the consecutive months*', and likely numbers twelve designs in total (ten known).[355] The illustrations depict the male and female sages sporting a variety of garments and hairdos in classical Chinese style. Many are depicted with animals, some actually riding on these (Chinese, mythical) animals. Japanese adaptations of *Ressenden* sages existed, yet the series by Shunman focuses on the Chinese version. Furthermore, in 1818, a set of five Chinese 'tiger generals' from *Sangokushi* 三國志 (Ch. *Sanguozhi*, '*History of the Three Kingdoms*', fourteenth century) was commissioned, further confirming that the Asakusagawa did not focus exclusively on Japanese subjects.

Gakutei Sadaoka (c.1786-c.1855)

Gakutei designed many *surimono* and series of *surimono* in particular during the 1820s. He received commissions for *surimono* from all the major poetry circles and designed the illustrations for a large number of books - not only in the *kyōka* genre. What is less known about Gakutei is that he also translated the novel *Xi You Ji* 西遊記 ('*Journey to the West*', *Saiyūki* in Japanese pronunciation) from Chinese into Japanese, specifically volumes 21 through 40 (out of a total of 40). The translated novel was published between 1806 and 1837, with Gakutei's translations dating from 1835 and 1837.[356] He had earlier designed a *surimono* depicting the monkey Son Gokū 孫悟空 (Ch. Sun Wukong), one of the main characters in *Saiyūki*, for the year of the Monkey 1824. This *surimono* features poems by Bunbunsha and one Ōbokuen Yoshiharu 櫻木園吉治 (n.d.), who apparently commissioned the print.[357] It is not known whether Gakutei was directly connected to *kangaku* scholars, yet it is clear that he had ample knowledge of Chinese cultural history and was well versed in Chinese literature. Gakutei's proficiency in Chinese may be linked to his samurai birth status (his father was of samurai stock, although his mother was "only the mistress"[358]), as I have suggested also for the case of Bunbunsha. Gakutei's oeuvre of illustrations on *surimono* and in *kyōka* books takes inspiration from a great variety of classical subjects, both Chinese and Japanese. Among the *surimono* he designed are many that depict figures from Chinese cultural history,[359]

[354] This subject and the appropriation and transfiguration of Chinese subjects in general in *kyōka surimono* is discussed by Thomsen (2008), p. 92-99.
[355] Nagata, S. and Katō (Eds., 1998), nos. 69-73, 75-77, 79-80.
[356] The late 16th century novel *Xi You Ji* is regarded as one of the four major novels of the Ming dynasty. Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (c. 1506-c. 1582) is considered to be the author. See Ma and Lau (1978). The first twenty volumes of the Japanese version were translated by Nishida Korenori 西田維則 (?-1765) and illustrated by Ōhara Tōya 大原東野. Volumes 21 through 40 were illustrated by Hokusai and one of his pupils, Taito II. See for instance Waseda collection inv. no. へ21 02500.
[357] A copy is present in the Harvard University Museum collection, inv. no. HUAM207906.
[358] Makino (2008), p. 59. Makino gives much valuable information on Gakutei's life and work.
[359] Makino (2008), p. 61, hints to Gakutei's fondness for drawing Chinese figures.

and Gakutei himself was in large part responsible for contributing to the visual erudition in these prints.

Totoya Hokkei (1780-1850)

Hokkei was the most prolific designer of *surimono*, working - like Gakutei - for all the major *kyōka* circles. His oeuvre, both in *surimono* and in *kyōka* book illustrations, is extensive. Hokkei illustrated nearly a hundred books. The majority of these in the genre of *kyōka*, among the remainder mostly books of comic fiction. Hokkei was asked for the illustration of *surimono* series on a large variety of themes, Japanese, Chinese, and even Dutch. His connection to the Gogawa of Rokujuen - he and Hokkei were both of comparably humble backgrounds - was particularly strong. And while the connection to Rokujuen could certainly have been a gateway to *kokugaku* scholarship, the *surimono* commissions by the Gogawa concern mostly series on subjects such as 'famous products from the provinces', 'famous products from Edo', as well as kabuki theatre. Hokkei also took commissions from circles that fell under the Yomogawa: he designed several series for the Manjiren. Among these are his only *surimono* series on Japanese classic - *Tsurezuregusa*, which had been treated by Shunman and Gakutei earlier - and a rare series on a *kokugaku* philological treatise: *Kogentei* - see below.

There are *surimono* series by Hokkei that suggest connections to both *kangaku* and *kokugaku* scholarship. For the Hanazonoren, he designed a series inspired on the Chinese early eighth century collection of biographies of people from history and legend *Mōgyū* 蒙求 (Ch. *Mengqiu*), ('*Youth inquires*').[360] This is one of only a handful of *surimono* series that directly copy the title of a Chinese classic in the series' title.[361] *Mōgyū* was studied and reworked into contemporary Japanese versions in the Edo period and the choice for this text may be related to scholarly interest of the time. Garyōen Umemaro, leader of the Hanazonoren, edited many *kyōka* books and is not known for scholarly publications. Since *Mōgyū* was not an obscure text, the knowledge and inspiration from this text may have come from any or every member of the Hanazonoren, yet the intricacies of the designs suggest that Hokkei was also familiar with the content of the work. The position of the *Mōgyū surimono* series within its reception history will be further investigated in section 5.2.2.

A relation to *kokugaku* scholarship in *surimono* designed by Hokkei is more clearly evident than a relation to *kangaku* scholarship; for the year 1831, he designed a series of eighteen *surimono* inspired by the philological treatise *Kogentei* 古言梯, '*A ladder to the ancient language*', written by Katori Nabiko and published in 1765.[362] Shunman had been one of Nabiko's pupils and the fact that Hokkei took inspiration

[360] Smits (2000), p. 240. *Mōgyū* is said to have been written by Li Kan 李瀚 (n.d.). English title taken from Smits (who repeats this translation as used by Burton Watson).
[361] Other examples are multiple series inspired by *Suikoden* (issued around 1830) and one by *Sangokushi engi* 三国志演義 (Ch. 三國演義 *Sanguo yanyi*), a fourteenth century romanticized adaptation of *Sangokushi* 三國志 (Ch. *Sanguozhi*), 'History of the Three Kingdoms', written by Chen Shou 陳 寿 (233?-297) in the third century. The latter series, also designed by Hokkei, consists of three prints and was commissioned by the Shippōren during the 1820s. This set depicts *bijin* as representations of the three warriors who swore the '*Oath at the peach orchard*' - see further discussion in section 5.2.2.
[362] As explained in the essay by Carpenter (2008), pp. 74-75. Translation of title also taken from Carpenter.

from several literary *surimono* designs by Shunman suggests that Hokkei at least took an interest to the former's scholarly connections.[363] The Manjiren that commissioned the series was at the time headed by Shinratei Manzō II 森羅亭万象 二世 (1758-1831, KJJ 216), a candy seller by profession, and pupil of popular fiction author and *kyōka* master Shinratei Manzō I 森羅亭万象 初代 (1754-1809, also Manzōtei 萬象亭 or Morishima Chūryō 森島中良, KJJ 216). Manzō II also wrote popular fiction - quite a number of *kibyōshi* and an occasional *sharebon* - but scholarly publications of his hand are not known. To my knowledge, the Hokkei's *Kogentei jūhachibantsuzuki* 古言梯十八番続 ('*A series of eighteen from* A ladder to the ancient language') is the only example of a *surimono* (series) that directly refers to a scholarly work, rather than a literary or historiographical text.

Hokkei, it seems, was available for any commission, regardless of the theme. Being the principal *surimono* designer - in numbers at least - in the 1820s, Hokkei was certainly connected to many prominent figures. Being able to cater to the tastes of various *kyōka* circles no doubt meant familiarizing oneself with the main literary and scholarly texts that the *kyōka* clientele favored. Whether Hokkei had a specific scholarly interest remains to be answered, but his versatility in subjects and themes rather suggests a base knowledge of many classics, rather than a profound knowledge of specific classics.

Kyōka circles and scholarly networks were obviously interconnected. Some ties can be pinpointed, such as in the case of Shunman and Sensōan for instance, whereas other ties seem to exist, but claims cannot be substantiated. It is clear from the *surimono* output of the entire *kyōka* society of the 1810s and 1820s, however, that these poets wished to stay up to date with current scholarship, if only to improve the level of erudition in their poetry. Without interest and support from within the respective *kyōka* circles, the decision to commission a *surimono* series on classical literary subjects would not have been made so often. Certain direct and indirect links between *surimono* designers and poets to scholars of classical literature have been confirmed, possible links have been suggested, and it is my prediction that more connections will be uncovered as the study of *surimono* advances.

Kogentei contains theory on *kana* orthography; see Seeley (1991), p. 124 and Murphy (2009), p. 68.
[363] The connection between Nabiko and Shunman is explained by Carpenter (2004), pp. 78-79. Hokkei's *surimono* designs based on earlier designs by Shunman are presented in sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.

5.2.2 Visualizing classical literature in *surimono*

Treatment of classical literature in word and image during the Edo period

Classical literature formed an integral part of Edo period literature. Many classical texts led substantial "afterlives" in the words of Clements and Kornicki, and were available in many forms.[364] Indeed, especially the great classics such as *Genji monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, and *Hyakunin isshu*, had been transmitted, discussed, re-issued, reworked and illustrated for generations. Interest in these classics was almost constant in Japan's cultural history, it seems, in whatever form. *Genji monogatari* arguably reached every possible audience, through anything from both manuscript and printed editions, scholarly commentaries, popular adaptations, poetry-selections, illustrated scrolls, *ukiyoe*, shell-matching games (*kai awase* 貝合わせ, in which *Genji* scenes painted on the inside of large clam shells had to be paired), motifs on lacquer ware, etc. etc.[365] The possibilities for becoming so widely read and interpreted are, according to Joshua Mostow in his treatment of the "modern constructions" of *Ise monogatari*, due to the "explosion in printing" during the Edo period.[366] Demand and supply go hand in hand, of course, and technological advancements are not only the precondition for wider dissemination, but also the result of the public's interests. Linda Chance sums up the (textual) 'afterlife' of *Tsurezuregusa*, consisting of "parodies, imitations, and variations", and concludes that "Both commentarial and parodical practice were, therefore, reflective of the esteem in which the text was held."[367] The vast array of materials linked to various classical texts clearly demonstrates the continuing demand during the Edo period, and it is only to be expected that *kyōka* poets took inspiration from these works for their own poetry.

Pictorial traditions form an integral part of the reception history of literary classics. *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* once again serve as foremost examples. For both classics, a long standing pictorial tradition was established in Heian period illustrated hand scrolls, with paintings that complimented the calligraphy of the text. The illustration of specific scenes from the chapters of each work developed into standardized iconographies that were handed down from generation to generation.[368] Much of such iconographies remained intact as the classical works crossed over to printed publications, and larger audiences. Yet, as the text was reproduced, replaced, and adapted, so were the illustrations. Apart from varying painting styles, the composition of familiar scenes could change, and the standardized

[364] Clements and Kornicki (2009), p. 363. The term reception history, it is argued, does not suffice for the intricate ways in which classics such as *Genji monogatari* impacted generations to come.
[365] The volume edited by Shirane (2008) offers a variety of essays on the canonization and popularization of *Genji monogatari* in word and image.
[366] In Shirane and Suzuki (Eds., 2000), p. 99. Both *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* appeared in a multitude of printed editions during the Edo period - too numerous to count in al practicality.
[367] In Shirane and Suzuki (Eds., 2000), pp. 127-129. The number of Edo period publications based on or related to *Tsurezuregusa* reveals that this text, too, received near constant attention.
[368] For *Genji monogatari*, this iconography has been investigated and documented for instance by Meech-Pekarik (1982), and Murase (1983). For the case of *Ise monogatari*, the evolution of illustrations was discussed by Nagata, H. (1989), and Mostow (2014) Courtly Visions.

iconographies could be abandoned altogether in favor of illustrations deemed more suitable for the artefact or publication of that moment. For instance, *Nise murasaki inaka genji* 偽紫田舎源氏 (*A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*), a hugely popular *gōkan* written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842), illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada, and published by Tsuruya Kiemon between 1829 and 1842.[369] Like the text, the illustrations in this work can be considered as reinventions, complimentary to the (reinvented) text, and suited to the era in which it was published.

The position of *surimono* design within the reception of classical literature and associated pictorial traditions

Literary *surimono* series in general display an unconventional approach to the reception and interpretation of classical literature in the Edo period. Specifically certain *surimono* that deviate from usual iconography for particular texts should be considered as unique for their position within respective reception histories. The interplay of text and image is induced in ways unseen in other reworkings of classical texts, with a considerable degree of freedom and boldness. This trait has at times been noted by other researchers for all *kyōka surimono*, yet a description of how specifically *surimono* series on classical texts relate to those original texts is somehow lacking. Generally speaking, *surimono* series that take a classical text as subject feature a series' title that contains the original title of the classical text. In many cases, individual print titles are given, making explicit to which phrase or section of a text is referred in the print.[370] Apparently, the clues in the poems and illustrations alone were not always deemed to be sufficient for all intended viewers/readers to immediately deduce which text was taken as inspiration. Literary *surimono* feature illustrations ranging from (historic) human figures, to landscapes, to still lifes depicting all kinds of objects, animals, etcetera. In general, *surimono* in literary series are marked by a serious, nostalgia, favoring classic elegance over worldly themes.

In some specific cases, neither a pictorial tradition connected to the text in question existed, nor were any exegetical texts made available to a larger audience through print. In other words, *surimono* creators - both poets and artists - could not rely on earlier work for their visualization of classical literature. A case in point is the *surimono* series inspired on the classical text *Tosa nikki*. No pictorial tradition was in place for that text, which is why I selected that series for investigation of its textual and visual content in relation to the original text. For the *Tosa nikki* series as well as three series with the title *Tsurezuregusa*, a selection of representative prints serves to uncover the interests and objectives of their creators. These case studies provide handles that help locate *surimono* of the Bunka and Bunsei eras within the reception of classical literature during the late Edo period.

Designers who received commissions from *kyōka* circles took great liberties in their illustrations for prints that referred to classical works of literature poetry. The freedom in mixing classical and

[369] See Emmerich (2008), pp. 211-235. Translation of the novel's title is also his.
[370] Or, in the case of series that present a selection of classical texts, the titles of the classical texts are given as print titles.

contemporary - characteristic of the poetic genre of *kyōka* - is reflected in many accompanying illustrations.[371] The scope is wide; some *surimono* emulate classical painting schools, such as an anonymous series commissioned by Rokujuan Fukumaro 鹿壽庵蝠麿 (n.d.) and Shūchōdō Monoyana that presents scenes from *Genji monogatari* in a style strongly reminiscent of Tosa school paintings of the early sixteenth century. In this series, sometimes attributed to Hokkei, the compositions are dominated by golden clouds, typical of the Tosa school. The faces of the depicted nobles are rendered with 'slit eyes and hooked noses', *hikime kagihana* 引目鈎鼻, typical of the *yamatoe* 大和絵 style, of which the Tosa school is considered one current.[372]

At the other end of the scope we find for example a *surimono*, designed by Hokkei, depicting a fashionable (Edo period) young woman playing with a cat. This illustration evokes a scene from chapter 34 of *Genji monogatari* in which a 'Chinese cat', *karaneko* 唐猫, runs out of a room, its leash becoming entangled in the reed blinds, *misu* 御簾. The cat's twinging causes several ladies, and more specifically the 'Third Princess' Onna Sannomiya 女三宮 (sometimes read Nyo San no Miya), who was standing in informal dress, to be exposed to a group of young male courtiers kicking around a *kemari* ball outside.[373] Depictions of an elegant lady representing Onna Sannomiya and a cat are numerous in ukiyoe; Hokkei was preceded by Ishikawa Toyonobu 石川豊信 (1711-1785), Okumura Masanobu 奥村政信 (1686-1764), Isoda Koryūsai 磯田湖龍斎 (1735-1790), Suzuki Harunobu, and Kitagawa Utamaro, to name some. Hokkei's design employs a style of drawing relatively close to the ukiyoe of his contemporaries, as often encountered in Edo *surimono*, with an emphasis on naturalistic, elegant lines and detailed expression of the textures of - in this case - the textiles of the kimono and the table-stove, *kotatsu* 炬燵, and the fur of the cat, skillfully blind-printed. Although the overall style is similar, Hokkei plays with the iconography and composition of elements. Ukiyoe designs of the scene almost invariably portray the lady with long hair in

[371] I write 'accompanying illustrations', since - it must be emphasized once again - in principle poets composed their poems and then commissioned designers to contribute illustrations to match, not the other way around.
[372] Lee Bruschke-Johnson compares one print from this series and another *surimono* - verifiably by Hokkei - that takes *Genji monogatari* as subject to examples of Tosa painting, in Rappard-Boon and Bruschke-Johnson (2000), pp. 156-157. The attribution of the designs to Hokkei is debatable: both Rappard-Boon and Bruschke-Johnson (2000) and Forrer (2013, p. 257) list this print from the Rijksmuseum collection (Amsterdam) as anonymous. Other designs from the series are found for instance in the MFA, Boston, under accession numbers 21.9268 and 11.25447 - listed as "attributed to Hokkei" in their online catalog. The design and 'brushwork' in it would not lead me to attribute these designs to Hokkei. Interestingly, the three designs mentioned here feature the same duo of poets: Rokujuan Fukumaro and Shūchōdō Monoyana. Forrer (2013), p. 257, points to the fact that these two poets often appear together on *surimono*. McKee (2008 [3]) points to the fact that different designs give different ages for Shūchōdō. Indeed, one of the prints in the MFA gives his age as 73; the print kept in the Rijksmuseum gives Monoyana's age as 75; yet another in a private collection in Switzerland (again, with Rokujuan Fukumaro) gives his age as 76 (calculating from the year 1761 often given as Monoyana's birth year, these designs would thus have come out in 1833, 1835 and 1836). This leads me to assume that Fukumaro and Monoyana commissioned this series in yearly installments, rather than as an entire series at once, as was common practice for *kyōka* circles.
[373] This *surimono* designed by Hokkei is presented and explained in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 204-205. See also Murasaki Shikibu, transl. by Seidensticker (1981), pp. 582-584, for a translation of the scene. The ladies will likely not have wished for others to see them wearing informal dress, and furthermore, according to Seidensticker, p. 583, "Well-behaved ladies did not permit themselves to be seen standing".

a classical style, standing (solitarily) in an elegant, curved pose, looking down on the leashed cat. Hokkei portrays the lady - sporting current hairstyle - half seated on her knees, dangling a ball on a string before the cat. The cat is not leashed, although the string appears to represent a leash, which is also blind-printed. Furthermore, the *kemari* ball that is absent in ukiyoe designs, is evoked by the toy ball.

The two examples of *surimono* inspired by *Genji monogatari* thus give an impression of two different positions in the reception of *Genji* iconography; one design remains closer to tradition and the other shows how the popular arts could appropriate a literary classic and freely adapt iconography. The difference in artistic style may be attributed to the difference in 'distance' to traditional iconography; the former example replicates, the latter parodies. This tendency is actually recognizable in many other *surimono* that either aim for a stylistically correct design associated with pictorial traditions related to certain works of classical literature, or those that utilize clever allusions and (visual) puns, in which case the artistic style is generally less traditional. *Surimono* designers thus take different approaches to visualizing the classics and each *surimono* or *surimono* series should be assessed individually to investigate how this process took place.

A brief summary for *surimono* series inspired by classical literature and their place in reception history

In this section, *surimono* series and sets that take classical Japanese or Chinese texts as subject will be classified according to their place in pictorial and exegetical traditions. Of the circa 142 *kyōka surimono* series issued by poetry groups I count between 1797 and 1835, fourteen series emphatically take (a) Japanese classical literary text(s) as title.[374] Another eight revolve around Chinese works of literature. Presented below is a chronological listing of these series, with a brief discussion of the characteristics of each. These brief discussions are focused on aspects such as mode of illustration and place in pictorial tradition, availability of exegetical works, and atmosphere in poetry and image.

c. 1809: *Monogatari awase* 物語合, for the Gogawa, designed by several artists

Five prints in this series are known; two designed by Shigemasa, one by Shūri, and two by Hokuga (Gosei) on a commission of the Gogawa. More prints in the series may exist, or have existed. This is not a series revolving around one classical text, but a 'compilation of tales' as the title suggests. The individual prints therefore allude to the print subject fairly directly; there is simply not enough space in terms of poetry and illustration, to handle detailed aspects of the chosen texts. The Gogawa was headed by Rokujuen, himself a *kokugaku* scholar, who must have had ample knowledge of, and access to texts. One

[374] Appendix III gives an overview of *kyōka surimono* series issued by various poetry groups from Edo. The color coding highlights the themes and gives an impression of the distribution of themes. This overview is, and cannot be complete. Goslings (2002) counts over 340 series; the substantial difference between these numbers can be explained by the fact that Goslings also lists series of which a commissioning poetry group is not known, anonymous series, untitled series, and series of which just one print is known (and actual existence of the series is difficult to verify).

of the prints designed by Hokuga refers to *Tosa nikki* and will be discussed in more detail in the *Tosa nikki* case study below. The choice for *Tosa nikki* in particular is unexpected, although the allusion in poetry and image is somewhat straightforward. The other design by Gosei is allegedly of *Utsubo monogatari* 宇津保物語 (*'Tale of the hollow tree'*), a late tenth century tale traditionally often attributed to lexicographer and poet Minamoto Shitagō 源順 (911-983).[375] The design by Shūri is inspired by *Kara monogatari* 唐物語 (*'Chinese tales'*), a twelfth or early thirteenth century selection of stories from China, the translation into Japanese and compilation of which are thought to have been carried out by the statesman Fujiwara Narinori 藤原成範 (also read Shigenori, 1135-1187). The designs by Shigemasa take *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 (*'Tale of the bamboo cutter'*, tenth century) and *Ise monogatari* as subject. All four of these *monogatari* were readily available in print in the Edo period, and various annotated versions of both texts circulated during the mid to late Edo period. Keyes points out that [(*kyōka*) poet and *kokugaku*] scholar Kamo Suetaka 賀茂季鷹 (1754-1841, from Kyoto) published an annotated text of *Kara monogatari* in 1809.[376] It contains a colophon that indeed gives the third month of 1809 as publication date.[377] This is later than the *surimono* would have been distributed, which would have been the first month of that year. However, the postface to the book, as well as Kamo Suetaka's own preface are dated 1808 (third and sixth month respectively), which confirms that the book had been in the making before 1809. It is known that Gogawa leader Rokujuen exchanged views on *Man'yōshū* with fellow *kokugaku* scholar Katō Chikage 加藤千蔭 (1735-1808), who wrote the other preface to Kamo Suetaka's book on *Kara monogatari*, during 1796-7.[378] Through such connections, Gogawa members may have been up to date with this ongoing scholarship on *Kara monogatari*. Besides the work by Kamo, poet and *kokugaku* scholar Shimizu Hamaomi 清水浜臣 (1776-1824) wrote an evidential commentary of *Kara monogatari*, which was also published in 1809.

