Kabuki brain puzzles : station-character motif patterns in the actor Tokaido series of Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1865)

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1 INTRODUCTION

During the late Edo period (1603–1868), Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865) was the most popular and sought-after *ukiyoe* designer of his day, contrary to today's favorites Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) and Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797–1858). Himself a student of the artist Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 (1769–1825), Kunisada climbed the ladder of success, illustrating books and designing primarily actor prints (*yakushae* 役者絵) and portraits of beautiful women (*bijinga* 美人画). He would quickly establish his own studio and train over 100 students.[1] Initially, he captured the *bijin* in the style of earlier *ukiyoe* masters; soon, he depicted idealized imaginary *bijin* whose hair and clothing styles were widely mimicked by women of the time.

The Japanese kabuki theater emphasizes sight and sound with the actors as focus. Actor prints therefore are similarly inclined to portray the performance of an actor on stage, his movements and gestures and, even more importantly, the poses he strikes. Kunisada was a master in emphasizing any actor's uniqueness and capturing the level of artistic attainment emanating from an actor's whole being.[2] His actor portraits document and immortalize all the great performances and actors of the early nineteenth century, a field that Kunisada dominated over a period of some 50 years.

The reason why no catalogue raisonné of Kunisada's oeuvre, both serial and/or individual designs exists obviously lies in its dimension. In two separate issues of the journal *Kikan Ukiyoe* from 1977, Yoshida Susugu made the first attempts by listing in the beginning *c*.2,000 compositions by Kunisada, later adding several hundred more.[3] In 1999, Osada Kōtoku published a list of works by Kunisada signed 'Kunisada' and another of works signed 'Toyokuni' in 2001.[4] These two publications both record all of the prints he found in numerous books, catalogues, lists, etc. The total of 13,800 prints thus recorded is the result of unreflectingly quoting any source, even those which are not altogether reliable. Such a large number may seem impressive; however, my own studies reveal a confirmed number of almost 15,000 designs (in almost 25,000 sheets) plus the illustrations to around 600 books and over 60 paintings.

More surprising is the circumstance that there are only a few monographs dealing with Kunisada. After several articles by a number of Japanese authors that focus on different aspects in connection to Kunisada, appeared in 1928 Ushiyama Mitsuru's illu-

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1. For genealogical lists, see Yoshida 1954, 44; Iijima 1977a; Yoshida 1977d, 127–29; Narazaki 1991, 98–9; Nakayama 1995, 140–41; Schwan 2003, 248; Newland 2005, 527. Iijima 1977a lists also, that Hiroshige had 14 disciples and Kuniyoshi 72 disciples. As a comparison, it may be good to realize that some fifty pupils are believed to have worked in Rembrandt's exceptionally large atelier, see Bevers 2006, 188; Bruyn 1991.
2. On actor's personality, see Kawatake 2003, 140–42.
3. Cf. Yoshida 1977a and Yoshida 1977c.
4. Cf. Osada 1999 and Osada 2001.

strated catalogues on Kunisada's *bijinga*.[5] The catalogue *Utagawa Kunisada: Bijinga o chūshin ni* 歌川国貞—美人画を中心に (*Utagawa Kunisada: Focussing on Beauty Prints*) focuses on the same genre and accompanied the 1996 exhibition of Kunisada's *bijinga* at the Seikadō Bunko Library, Tokyo.[6]

Kunisada's actor prints received considerably more attention, beginning with Kojima Usui's monograph from 1930 that discusses one of Kunisada's masterpieces, the untitled series popularly known as *Kinshōdō-ban yakusha ōkubie* 錦昇堂版役者大首絵 (*Kinshōdō Edition of Large Head Actor Portraits*). Sebastian Izzard in 1980 wrote the only dissertation explicitly dealing with Kunisada, which focused on his half-length actor portraits.[7] Then there is a small number of publications focusing on aspects of Kunisada's actor portraits such as *What about Kunisada?* by Jan van Doesburg, Shindō Shigeru's *Gototei Kunisada: Yakushae no sekai* 五渡亭国貞—役者絵の世界 (*Kunisada: The Kabuki Actor Portraits*), and the catalogue of an exhibition at the University Gallery Leeds, titled *Mirror of the Stage: The Actor Prints of Kunisada*, by Ellis Tinios, who also published several articles on a variety of aspects in Kunisada's actor prints.[8]

Hayashi Yoshikazu discussed Kunisada's erotic books in *Edo makurae shi shūsei: Utagawa Kunisada* 江戸枕絵師集成—歌川国貞 (*Compilation of Makers of Edo Pillow Pictures: Utagawa Kunisada*).[9] He reproduced here, amongst others, Kunisada's first erotic book *Hyakki yagyō* 百鬼夜行 (*Nocturnal Procession of a Hundred Demons*). Four other erotic books were reproduced by Hayashi and Richard Lane in their series *The Complete Ukiyo-e Shunga* (*Ukiyoe shunga meihin shūsei* 浮世絵春画名品集成), published between 1995 and 2000.

The earliest monograph on Kunisada in a Western language is Willibald Netto's catalogue for the 1966 exhibition at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne, Germany.[10] Sebastian Izzard is also responsible for the outstanding exhibition catalogue *Kunisada's World*, issued in conjunction with an exhibition at the Japan Society Gallery, New York, in 1993.[11] This catalogue provides an excellent overview of Kunisada's oeuvre.

The growing interest in Kunisada is reflected in the number of exhibitions held recently, e.g. a show at the Nagoya City Museum, which focused on Kunisada's works in the collection of Ozaki Kyūya 尾崎久弥 (1890–1972), and one drawing on the collection of the National Museum Prague.[12] The most recent exhibition accompanied by a catalogue was a show of Kunisada's early actor prints at Katsuhara Gallery, Nagoya.[13]

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5. Cf. Ushiyama 1928a and Ushiyama 1928b.
6. Cf. Seikadō Bunko Library 1996.
7. Cf. Izzard 1980.
8. Cf. Doesburg 1990, Shindō 1993, and Tinios 1996.
9. Cf. Hayashi 1989.
10. Cf. Netto 1966.
11. Cf. Izzard 1993.
12. Cf. Nagoya City Museum 2005 and Honcoopová 2005.
13. Cf. Hotta 2006.

1.1 Aim of this research

Throughout the Edo period, the Tōkaidō 東海道 was the most vital road of Japan, and as part of a wide network of smaller and larger highways, it connected Edo 江戸 (present-day Tokyo), the Eastern Capital, with Kyoto, the Western Capital. No other highway in Japan reached such a level of attention and the status of a national symbol such as the Tōkaidō. After the opening of Japan to the world in the second half of the nineteenth century, modernization and industrialization completely changed the traditional way of life, which involved traveling long distances by foot. With the building of railways and telegraph lines, the horse courier service lost much of its economic value, and traveling lost its recreational appeal. For many, getting to the destination as quickly as possible became more important than the journey itself.

There exists a vast amount of literary and artistic work from scrolls until cheap guide books that is centered on the Tōkaidō and we can infer that this interest pertained to all classes of Japanese society in the Edo period. Books and prints, first produced in the middle of the seventeenth century, document the extensive changes to life and the scenery along the Tōkaidō during the Edo period. The earliest images mainly depict genre scenes with subordinate scenic elements. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the scenery became the increasing focus of attention. It was established as a separate subject with the emphasis placed on the differences, characteristics and specialties of the fifty-three station towns, the remains of many of which can even be found today.

The popularity among the masses started in 1802 with the first issue of Jippensha Ikku's 十返舎一九 (1766–1831) bestselling serial novel *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* 東海道中膝栗毛 (*Strolling Along the Tōkaidō*). The success of this story of the adventures of Yaji and Kita would eventually lead, during all of the nineteenth century, to the publication of at least 84 series of Tōkaidō prints by various designers. Though a Tōkaidō series traditionally consists of fifty-five prints (fifty-three stations plus the start and the end), the total number might differ, depending on the market at the time of creation. Most importantly, some of these series are only related to the Tōkaidō on account of their title; however, their main focus may be very different. The reason for this lies in the idea to take advantage of the wide popularity of the Tōkaidō and to use it as a vehicle to serialize prints. In the early 1800s, Hokusai concentrated on human activities and famous products and even Kitagawa Utamaro 北川歌麿 (1753–1806) tried to link his *bijinga* to the stations, whereas Hiroshige focused on the landscapes themselves and Kunisada on kabuki connections.

The Tōkaidō is generally associated with landscape prints by Hiroshige and Hokusai. For many, their designs have provided a notion of Japanese scenery, even today kept alive by Japanese postage stamps, telephone cards, and commuter tickets. However, that also others employed Tōkaidō scenes in quite a different setup largely went unnoticed, even more so how a very distinctive type of Tōkaidō print thus developed.

Such a distinctive treatment of the Tōkaidō theme shows the work of Kunisada who focused in his series on *bijin* and especially on portraits of actors. It is his achievement to have created a new type of Tōkaidō print by juxtaposing popular kabuki actors

in specific roles to stations along the Tōkaidō. Kunisada developed this type of actor print by designing not just one or two series but twelve Tōkaidō series that are related to the kabuki theatre.