1811: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

Tsurezuregusa is a collection of essays on a great variety of subjects, written between 1330 and 1332 by the Buddhist priest Yoshida Kenkō.[379] The title is commonly translated into English as *Essays in Idleness*. *Tsurezuregusa* had been studied continuously over the centuries and had appeared in various forms before the first (of three) *surimono* series took up this text as inspiration. This fact is simply illustrated by reading through the preface and preliminary notes in *Tsurezuregusa shoshō taisei* 徒然草諸抄大成 (*'Compendium of the various Tsurezuregusa commentaries'*) of 1910, in which no less than twelve textual sources are listed, all of which are used as reference material throughout the compendium.[380]

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[375] Cranston (1969), p. 289.
[376] Keyes (1984), explanation for color plate 56.
[377] A copy of this book can be found in the collection of Waseda University library, inv. no. 文庫30 C0096.
[378] Kasuya (1986), p. 110, 114-115, 124.
[379] Keene (1967), p. xiii - xvi.
[380] Muromatsu Iwao (Ed., 1910). Further explanation of *Tsurezuregusa* commentaries to follow in the case study in section 5.3.2.

In *surimono* circles *Tsurezuregusa* also enjoyed an apparent popularity, since three series on this subject are known, commissioned by different circles, from three different designers. Shunman was the first to design a series of prints for the Asakusagawa 浅草側 *kyōka* group in 1811. He was followed by Gakutei, who designed a series for the circles around Yomogawa Utagaki Magao 四方歌垣真顔 and Shinratei Manzō II, in c. 1817. A third series was designed by Hokkei for the Manjiren 卍連 in the early 1830s. This allows for a comparison of treatment of text and image with a focus on the emergence of a new iconography, which will be carried out in the case study in section 5.3.2. In contrast to books on *Tosa nikki*, some of the books on *Tsurezuregusa* were also illustrated - most notably *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* 絵本徒然草, illustrated by Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671-1751), which was first published in 1740. Another example is *Tsurezuregusa with annotation in head notes - with illustrations*, *Shusho chūshaku tsurezuregusa eiri* 首書註釈 徒然草 絵入, authored by one Sanboku Injin 三木隠人 (n.d.). It was first published in Kyoto in 1690 in five fascicles and includes explanatory notes to aid in understanding the text, and illustrations alongside some of the essays. These books provide some opportunities for comparison of existing visual representations to iconography in the *surimono* series.

The thirteen known designs by Shunman, however, have little or no relation to those by Nishikawa Sukenobu. As in many of his literary *surimono*, Shunman designed still lifes that depict one or more items that feature in the selected chapter or scene. Occasionally, human figures or animals are depicted. In the majority of designs for the *Tsurezuregusa* series, the background is not or not substantially illustrated. The illustrations are very much in service of the poems, which generally take up a considerable portion of the print's surface area. Breaking away from traditional illustrations, the designs thus take a path independent from pictorial tradition. The *Tsurezuregusa* series by Shunman falls into the category of *surimono* series I described earlier, that display a boldness with regard to interpretation of text into illustration. The images are characterized by a calm elegance that seems designed with the purpose of complementing and enhancing the contents of the poetry rather than aimed at shifting the reader/viewer's attention to the illustration only.

1812: *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

This series, issued in 1812, numbers at least nineteen designs, mostly in *shikishiban* format.[381] The designs are still lifes, except the design for section 98, which depicts a pheasant on a branch of plum blossoms - one could categorize it as a bird-and-flower painting. Similar to the *Tsurezuregusa* series, the illustrations feature no backgrounds; the various objects would appear suspended in mid-air, if not for an occasional soft gradient background color that is darker towards the lower portion of the print. The prints each take a small quote from a section of *Ise monogatari*, sometimes followed by either headnotes, *kotobagaki*

[381] Chapter sixteen is in the 'horizontal one-and-a-half *shikishi* format' that also appears in the Tsurezuregusa series. Forrer (2013), p. 119, gives the dating 1812 based on a reference to a theatre performance in the design for chapter 87.

詞書, or more personal introductory notes by one of the poets. The series accommodates a substantial total number of poets, since many prints feature more than two poems. Poets from outside Edo contributed poems to the series and one poet is explicitly indicated to be member of the Hanagasaren. Sensōan himself features on multiple prints. Judges of the Asakusagawa are indicated by a circle mark, but as the leader, Sensōan's name appears without this mark or even the second element of his pen name.[382]

The *Ise monogatari* series represents a major project undertaken by the *kyōka* circle - or in this case, perhaps better to say *kyōka* network - clustered around Sensōan. The classic taken as inspiration for the series was no doubt familiar to all poets as it was the object of many a study and readily available in printed form. It would likely be difficult, therefore, to isolate a single textual source on which the creators of the series relied. The chapters taken as subject vary from well-known scenes to more obscure passages. In his illustrations, Shunman alludes to established iconography through the decorations on fans, garments and the like. It is clear that he broke new ground with the still lifes that depict not only objects associated with bygone eras, but also objects from contemporaneous urban life - echoing the type of combinations that pervaded *kyōka* poetry.

1813: *Torikaebaya monogatari* とりかへばや物語, for the Hakurakuya, by Shunman

The *Torikaebaya* series was commissioned by Hakurakusha Ōharu 白楽舎大春 and his circle for the year 1813. It was carefully discussed by Carpenter, who states that "The twenty-one, mostly still lifes and courtly scenes, of Shunman's *Torikaebaya* are exceedingly refined, even by *surimono* standards.[383] Similar to other literary series designed by Shunman, short phrases of the original text precede the poems. The text that inspired this series, as explained by Carpenter, was not available in print at the time. Instead, Shunman's knowledge of the text should be traced back to the "circle of literati" to which he belonged.[384] We may assume that Hakurakusha could be said to belong to the same circle. The record of Rokujuen borrowing the text from Katō Chikage and copying it in 1800 serves as further proof of the fact that the text circulated in *kokugaku* circles with connections to *kyōka*.[385] The *Torikaebaya monogatari* series takes a special place within literary *surimono* for it is among the foremost examples of how a classical work unavailable to general readers, and without pictorial tradition, inspired poetry and illustration.

Mid 1810s: *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記, for Shōfūdai, Hisakataya and Bunbunsha, by Shunman

The series on *Tosa nikki* is the only large-scale *surimono* project to take that text as inspiration. The text of this 10th century semi-fictional travel diary had received little attention in exegetical works before the *surimono* series was issued. Judging from the absence of illustrations in *Tosa nikki* books - both text

[382] Except for the one print of chapter sixteen that features as much as eight poets. Among them is also another judge who is indicated by a circle mark, which may have necessitated the same indication for Sensōan.
[383] Carpenter (2004), p. 100.
[384] Carpenter (2004), p. 100.
[385] Kasuya (1986), p. 121.

editions and exegetical works, either in manuscript or printed editions - there appears to be no kind of pictorial tradition associated with *Tosa nikki*. Illustrations based on *Tosa nikki* do not surface in Japanese arts and crafts like they do in relation to renowned classics. The *surimono* series therefore serves as 'uncontaminated' research material for investigating the extent to which knowledge of the text was incorporated into the poems and designs, and how the designer, Kubo Shunman, decided to visualize the selected scenes.

All but one of these designs feature introductory phrases taken directly from *Tosa nikki*. The prints are in the *shikishiban* format. The basic concept is the same for each print. Reading the *surimono* from right to left as was practice, we first encounter a series logo - hand-stamped in red ink[386] - that combines the names of Hisakataya, Shōfūdai and Bunbunsha, the series title '*Tosa nikki*', and the producer's seal 'Shō *sei*'. To the left of that is (in most cases) the date of the entry in the diary, a short quotation from that day in *Tosa nikki*,[387] then one or two *kyōka* poems, and an illustration below. Fourteen designs can thus be linked to entries for specific dates in *Tosa nikki*.

Shunman took an eclectic approach to designing the *Tosa nikki surimono* series. Among the fourteen different designs known to survive from the series are landscapes, human figures, as well as still lifes. Shunman's style varied per design, and he applied techniques such as blind-printing and color-printing without outlines from an index block - a technique more frequently encountered in Shijō-style *surimono*.[388] Some of the choices for one style or technique are related to the subject of the scene from *Tosa nikki* that the *surimono* refers to, as well as the subject of the *kyōka* poem(s). In many cases, the design and poetry together seem to aim to recreate an atmosphere as perceived in certain segments of the original text, rather than attempting to create a coherent set of images applicable to the *Tosa nikki* narrative in its entirety.

1817: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Yomogawa, by Gakutei

Six years after the *Tsurezuregusa* series designed by Shunman, the Yomogawa commissioned a series on the same text from Gakutei. This series forms part of the same case study in section 5.3.2, which is why details of individual prints will again be left out in this brief description. The prints in this series are exceedingly rare. Only four designs in the series are known, but the original number of designs must have been larger. The introductory phrases do not include the number of the essay as in the series for the

[386] The position of the stamped logo differs in different copies of the same print, for instance in the copy of '*Cormorants and sea gulls*' in Mirviss and Carpenter (2000), no. 85 and coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2066.
[387] Except for the one design, which only mentions a local product (honey), instead of giving an introductory phrase.
[388] Shijō school, also Maruyama-Shijō school, after founder Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733-1795) from Kyoto. The term Shijō refers to the 'Fourth avenue' in Kyoto, where Matsumura Goshun 松村呉春 (1752-1811, pupil under Ōkyo) had his studio. See the Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System: http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/ '*Maruyama-Shijouha*'. *Surimono* in from the Kamigata region were regularly designed in Shijō style, characterized by simple yet expressive lines and compositions. Best known among Shijō school *surimono* designers, perhaps, is Shibata Zeshin 柴田是真 (1807-1891).

Asakusagawa. In some cases, parts of the original phrase are omitted. Apparently, the Yomogawa commissioners expected a considerable degree of knowledge of *Tsurezuregusa* on the part of the receiver.

The mode of illustration in the series by Gakutei is remarkably similar to that of Shunman; still lifes without background, depicting items that allude to a life of luxury and erudition. In at least one design, Gakutei took inspiration from the earlier design by Shunman: essay number 72 is repeated in the series designed by Gakutei and Gakutei too drew a book cart for the illustration. It is difficult to judge the entire series, whatever the size may have been, on the basis of just four prints. The four designs that are known however, give the impression that Shunman's earlier designs generally inspired Gakutei, since two of Gakutei's designs display a subdued style that is unlike most of his oeuvre.

1818: *Goko shogun* 五虎将軍, for the Asakusagawa, by Gakutei

This series was inspired by *Sangokushi engi* 三国志演義 (commonly translated as '*Romance of the three kingdoms*'; Ch. 三國演義 *Sanguo yanyi*), a fourteenth century romanticized adaptation of *Sangokushi* 三國志 (Ch. *Sanguozhi, History of the three kingdoms*), written by Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (Jp. Ra Kanchū, fourteenth century). The original account was written by Chen Shou 陳 寿 (233?-297) in the third century as a historical account. *History of the three kingdoms* had been known and appreciated in Japan for many centuries when *Romance of the three kingdoms* appeared in Japanese translation in 1689. The translation, entitled *Tsūzoku sangokushi* 通俗三国志 ('*A popular history of the three kingdoms*'), was carried out by Konan Bunzan 湖南文山 (n.d.) and numbered 51 fascicles. This translation was the standard during the entire Edo period. Between 1836 and 1841, an illustrated edition was published, with annotations by Ikeda Tōritei 池田東籬亭 (1788-1857) and illustrations by Katsushika Taito II 葛飾戴斗二世 (n.d.).

Gakutei depicts the five generals against an empty background, in typical if somewhat even pacifist poses, with their formidable weapons at rest. Their clothing complies with standard 'historic Chinese warrior' iconography, though with very plentiful motifs on the cloths, always a strongpoint in Gakutei's designs. The generals are depicted with prominent beards as per biographical accounts - something also referred to in one of the poems.[389] The individual prints in this set are numbered on through five, with the name of the general in question printed underneath that number. This set can be considered a pentaptych, despite the fact that the absence of background illustrations means there is no continuous background to the set as a whole. This set once again emphasizes the fact that the Asakusagawa did not commission *surimono* series on Japanese subjects exclusively.

1819: *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, for the Taikogawa, by Shinsai

Prints in this series each group three consecutive chapters of *Genji monogatari* together, listing the three chapter names as print title. The series' title is simply *Genji monogatari*, preceded by the Taikogawa

[389] See description and translation by Alfred Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 144-145.

emblem, printed in a rectangular cartouche. The cartouche resembles a slip of paper with a tassel attached to it. The illustrations are still lifes, depicting branches of trees associated with the Spring season, some instruments, objects associated with court culture such as *eboshi*, etcetera. The still lifes are essentially combinations of items mentioned in the poems above the illustration. There is little in these illustrations that connects to standard iconography for the Tale of Genji. Rather, the illustrations calmly echo the respective chapters and scenes from the classic text that are alluded to in the poems.

The availability of exegetical works on Genji monogatari hardly needs further elaboration. The constant attention it received, also from *kokugaku* scholars, is explained by Harper, as mentioned before.[390] Unfortunately, it seems impossible to isolate which version or commentary the Taikogawa poets used as reference; no quotations are given that could clarify this. A preliminary survey of the poetry has not yielded further insights with regard to this question. Since the five known designs each treat three chapters at a time, it is appears that the entire series would have amounted to eighteen designs - assuming that all 54 chapters of the story were covered. If other prints from this series should surface, these may shed further light on whether a specific Genji commentary was relied on for information and inspiration for this series.

c. 1820: *Washo sankōshi* 和書三好子, for the Katsushikaren, by Gakutei

This is a set of (apparently) three prints, depicting famous characters featuring in classical literature. The title of the series can be translated as '*Three beloved figures from Japanese literature*'. Of the two designs known to me, one depicts Prince Genji on a veranda.[391] The other depicts Sagoromo no Daishō 狭衣代将 ('Captain Sagoromo'), the protagonist of *Sagoromo monogatari* 狭衣物語, an eleventh century tale staged at the imperial court. He is depicted playing the flute. Sagoromo plays so beautifully that a heavenly maiden descends from the skies and she invites him to ascend with her to heaven. This well-known scene is also referred to in the poems. Some exegetical texts on *Sagoromo monogatari* circulated during the Edo period. The most widely read work was that written by the well-known *renga* poet Satomura Jōha 里村紹巴 (1525-1602), whose commentary of 1590 appeared in print in 1654.[392] Some elements of the contents of *Sagoromo monogatari* resemble motifs in *Genji monogatari*, something that was acknowledged also by Motoori Norinaga.[393] The connection between both works may have been a reason for including both in the series. *Sagoromo monogatari* was obviously not as widely read during the Edo period as *Genji monogatari*, but the scene with the heavenly maiden was illustrated in Kamakura period handscrolls, and the iconography for this major moment in the tale seems to have been established over the centuries. Although the scene is not known from popular prints, examples of illustration may have also been available to Gakutei in some form. Even without knowing the third print, it seems this series holds little in

[390] Harper (2000).
[391] Listed in Goslings (2002), 'bijlage', p. 129.
[392] Under the title *Sagoromo shitahimo* 狭衣下紐 ('*The twine that holds* Sagoromo *together*'). This is a pun on the meaning of the word *koromo*, garment, as garments of the age are often kept from sagging with a length of string known as *shitahimo* (or sometimes *shitabimo*) around the waist (usually hidden under the *obi* 帯, sash).
[393] As noted by Tyler (2009), pp. 205-207.

the way of 'new iconographies' or relation to contemporaneous scholarship on this text. Careful transliteration and translation of the poems, compared to exegetical texts of the time, may prove otherwise.

c. 1820 *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子, for the Asakusagawa, by Hokuba

Makura no sōshi, commonly translated as *The Pillow Book*, is a mid-Heian period miscellany. It was written by lady-in-waiting Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (n.d., late tenth, early eleventh century) and is generally considered to have been finished just after 1000 - just several years before *Genji monogatari*. It consists of 323 sections, although the division into sections has been subject to transformation over the course of history.[394] There is a variation in the contents of the sections; the passages are generally divided into three types: "essays, lists, and diary passages."[395]

For the *surimono* in this series, phrases taken from the 'list' type, in which Sei Shōnagon defined things that she observed, appreciated, liked, longed for, were selected from different sections. In the original text, these sections start with the expression of an observation or sentiment, formulated as 'things that are […]'. Then follow short lists of examples. In the *surimono* series, the introductory phrase on each print cites the observation or appreciation in question, followed by just one (or two - although that occurs just once) of the examples given by Sei Shōnagon. The poems (with some exceptions) take that single example as subject, finding ways of connecting that subject to New Year's customs.

The illustrations by Hokuba similarly connect the subject from *Makura no sōshi* to New Year. He depicts human figures from different eras in Japanese history, in situations that tie into the general theme of the arriving spring. The depicted women range from a high-ranking Edo period courtesan to Heian period noblewomen. Men and boys, when depicted, are of comparatively lower rank, some of them (young) attendants. The respective sections are illustrated in a rather straightforward manner, though with apparent clear understanding of the contents of each section. The figures are engaged in activities that are described in the introductory phrase, or the thing or situation that is described in the selected phrase is illustrated for the viewer to behold.

The illustrations by Hokuba have little relation to any pictorial tradition for *Makura no sōshi*. Some of the female figures are illustrated in a way that slightly resembles the type of illustrations found in for instance *emakimono* of Heian period classics, as painted during the Kamakura period. Overall however, the style is clearly Hokuba's own. To quote John Carpenter:

[Similarly] Hokuba's illustrations for *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*) were inspired by well-known phrases from the famous early eleventh-century miscellany, and creates imagery that purports to represent an original Heian setting, but is rather an Edo-period idealization of a vague, timeless courtly past, not any attempt at precisely conveying the actual appearance of customs ad

[394] Fukumori (1997), p. 2.
[395] Fukumori (1997), p. 2.

costumes of ancient times […].[396]

Therefore, despite that fact that human figures were depicted at all - instead of still-lifes that are usually a break with pictorial tradition in any case - this series, too, serves as another example of how *surimono* designers chose not to rely on existing illustrations, but rather devised their own pictorialization of the classical themes.

Makura no sōshi was certainly available during the mid to late Edo period, both in manuscript and printed form. Kitamura Kigin published an annotated edition in 1674, in 22 volumes. A reprint edition of 1794 exists, proving its continuous use. Kokugaku scholars also studied *Makura no sōshi*. Since the phrases found on the prints in this *surimono* series seem to correspond with generally accepted text editions, it may prove difficult to link the contents of this series to a particular commentary.

c. 1820 *Mutsumigawa bantsuzuki Makura no sōshi* 睦側番つゝき枕草子, for the Mutsumigawa (Gogawa), by Hokkei

The *Makura no sōshi* series for the Mutsumigawa resembles the series for the Asakusagawa in general setup, with introductory phrases from the 'list type' on each print, followed by one example. The largest difference is the fact that in this series, the examples given - things related to New Year, generally - are not in the original text.[397] In that sense, the makers of this series took more liberties with the classical text than the Asakusagawa members, inserting ideas of their own and presenting them almost as if they were part of this Heian period classical text. The poets found in the series by Hokkei were members of the Gogawa, with their judge Sairaikyo Mibutsu indicated as such with a small circle mark. It seems this Mutsumigawa was an occasional subsection of the Gogawa, not a fixed poetry group. The verb *mutsumu* 睦む means 'to get along well', and it may well be that the name Mutsumigawa - with just this one *surimono* series and no known poetry book publications - was adopted for this project only. The date of publication of this *surimono* series is not exactly known, but circumstances point to c. 1820. Carpenter gives 1819, year of the rabbit, based on the fact that one design features a large rabbit, depicted on a robe.[398] Although plausible, this is not conclusive. It can be theorized that this series that takes more liberties with regard to the original text dates from after the series designed by Hokuba - the Asakusagawa occupying their usual pioneering position when it comes to series on classical literary texts.

The illustrations by Hokkei are still-lifes, inspired by the devised introductory phrases as well the poems. The prints feature a variety of textures, depicting colorful cloths, lacquerware, cuir de cordoue leather, porcelain, metal, straw, and paper, expressed through the printing techniques for which *surimono* are known. The designs are much more connected to Edo period luxuries than to (quasi) Heian period

[396] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 74.
[397] Mentioned also in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 256 and p. 264. Carpenter calls the example presented in this one *surimono* from this series a "contemporary interpolation" (p. 256).
[398] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 256.

elegance. Thus the series as a whole may take *Makura no sōshi* as a vehicle, yet in comparison to the series for the Asakusagawa, it places itself at a greater distance from the classical text.

1821 *Honchōren monogatari jūban* 本町連物語十番, for the Honchōren, by Gakutei

This series is a selection of ten tales, as suggested in the title, which translates as *Ten tales for the Honchōren*. Many are well-known, such as *Ise monogatari*, *Taketori monogatari*, *Genji monogatari* (represented by chapter seven). Less-known are for instance *Tosa nikki* (this print is part of the *Tosa nikki* case study in section 5.3.1), *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari* 浜松中納言物語 ('*The tale of the Chūnagon* [Middle Counselor] *Hamamatsu*', authorship attributed to a daughter of Sugawara no Takasue 菅原孝標, eleventh century), *Ochikubo monogatari* 落窪物語 ('*The tale of Ochikubo*', author unknown, late tenth century), and *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 ('*Tales of Yamato*', author unknown, tenth century). *Yamato monogatari* stands out for being an *uta monogatari* 歌物語, a poem-tale, in which the poems form the main vehicle for the storytelling.[399] Kitamura Kigin published an annotated version in 1653, and the *kokugaku* scholar and Kamo no Mabuchi wrote the commentary *Yamato monogatari chokkai* 大和物語直解 ('*Direct understanding of* Yamato Monogatari'). This commentary seems to have circulated in manuscript only.[400] *Ochikubo monogatari* received attention from *kokugaku* scholars, too; Shinobu Bō 信夫某 (n.d.) produced a manuscript in 1794 based on research carried out by Mabuchi[401], and the *kokugaku* scholar Ōishi Chibiki 大石千引 (1770-1834) wrote an annotated text that was apparently published in print, also in 1794.[402] Exegetical texts for *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* are scarcer, although it is known that Kishimoto Yuzuru wrote an evidential comment.[403] The tale stands out for taking a journey to the Chinese court as subject. The designs - eight out of ten known - feature colorful depictions of human figures in key scenes of the respective *monogatari*. The figures are dressed in clothes, and hair and headwear that are drawn in the archaizing style typical for Gakutei, Hokkei, and their contemporaries.

c. 1821: *Mōgyū* 蒙求, for the Hanazonoren, by Hokkei

This series presents figures from Chinese legend and history, and their stories as recorded in the Tang dynasty classic '*Youth inquires*'. The designs feature an orange/red border around an almost square, framed illustration. The border contains a type of title slip in the top right, in which the series' title, print

399 See Tahara (1972), pp. 1-37.
400 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 1, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.
401 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 2, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.
402 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 2, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.
403 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 1, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.

title and group logo are listed. It is not always the logo of the Hanazonoren that is stamped on the title slips; some designs show the logo of the subsidiary groups Umezonoren 梅園連 ('Plum garden group') and Momozonoren 桃園連 ('Peach garden group').[404] The illustrations depict the various Chinese figures either in positions or actions that form the crux in their stories. The mode of illustrating, as discussed by Carpenter, "owes much to the conventions established by Hokusai in his *Manga* and other illustrated books of the late 1810s."[405] Indeed, Hokkei draws the types of clothing, hairdo, and headwear that had become fixed in recent pictorial representations of classical Chinese figures.

Mōgyū had become available in Japan from as early as the ninth century and, according to Smits, the text consisting of "nearly six hundred minibiographies" describing the "lives of famous and infamous men (and a few women) from Chinese legend and history" had become "an indispensable tool for any young man's encounter with "China.""[406] It was studied during the Edo period still, most notably by Neo-Confucianist scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), samurai poet Kagawa Sen'a 香川宣阿 (1646-1735), and China scholar Oka[da] Hakku 岡[田]白駒 (1692-1767). Their publications were often reprinted throughout the Edo period. It has been suggested that the twenty-volume illustrated version *Mōgyū zue* 蒙求図会 ('*Youth inquires, illustrated*') annotated by Kibi Shōken 吉備祥顕 (n.d.) and illustrated by Shimokōbe Shūsui 下河辺拾水 (n.d.), of 1801 may have had an influence on Hokkei.[407] The popularity and the availability of an illustrated version may have had some influence on the choice for the subject, yet a comparison of the illustration in that book to those in the *surimono* does not reveal any emulation of pictorial elements.

1822: *Washo kurabe* 和書くらへ, for the Fundarikaren, by Hokkei

This 'comparison of Japanese books' encompasses at least ten designs. The books taken as subject for each print include well-known works such as *Tsurezuregusa*, *Ise monogatari*, and *Taketori monogatari*, as well as lesser-known works such as *Fukurozōshi* 袋草紙, a twelfth century treatise on the composition of *waka* written by court poet Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104-1177). The majority of the selected books have their origin in the Heian and Kamakura periods. A notable exception is *Zenzen taiheiki* 前々太平記 ('*Before before the record of great peace*'), an extensive military history of the eighth and ninth centuries, written by Neo-Confucianist scholar Hirazumi Sen'an 平住専庵 (?-1734?) first published in 1715. Works from before the Heian period are not treated. All works taken as subject had been made available in print, in one form or another, up to the year the *surimono* series was commissioned.

Most illustrations in the series depict human figures; the respective protagonists in crucial scenes. The penmanship in drawing the (Japanese and occasional Chinese) figures is in tune with that in book

[404] See discussion of this series in Forrer (2013), pp. 156-157.
[405] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 211.
[406] Smits (2000), p. 240.
[407] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 211 and Forrer (2013), p. 156.

illustrations by Hokusai, similar to what Carpenter remarked with regard to the *Mōgyū surimono* series. Despite the fact that the figures are depicted at the height of the story, the illustrations generally convey an atmosphere of calmness rather than action. The compositions have unobtrusive backgrounds so as to leave space for the poems, which are relatively many per print.

1824 *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語, for the Katsushikaren, by Gakutei

Uji shūi monogatari 宇治拾遺物語 ('*Tales from the later gleanings of Uji*', author unknown, early thirteenth century) consists of 196 tales, of which about two-thirds are Buddhist tales.[408] Some stories have their origins in Confucianism, others tell magnificent tales of figures from Japanese history. The Katsushikaren selected at least seven[409] tales, most of which are about Japanese historical figures, but also one story from India and one Confucian story. The *surimono* in this series have the distinct feature of being framed in a border of around a centimeter and a half in width, in which a pattern of broken ice and roundels made up of three Katsushikaren logos and roundels in the shape of plum blossoms against a brown background.[410] The compositions consist of figures - standing mostly - depicted in a key moment in the respective tale. Unlike many earlier *surimono* designs, the backgrounds are completely filled. A *tanzaku*-shaped oblong space is left open for the poems - two per print - to the left of the images. The subtle wave patterns in this space accentuate the reference to *tanzaku* poem cards, which often have similar patterns as decoration.

The obvious publication to look for possible similarities in depiction of certain tales is the sixteen-volume (partly) illustrated edition that came out in 1659, through the publishing house Hayashi Izumi no jō 林和泉掾 from Kyoto (author and illustrator unknown). That edition was clearly a success as it survives in various Japanese library collections in relatively large quantities today. This can also be attributed to the fact that it was the only printed edition to be published during the Edo period. The simple black-and-white illustrations in that book show the high point in the respective tales. However, only one of the tales illustrated by Gakutei was also illustrated in the 1659 edition. This concerns the tale about the statesman Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1028) and his white dog that warned him for certain cursed earthenware vessels buried near the entrance of a temple. Although the illustration in the book contains some elements that are also present in Gakutei's rendition, the composition by Gakutei does not borrow from that in the book illustration in any way. Neither does Gakuteis's illustration match illustrations on surviving *emaki*. Once again, the *surimono* designs prove not to be reliant on existing iconographies.

Uji shūi monogatari was studied by *kokugaku* scholars during the later Edo period, as evinced by

[408] *Uji shūi monogatari* is translated in its entirety in Mills (1970). Mills counts 197 tales: tale 126 (vol. 11, tale no. 3) consists of two parts and Mills counts those as two separate numbers.
[409] It is possible that the total number of prints in this series is seven, given the fact that the Katsushikaren issued more sets and series of for instance seven and six prints in the previous years.
[410] As noted also in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 204.

manuscripts listed in the database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature.[411] Printed commentaries do not survive. There is a possibility that at least one of the poets involved in this series was familiar with the study of *Uji shūi monogatari* through his activities as *kokugaku* scholar: Bairyūen 梅竜園, pseudonym of Nakagami Moritoki 中神守節 (1766-1824[412]), was a high-ranking samurai who reportedly studied with Ōta Nanpo. Out of the six prints of this series I have been able to investigate, Bunbunsha takes the honorary position in five. The only print in which another poet takes that position is the print depicting the tale of the robber Hakamadare 袴垂 (n.d.) who tries to rob the courtier Fujiwara no Yasumasa 藤原保昌 (958-1036), where Bairyūen takes this position. He must have been important in commissioning this series, if not for his scholarly activities, than at least for his respectable position in the shogunate. Bairyūen's poem mentions '*ashiwara no kuni*', 'land of reeds' such as the surroundings of Kyoto where Hakamadare hid before attempting the robbery, but also a term that is used in *Kojiki* to refer to Japan. Furthermore, the tale also selected for this series, of a retainer of one Muneyuki who very bravely shoots a tiger in Korea after which Japanese warriors are lauded for their bravery and dedication, further underlines the overall self-praising nature of this series commissioned by the largely samurai-populated Katsushikaren.

Mid 1820s *Sangokushi tōen ketsugi* 三國志桃宴結妓, for the Shippōren, by Hokkei

Like the *Five tiger generals* by Gakutei for 1818, this triptych was inspired by *Sangokushi engi, Romance of the three kingdoms*. This romanticized adaptation of the *History of the three kingdoms* includes fictional episodes, such as the famed 'oath at the peach orchard' parodied in the Shippōren triptych. This oath between three generals became part of popular imagination since the *Romance of the three kingdoms* was published in China, and likewise in Japan. Each leaf of the *Sangokushi* triptych, designed by Hokkei, depicts a high ranking prostitute. Although one would expect the women to somehow be linked to the generals from the novel, they each represent one of the major cities, Edo, Osaka and Kyoto - noted also in the series' emblem. The women have different hairstyles and different styles of clothing, indicative of their location. Their clothing features a single dragon that could be interpreted to be of Chinese origin, but other than that, purely Japanese motifs. The poems focus on the fact that the women are from the different cities rather than on any relation to the protagonists of the episode mentioned in the title of the triptych, although some general references to the oath and the peach orchard are made. It is obvious that the concept of 'three kingdoms' is used as a vehicle to display a degree of connoisseurship of the brothels of the 'three kingdoms' (of popular culture) within Japan, rather than of a knowledge of the novel. Moreover, the one thing that is heavily represented in the designs is the Shippōren poetry group logo; indicating that some form of self-promotion was a major motivation for this commission.

[411] Some listings are based on records on the history of *kokugaku* for instance, and the location of the actual manuscript is not known.
[412] The year of death of Bairyūen is also the reason the year of publication of this series must be 1824 at the latest.

c. 1828 *Suikoden goko shōgun* 水滸伝五虎将軍, for the Gogawa, by Gakutei

The Chinese classic *Suikoden* 水滸伝, "*Heroes of the Water Margin*", Chinese title *Shuihu zhuan*, is considered as one of the foremost classics of Chinese literature. The story tells of 108 'heroes' of the twelfth century; outlaws "motivated by feelings of honour, justice and loyalty"[413], although many of them were not of undisputed behaviour themselves. The novel was written in vernacular Chinese, which would have to its wide readership and popularity. Authorship and conception of the Chinese original are complex and unclear. It is assumed that oral transmission of a partially factual account was gradually "expanded with the addition of fictitious exploits".[414] According to Klompmakers, the novel reached some form of completion during the fourteenth century, with authorship attributed to Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 (fourteenth century) and/or Luo Guanzhong, believed to be the former's pupil.[415]

The novel made its way to Japan in the early eighteenth century, where it was studied and translated firstly by the Confucian scholar Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674-1728), who studied under the famed fellow Confucianist scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728).[416] After the translation by Kanzan, titled *Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden* 通俗忠義水滸伝 ('*A popular version of the loyal heroes of the water margin*') was published near the very end of his life, a variety of adaptations started to appear. According to Klompmakers, the real breakthrough in its popularity among the general public in Japan came in the early nineteenth century, influenced by three major projects:[417] the first is a collaboration between Takizawa Bakin and Katsushika Hokusai who delivered the illustrated *Shinpen suikogaden* 新編水滸画伝 ('*Illustrated Suikoden, New edition*'), first ten volumes of which were published between late 1805/1806[418] and 1807 (as I have mentioned in footnote 21, Bakin would retire from the project after this first installment, the remaining 80 volumes to be authored by Takai Ranzan, though much later, from 1828 onwards. Hokusai would also retire from the project, but at a much later stage[419]). The second project is the publication between 1825 and 1835 of Bakin's serial novel *Keisei suikoden* 傾城水滸伝 ('*Courtesan's* Suikoden'), attractive books of compact *chūhon* format with text in *kana* enveloping the illustrations. The third project is Kuniyoshi's print series *Tsūzoku suikoden gōketsu ippyakuhachinin no hitori* 通俗水滸伝豪傑一百八人之一個 ('*The 108 heroes of the popular* Suikoden'), published between c. 1827 and c. 1830.

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[413] Klompmakers (1998), pp. 18-19. For this introduction of *Suikoden*, its conception and popularity in Japan, I rely heavily on Klompmakers (1998).
[414] Klompmakers (1998), p. 19.
[415] Klompmakers (1998), p. 20.
[416] Klompmakers (1998), p. 23.
[417] Klompmakers (1998), pp. 23-30.
[418] See remark by Forrer (2013), p. 304.
[419] Hokusai also illustrated the book *Ehon Suikoden* 絵本水滸伝 ('Illustrated Suikoden'), which was published in 1829 by Manbandō 萬板堂. Furthermore, in the same year, Hokkei illustrated the *kyōka* book *Suikoden eiyū saishiki eshū* 水滸伝英雄彩色画集 ('*Collection of pictures of heroes of* Suikoden', in two volumes) for the Hanazonoren.

Suikoden received ample attention from *kyōka* society. Numerous book and *surimono* publications exist with some or other reference to *Suikoden*, such as *Kyōka suikoden*, illustrated by Gakutei, which I have mentioned already in section 3.3.3. In 1829, the Hanazonoren issued *Kyōka suikoden gazōshū* 狂歌水滸伝画像集 ('*Collection of illustrations of the* kyōka Suikoden') illustrated by Hokkei. The list of *surimono* issued in sets numbers at least five series and pentaptychs on the subject. The earliest of these is an untitled series designed by Shunman, for his own *kyōka* circle, from c. 1807.[420] In this series, courtesans from the Yoshiwara brothel district are presented as heroes from *Suikoden*, one per print. About seventeen designs are known. The prints, in vertical *koban* format, give the names of the heroes from the Chinese novel. The poems refer to their attributes and match these to behavior or status of certain courtesans. The brothel names are sometimes mentioned, which accentuates the familiarity of the poets with the goings on in this district. This series does not emphatically mention *Suikoden* in a title, which is why the series as such is not treated separately here. Nonetheless, it can be surmised here that Shunman and the poets around him took inspiration from the first issues of *Shinpen suikogaden*.

The first *surimono* series to specifically include *Suikoden* in the title is *Chūshin Suikoden* 忠臣水滸伝八番の内 ('*Loyal retainers of* Suikoden, *a series of eight*'), commissioned by the Kankōgawa and designed by Hokusai, probably during the early 1800s.[421] The series refers not to *Suikoden* as such, rather to a *yomihon* 読本 (litt. 'reading book', a genre of fiction in the vernacular, usually novels in historical settings, influenced by such works from China[422]) by the same title *Chūshin Suikoden* authored by Santō Kyōden and illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa in 1799 (part one in five fascicles) and 1801 (part two, also in five fascicles). The series depicts elegant young women in parodies, *mitate*, of the male figures featured in the book by Kyōden.

The first *surimono* set to clearly refer to figures from *Suikoden* itself is *Suikoden goko shōgun* 水滸伝五虎将軍 ('*The five tiger generals from Suikoden*'[423]), a pentaptych designed by Gakutei around 1828. Gakutei actually authored the first four parts of an adaptation of *Suikoden*, issued in the form of a *yomihon*, and illustrated the first two parts of it. The book carried the title *Shunketsu shintō suikoden* 俊傑神稲水滸伝 ('*Heroes of the sacred Suikoden*') and the first part was issued in 1829, with a preface dated to 1828. Gakutei's involvement is further evidence of his status as a scholar and translator of Chinese literature, and also explains his familiarity with *Suikoden* in particular.

Gakutei depicts three of the five tiger generals seated on elaborate Chinese style thrones and the other two seated on the floor, on a leopard and a tiger hide respectively. They have full beards and wear elaborate clothing - intricate motifs printed using various colors and metallic pigments - in a style that can

[420] Technically, Shunman still headed the Hakuraku poetry circle at the time he designed this series, yet the series does not contain a group emblem.
[421] Three prints from this series are described and illustrated in Mizuta Bijutsukan, Jōsai Kokusai Daigaku (Ed., 2004), nos. 158, 159, and 161.
[422] See for instance Zolbrod (1966).
[423] The character *go* for five is styled as an hourglass, which is the logo of the Gogawa.

again be characterized as an idealization rather than a factual depiction of clothing of that era in Chinese history. The five generals, one per sheet, are seated on a balcony, the railing of which provides a continuous background throughout the pentaptych. The sheets are numbered one thru five and the names of the generals are given before the poems.[424] The poet Fukunoya Uchinari features prominently in this set; he is the only poet who is included with two poems, one of which is a *kyōshi*. Together with Gakutei, Fukunoya was also involved as a judge for the 1822 publication *Kyōka suikoden*. This topic, therefore, was obviously a favorite of both of them.

The publication from the early 1820s shows that Gakutei and the poets who commissioned illustrations from him took inspiration from *Suikoden* already before the publication of *Shinpen suikogaden* was continued. Around the time the Gakutei's pentaptych was issued, however, Bakin's serial novel *Keisei suikoden* was already being published successfully for some years, Kuniyoshi's popular commercial prints were being sold, *Shinpen suikogaden* was about to be continued, and Gakutei himself was working on the publication of his own *yomihon* inspired by *Suikoden*. The pentaptych cannot be labeled as a product of avant-garde literary activities per se, although the Gakutei and the commissioning poets were clearly not far behind the developments in the appreciation of *Suikoden* of their time.

1829 *Fūzoku onna suikoden ippyakuhachinin no uchi* 風俗女水滸伝壹百八人内, for the Hisakataya shachū, by Kuniyoshi

After his popular commercial *Suikoden* print series came out, Kuniyoshi received commissions for several *Suikoden*-inspired *surimono* series. The first of these is a series for the circle around Hisakataya Misora, for the ox year 1829.[425] As the title suggests, it shows elegant women as heroes from the famous novel. The suggestion in the subtitle that the series consists of one hundred and eight designs is false, of course. On the prints, the first part of the title is given in a cartouche that more or less resembles the cartouche found in Kuniyoshi's commercial series of *Suikoden* heroes. The subtitle is printed in plain characters to the left of that. The prints carry individual print titles as well, being the (partial) names of the heroes that are parodied. These print titles are encased by the emblem of Hisakataya's circle. A poem by Hisakataya himself is included in almost every print. Unusually, many *surimono* in this series feature a printer's seal next to Kuniyoshi's signature, reading *Surikō* Shinzō 摺工 晋象 (Printer: Shinzō).

The illustrations display a full composition with plenty of color, typical of Kuniyoshi's work and also of his prints in the commercial *Suikoden* series. However, the *surimono* lack the dark tones in the backgrounds often found in the commercial series. The women, furthermore, have considerably gentler facial expressions than the fierce heroes in the large format series. They are depicted in various settings, in a boat on a river, in a palanquin, seated in an interior, etc. The settings and attributes depicted in the

[424] They are, one thru five: Guan Sheng 関勝 (Jp. Kan Shō), 秦明 Qin Ming (Jp. Shin Mei), Lin Chong 林冲 (Jp. Rin Chū), 呼延灼 Huyan Zhuo (Jp. Koen Shaku), and Dong Ping 董平 (Jp. Tō Hei).
[425] One *surimono* carries an illustration of young woman riding a large ox in the typical iconography of this animal in depictions for the zodiac. The second poem on this *surimono*, by Hisakataya, mentions the ox specifically.

illustrations are references to the biographical backgrounds and heroic feats of the heroes, although they do not correspond with Kuniyoshi's illustrations of the male versions in his original print series in terms of composition. Thus, the designs that Kuniyoshi made for this *surimono* series are new in the sense that he did not rely on his earlier designs or copied female figures into existing compositions of his own hand.

1832 *Fūzoku onna suikoden hyakuhachiban no uchi* 風俗女水滸伝百八番ノ内, for the Hisakataya shachū, by Kuniyoshi

Three years after the first series for Hisakataya and his circle, Kuniyoshi once again took a commission from his circle for a series with the same subject, almost the same title, and the same style of illustrations. The printer was also the aforementioned Shinzō. It is often dated to 1832 because of the frequent references to dragons in both poetry and image.[426] The main difference with the previous series is that now, individual print titles are omitted. Viewers and readers need to grasp which hero is referred to from the clues in the poems and the illustrations. Again, poems by Hisakataya himself feature prominently throughout the series.

One of the designs provides a clue to the inspiration for the series' creators. The illustration in question - depicting a woman under a *kotatsu* on which stands an angry cat - includes two fascicles of a book, one showing the title *Tsūzoku Suikoden* (vol. 22). Forrer suggests that this is a reference to the serial novel *Haishi suikoden* 稗史水滸伝 ('*The* Suikoden *novel*') that Kuniyoshi illustrated around the same time, in an attempt to draw attention to that publication.[427] This is unlikely, since *Haishi suikoden* features covers illustrated with dragons as well as illustrations on every page - a feature that Kuniyoshi in this scenario would have certainly have accentuated. However, the pages of the opened fascicle on the floor that the woman had been reading from show text only. Unfortunately, there is no *Suikoden* publication with this exact title that can be matched to the book that Kuniyoshi included in this design. The title that comes closest is Okajima Kanzan's *Tsūzoku chūgi Suikoden*, from which '*chūgi*' may have been left out. This book was issued in 80 volumes, and features text only. Including the two fascicles with this particular title in this *surimono* design suggests that Kuniyoshi or the commissioning poets wished to refer to the earliest - unillustrated - *Suikoden* publication in Japanese known to them, boasting more erudition than by referring to all the popular illustrated versions that had appeared after it.

1832 *Fūzoku onna suikoden ippyakuhachinin no uchi shiokumi gobantsuzuki* 風俗女水滸伝壹百八人ノ内 汐汲五番続, for the Taikogawa, (pentaptych) by Kuniyoshi

In a somewhat similar style, Kuniyoshi designed a pentaptych on the subject of elegant women as *Suikoden* heroes. In this case, however, it concerns a set for the Taikogawa depicting women on a beach,

[426] For instance by Forrer (2013), pp. 304-5. Indeed, the dragon is featured as part of at least three illustrations. However, the goddess Benten - commonly associated with the (year of the) snake - is depicted in one of the other designs, and for instance a tiger is referred to in yet another design.
[427] Forrer (2013), p. 305.

engaged in gathering sea water for the production of salt. In addition to a title and subtitle, this set also carries a further title that can be dubbed the pentaptych title. This is stamped in red, as is the drum-shaped group emblem, and reads *Shiokumi gobatsuzuki* 汐汲五番続 (‘*Pentaptych of brine maidens*’). This refers to a dance in kabuki, which is in turn based on an early Kamakura period story in which one Matsukaze dances with the yoke and two buckets suspended from it.[428] In this pentaptych, the names of the heroes to which the women are matched are given as well. The year of issue is not known, but it can be assumed that it coincides with the second ‘*Onna Suikoden*’ series Kuniyoshi designed for Hisakataya.[429]

c. 1830 *Suiko gogyō* 水滸五行, for the Hanazonoren, by Hokkei

Another set of five *surimono* on the subject of *Suikoden* heroes was designed by Hokkei for the Hanazonoren around 1830.[430] *Suiko gogyō* 水滸五行 (‘*The five elements of the water margin*’) is a series of five, not a pentaptych, and depicts five outlaws from the Chinese novel coupled to one of the five elements. The five elements are important in Chinese astrology and geomancy, for instance, and provide a suitable framework to present this selection of five figures.[431] Despite the double Chinese subject, the poems contain several references to Japanese cultural history - even a reference to *Kojiki*.[432] The compositions are reminiscent of the commercial print series by Kuniyoshi in the sense that the men are depicted as powerful figures, larger than life, for they barely fit in the constraints of the print format - *shikishiban* in this case. Haft notes that the names of some of the heroes are “mistaken”[433], which could be found to come from certain text editions. This series designed by Hokkei is further proof of the influence of Kuniyoshi’s print series on *kyōka* society.

c. 1830 *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Manjiren, by Hokkei

Several years after the two *Tsurezuregusa* series designed by Shunman and Gakutei were issued, the Manjiren commissioned a third series to take this text as subject from Hokkei. This series forms part of the same case study in section 5.3.2, which is why details of individual prints will again be left out in this

[428] Explained on http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/shiokumi.htm (accessed March 28, 2016).
[429] Kuniyoshi also designed a pentaptych for the Hisakataya shachū on the theme of seafood gathering at ebb tide, which likely dates to about the same year. This pentaptych is titled *Shioi goban no uchi* 汐干五番内 (‘*Five prints of the ebb-tide*’) and while making no reference to *Suikoden*, shows a somewhat similar composition of women at the seaside. Keyes (1981), pp. 77-79 provides an introduction to the *Shioi goban no uchi* pentaptych.
[430] Forrer (2013), p. 180, dates the series to c. 1825, based on the fact that many more series or sets of five were issued around that year. Although such series were indeed relatively numerous around that year, series or sets of five were also issued around the year 1830. However, the use of solid gold background in some of the designs is consistent with that short-lived tendency in 1825 and 1826, as I have demonstrated in a lecture for the International Ukiyo-e Society in November 2015. Still, the composition of the figures within the frame of the print format leads me to believe that Hokkei’s designs date from after the commercial print series by Kuniyoshi, thus later than 1827. Since I discussed the Kuniyoshi ‘*Suikoden* women’ *surimono* set and series consecutively, the Hokkei series is placed after those.
[431] Four prints in this series are discussed by Haft (2008), pp. 244-247, who gives further explanation of the Chinese idea of five elements - also ‘five phases’.
[432] In one of the poems on the print for ‘metal’. See Haft (2008), pp. 244-245.
[433] Haft (2008), pp. 245-246.

brief description. Hokkei's illustrations for this series show a wider variety than those in the earlier series, with still lifes, human figures - in classic or contemporary guise - and landscapes in different configurations. The introductory phrases are framed nicely in a cartouche that resembles the opened page of a *Tsurezuregusa* book, yet do not include the number of the essay. Hokkei, too, borrows from Shunman; the composition of a suit of armor and daikon in the design for the same section is a clear indication of this. The atmosphere of poetry and image, and the wording of the introductory phrases throughout the series will be discussed further in the case study.