Several questions are raised in this context. How did the Tōkaidō theme develop in the print medium? Did different settings exist for *bijinga* and actor prints? Was Kunisada the first to create a new type of print by juxtaposing characters from the kabuki theater to Tōkaidō stations? How did the market respond to this new type of print? Did he apply any methods to the creation of these juxtapositions? Did he turn to specific station-character juxtapositions by repetition? Was Kunisada unique or did also other designers follow his example? How was the connection between Kunisada and Hiroshige and was the fact that Kunisada turned to Hiroshige's landscapes in his own Tōkaidō designs regarded as copying in those days, or rather taken as a form of collaboration?

In order to answer these questions, I will briefly concentrate on Kunisada's biography and the focus of his works in the various stages in his career. This is followed by a general discussion of the phenomenon Tōkaidō in prints by his precursors and contemporaries. The Tōkaidō as a vehicle also requires a more fundamental discussion of serialization in Japanese woodblock prints.

It is the development of a new type of print that this research aims to unravel by reconstructing the genesis of Kunisada's Tōkaidō series. Between the 1820s and early 1860s, Kunisada was involved in designing fifteen series related to the Tōkaidō, comprising a total of more than 450 prints. Most of these series were created by him alone but some were produced in collaboration with other designers. Rather than on the scenery, Kunisada's Tōkaidō series mainly focus on actors but also on *bijin*, famous legends, or the procession from Edo to Kyoto that the shogun undertook in order to pay his respect to the emperor (*go-jōraku* 御上洛). From the 1830s, he began designing this new type of Tōkaidō illustration by juxtaposing specific characters of the kabuki theater to Tōkaidō stations, methodically employing well-considered or even contrived connections. His designs neither document the vivid life along Japan's main arterial road nor illustrate the beauty of the scenery, but challenge viewers by creating kabuki brain-puzzles.

Over the years, Kunisada established a canon of recognizable station-motif patterns within his actor Tōkaidō series that he repeatedly employed in his series. He continuously attracted the attention of the viewers, who couldn't get enough of the Tōkaidō and were intrigued with Kunisada's evoking of far away stations through well-known kabuki characters.

Various books and articles deal with the guidebooks, novels, maps, game boards and prints related to the Tōkaidō. However, what is lacking is a systematic approach to the Tōkaidō as a theme in Japanese woodblock prints but this also applies to almost any other theme, apart from *Chūshingura* 忠臣蔵 (*The Treasury of Loyal Retainers*), for this

matter.[14] Among the monographs on individual designers or catalogues accompanying an exhibition, the main focus is on the so-called *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* 保永堂 by Hiroshige.

In his 1954 article "The Tōkaidō in Popular Literature and Art," Charles Nelson Spinks dealt on a general level with the effect of the Tōkaidō on literature and art, listing some of the important works.[15] His collection of books and *ukiyoe* related to the Tōkaidō are currently located at the American University Library (Washington, D.C.).

Kitazono Kōkichi outlines tales connected with station towns.[16] In the series *Edo jidai zushi* 江戸時代図誌 (*Pictorial Records of the Edo Period*), three volumes are devoted to life and scenery along the Tōkaidō.[17]

In conjunction with an exhibition in 1980 at the Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art Kansas, Stephen Addiss edited two volumes mainly focusing on Hiroshige's Tōkaidō prints.[18] The 1995 exhibition catalogue from the Fujieda City Museum illustrates landscapes and specialties from the station towns Kanbara to Kakegawa.[19]

In 1988, Shiraishi Tsutomu issued an extensive catalogue of Hiroshige's Tōkaidō designs that compares eight different designs for each station.[20] A large number of *ukiyoe* series by various designers illustrates Ōno Kazuhiko's two volume *Ukiyoe—Daitōkaidō* 浮世絵・大東海道 (*Ukiyoe—The Great Tōkaidō*) from 1998.[21] Two large exhibitions were organized in 2001 to commemorate 400 years Tōkaidō, both accompanied by extensively illustrated catalogues. One was staged at the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History, Yokohama, the other at the Toyohashi City Art Museum.[22]

Since 2001, Franziska Ehmcke has written various articles about the importance of the Tōkaidō in a historical-cultural context.[23] The most recent multi-perspective publication on the Tōkaidō is Jilly Traganou's *The Tōkaidō Road: Travelling and Representation in Edo and Meiji Japan* based on her doctoral thesis.[24]