5.3 Case studies

5.3.1 *Surimono* treating a classical work of literature without pictorial tradition: *Tosa nikki*

Surimono creators not only broke away from existing pictorial traditions, sometimes they even chose works of Japanese classical literature without any existing pictorial tradition for their series. Although such series are few, they do underline an intellectual confidence and boldness in handling cultural heritage. In the cases that such works did not have a pictorial tradition connected to them, it is usually because they did not have a strong exegetical tradition either, and were not widely read. This makes the choice for such works of literature even more unexpected as inspiration for a *surimono* series. In this section, I will investigate how *surimono* series took inspiration from works of literature for which only scanty pictorial and varying exegetical tradition existed, and how both the designs and the poetry incorporated knowledge of the content of those texts.

Surimono referring to *Tosa nikki*

Tosa nikki is a classical work of literature written by the Heian court official and poet Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (868?-945) around the year 935. It is commonly called a travel diary; it consists of 55 entries, one for each day of the farewell ceremonies and the sea journey back to the capital (Heiankyō 平安京, present-day Kyoto) that Tsurayuki[434] made after having stayed in Tosa province (present day Kōchi prefecture on Shikoku) for several years, fulfilling his duties as governor. Tsurayuki was an accomplished poet.[435] He and three other men were asked to compile an imperial poetry anthology, which resulted in the '*Collection of Japanese poems, new and old*', *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集, commissioned c. 905 and completed c. 914. Tsurayuki was also the principal compiler of other famous poetry anthologies. In contrast, the *Tosa nikki* was a sort of private project, and an unconventional project at that. It is a diary that was probably

[434] In Ki no Tsurayuki, Ki is the family name and Tsurayuki is the given name. The name will from this point onwards be abbreviated to Tsurayuki, as is being done in most Japanese and Western literature on the subject. The names of artists and poets will be abbreviated to the name they are best known by. For example: (Kubo) Shunman, and Bunbunsha (Kanikomaru).
[435] For a detailed overview of Ki no Tsurayuki's life, see Suzuki (1991), pp. 98-103.

based on a combination of fact and fiction, which starts by stating that the author is a woman who will try to write a diary like men are said to do.[436] The themes touched upon in the *Tosa nikki* are sometimes regarded unsuitable for official anthologies.[437] For instance, Tsurayuki makes frequent reference to the death of his nine year old daughter, who didn't live to see the day of their return to the capital. It is thought that he wrote the diary shortly upon his return in Shōhei 8 (935), and it is therefore presumed to date from 935 or 936.[438] The daily writings vary in length from a single sentence to long prose descriptions of the situation of the day, providing a vehicle for up to six *waka* poems mixed into the text per day.

Although the author states being a woman in the opening words of the diary, there has never really been serious doubt that it was anyone other than Tsurayuki himself who wrote it. Suzuki lists six reasons why it was Tsurayuki, and argues that as soon as twenty to 30 years after Tsurayuki died, "people in certain circles" knew he was the author.[439] Reading the diary, one gets the feeling that the journey that is being described never really took place, at least not in the way suggested in the text. As Helen Craig McCullough states: "The journal appears to be a blend of fact and fiction built around two original nuclei: brief calendar notations, written in Chinese, of the kind commonly found in men's diaries of the period; and *waka* composed to while away time during the trip."[440] The concept of a 'female' narrator who recites the governor's poems is obviously constructed[441], which makes the *Tosa nikki* a work of interest to the interdisciplinary discourse of Japanese literature and gender studies.

In the mid 1810s, the circles of three prominent *kyōka* poets; Shōfūdai Teitei, Hisakataya Misora and Bunbunsha Kanikomaru jointly commissioned Kubo Shunman to design a series of *surimono* based on *Tosa nikki*. The text was never before taken as the subject of an entire *surimono* series and never since. This does not make it the first time the text was referred to in *surimono*; several years earlier, Hōtei Hokuga 抱亭北鵞 (c.1769-1835, from 1810 calling himself Hōtei Gosei 抱亭五清[442]) designed a print referring to *Tosa nikki* for the series *Monogatari awase* 物語合 (*'A matching of tales'*) for the year 1809.[443] It depicts two large

[436] McCullough and Ki no Tsurayuki (1985), p. 263.
[437] McCullough (1985), p. 499. For further discussion of the implications of Tsurayuki's decision to employ a woman persona, see Miyake (1996), pp. 41-73; Miner (1969); Heldt (2005), pp. 7-34.
[438] Suzuki, Ki no Tsurayuki, et al. (1957), pp. 9, 10.
[439] Suzuki, Ki no Tsurayuki, et al. (1957), pp. 6, 7.
[440] McCullough (1985), p. 497. In my opinion, one can even wonder over whether the *waka* in *Tosa nikki* were really composed during the trip. This question is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.
[441] This kind of construction is not uncommon in medieval Japanese poetry, as explained in Smits (1995), pp. 28-29.
[442] A detailed study of Gosei's life and works was executed by Tanaka (1986).
[443] According *Ukiyo-e ruikō*, the name Hokuga was bestowed on him by his teacher Hokusai. After changing his artist's name to Hōtei Gosei 抱亭五清, he would also use the name Sunayama 砂山 Gosei. The print by Gosei is reproduced and discussed to some extent in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 205, McKee (2006), p. 74, and McKee (2008 [1]), p. 420 (dated 1808 here). The date of 1809 mentioned there is based on the fact that many *surimono* depicting shells are linked to Enoshima and the Benten shrine. Since Benten allegedly married a snake, the connection suggests a snake year. That is the case for this print in the series; whether other designs in this series - unknown to me - make similar references to the snake year, in uncertain. The entry for this design, in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995, plate 89), states that it is thought Hōtei Hokuga changed his name to Hōtei Gosei

abalone shells, of which one is up-side-down, richly decorated with mica. It features one poem by Rokujuen's son Jingairō Kiyosumi. The poem revolves around the theme of *toshidama*, the tradition of presenting (one's subordinates[444]) with presents at New Year. The poem on this print picks up on the gender issue by punning on the first line of the *Tosa nikki*, citing the first three words, but changing the word for 'man' into 'woman'. This is probably because only women dive for abalone shells, and this man will 'give it a try', just as the 'female author' of the *Tosa nikki* 'tried her hand on a diary men are said to write'.

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in 1810 (which is also the year Tanaka (1986), p. 56, gives.)). This is somewhat supported by data from the NIJL, which shows that he contributed (an) illustration(s) for the *yomihon Kōshi futaba monogatari* 孝子嫩物語 ('*Tales of young filial children*'), written by the prolific (educational) writer, poet, and scholar of both Japanese and Chinese texts and historic subjects Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762-1838), published in 1808 (other illustrators are fellow Hokusai pupils Hokuju 北寿 and Hokuba). Then, his signature 'Gosei (no) e 五清絵' is found in the result book *Kyōka hyōbanki* 狂歌評判記 ('*Record of kyōka judgings*'), judged by Rokujuen with a preface dated 1811. Later, a *surimono* incorporating references to the long and short months of the year 1813 is signed 'Sunayama Gosei ga 砂山五清画'. That print is included in one of the Hayashi albums kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, acc. no. JP2151. It is unclear for which circle the *Monogatari awase* series was designed. It generally appears, however, that Gosei worked mainly for the Gogawa. At least all books for which he designed illustrations seem to have been Gogawa publications (as verified in the database of the NIJL). Some signatures on *surimono* he designed for the Gogawa are accompanied by the seals 'Go' 五 and 'sei' 清, whereby the 'Go' is stylized to look like an hourglass, very similar to the Gogawa logo.

[444] Giving *toshidama* is still common practice in Japan. Nowadays, (grand)parents often give their (grand)children money in special gift envelopes that are decorated with red and white strings (the usual colors for presents given at celebratory events). Sometimes, a strip of yellowish paper is added, which represents the strip of dried awabi that used to be tied to *toshidama*.

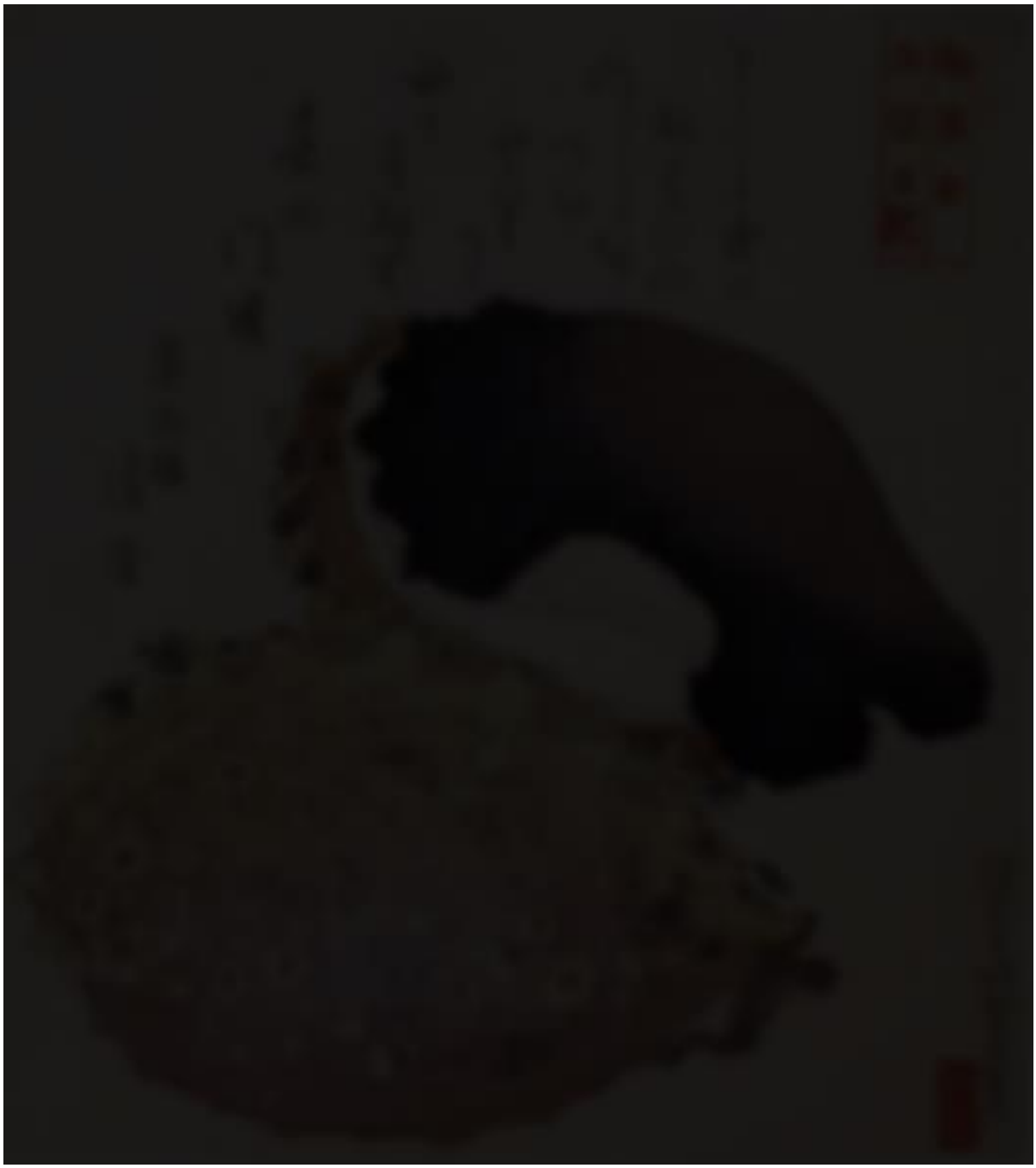

Fig. 17. Hōtei Hokuga, *Tosa nikki*, from the series *Monogatari awase*, c. 1809. Reproduced in Mirviss and Carpenter (2000), p. 69.

Let me decorate	*toshidama ni*	とし玉に
my present for the new year	*awabi no noshi wo*	あはひののしを
with dried *awabi*	*tsukeyarite*	つけやりて
like they say that women do:	*onna mo sunari*	女もすなり
a spring salute at your gate	*haru no kadorei*	春の門禮

This poem contains a pun on the opening sentence of the *Tosa nikki* that was likely familiar to

many. Even if one had not read the whole text, any mention of the literary classic would have contained the information that the text opens by stating it is a woman who is writing it, likely including the information that that is actually untrue. In that respect, the pun in Kiyosumi's poem is of the kind one would expect to surface in a frivolous *kyōka* on the theme of the *Tosa nikki*. Shells are often linked to female sexuality in the Japanese perception - also elsewhere in *Tosa nikki* in fact[445] - which gives this *surimono* also a slightly provocative touch. This *surimono* is of course part of a series on Japanese classics in general, which would explain the need for a more easily recognizable, less complicated humor. Whichever the case, the poems and prints in Shunman's *Tosa nikki* series, discussed below, will show a considerable difference in approach towards the theme.

The *Tosa nikki surimono* series designed by Shunman

The design depicting Tsurayuki and company on a boat setting out to sea can obviously be regarded as the first print in the series (fig. 18). The quotation taken from *Tosa nikki* is the very first line of the original text. The realistic illustration depicts the front half of a wooden boat with fine wooden railings and a small square sail, slightly turned away from the viewer and gently proceeding from left to right in the composition. Three men and one woman in fine Heian period clothes are seated on the deck, a large sheet of what appears to be paper between them. Further forwards, on the bow of the deck, three men in worker's clothes sit beside a large four-hooked anchor on a long rope. The vessel glides behind two pine trees on the shoreline. Beyond the boat, the calm sea stretches out towards the distant shore of hills and mountains. In the background, several small white sails.

[445] On the thirteenth day of the first month, Tsurayuki mentions women 'tucking up their skirts' and 'displaying mussels and abalones'. McCullough (1985), p. 274.

Fig. 18. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, first design in the sequence, mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2078

The introductory quotation to the print design for this day reads:

I thought I'd try my hand at writing a diary of the kind that men commonly write.	*otoko mo su naru* / *nikki to iu mono o* / *onna mo shite min tote* / *suru nari*	男もすなる/ 日記といふものを/ 女もしてみんとて/ するなり

The first poem, on the right, reads:

At the cloth-cutting ceremony	*tabi koromo*	旅衣

celebrating starting on a travel garment	*kyō tachisomuru*	けふたち/そむる
the captain places	*eriiwai*	えりいはひ/
dried bonito chafings from Tosa	*yone ni tosabushi*	よねに土佐ふし/
on the rice[446]	*tsume ya funachō*	つめや舟長
- Bairintei Matsukage	- Bairintei Matsukage	- 梅隣亭松陰

The poem on the left reads:

We do not travel by Tosa colt	*tosakoma ni*	土佐駒に
but if we were	*norazu narite mo*	のらす/なりても
we already have a whip	*hashirasuru*	はしら/する
to make it run;	*muchi wa arikeri*	鞭は有けり
a tailwind for the boat	*fune no oikaze*	舟の追風
- Garyōen	- Garyōen	- 臥龍園

The combined poems and illustration conjure the atmosphere of a fairly leisurely outing on a small yet luxurious ship, with plenty of opportunity for composing poetry inspired by the changing landscapes and seascapes. Both poems incorporate things that Tosa province is known for, and connect these two New Year. Except for perhaps the tailwind (is the sail ballooning slightly there behind the tree?), the illustration does not echo the content of the poems. Neither poems nor illustration make reference to Tsurayuki's hardship, neither as disgruntled governor in the province nor as seasick passenger on board. The *surimono*, thus imagines Tsurayuki's journey as a harmonious event, and leaves the emotional distress of the author for what it is.

Another of the days taken as subject for a design is the first day of the New Year. Considering the function of *surimono* as celebratory print, it would have been odd if the first day of the New Year in Tsurayuki's diary had not been treated in the *surimono* series. For Tsurayuki and his travel companions, however, the day passes without festivities. Their trip started on the 21st day of the twelfth month, and ended on the sixteenth day of the second month. The travelers enter the New Year while on the boat. Instead of eating the usual New Year dishes, they share a pressed salted trout (*oshiayu*), which is a Tosa specialty.[447] For the Setsubun festival, it was common use to stick the head of a fish with a somewhat

[446] The 'cloth cutting ceremony' was held to celebrate the start of the manufacture of a new kimono. It involved placing some rice and dried bonito flakes on the cloth and is said to have developed during the Edo period. (According to the Kimono Term Dictionary: http://www.so-bien.com/kimono/tpo/eriiwai.html, accessed April 14, 2016.)
[447] McCullough and Ki no Tsurayuki (1985), p. 268.

similar sounding name, *nayoshi*, onto a wooden skewer as decoration.[448] This festival is connected to New Year's celebration and Tsurayuki states that everyone is speaking of the capital and the decorations that would be displayed all over the city.

Fig. 19. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, '*New year's decorations*', mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2063.

[448] Kishimoto states (sheet 24, recto) that the head of the *nayoshi* is 'nowadays' replaced by that of an *iwashi* (sardine) for the Setsubun celebration. The first poem on this *surimono*, by Hōnensai Inafusa, explicitly mentions the word *setsubun*.

The introductory quotation to the print design for this day reads:

Things like the mullet heads on the straw ropes hung from the gates of the little houses, the holly…	*Koe no kado no / shirikumenawa no / nayoshi no kashira / hiiragi ra*	こへのかどの/しりくめなはの/なよしのかしら/ひゝらきら

The *Tosa nikki* text ends with the words '*ika ni zo*', meaning something like 'how about…', which should be placed in front of the English translation given above. Although it does not harm the grammar of the sentence, one can wonder why this was left out. The same phenomenon is noticed by Carpenter in the *Torikaebaya* series. He notes: "Sometimes the selection has a word or phrase of particular vivid visual suggestiveness, even if it refers to a trivial or incidental matter".[449] Perhaps the partial quotation on this print should merely be seen as a listing of visually appealing items connected to New Year's celebrations, since Shunman's design for this particular passage shows a branch of holly, a fan used in new year's offerings, an unfinished straw rope and a fish head on a stick.

The first poem, on the right, reads:

The power of the warbler's song makes devils cower in the land of the reed beds - Hōnensai Inafusa[450]	*uguisu no* *uta no chikara ni* *setsubun no* *onigami mo sukumu* *ashiwara no kuni* - Hōnensai Inafusa	鶯の 歌のちからに 節分の/ 鬼神もすくむ/ あし原の国 - 豊年斎稲房

This poem refers to the Setsubun festival, which has the function of chasing away evil spirits. In this case, devils flee for the felicitous song of the *uguisu*, instead of being chased away by soy beans that are traditionally cast. The devils in this poem flee into (land of) reeds; a phrase with distinct nativist overtones, since it links to the 'age of the gods' described in *Kojiki*. Reeds are also the material used for the straw rope. *Ashiwara* therefore serves as a pivot word, *kakekotoba*, in this *kyōka*.

The poem on the far left (the honorable position[451]), by Bunbunsha Kanikomaru, reads:

[449] Carpenter (2004), p. 101.
[450] Inafusa is found in KJJ, p. 20. No *kyōka* circle affiliation is mentioned.
[451] There are two poems on this print. The honorable position for poets is always far left in *surimono*, as can be noticed from many prints that carry multiple poems. The *kyōka* by poetry group leaders are rarely if ever placed

When the spring arrived	*haru tateba*	春立は
nobles and peasants	*kami shimo tomo ni*	かみしもともに
both celebrated	*iwawashiki*	いはゝしき
with the head of the mullet	*nayoshi no kashira*	名よしの頭
and the straw rope	*shirikume no nawa*	しりくめのなは
- Bunbunsha	- Bunbunsha	- 文ゝ舎

Bunbunsha's poem sketches an image of a group of people from different social strata, bound by a mutual celebratory event. That is in fact the situation on Tsurayuki's boat, although the travelers do not have a real *nayoshi* or *shirikumenawa* to celebrate with. The word(s) *kamishimo* can mean 'the higher and the lower', and is used with this meaning in Tsurayuki's record for day 22 of the twelfth month.[452] *Kamishimo* is also the name of a formal garment - consisting of an upper and lower piece - worn by samurai on official occasions in the Edo period. The word *nayoshi* is written with the character '*na*' for name, followed by '*yoshi*' in hiragana.[453] When followed by '*kashira*', 'head', it can be interpreted to mean 'those of good name', or 'people of high standing'. It seems Bunbunsha somehow aims to emphasize his samurai pedigree with his choice of words.

It should be noted that one print in Shunman's *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series of 1811 mentioned earlier, dealing with chapter 19, features a similar set of items relating to the celebration of Setsubun. A branch of holly, a *nayoshi*[454] head and tail on sticks, and - not present in the *Tosa nikki* print - a *masu* (square wooden rice measure) filled with the beans that are thrown around at Setsubun to chase away the evil spirits. In this print too, it seems that the imagery connects to the festivities around New Year, at which time *surimono* are usually issued after all, rather than to the scene that was quoted from the respective literary classic. Even without having scrutinized the layers of meaning in the *Tsurezuregusa surimono*, one might propose that the depiction of such a gathering of items appears to derive from a personal preference of Shunman's.

The straw rope depicted on the *surimono*, now known as *shimenawa* 注連縄, is an attribute of

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anywhere else than on the far left. The many ranking devices that are used in *kyōka* books may lead us to believe that there is also a hierarchal order in the poems that are not on the left in *surimono* (in case of a total of three poems or more).

[452] Although, as we have seen in the previous section, the phrasing "*kami shimo*" is distinctive of Kitamura Kigin's annotated edition, as later annotated editions commonly give "*kami naka shimo*".

[453] The name *nayoshi* is used for young *bora*, a flathead mullet in English. The characters for 'good name' explained above have actually been used in the past for this fish that makes a name change with age. This makes it somewhat unclear whether Bunbunsha has deliberately chosen these characters. However, the word *nayoshi* in the introductory lines is spelled with *hiragana* only.

[454] The fish heads depicted in either *surimono* are too far simplified to allow for identification of the species.

Shinto, where it has the primary function of delineating boundaries - for instance between the world of man and that of the gods. The rope features prominently in the legend of the sun goddess Amaterasu, who - once lured out of her rock cave where she hid, thus taking away the light - was prevented from re-entering the cave through the use of such a braided straw rope. Explanations of the history and use of this rope feature in all annotated versions of the text. There is meaning in the direction in which the rope is braided.

It is striking that Kishimoto goes to great lengths to explain the exact meaning of the word *shirikumenawa* in Tsurayuki's time.[455] He quotes from several sources, such as the *Seigenmondō*, a book on the year round festivities, *nenjūgyōji* 年中行事, first issued in 1544. A *shirikumenawa*, he explains in the notes above page 23, is similar to the *shimenawa* (braided straw rope used to separate the worlds of people and gods in Shinto religion), but unfinished on the left side. Interestingly, this is exactly what Shunman incorporated in his design. According to Kishimoto's notes, the syllables '*shiri*' in *shirikumenawa* point to the fact that the rope's bottom is yet unfinished, which in turn symbolizes spring time, when these ropes are braided. Since no mention of this is found in the *Tosa nikki* itself and the etymology behind this word is apparently unknown at the time - why else would Kishimoto annotate this so elaborately? - we can assume that both Shunman and Bunbunsha took this knowledge from Kishimoto's research. Furthermore, Kishimoto gives the reading '*shirikume no nawa*', while adding that the '*no*' in between could not be verified as part of Tsurayuki's original text. In the *surimono*, '*shirikumenawa*' is used for the quotation, whereas Bunbunsha uses the phrase '*shirikume no nawa*'. Of course, the added '*no*' provides the seventh syllable needed to complete the *kyōka* meter, but again, the use of both varieties of the word seems to point to the *Tosa nikki kōshō*.

Another scene that was taken up as subject for a *surimono* in this series is that of the seventh day of the first month. Tsurayuki's entry for this day is unusually long, especially regarding the fact that the entries between New Year's day and the seventh day consist of one or only several sentences. The travelers are held up by bad weather again, and they are visited by people from a house called 'Ike' ('The Pond'). These visitors carry long boxes hung from poles on their shoulders, which are filled with fish. Tsurayuki lists the various fishes that they are being presented with, stating that they include fishes from both sea and rivers, but no *koi* (carp). This is a pun on the fact that Japanese ponds are commonly filled with *koi*, yet among all the fishes that the people from 'The Pond' bring, there is not a carp to be found.[456] It is exactly this phrase that is taken as introduction to the poems on the print for day seven:

There was no carp, but starting with *funa*, there	*koi wa nakute / funa yori*	鯉はなくて/鮒よ
were fish from the rivers, from the sea, and	*hajimete / kawa no mo umi no*	りはじめて/かは

[455] Most current classical Japanese dictionaries consider *shirikumenawa* and *shimenawa* to be synonyms.
[456] McCullough (1985), p. 269.

other things, in long boxes hung from poles on their shoulders.

mo / *kotomono domo* / *nagabitsu ni ni* / *naitsuzukete* / *okosetari*

のも海のも/ことものとも/長ひつに荷/なひつゝけて/おこせたり

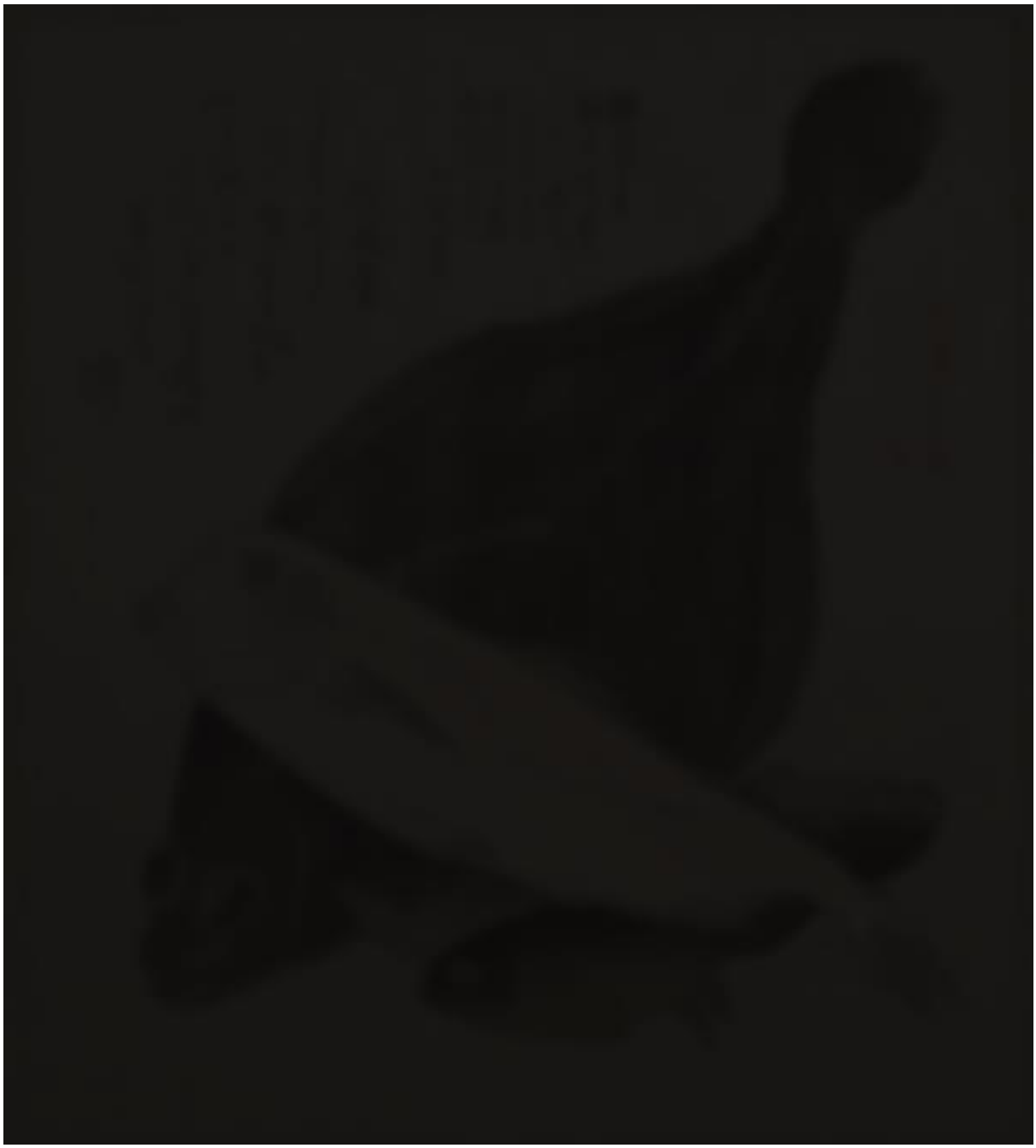

Fig. 20. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, '*Three species of fish*', mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2079.

Shunman's design shows five fishes, one *karei* 鰈 (halibut), one *amadai* アマダイ (horsehead), and three *funa* 鮒 (crucian perch). The fishes are drawn in a true-to-life style, and the horsehead is covered with

mother-of-pearl to give the scales a shiny effect. The fishes seem to be loosely stacked upon one another, and - as stated earlier - there is no background to accompany this still-life.

The one poem, by Shōfūdai, reads:

While I enjoy	*misakana ni*	みさかなに
some *konbu* as appetizer	*konbu tōbete*	こんぶたうべて
I'm imagining	*tsurayuki ga*	つらゆきか
Tsurayuki's spring boat trip	*funaji o zo omou*	ふなぢをそ思ふ
and my head starts spinning round	*haru no haroyoi*	春のほろ酔
- Shōfūdai	- Shōfūdai	- 松風臺

Among the poems in this series, Shōfūdai's *kyōka* is actually one of the more frivolous. It gives an impression of a reader far away in both time and place from Tsurayuki's hardship, realizing he is better off chewing on some *konbu* (seaweed) to go with his drink, than being on a rocking boat. If he is ever to experience any motion before his eyes, it is likely to be caused by having had one too many celebratory New Year's *tososake* than by being on an inescapable sea journey trying to get back to the center of civilization. The word *misakana* may be intended to pun on the word *sakanami*, which means 'waves from the opposite direction', but the syllables that form *sakana* could somehow also be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the fact that Tsurayuki is being presented with different kinds of fish, while the word *sakana* nor *uo* (which was the usual word for fish in Tsurayuki's days) is explicitly mentioned in the original text. Other than that, the poem does not really hook into the situation Tsurayuki faces on that particular day.

The fourth print to be discussed was designed around a poem that appears at the end of the entry for the 20th day of the first month. The poem is cited as introductory text for this design, while omitting the first line:

It is the same moon	*[miyako nite]*	「都にて」
I saw at the mountain rim	*yama no ha ni mishi*	山のはにみし
[in the capital,]	*tsuki naredo*	月なれと
yet now it comes from the waves	*nami yori idete*	波より出て
and into the waves it retires[457]	*nami ni koso ire*	

[457] Translation taken from McCullough (1985), p. 277. According to the late Prof. Tsumoto Nobuhiro 津本信博 (1940-2007) from Waseda University, who provided invaluable assistance with reading and understanding the *kyōka* poems, the fact that the moon emerges from the waves and sinks into them again at sunset strikes Tsurayuki as odd, because he is used to the moon rising from behind the mountains and setting again behind them, which is the usual view from Kyoto, being surrounded by mountains. Tsurayuki says earlier in the entry

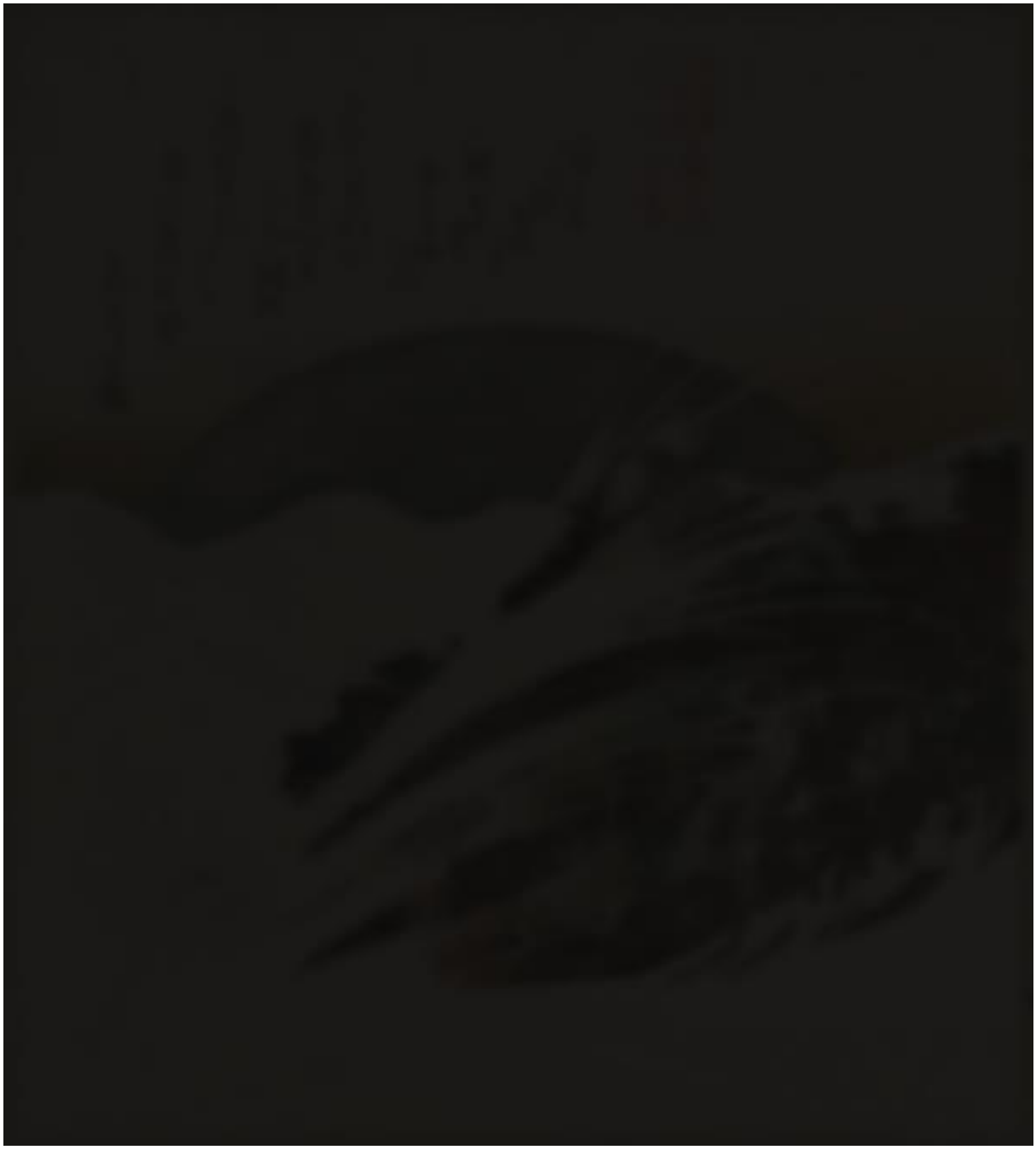

Fig. 21. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, '*Moon and waves*', mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2067.

Perhaps the poets decided to omit the line 'in the capital' (*miyako nite* 都にて)[458] because they

that this is the view that Abe no Nakamaro (698-770) must have had when he tried to return from his journey to China, looking longingly in the direction of Japan on the same 20th day of the month.

[458] Kyoto, in Tsurayuki's time called Heiankyō, but often referred to as *miyako* 都, 'the capital'. This word was actually still in use in the early nineteenth century, despite Edo being the shogunal capital city at that time.

were themselves based in Edo. It is a somewhat strange decision, since in doing so, the poems' meter is lost. More prints in this series feature introductory quotes that omit portion of the original text. It seems to have been done for reasons of obsoleteness with regard to the design, though it is odd to see that omitting these lines even resulted in an incomplete poem, as is the case here. The illustration to this introduction and poem consists of a large moon that rises from - or sinks into - the waves. Meanwhile, the waves smash into a rock to the right of the image. The spray of water is lit up by the moonlight.[459] The only poem on this print is by Hisakataya:

When I look closely,	*mitekereba*	見てけれは
The spring returns like the waves,	*haru tachikaeru*	春立かへる
Pounding on the shore.	*uranami no*	うら波の
Between the flowering sprays	*hana no ma ni ma ni*	花のまにヽヽ
I smell the fragrant moonlight	*niou tsukikage*	匂ふ月かけ
- Hisakataya	- Hisakataya	- 久かた屋

The poem visually compares the repeated arrival of waves with the yearly arrival of spring, where the usual flowers are replaced by 'flowers' that are shaped by the sprays of water bashing on the rocks. The illustration shows a very large moon that lights up the blind-printed 'flowers' that spray from the rocks, making the image work very well with the poem. The expression '*ma ni ma ni*' means to 'go along with', or 'flow with (the waves)', and surfaces on three occasions elsewhere in the *Tosa nikki*. An alternative translation of the last three lines could therefore read 'the moonlight is fragrant like the flowers that top the waves'.[460] Apart from the same 'moon' theme and the skillful use of the aforementioned expression, this *kyōka* also displays a relation to day eighteen of the first month (two days earlier), when Tsurayuki's companions exchange poems comparing the splashing white waves to snow and flowers.

Shunman's visualization of Tsurayuki's journey proved to be the start of a new iconography;[461] both Gakutei and Hokkei illustrated *surimono* on the topic of *Tosa nikki* in later years. Gakutei's design is one *surimono* in a series *Honchōren monogatari jūban* 本町連物語十番 (*'Ten tales for the Honchō poetry group*'),

[459] This *surimono* is often encountered a Meiji period copied version. It is listed by Keyes (1985), in his overview of Meiji period re-issued *surimono*, p. 519, as a group A-copy; a relatively high-quality copy, printed from re-cut blocks for commercial purposes during the 1890s. This *surimono* from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is an original, confirms Keyes.

[460] *Kyōka*, just like *waka*, are constructed to contain a chute after the first three lines (5-7-5 syllables). In this poem, the word *uranami* from the third line connects to the word *hana* in the next to evoke the image of flowers of water on top of the waves, which is why I have chosen to give an example translation of the last three lines instead of the expected last two lines.

[461] I intentionally use the term 'new iconography', referring to the title of Carpenter's article in the Rietberg *surimono* exhibition catalog "Inventing new iconographies: Historicist and nativist motives in late-Edo *surimono*" (2008).

commissioned by the Honchōren around 1820 (fig. 22). This one *surimono* referring to *Tosa nikki* therefore takes a similar position in the series as Gosei's design; the series as a whole encompasses various works of classical literature, and *Tosa nikki* is just one of these. No wonder that both poem and illustration make the same recognizable reference to the opening line and general setting of the text. The illustration depicts three persons in Heian-period upper class clothing, seated on a boat. A man, governor Tsurayuki most likely, is about to write poetry on a *tanzaku*. To his left is a woman, likely the mother of Tsurayuki's deceased daughter, reading from another tanzaku. The illustration - intentionally or not - appears to answer the question of who is recording the events and the poetry during the journey. The illustration includes a child, likely the child that also composes poems in several entries in the diary. The poem in this *surimono*, by Matsunoya Hananari 松の屋花成 (n.d.[462]), also puns on the first line of the *Tosa nikki*, changing "*otoko mo sunari*" into "'*fune mo suwari*".[463] This suggests a rather widely understandable pun, comparable to that in the poem by Kiyosumi in the print designed by Hokuga/Gosei.

Riding smoothly	*tatami shiku*	畳しく波の上さへ
over waves that spread as level	*nami no ue sae*	長閑にて
as *tatami* matting	*nodoka nite*	船もすわりし
our boat almost seems seated	*fune mo suwari shi*	はるの海つら
upon the spring ocean's surface[464]	*haru no umizura*	
- Matsunoya Hananari	- Matsunoya Hananari	- 松の屋花成

[462] Not listed in KJJ.
[463] This phrase may in time perhaps be translated into 'The boat sits on the waves'. A copy of this print features in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 151.
[464] Translation by Alfred Haft, from the entry in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 151.

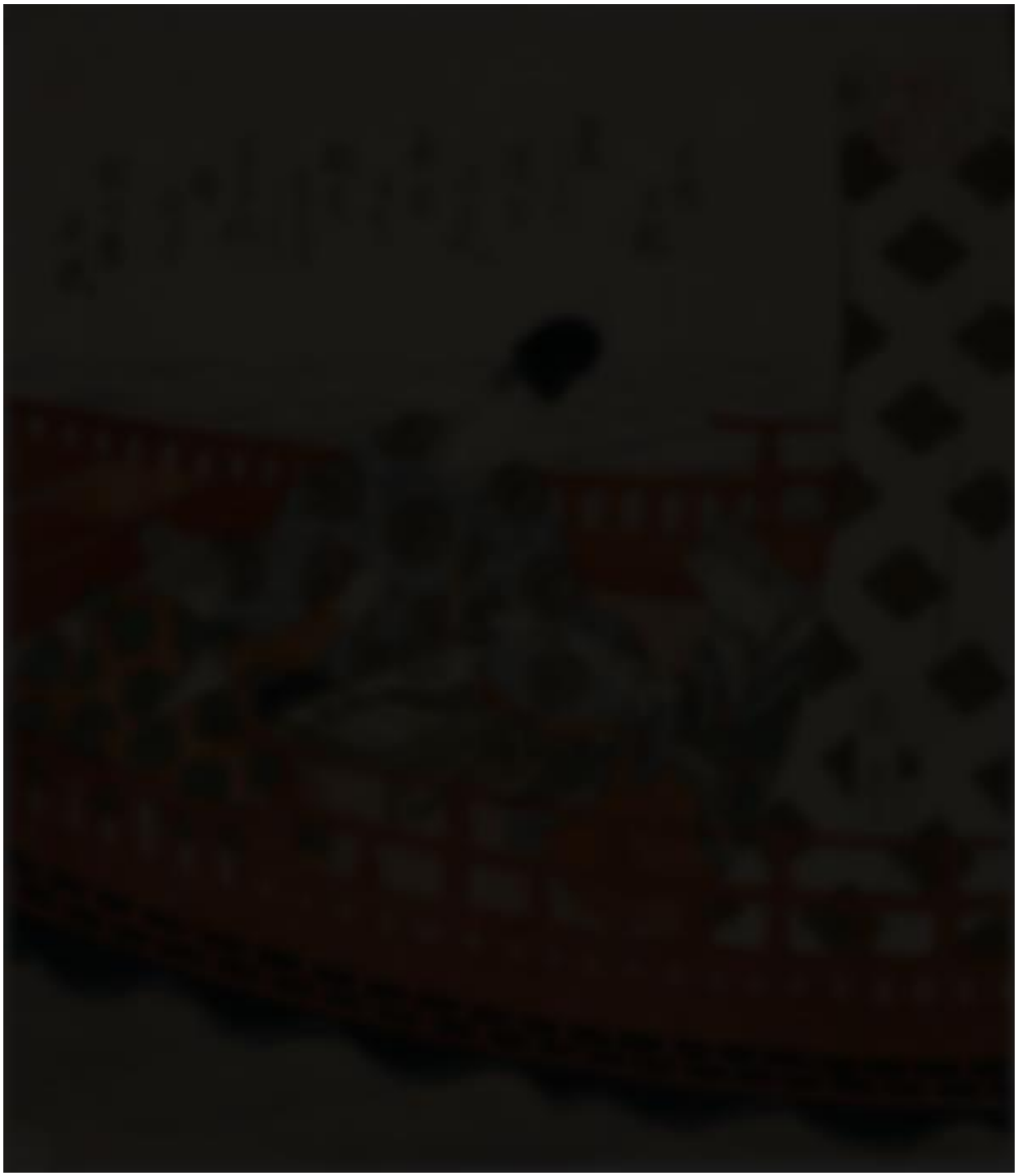

Fig. 22. Gakutei, *Tosa nikki*, c. 1820. Coll. Rietberg Museum, inv. no. 29.

Gakutei chose to illustrate a scene very similar to that in Shunman's design. Three figures in Heian period clothes sit on board a fine boat, engaged in the composition of poetry. Gakutei presents the boat from close-up, not even depicting the bow that is visible in Shunman's print. He thereby omits some of the secondary characters (the sailors) and emphasizes the three figures (the main characters in the diary) and their activities. Shunman's composition incorporated more elements of the landscape/seascape, and Gakutei zooms in to the action, one could say. There are, however, uncanny resemblances, for instance in the carpentry on the boat's railings, the position and shape of the auxiliary sail on the right hand side of

the composition, and even down to the shape of the calm, rippling waves (the 'spring ocean's surface on which the boat sits'). The resemblance between both compositions makes it difficult to imagine that Gakutei had not seen Shunman's design.

Hokkei also designed a *surimono* depicting a boat setting out to sea near Tosa. It is a single print, apparently not belonging in any series. The year of publication is not known, but the style, execution, and signature[465] indicate that it was created in the late 1820s or early 1830s - later at least, than Gakutei's design. Two poets feature on this print: one Shōgekkyo Chiyonobu 松月居千代延 (n.d.) and Gekkatei (n.d.). Gekkatei was also known as Kinuta Ototaka 砧音高 (which translates to 'loud noise from the fulling block') and a judge for the Yomogawa during the Bunsei era.[466] Both poems were clearly composed on the (pre-decided) topic of *unabara* 海原, the 'sea plain'[467], or open sea.

On the boat the day of the Rat is postponed as we pull the sea-pine's shoots from the waves of the field of sea at Tosa - Shōgekkyo Chiyonobu	*fune no uchi ni* *ne no hi wa zurashi* *umimatsu wo* *nami no hikiyuku* *tosa no unabara* - Shōgekkyo Chiyonobu	船のうちに 子日はすらし 海松を 浪の引 ゆく土佐の うなはら - 松月居千代延
The journey back to the capital in the shining moon of the twentieth day is far from the sea's fields at Tosa - Gekkatei	*teru tsuki no* *miyako wa koyoi* *hatsuka nite* *kaeriji tōki* *tosa no unabara* - Gekkatei	照月の都は 今宵 はつかにて 帰路 遠き土佐の海原 - 月下亭

[465] An overview of this development of the form of Hokkei's signature is presented by Forrer (1987), p. 35.
[466] KJJ, p. 33.
[467] As McCullough (1985), p. 277, translates it.

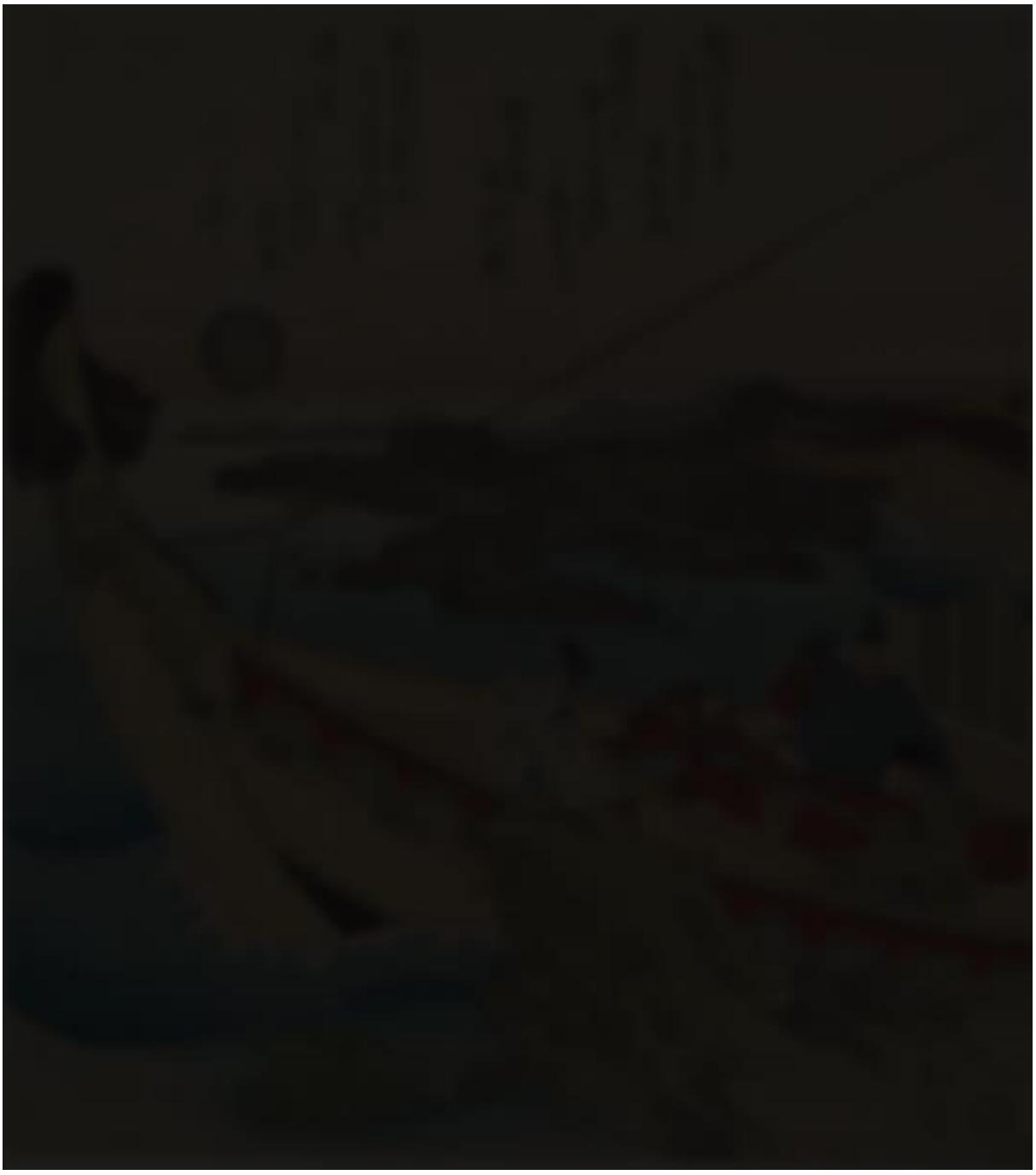

Fig. 23. Totoya Hokkei, '*Boat on the open sea at Tosa*', c. 1830, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP1146.

Hokkei's illustration mimics that of both Shunman and Gakutei, conforming to the newly set iconography. Once again, the image is that of courtiers in fine Heian period clothing, seated on the front deck of the boat. No woman is depicted, but a child is present in this scene. Instead of the wooden railing this type of boat features an ornate roofed structure. A tightly strung rope attached to the bow diagonally cuts across the composition, apparently attached to the top of a mast further towards the stern, outside the view. The boat negotiates some wavy waters between rocky coastlines. In the distant red sky, a silver moon hovers above the horizon. The poem far left specifically mentions the 20th day, referring to

Tsurayuki's entry for the 20th day of the first month. Two poems form part of that entry. Part of the latter featured as the introductory phrase for Shunman's design of the large moon behind the waves. The former poem in Tsurayuki's entry starts with the phrase 'the blue open sea', *aounabara* 青海原, of which part served as topic word for the *kyōka* poems on this *surimono*. The name of the poet on the left here literally reads 'The pavilion beneath the moon', which makes it all the more appropriate that the design should incorporate a moon under which the scene spreads out. The poem on the right refers to the Day of the Rat and the traditional practice of pulling pine shoots. This topic was treated in the entry for day 29 of the first month in *Tosa nikki*, and featured in Shunman's design of the *awabi* diver and children with basket on the beach. The combined poems and illustration in this *surimono* designed by Hokkei thus refer to both textual and pictorial elements present in three separate prints in Shunman's series. The poems can be argued to allude to Tsurayuki's text only, yet the illustration clearly takes after the respective designs by Shunman and Gakutei.

Conclusions *Tosa nikki*

Poets and designers invented ways to visualize *Tosa nikki*, a classical text that had not received such treatment before. In the early nineteenth century *kyōka* world, when both Japanese and Chinese literary classics were regularly consulted for inspiration, the *Tosa nikki* was only made subject of a *surimono* series once. The enigmatic nature of the text and the fact that the text was somewhat unsuitable for adaptation into a *surimono* series are likely reasons for this. The *Tosa nikki* demands a thorough understanding in order to be able to produce *surimono* holding multiple allusions to its literary content. Despite the simple appearance of the series in comparison to later styles of *surimono* design, the combination of the poetry and illustrations indeed proves to display a profound knowledge of the *Tosa nikki*. Given the above reasons, the series as a whole will have been regarded as rather elitist in the eyes of the average *kyōka* enthusiast of the time.

Assuming that the people involved in creating the *Tosa nikki surimono* series strived to display their literary knowledge and test that of the receiving party, as appears to be the case with so many other *surimono*, one might wonder why it was chosen as a theme in the first place. For when allusions were made to concepts and ideas that were difficult to understand to anyone other than the club members themselves, the communication with likeminded poets from other clubs would have been fairly problematic. On the other hand, choosing a little covered literary work as the theme for a *surimono* series, not leaning on fixed iconography and/or imagery, may have provided an even greater challenge to both the designer and poets on the one hand, and the receiving party on the other. In this scenario, designer and poets would challenge themselves to manifest their literary knowledge and interpretive qualities, whereas the receiver was challenged to pick up on the literary allusions, relying on his or her understanding of the classical text.

Tosa nikki surimono, both the series by Shunman and in other *surimono* referring to *Tosa nikki*, are characterized by an overall positive and nostalgic atmosphere. Poets focused on elegant details in the

original text, related to nature, local customs or traditional festivities, rather than personal circumstance of the characters in the narrative. The gender issue of a man posing as a female narrator is only distantly alluded to in wordplay. The illustrations follow this approach, imagining figures of the Heian court elite enjoying a journey that offers them inspiration for the composition of elegant verses. The illustrations depict events, figures, and objects referred to by Tsurayuki, yet without the gloom present in the original. *Surimono* were, after all, celebratory productions and *kyōka* were, in principle, joyous in tone.

After the series designed by Shunman appeared, it became an example for later *surimono* designers to follow. *Surimono* by both Gakutei and Hokkei clearly show influences of one of Shunman's earlier designs. Perhaps this should not be a surprise. For when Japanese artists made illustrations to accompany to classical literature, they would usually refer back to pictorial traditions that already existed. In the case of *Tosa nikki*, that tradition started with Shunman. That is to say, Shunman was the first to create a set of illustrations to accompany certain scene from the classical text. Although *Tosa nikki* became part of the canon of Japanese literature, a strong pictorial tradition never developed. The iconography invented in the creation of the *surimono* seems to have influenced only later *surimono* on the same topic. This kind of direct influence from one *surimono* design to another occurs in more cases than *Tosa nikki* alone, as the next section will show.

5.3.2 *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series

This case study comprises three *surimono* series that will be treated in an integrated comparison. First, a brief description of the basic composition of introductory text and image of each series will be given. This is followed by an explanation of the exegetical tradition for *Tsurezuregusa* and the relation between the three *surimono* series and that tradition. Then, a comparison is made of designs for the same essays as taken up in different series, in terms of iconography and text-image relations. The results of this comparative study offers insights on the ways in which *kyōka* poets and *surimono* designers positioned themselves in relation to the classic *Tsurezuregusa*, as well as in relation to existing scholarship on this text.

Tsurezuregusa, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

The *Tsurezuregusa* series that Shunman designed for the Asakusagawa poetry club in 1811 is the earliest example of a large *surimono* series in *shikishiban*-format, numbering at least fourteen prints.[468] This is a clear indication of the size and the level of organization of the Asakusagawa *kyōka* group, as well as of the financial resources generated by its (many) members. The Asakusagawa *Tsurezuregusa* series will be represented here by three *surimono*: those that are based on the essays 9, 68, 72.[469] This selection is made in connection to the comparison with the two other series, that also contain prints based on essays 9 and 68 (Hokkei) and 72 (Gakutei). The other designs and poems will also be regarded in determining the general attributes of the series.

Each of the prints in this series features the stylized jar logo of the Asakusagawa, (hand-)stamped in red ink, containing the words *Asakusagawa / Tsurezuregusa / Shunman sei* 浅草側・つれゝゝ草・俊満製 ('Asakusagawa, *Tsurezuregusa*, produced by Shunman').[470] The logo is placed in the top right hand corner, in all but one design. To the left of the logo, a phrase from Tsurezuregusa is printed in black, preceded the number of the essay from which the phrase came. The phrases are only short segments of the essay, sometimes even segments of sentences in an essay. This is similar to the approach taken in the *Tosa nikki* series, for instance. The number of poems varies from one or two in most cases, to a maximum of four per print. The style of illustration has been described above; still lifes, plants, animals, and in two cases, a

[468] It must be noted that not all *surimono* in this series are of the shikishiban format. Three prints are of the *chūban* format, of the same height as the *shikishiban* 色紙版, yet one-and-a-half times its width. This format is attained by cutting a *ōbōsho* 大奉書 sheet - roughly 42 x 57 cm - only once vertically and once horizontally (instead of twice vertically to attain six *shikishiban* sheets). Shunman uses this format more often for *surimono* that carry larger numbers of poems. Cf. *Ise monogatari surimono* series. These wider *surimono* seem to have a special importance, since they often feature the more important poets, and - in the *Tsurezuregusa* series - an indication of the year they came out is printed on two of them.

[469] The word essay is used here for the obvious reason that the title Tsurezuregusa is commonly translated to *Essays in Idleness*. Since the Western term 'essay' does not always apply very well to the at times very short texts, other words have been adopted too. Chance (1997) for instance, uses the word section {p. xxi}. The essays featured in this series are nos. 9, 10, 19, 34, 54, 66, 68, 72, 139, 158, 191, 235, 237, and 238 - although more may surface in due time.

[470] The contents of the emblem are often hard to read, yet the Tsurezuregusa series emblem can be distinguished from the similar emblems of the later *Ise monogatari* and *Isegoyomi* series, for the 'jars' on these have a double outline throughout.

young woman is portrayed. The majority of prints feature subdued and often gradient coloring, complemented by frequent use of blind printing, as well as sparse application of metallic pigments. The illustrated objects and creatures are depicted without background, which leaves ample space for the poems - some *surimono* designs of the 1820, by Gakutei for instance, dictate the position and spacing of poems rather strictly in comparison.

***Tsurezuregusa*, for the Yomogawa, by Gakutei**

Six years after Shunman, for the year 1817, Gakutei Sadaoka also designed a series of *Tsurezuregusa surimono*. Gakutei still stood at the beginning of his *surimono*-designing career. It is difficult to estimate the total number of designs in this series, yet thus far, only three have surfaced in this research. These are essays no. 16, 72, and 175. The prints in Gakutei's series feature the red fan-shaped Yomogawa logo, in which is written '*Tsurezuregusa* つれゝゝ草'. Underneath the logo, a short phrase from a *Tsurezuregusa* essays is placed in each print, though without giving the essay number. Two major *kyōka* masters of the day, Yomo Utagaki Magao and Shinratei Manzō II feature in the series, although the latter's following seems to be represented best. It deserves mention that Manzō II is the leader of the Manjiren that commissioned the Tsurezuregusa *surimono* series from Hokkei in c. 1830. Gakutei's designs are similar to those of Shunman in the sense that still lifes and human figures are presented without background illustrations. The objects and figures depicted refer to both the introductory phrases and the contents of the poems.

***Tsurezuregusa*, for the Manjiren, by Hokkei**

Hokkei takes a different approach in his designs for the *Tsurezuregusa* series commissioned by the Manjiren around 1830. Among the compositions are several illustrations with full backgrounds, and the illustrations feature relatively many human figures in comparison to the other two series. The series' emblem is made up of a two booklets; one is depicted folded open to reveal text, the other is closed and lies on top of the right hand page of the open booklet. The closed booklet has a light blue cover that carries a *daisen* on which the title *Tsurezuregusa* is written. For essay number 9, the lowest number in the series just as we have seen in the series designed by Shunman, the title is written entirely in characters: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草. In the other designs, this is written as *Tsurezuregusa* つれゝゝ艸.[471] The blue cover features two Manjiren logos in white (unprinted paper). The open page that remains visible next to the booklet cover give the excerpt from *Tsurezuregusa*. Some of these quotes are lengthy in comparison to those found in the other series. As in the series designed by Gakutei, essay numbers are not given. The six designs known feature one, two or three poems. The style of the designs varies per design; some designs feature a style that corresponds to the *ukiyoe* of the day, while other designs breathe an atmosphere of

[471] This is further indication that essay number 9 is the first in the series, since *daisen* on actual books of the era also often feature titles written completely in characters in a neat font on the first volume, whereas the remainder of the volumes feature the title in more cursive script on the *daisen*.

courtly elegance that typifies the other two series. Most designs feature a branch of plum blossom or adonis plant to signify spring. Metallic pigments are used with restraint.

Spelling of introductory phrases and the use of exegetical sources

The three *Tsurezuregusa* series incorporate phrases from *Tsurezuregusa* differently. Only the series by Shunman for the Asakusagawa gives the essay numbers, while the two later series do not. It appears that at least the commissioners of the latter two series considered the contents of *Tsurezuregusa* sufficiently known among the intended receivers of the *surimono* that there was no need to include the essay numbers. What is more striking, however, is the fact that the citations from *Tsurezuregusa* for the same essay differ between series. Some citations differ to such an extent from what is generally considered to be the 'correct' spelling, that it appears that the makers of these *surimono* took liberties not only with regard to style of illustration and iconography, but also with the text itself.

This leads to the matter of access to or availability of exegetical texts for *Tsurezuregusa*. The earliest commentary is (*Tsurezuregusa*) *Jumyōin shō* （徒然草）寿命院抄 ('(Tsurezuregusa) *summarized by Jumyōin*').[472] The manuscript was completed in or before 1601 and published - without the original text - in 1604 by the physician Hata Sōha 秦宗巴 (1550-1607, known by his Buddhist name as Jumyōin).[473] Another influential commentary was *Nozuchi* 野槌 (the title literally translates as '*Field hammer*'), of 1621 (first published in 1667), by Hayashi Razan, who "tried to fortify Kenkō as a hero for the times.".[474] Based on *Jumyōin* and *Nozuchi*, Aoki Sōko 青木宗胡 (n.d.) wrote the commentary *Tettsui* 鉄槌 ('*Iron hammer*', first published in 1649), which according to Chance, "would become the single most widely distributed book of annotations" [on *Tsurezuregusa*].[475] Chance notes that the reason for this wide distribution was that it was intended for lecturing.[476] This, in turn, is important for canon formation, the theme of Chance's article. Kitamura Kigin - on whose *Tosa nikki* commentary was relied for the *Tosa nikki surimono* series - delivered *Tsurezuregusa mondanshō* 徒然草文段抄 ('Tsurezuregusa *in paragraphs*'[477]), first published in 1667, which Chance considers "a plateau *Tsurezuregusa* studies. He culled the work of his predecessors of all persuasions and expended his effort dividing the text in the best possible way.".[478] The annotated and (partly) illustrated text *Tsurezuregusa eiri* by Sanboku Injin, first published in 1690, must also have been available to *kyōka* poets around the time the various *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series were commissioned since it was reprinted, albeit in Osaka, in 1800, 1812, 1825, and 1828.

In the series by Shunman, parts of the sentences are missing the introductory phrases; not just at

[472] See also Chance (1997), p. 42.
[473] Chance (1997), p. 42.
[474] Chance (1997), p. 43.
[475] Chance (1997), pp. 43-44.
[476] Chance (1997), p. 43.
[477] Title from Chance (1997), p. 49.
[478] Chance (1997), p. 49.

the beginning or the end of the quote, parts in the middle of sentences are frequently omitted as well. Furthermore, many of the quotes have even become incomplete grammatically due to omissions. The quotes in the series designed by Gakutei, similarly, are inconsistent with the text editions consulted. Parts of sentences are missing, words have been reversed. The quotes in the prints in the series designed by Hokkei are more consistent with standard texts, yet on occasion omit words as well. These quotes, again, are often unfinished sentences, leaving the remainder to be filled in in the mind of the reader. None of the introductory quotes could be matched to a specific text edition, not Razan's *Nozuchi*, not Kigin's *Tsurezuregusa Mondanshō*, not Aoki Sōko's *Tettsui*, nor to the text in the illustrated editions - Sanboku Injin's *Tsurezuregusa eiri* and Sukenobu's *Ehon Tsurezuregusa*.

The well-known commentaries and exegetical texts aside, there is an array of scholarship on *Tsurezuregusa* that may have circulated in manuscript. Two examples are worth mentioning in connection to *kyōka* networks. First, there is evidence that Rokujuen wrote an exegetical work on *Tsurezuregusa*, for it is mentioned in adverts in a commercial *kyōka* book published by Kadomaruya Jinsuke in 1812.[479] It is listed as *Tsurezuregusa shinchū* 徒然草新註 ('*New annotation of Tsurezuregusa*'), in three volumes. Unfortunately, no copies of this work seem to survive. Second, Kishimoto Yuzuru also appears to have written an exegetical work on *Tsurezuregusa*, as I have mentioned in the section on Kubo Shunman's *kokugaku* connections. Both texts may have been available to *kyōka* poets involved in *surimono* series on *Tsurezuregusa*, although it is not clear from which year either work may have circulated.

Another candidate that Shunman and/or Asakusagawa members may have been familiar with, is an exegetical text on *Tsurezuregusa* by Confucianist scholar Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747). According the database of early Japanese books hosted by the National Institute for Japanese Literature, Shundai's text is mentioned in *Kinsei kangakusha chojutsu mokuroku taisei* 近世漢学者著述目録大成 ('*Grand catalogue of scholars in Chinese studies of the early modern period*'). Although no date is mentioned, this manuscript was certainly written less than a century before Shunman's *surimono* series was issued. Unfortunately, Shundai's scholarship on *Tsurezuregusa* has not survived. However, another of Shundai's writings is referred to in Shunman's illustration for 238th essay of the *Tsurezuregusa*. The design shows two book cases, a bookmarker, and a separate fascicle in the foreground. This fascicle carries a *daisen* reading *Rongo kokun* 論語古訓, the title of a ten-volume treatise by Shundai, which literally translates as '*Ancient Instruction in the Confucian Analects*'. It was first published in Genbun 4 (1739), and was reprinted in Kansei 4 (1792). In order to fully understand the various quotes from the *Analects* within *Tsurezuregusa*, and this one in particular, Shunman and the Asakusagawa members apparently turned to Shundai for further explanation.

The inconsistencies in the introductory quotes in each of the three *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series are

[479] *Mandai kyōkashū* 万代狂歌集 ('*Collection of kyōka of ten-thousand years*'), selected by Rokujuen. Copy investigated kept in Otsuma Women's University, inv. no. 911.19 Ma 433-1, vol. 4.

of such a nature that they should be regarded as the result of creative handling of the text, rather than the existence of a variant text edition.[480] Contrary to the *Tosa nikki* series, where the spelling of the introductory quotes pointed to the text edition by Kitamura Kigin, a single text that was used as reference for *Tsurezuregusa* cannot be isolated. The most likely explanation is that familiarity with *Tsurezuregusa* was of such an extent that poets did not think it inappropriate to make alterations on their own accord. In a sense, this underlines the degree of canonization of *Tsurezuregusa* as a literary classic at the time. Clearly, the abbreviated and incomplete quotes served their purpose of bringing the contents of particular essays to mind without problem. In the poems, allusions were made to other parts of the essays from which quotes were taken, expecting readers and viewers to comprehend the implied connections. This would not be possible without a well-established common knowledge of the text. It is this apparent foundation of knowledge of *Tsurezuregusa* in *kyōka* circles that enabled the producers of the *surimono* to take such liberties with the text.

Comparison of prints from all three series with regard to text and image

Essay number 9: Hair of a woman

Essay number nine of the *Tsurezuregusa* is the first essay treated in the series. The print is of the one-and-a-half *shikishiban* format (horizontally), and features four poems of which one is by group leader Sensōan. This print also carries an indication of the year it was issued: '*hitsuji haru* 未春', 'Goat, spring' (1811). The essay deals with the attractiveness of a woman's hair (fig. 24). The design by Shunman shows a woman with a rather elaborate hairdo, a mix of medieval and modern styles, sitting on a reclining white elephant. She is wearing a multi-layered kimono such as those worn in the days of Kenkō, decorated with a dragon.[481] The first lines of *Tsurezuregusa*'s ninth essay are quoted:

Essay no. nine	*kyūdan*	九段
Although for a woman,	*onna wa kami no medeta*	女は髪のめてた
the thing that catch people's eyes most	*karan koso hito no*	からん社人の
is beautiful hair,[482]	*metatsubeka*[*n*]*mere*	めたつべかゝめれ

The essay goes on to describe the force of love between men and women, which starts with the male attraction to beautiful hair. According to Kenkō, it is said "that even an elephant can be fastened securely

[480] This suggestion has been forwarded by Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 147, for the print on essay number 16 in the series by Gakutei. See also fig. 32 in the next section.
[481] This could lead one to incorrectly expect this *surimono* was designed for a year of the dragon. Bearing in mind Shunman's development of style and the fact that he died in 1820, this print - and therefore the whole series - is clearly from Bunka 8, 1811.
[482] The second part of the sentence continues to explain that only by the words spoken by this woman, her character will be revealed.

with a rope plaited from the strands of a woman's hair […]"[483] In other words, no one is saved from the temptation.

As for the illustration to the left of the introductory phrase, Shunman takes the expression rather literally, depicting a woman with beautiful hair sitting on an elephant that appears as a rather docile and subdued creature. With the full ninth essay in mind, one will notice the actual 'rope plaited from the strands of a woman's hair' that holds the elephant down. Yet, the composition mainly consists of the colorful kimono and ditto elephant's saddle, and the rope does not stand out at all to someone who is not familiar with the essay. The overall composition of a lady sitting on an elephant like this fits into the well-established Edo period pictorial tradition in which the Bodhisattva of Universal Virtue, Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩 (Sanskrit: Samantabhadra), disguised as a courtesan, is depicted sitting 'sidesaddle' on a white elephant, usually reading a text scroll.[484] Shunman's design takes after this popular depiction, leaving out the text scroll, and adding the rope of hair around the elephant's neck.

The first three poets, Mayu no Itoyori 眉糸頼, Chikuyōtei Morikazu 竹葉亭守数, and Kogotei Fumiyori 壺五亭文頼, are little known members of the Asakusagawa. The honorary far left position is taken by Sensōan Ichindo 浅草庵市人 (1755-1821[485]), as leader of the Asakusagawa listed only by his *gō* Sensōan. His poem reads:

Is that the warbler	*ito kasu ni*	糸かすに
flying into the branches?	*kuru uguisu ya*	来る鶯や
While it sings today	*naku uchi ni*	鳴うちに
the green willow	*kyō nuu hodo ha*	けふ縫ほとは
weaves it long strands together	*nobiru aoyagi*	のひる青柳
- Sensōan	- Sensōan	浅草庵

Sensōan focuses on the irresistibility of women that the priest Kenkō warns his readers against. He uses a rather common metaphor in his poem; gracious women are often compared to willows.[486] The 'green willow', the subject of all four poems on this print, signifies both spring and a young woman. The swaying of the tree in the spring wind is supposed to resemble swaying hips, whereas the long branches

[483] Keene (1967). Keene notes that this expression is of Buddhist origin, yet the source is unknown.
[484] See McKee (2006), pp. 128-9, for explanation and the reproduction of a later *surimono* by Hokkei that takes the Nō play as a subject.
[485] According to Suga (1936 [1]), p. 320, Asakusaan died on the 25th day of the 12th month of Bunsei 3, which corresponds with early January 1821.
[486] Asakusaan clearly liked the metaphor. He had selected the poems for a *kyōkabon* with the title *Yanagi no ito* 柳の糸 ('*Strands of the Willow*'), which was published in Kansei 9 (1797). He also contributed a poem to an ink painting on silk by Shunman of sometime around 1810, kept in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands (Inv. no. RV-6044-1). In fact, seven poems on the theme of *aoyagi* 青柳 (green -spring- willow) are placed in between the willow's strands. The other poets are Shakuyakutei Nagane, Yomo Utagaki Magao, Rokujuen, Sandara Hōshi, Shokusanjin and Shunman himself.

are symbolic for long hair. Sensōan's poem alludes to the image of a women's hair being plaited into a rope in the essay in *Tsurezuregusa* by evoking the image of strands of the willow being woven together. In this case, it is not the elephant that is held down, it is the warbler that becomes trapped.

When we compare this to the *Tsurezuregusa* picture book that was illustrated by Nishikawa Sukenobu, first published in Genbun 5 (1740), it becomes clear that the mode of illustration in this book cannot have had a significant influence on Shunman. Sukenobu presents a fairly straightforward visualization of the text for this same essay. The illustration shows a couple of *geisha* strolling through the rain. They gaze into a house where one young woman is assisting another in dressing her hair. Although the attractive power of the woman's hair is clearly evoked in this image, there is no man - supposed by Keene to be the one who is attracted - depicted. On the other hand, the original text literally states that the hair attracts a *person's* eye, and it seems that Sukenobu interprets this to mean other women. Only portions of the text have been selected to accompany the illustrations. Furigana make the text easier to read for those less familiar with *kanji*. Clearly, this book was published with the intention of making the *Tsurezuregusa* available and understandable to a wider audience. In this respect, the objective of Sukenobu's book is quite the opposite to that of Shunman's *surimono* series, which has every aspect of a publication for a select audience. Given the nature of a book publication, with the possibilities of 'mass production', as opposed to the small scale production of *surimono* - with the added objective of entertaining the reader/viewer while showing off erudition - it is no wonder that the illustrations are of a different nature as well. Nevertheless, Japanese artists - very generally speaking - often relied on copying from earlier works. Shunman may have been familiar with Sukenobu's book, but relied on his own imagination for the design of this *surimono*.

Fig. 24. Shunman, *Tsurezuregusa*, *Essay no. 9*, 1811, coll. unknown.
Fig. 25. Hokkei, *Tsurezuregusa*, (Essay no. 9), c.1830, coll. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 11.25452.

Hokkei takes a different approach. His illustration for the same essay does not convey an

imaginary, courtly atmosphere, but rather shows a young woman in current fashionable kimono, standing with a mirror in her left hand and adjusting her hair with her right. Another young woman is seen kneeling on the veranda just outside the room where first women is standing. Her figure is obscured by sliding paper doors, yet the shadow cast on these doors by the red sun on the horizon shows her playing with a small ball. An adonis plant on the floor refers to the spring season. The illustration echoes the image of adjusting one's hair that is the theme of the single poem. The poem uses the metaphor of the strands of a green willow for a woman's hair, similarly to the poems on the print by Shunman. Again, however, the willow itself is not represented in the illustration.

The poem[487] reads:

Combed flat and pins adjusted	*haru kaze ni*	はる風に
by the spring breeze	*kushi kezurasete*	くしけつらせて
a fine coiffure	*kamikatachi*	髪かたち
is shaped from the strands	*medetaku nabiku*	めてたくなひく
of the green willow	*aoyagi no eda*	青柳の枝
- Shinsetsutei, from Fujisawa in Sagami	- Shinsetsutei, from Fujisawa in Sagami	相藤沢 森節亭

Essay number 68: Armor and daikon

This short essay in *Tsurezuregusa* tells the marvelous story of a man in Tsukushi 筑紫 (the old name for the island of Kyūshū 九州), who ate two grilled daikon radishes, *daikon* 大根, each day because he believed they kept him healthy. They do so in an unexpected way, since when he is about to be defeated in battle, he is saved by two fierce soldiers previously unknown to him. He asks them who they are, and they state that they are the two daikon he ate every day, upon which they disappear.

[487] The introductory phrase is almost identical to that in Shunman's print - the only difference being the absence of the small ン in *beka[n]mere* - and is omitted here.

Fig. 26. Essay no. 68 in *Tsurezuregusa eiri* つれづれ草 絵入, Sanboku Injin, 1812 edition, coll. Waseda University Library, inv. no. 文庫30 E0106.

The story served as inspiration for a print in the series by Shunman and one in the series by Hokkei. The illustration by Shunman depicts one daikon and one suit of armor, set up on its storage chest. This is another example of a 'new iconography' being invented for this literary classic. Sanboku Injin did illustrate the scene, depicting both armor and daikon in the composition. That illustration, however, is an action scene, in which the two warriors are depicted with daikon on their backs, as if some sort of metamorphosis is taking place - see fig. 26. Nishikawa Sukenobu did not illustrate this particular scene in his *Ehon Tsurezuregusa*. The image of daikon and armor representing essay number 68 was reused by Hokkei for his design. A comparison of figs. 27 and 28 gives the strong impression that Hokkei either pays homage to Shunman's design, or hardly conceals the fact that he all but copied the composition (though mirrored). Considering the fact that Shunman used so much precision and subtlety in his illustration for the ninth essay, it is noteworthy that only one daikon and one suit of armor are depicted, while Kenkō explicitly mentions two daikon and two soldiers. Perhaps he decided to draw only one of each to make the composition more powerful. Two smaller roots are laying in the foreground, and perhaps these are a hint to the two daikon and two soldiers that feature in the essay.

The introductory phrase in the print by Shunman is an abbreviated quote that leaves out the mention of two grilled daikon from the original text:

Essay no. 68	*Rokujūhachidan*	六十八段
He ate daikon every morning	*tsuchiōne*[488] *wo*	土おほねを
for many years.	*asagoto ni*	朝ことに
	kuikeru ni	くひけるに
	toshi hisashiku	とし久しく
	narinu	なりぬ

The poem provides no further explanation:

I guess the divers of Nagahama too	*Nagahama no*	長濱の
Make their fingers red	*ama mo yukima ni*	蜑も雪間に
Plucking the	*yubi no hara*	指のはら
Lakeside weeds	*akaku nashite ya*	あかくなしてや
From between the snowy patches	*isona tsumuran*	磯菜つむらん
- Koseirō Shigekado	*- Koseirō Shigekado*	壺星楼 繁門

There is not a single reference to the 68th essay of the *Tsurezuregusa* in sight in this poem. The female divers, who gather seaweed for a living, are starting their work again when the snow of winter slowly melts away, symbolizing the arrival of spring. The word *ama* itself is also a seasonal word used in poems on the theme of spring. It would almost seem that Shigekado contributed a poem on the theme of spring to the project, oblivious of the subject chosen for the series. This is particularly odd since Shigekado was a son of Sensōan, leader of the commissioning poetry group. The poem does contain words that could be connected other essays of *Tsurezuregusa* either. This is a typical case where it may be that a certain reference is overlooked that would have been clear to fellow poets with a profound knowledge of literature.

[488] *Tsuchiōne* 土大根 (‘large ground-root’) is the old name for *daikon* 大根 (‘large root’). Apparently, mentioning the fact that they grow in the ground came to be considered obsolete over the centuries, causing the first character to be omitted.

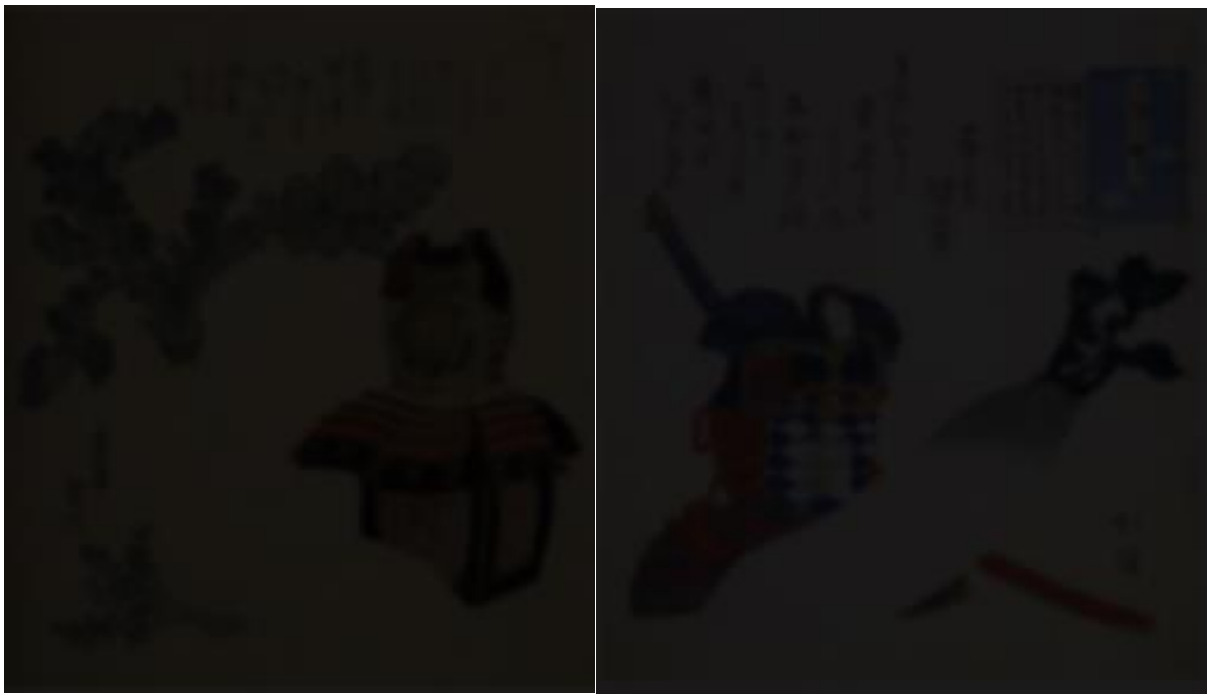

Fig. 27. (left) Shunman, *Tsurezuregusa, Essay no. 68*, 1811, coll. Chiba City Museum of Art (no inv. no.).
Fig. 28. (right) Hokkei, *Tsurezuregusa*, (Essay no. 68), c. 1830, coll. Schoff (no inv. no.).

The print on the same essay form the series by Hokkei is actually much more straightforward and effective in its combination of text and image. The introductory phrase is based on the same lines in *Tsurezuregusa*, although the quote is slightly longer than that in Shunman's print. The quote is actually the first part of the sentence from which the print by Shunman quoted the second part. The quote in the print by Hokkei conforms to the now standard spelling, yet stops mid-sentence; the latter part of the sentence that explains that the commander ate two grilled daikon every day, is omitted - as is the essay number:

In Tsukushi lived some or other commander, and he believed that daikon were a cure-all	*Tsukushi ni nanigashi no* *ōryōshi nado iū* *yō naru mono no arikeru ga* *tsuchiōne o yorozu ni imi* *jiki kusuri tote*	筑紫に何かしの 押領使なといふ やうなるもののありけるか 土おほねを萬にいみ しきくすりとて

The poem by Jushitsu Morozane 寿室諸実 (n.d.) makes a pun on the word *futamata* 二股, which means 'split, forked' in the case of daikon. Finding a daikon that is forked is considered good fortune and in Japanese art, Daikoku 大黒, one of the seven gods of luck, is often depicted carrying a forked daikon on his shoulders, one 'leg' on each side of his head. When applicable to warriors, however, *futamata*

pertains to split loyalty.[489] The 'daikon warriors' show remarkable loyalty, as is referred to in the poem. Additionally, the poem makes a clever pun with the word *gusoku* 具足, armor, the particles *ni zo* にぞ ('in' and emphasis), and the verb *shiru* しる ('to know' or to 'occupy', among a variety of meanings - written in *kana* here to allow for other readings). *Gusokuni* 具足煮 is the name of a traditional dish of lobster boiled in its own 'armor' and *ni zo shiru* sounds much like *misoshiru* 味噌汁, miso soup. Both dishes are common to include daikon.[490]

The bravery of the warrior	*Kyō hiraku*	けふひらく
is undivided	*gusoku ni zo shiru*	具足にそしる
like the daikon	*tsuchiōne*	土おほね
found in the armor	*futamata naranu*	ふたまたならぬ
that I opened this morning	*bushi no isaoi*	武士のいさをい
- Jushitsu Morozane	- Jushitsu Morozane	寿室諸実

Essay number 72: Books on a book cart

Essay number 72 is present in the series designed by Shunman and that designed by Gakutei. That essay gives several examples of abundance as a sign of being unsophisticated, while presenting the example of an abundance of books on a book cart and dust on a dust heap as permissible. Books, *fumi* 文, applies to both codices and books in (horizontal) scroll format, and both are present in both illustrations.[491] Similarly to Hokkei and his interpretation of essay number 68, it seems that Gakutei relied on Shunman's earlier design for his composition. The choice for the depiction of a book cart is in itself not surprising, not in the least because this traditional object is associated with erudition, scholarship, and classical culture. The difference between both depictions is telling, however, since the latter design by Gakutei corresponds more directly to the *Tsurezuregusa* essay; Shunman's design shows a luxurious book cart, filled with a fair number of books, on which an Adonis flower in a pot is placed. Gakutei's design, on the other hand, visualizes the abundance discussed in the essay more overtly. The book cart he drew is overflowing with (opened) books and scrolls. They are so numerous that they are piled up on top of the cart and on the floor around it. Cleverly, Gakutei places an opened illustrated scroll on top of the cart, which offers a canvas to depict motives from the poems; in this case a warbler sitting on a plum branch at

[489] As explained in Mirviss and Carpenter (2000), pp. 100-101, and in McKee (2006), pp. 96-97, where this same print is discussed. The term in that case is *futamata bushi* 二股武士, which is also referred to in the poem.
[490] McKee (2006), p. 97, mentions *gusokuni* and *shiru* 汁, soup, separately, where I think that the four characters are intended to be linked together. McKee explains yet another reference to warrior culture: *Gusokubiraki* 具足開き, litt. 'opening the armor' is the name of a samurai family tradition of splitting a *mochi* 餅 rice cake that had been placed before an armor on display on the eleventh day of the New Year.
[491] Other meanings traditionally include 'letters' written for communication and (Chinese) 'scholarship'.

sunrise on the first day of the year and a branch of a pine tree.

The introductory phrase in the print by Shunman reads:

Essay no. 72	*Nanajūnidan*	七十二段
Things that are not	*ōkute*	おほくて
painful to the eyes	*migurushi*	みくるし
when they are plentiful,	*karanu ha*	からぬは
are books on a book cart;	*fuguruma no*	文車の
dust on a dust heap	*fumi chiri*	ふみちり
	zuka no chiri	つかのちり

The poem reads:

Abundance is a joy	*takusan ni kaoru ha*	沢山にかほるは
when it concerns the plum fragrance	*ureshi*	嬉し
carried by the spring breeze	*fuguruma no fumi konomu*	文車の文好む
that favors the books	*ume no*	梅の
on the book cart[492]	*kayou harukaze*[493]	通ふ春風

[492] The poem, unusually, is unsigned. The examination of this design could only be carried out based on a reproduction in Ostier et al., (1978). The awkward ratio between height and width suggests that the print may have been trimmed, and perhaps the poet's name was cut off. The calligraphy in this print does not match that in the other prints in this series, which invites the thought that this was a later edition in which the poem was replaced. The contents, however, match the subject and the essay, which suggests that the poem is original. The discussion of the text and image is carried out under that premise.

[493] Unless there is an error in my transliteration, the poem consists of 32 syllables, one too many. This is known as *jiamari* 字余り, 'too many syllables'.

Fig. 29. (left) Shunman, *Tsurezuregusa, Essay no. 72*, 1811, reproduced in Ostier et al., (1978), pl. 14.
Fig. 30. (right) Gakutei, *Tsurezuregusa*, (Essay no. 72), 1817, from Ostier et al., (1978), pl. 16.

The print designed by Gakutei carries a freely adapted introductory phrase that is shortened to the essence:

Good	*okute*	おほくて
when they are many	*yoki ha*	よきは
books on a book cart	*fuguruma no fumi*	文車のふみ

Three poems feature on Gakutei's version. The first two poems make general references to spring and do not mention the book cart. The poem on the left is by Shōzantei Okunari, a judge for the Yomogawa.[494] It reads:

Pulling out books	*fuguruma no*	文車の
from the book cart,	*fumi hikidashite*	ふみ引出して
but then again, this is	*kore wa mata*	これは又
genuinely interesting:	*jitsu ni omoshiroki*	しつにおもしろき
the song of the warbler	*uguisu no uta*[495]	鶯の歌
- Shōzantei Okunari	- Shōzantei Okunari	- 松山亭奥成

The poem is echoed well in the illustration; the poem by Shōzantei evokes the image of someone

[494] He features on two *surimono* by Tōshū with Yomo Utagaki Magao in the honorary position. See Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), nos. 280 and 282. The circle mark above his name indicates he is a judge. The other two poets have names that start with the same character for 'pine', 松 *matsu*/*shō*, as the name Shōzantei, indicating that they were his pupils.
[495] As in the poem on the 'book cart *surimono*' by Shunman, the poem consists of 32 syllables, one too many.

pulling out books looking for something interesting, but being drawn rather to the song of the warbler that sings in spring. In Gakutei's illustration, however, the warbler appears not from nature but from the books and scrolls that are pulled out of the book cart. Like the poem on Shunman's print, this poem has a syllable too many. It is uncommon to find too many syllables in *kyōka* - it would cost points in a competition - yet here, the same flaw is encountered twice. There is a possibility that this was done on purpose in reflection of the theme of abundance treated in the essay in *Tsurezuregusa*.

Conclusions *Tsurezuregusa* case study

The contents of the three *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series reveal that *kyōka* poets and designers alike felt sufficiently comfortable in their knowledge of this classic text that they saw opportunities for adaptations that suited their own tastes. The approach to both text and image reveals a sense of freedom in selecting certain concepts and atmospheres from the original text and applying textual *kyōka* wit and printed *surimono* elegance to it. The original text is not mocked or parodied, nor is it treated with strict veneration. The investigation of the introductory phrases has shown that poets did not rely on a single text edition; they felt free to select and adapt phrases to suit their purpose. The illustrations reveal a similar tendency with regard to pictorial tradition. What little pictorial tradition was in place for *Tsurezuregusa* was ignored by each of the designers. Rather, the first pictorialization by Shunman served as an example and inspiration for the later series designed by Gakutei and Hokkei.

The *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series each show off erudition and a taste for a classical past, and do not specifically engage in exegetical debate, favoring one scholar over another. What surfaces most clearly is a general nostalgic taste for Japan's court culture. This is not to say that references to Chinese classics in *Tsurezuregusa* are lost on *kyōka* poets; the copy of *Rongo kokun* depicted in Shunman's design for essay no. 238 is testament to the interest in (scholarship on) Confucius' *Analects*. There is just one print in which a *Tsurezuregusa* essay is used to refer to 'ancient Japan', which may be linked to *kokugaku* ideology; Gakutei's design for essay number 16, depicting the goddess Amaterasu. The implications of the text and image in this print with regard to nostalgic tendencies versus ideological positions are discussed in the next section.

5.4 Dwelling on the cultural past

The genre of *kyōka* offered an attractive package of intelligent yet playful literary involvement, liberated social interaction and cultural nostalgia. The tendency towards looking back to the nation's rich cultural history is typical for, and detectable throughout mid- to late Edo period *kyōka*. The majority of *kyōka* books incorporate references to the cultural past. Titles, subject matter, and even internal arrangement mimic those of classical Japanese poetry anthologies. Authors of prefaces and epilogues refer to the classics, be they Chinese or Japanese. Illustrations, too, make frequent reference to the cultural past, in a variety of ways. Just as *kyōka* adopt a classic poem and twist its meaning around, famous scenes from the classics are also illustrated with a twist. *Kyōka* poets are portrayed parodying the appearance of renowned court poets from olden times, for instance. Despite the somewhat iconoclastic attitude towards classic poetry at the onset of *kyōka* popularity in Edo, the general setup of later *kyōka* gatherings was in fact based on the classical poetic tradition of the *utakai* and *uta awase*. People came together to compose poetry on a certain pre-decided theme - like nobility would have done in the Heian period. The intention of early Edo *kyōka* may have been to mock these classical practices, yet a positive veneration for the classic poets and their ways does present itself in *kyōka* practice, especially during the early nineteen-hundreds.

The cultural nostalgia of *surimono*

Surimono embody cultural nostalgia not only in their subject matter, but also - or perhaps even more so - in their format and designs, and in how they were used. Of course, subjects ranging from classical literature to historic figures, places far away in time and distance, and time-honored traditions, display an overall escapist sense of longing for elegance, beauty, refinement. Many aspects can be taken to convey nostalgic sentiments: the format of the prints resembled those of courtly poem cards (*shikishi*) and were very different from the formats in which commercial prints were available; the elegant calligraphy; design cues such as echoing the styles of classical painting schools; depiction of objects associated with the (courtly) past.[496] The function of *surimono* as conveyor of poetic message in a ritualized gift exchange has been theorized by McKee.[497] I agree with his explanation of how *surimono* formed part of a recreation of classical poetic practice. Thus, not only in their content and appearance, also in their use, *surimono* are a manifestation of cultural nostalgia.

Cultural nostalgia in literary *surimono*: *Tosa nikki* and *Tsurezuregusa*

The *Tosa nikki surimono* series as well as the three *Tsurezuregusa* series, too, are characterized by an overall tendency towards cultural nostalgia. Each of the series picks elegant and nostalgic topics from the classical texts that are treated, as I had already noted for both series, at the end of the case studies. Both

[496] I have mentioned most of these aspects in previous chapters and sections of this thesis, in other contexts. The short list of attributes serves just to point to those aspects that relate to nostalgia.
[497] McKee (2008 [1]), mainly pp. 480-484.

poetry and illustration work together in creating an atmosphere of refinement and erudition. All four series feature objects that breathe an atmosphere of Heian court elegance; shell matching game shells, luxurious mirrors, falconry falcons, (figures wearing) court attire, and many books and scrolls on writing tables or in book carts. Where numerous other *surimono* refer to impious aspects of contemporaneous urban culture - the admiration of courtesans, for instance - the illustrations in these series for the most part steer clear of any topics that could be regarded as mundane or vulgar.[498]

The sense of longing for a forlorn era is evident, for example, in the print for essay number 13 in the *Tsurezuregusa* series designed by Hokkei.[499] The phrase quoted from that section is "To sit alone by the lantern, open a book and make people from a world unseen ones' friends".[500] An appealing way to spend the time, especially for those who have scholarly interests, one could say. The entire section in *Tsurezuregusa*, however short, continues to mention the preferred books; mainly Chinese classical poetry of Bai Juyi and Taoist writings of Laozi, although Kenkō admits that there are also many good books written by Japanese writers 'of old'. Incidentally, the term Kenkō uses to positively qualify old Japanese texts is *aware* あはれ, a word frequently used in Heian period vernacular texts. The word pathos probably comes closest as a translation, although circumstances of the use in classical texts demand a considerable variety of nuances. What is of interest here is that Norinaga used the word *aware* in the expression *mono no aware* もののあはれ that he coined, literally 'the sadness of things'.[501] Thus, the section as a whole expresses a desire to connect with poets and author from past centuries, a sentiment that these *kyōka* poets obviously related to. By quoting only the first phrase and bringing to mind the gist of the entire section, the introductory text helps conjure up a nostalgic image of scholarly activity. The poems continue this image by referring to a 'reading table' (文机 *fuzukue*) and 'books studied' (まなびせし書 *manabiseshi sho*). The illustration complements this lonely, studious atmosphere by depicting a momentarily abandoned scholar's desk on which rest some closed books, sparsely lit by a wood and paper lantern, *andon* 行灯. The scene is viewed from outside a window, next to which a thin plum branch springs its first blossoms - see fig. 31.[502]

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[498] The only exception is perhaps the design for essay 23 of *Tsurezuregusa* in the series designed by Hokkei. In it, two men are engaged in an arm-wrestling competition. A third man is watching, leaned against the handles of a parked human-drawn carriage, which conforms to pictorial tradition for such Heian period two-wheeled enclosed carts. This section discusses the differences between the people inside and outside the imperial palace, and here, those who are to wait outside are depicted.

[499] Also presented in Forrer (2013), p. 190.

[500] "*Hitori tomoshibi no moto ni fumi o hirogete minu yo no hito o tomo to suru koso* ひとり灯のもとにふみをひろけてみぬ世の人を友とするこそ".

[501] Nosco (1990), p. 178, explains: "Its implication [, however,] was one of an acute sensitivity to the affective and emotional qualities of life - the person who possesses *mono no aware* has a seemingly instinctive sympathy with human actions, a sympathy that transcends and obviates the passing of moral judgment upon the implications of those actions".

[502] The poem on the left ends on the word *fumimado* 文窓, literally 'book window', which suggests a window by which one is reading. Otherwise, the word as such does not appear to exist.

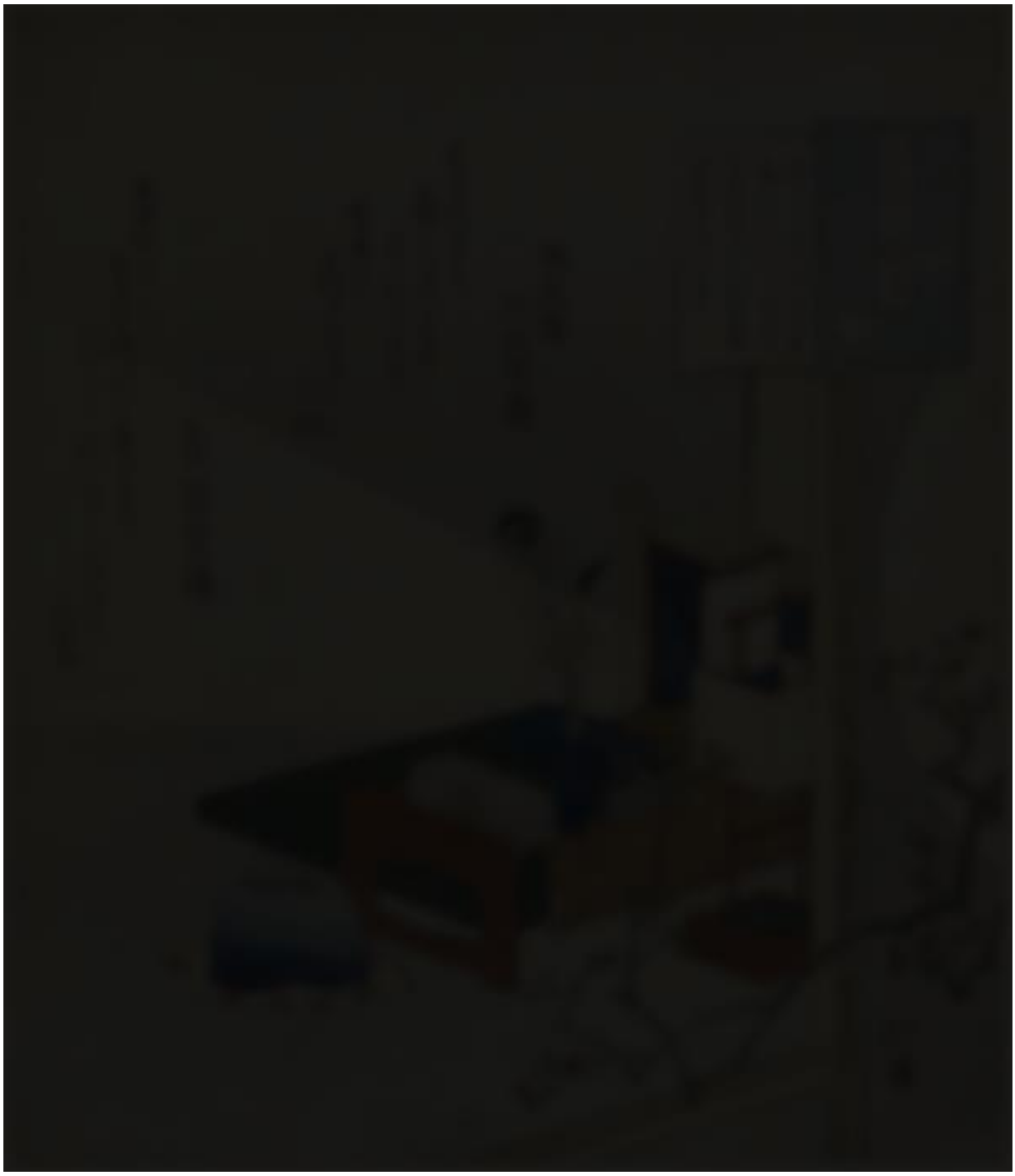

Fig. 31. Hokkei, *Tsurezuregusa* (Essay number 13), c. 1830, coll. Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1991-449.

The desire to connect to ancient times, rather than Heian period court culture, is encountered only sporadically. One clear example is the visualization of essay number 16 of *Tsurezuregusa*, as illustrated by Gakutei; see fig. 32. Yomogawa leader Yomo Utagaki Magao, known for his admiration of *kokugaku* scholarship and frequent references to 'ancient Japan',[503] together with two other poets, compose on the topic of 'dancing for the gods', *kagura* 神楽. This type of dance is connected to the well-known ancient

[503] See McKee (2008 [1]), chapter five and in particular pp. 468-480.

myth of the goddess Amaterasu hiding in a cave, recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (‘*Chronicles of Japan*’, 720).[504] In essay number 16 of *Tsurezuregusa*, Kenkō simply praises *kagura* and expresses a favor for certain musical instruments used in these performances. The section taken from *Tsurezuregusa* is also referred to in the *kyōka* poems in several instances, with words such as *kamiasobi* 神遊ひ (literally ‘gods’ play’, but commonly meaning *kagura*)[505] and *fue* 笛, flute (mentioned in the second line of the essay, though not quoted in the print). The poems, furthermore, conspicuously refer to the ancient myth with words such as *iwato* 岩戸, stone door (to said cave). Although Amaterasu is not mentioned in the poems, she is prominently depicted in the illustration, about to receive a jewel as present from her brother Susanoo. She waves one sleeve, as if dancing herself. The print as a whole thus overtly refers to the Japanese creation myths that are not explicitly referred to in the section in *Tsurezuregusa*. Nonetheless, the gist of the poem by Magao - after all leader of the commissioning poetry group - does not convey a deep admiration for the gods, since it likens the story of Amaterasu’s hiding to a game of hide and seek in spring.

[504] The contents of this print are also discussed by Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 147.
[505] See Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 147.

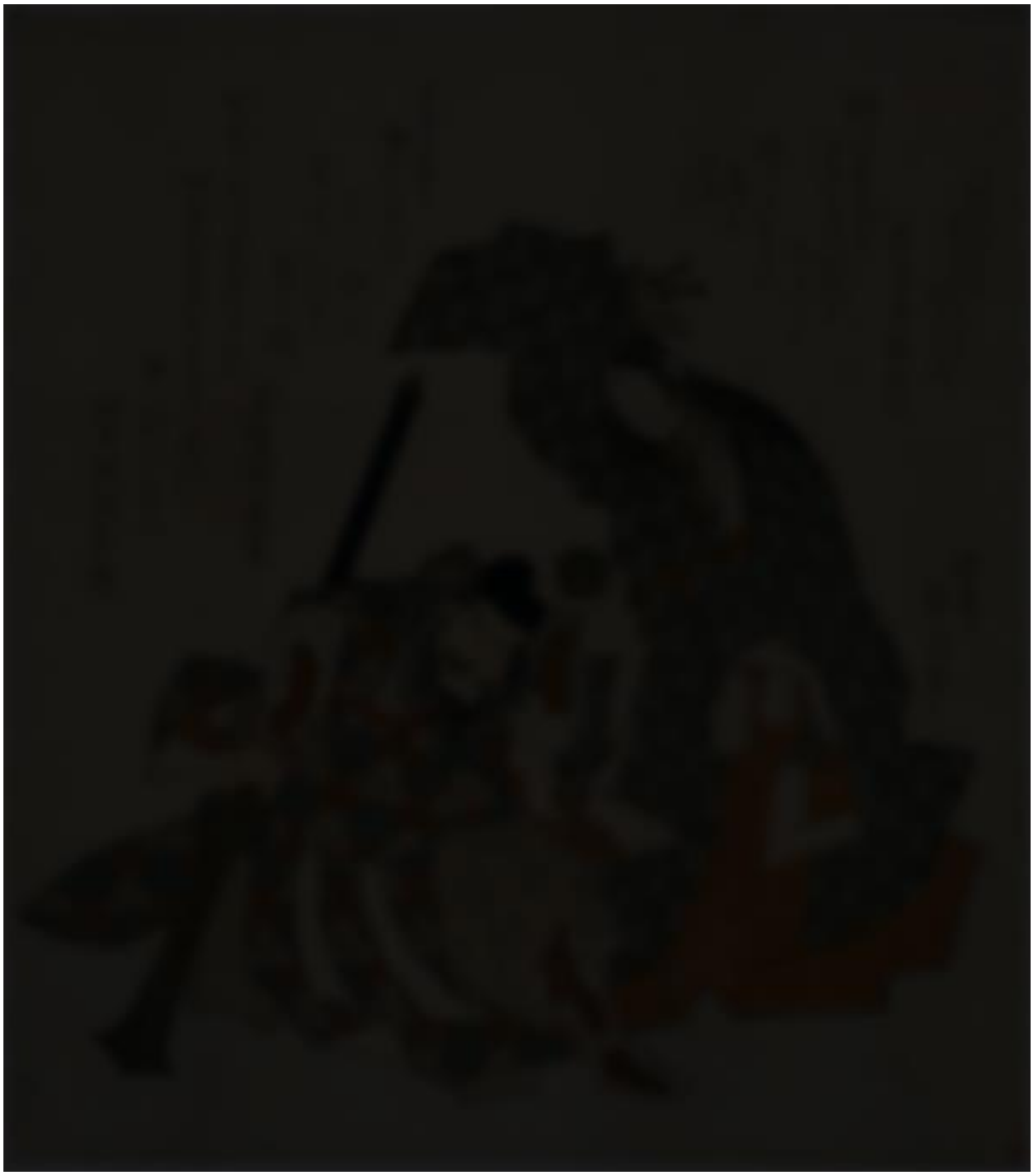

Fig. 32. Gakutei, *Tsurezuregusa* (Essay number 16), 1817, coll. Rietberg Museum, inv. no. 21.

Cultural nostalgia in *kyōka* awase practice

Poetry competitions equally display a form of cultural nostalgia in the poets' attempts at replicating a traditional practice. The cultural past that these poets tried to replicate actually belonged to the court nobility, which meant that in essence, these Edo period samurai and commoners appropriated a traditional practice that was not theirs. Let us first focus on the appearance of such practice in *kyōka* awase practice. As I have argued before, the popularity of *kyōka* in Edo may have started with a handful of poets who deliberately abolished all kinds of rules with regard to (the practice of) composition of *waka*, yet the development of *kyōka* shows a distinct institutionalization and fixation of regulations. *Kyōka* information

books contain explanations of how to correctly participate in competitions, down to the distribution of syllables written on the sheet of paper to be submitted, and the exact way to fold that paper.

One obvious example of how poetry contests replicated classical tradition is in the seating arrangement. Poets were divided into two teams, opposing each other. Judges and their assistants took a central position between the teams, spectators on the opposite side. The most illustrative account of this practice is found in the book *Yomo no Tawamureuta Nazukushi* 四方戯歌名尽 (*'Listing of names and silly poems by [the] Yomo [group]'*) of 1809, edited by the revered *kyōka* poet Yomo Utagaki Magao 四方歌垣真顔 (1753-1829), on the occasion of a meeting at the house of the poet Shibanoya San'yō 芝の屋山陽 (d. 1836).[506] The meeting's illustration was done by Utagawa Toyohiro 歌川豊廣 (1773-1828), and an explanation of the order of things given by San'yōdō above the illustration. Various other examples exist though: several *kyōka* matches were illustrated by Gakutei in publications from the 1820s and 1830s.[507] The consistency in seating arrangement shows that the classic form was clearly adhered to. Further proof of the fixed nature of the seating arrangement is found in a graph included on a printed sheet carrying information about the history of *kyōka*, and proper *kyōka* procedures, edited by San'yōdō and distributed in 1814 (fig. 33 and fig. 34).[508]

[506] As far as I'm aware, this illustration was first published and discussed by Kenney in Bowie et al., (1979). McKee (2008 [1]), pp. 484-487, provides additional thoughts on this illustration, remarking that the contest borrows many aspects from tradition and that the participants appear very serious about their contest.
[507] See Makino (2008), p. 56, and Kok (2010), p. 69.
[508] This information sheet displays fascinating information about the practicalities of *kyōka* competitions, such as approved sizes of *tanzaku* and *shikishi* (to be measured by the ruler printed on the edge of the sheet) and lists of great poets and their year and month of demise, a list of major contests that were held to date, etc. etc.. This would deserve a complete transcription and translation in future research.

Fig. 33. *Kyōka* information sheet edited by San'yōdō, 1814. Coll. Tokyo Metropolitan Library, inv. no. KA7424-026.

Fig. 34. Seating arrangement on *kyōka* information sheet edited by San'yōdō (detail), 1814. Coll. Tokyo Metropolitan Library, inv. no. KA7424-026.

5.5 Conclusions chapter five

Kyōka society was connected to a broad range of scholarship, of which the relations to *kokugaku* were most apparent. The main figures in the genre of *kyōka*, more specifically circle leaders and designers, could connect to scholars not only through publications, but through direct correspondence as well. Achievements of the Edo period such as affordable reproduction of texts, a reliable transport system, and the distribution of documents through couriers, allowed for the exchange of knowledge on an unprecedented scale. Those who could afford it had access to an expanding library of (printed) scholarship that already spanned almost two centuries; those who had the connections could stay up to date with (manuscript) scholarship as it progressed.

Kyōka poets of samurai stock, although institutionally more likely to have enjoyed good education, did not play a leading role in bringing scholarship of classical literature in Japanese to *kyōka* society. The first section of this chapter provided short introductions of major *surimono* designers and poets, and their documented or presumed connections to scholarship of their time. This has made it clear that knowledge of the literary subjects addressed in *surimono* series could stem from designers and poets alike. Furthermore, it has shown that neither access to knowledge and understanding of classical literature, nor the choice for Japanese or Chinese themes, strongly correlate to birth status. Rather, the results of my investigations into *surimono* confirm the theory that commoners were more likely than samurai to appropriate knowledge of court literature.

Surimono creators did not conform to existing iconographies or pictorial traditions, but rather showed a large degree of independence in their handling and presentation of classical literary texts. My investigation of *surimono* series on classical texts has shown that *surimono* creators did not shy away from handling subjects that were otherwise not treated in popular publications. In combination with a profound interplay of text and image, *surimono* constitute productions that became part of the very reception history of the classical texts they took as inspiration.

Surimono series did not actively promote the ideological aspects of contemporaneous currents in scholarship. The content in literary *surimono* series clearly borrows from the results of philological study of classical texts - that is certain. Neither the nativist ideas forwarded by some of the major *kokugaku* scholars, nor indeed the Confucianist philosophies associated with *kangaku*, resound in the illustrations and poems. Instead, emphasis is placed on the classical elegance, found in refined details that surfaced from a close reading of the original texts. If the *surimono* series in question, then, are observed as part of reception histories of classical literature, they should be regarded as playing a role in the visualization, i.e. imagination of a cultural past, rather than a body of visual and textual artworks that promote any ideological or political comment.

The total of activities of *kyōka* society thus displays a distinct cultural nostalgia evident in most if not all materials it issued. Practicing *kyōka* allowed for an escape to largely imaginary epochs, lands and atmospheres. Such intentions prevail in most *surimono* and *surimono* series. Poem and illustration, and

execution of printing not to be forgotten, appealed to the emotions of those yearning for a shift in reality.

However, while some strains of *kokugaku* may have promoted a return to a Japanese culture uncontaminated by foreign influences, the scope of subjects in the entirety of *surimono* series refutes such notions. Some series may hint to a subtle cultural nationalism, yet the frequent appearance of foreign subjects and objects, incorporation of references to Chinese language and culture, and the examples of series in which Japanese and Chinese figures feature virtually side by side, point to a tendency to include 'non-Japanese' cultural attributes rather than an endeavor to exclude these. *Surimono* were produced at a time when Japan is regarded to have been pre-occupied with a cultural self-identification, and it is possible to take the whole of *surimono* subjects to form part of an effort - whether conscious or not - to delineate the boundaries of Japanese identity through the treatment of typical texts, histories, legends products, traditions and places. Nonetheless, the foreign counterparts appearing in *surimono* are not presented as opposing, but rather as supporting to Japanese culture. This underlines the fact that the gist of most *surimono* is one of general cultural nostalgia, regardless of origin.