The connection between the Tōkaidō and kabuki plays / characters was outlined in 1972 by the actor Bandō Mitsugorō VIII in his *Tōkaidō kabuki hanashi* 東海道歌舞伎話

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14. The earliest attempt to discuss themes in *ukiyoe*, especially *Kanadehon Chūshingura* (*The Syllabary Copybook of the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*), was undertaken by Basil Stewart in 1922 (Stewart 1922).
15. Cf. Spinks 1954.
16. Cf. Kitazono 1972.
17. Cf. Ōto 1976, Yoshida 1976, and Kodama 1977.
18. Cf. Addiss 1980, 1982.
19. Cf. Fujiedashi Kyōdo Hakubutsukan 1995.
20. Cf. Shiraishi 1988.
21. Cf. Ōno 1998.
22. Cf. Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, Toyohashishi Bijutsu Hakubutsukan 2001.
23. Cf. Ehmcke 2001, 2003, 2004.
24. Traganou 2004.

(*Tōkaidō Kabuki Stories*).[25] *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* 獨道中五十三驛 (*Traveling Alone Along the Fifty-three Stations*), one of the plays centered on a journey along the Tōkaidō was revived in 1992 and performed at the National Theater, Tokyo. In conjunction with this performance, Fujita Hiroshi summarizes some of the Tōkaidō related kabuki stories in his article *Gojūsan tsugi tsurezuregusa—Shibai de aruku Tōkaidō* 五十三驛つれづれ草・芝居で歩く東海道 (*Essays in Idleness About the Fifty-three Stations—Along the Tokaido With Theater Plays*).[26] Kodama Makoto's *Burari Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi geinō banashi* ぶらり東海道五十三次芸能ばなし (*Theater Stories Along the Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*) outlines stories from the different types of Japanese theater, connected to Tōkaidō stations.[27]

1.2 Methodology and approach

In order to answer the question how Kunisada came to combining kabuki characters and stations, it is necessary to reconstruct how he handled the Tōkaidō in his long career and therefore to examine his oeuvre in more detail. This investigation resulted in the identification of over 900 series with more than 7,400 compositions from well over 100 public and private collections worldwide. It unveiled tendencies in design and publication, allowing to draw a much more accurate picture of how prolific Kunisada and his studio really were than to be found in the existing literature.

Chapter two therefore commences with a brief biography of Kunisada, focusing on some central issues that were not yet discussed into sufficient detail in the biographies by Izzard and others.[28] Before discussing Kunisada's series in general and their importance in his oeuvre, this chapter also provides a discussion of the typical phenomenon of serialization in the tradition of Japanese prints, outlining its marketing mechanisms and concepts.

The third chapter introduces the main theme of this study, the Tōkaidō, its historical-cultural background as well as its influence on the arts and literature of the Edo period. Obviously, special emphasis is put on the theme of the Tōkaidō in the medium of Japanese woodblock prints. It concludes with a definition of Tōkaidō series and the various categories that were eventually developed. As it is not the purpose of this work to analyze all existent Tōkaidō series in detail, only some of these relevant to the historical development of this theme, which were not explored in previous works, will here be discussed in more detail.

Chapter four turns to Kunisada's fifteen Tōkaidō series and concentrates on their historical development. These series are discussed in chronological order and put into the wider context of the development of Japanese prints during the nineteenth century

25. Cf. Bandō 1972.
26. Cf. Fujita 1992.
27. Cf. Kodama 2001.
28. Cf. Izzard 1993.

to emphasize the development of the theme in his career, their genesis and significance at the time of creation. This chapter also investigates the interaction between Kunisada and Hiroshige on the Tōkaidō theme and reconstructs the gradual development of a canon of station-character motif patterns.

Chapter five evaluates the station-character motif patterns in Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series, and offers an analytical approach to the methods he employed when he invented and developed these patterns. The following chapter illustrates some of these motif patterns, outlining the detailed stories behind them. Chapter seven concludes with the overall implications of this study, summarizing the arguments on the station-character motif patterns.

2 UTAGAWA KUNISADA'S LIFE AND SERIAL WORKS

The primary contemporary sources on Utagawa Kunisada's life are the *Ukiyoe ruikō* 浮世絵類考 (*Ukiyoe Miscellany*), a compendium of biographical data on *ukiyoe* designers, the inscription on his gravestone, and memorial portraits with biographical information designed by his students.[29]

Kunisada was born in 1786 in Edo's Honjō district 本所, home to many writers, poets, painters, actors, and other popular designers of the day. Kunisada's family was shareholder of a ferry service, which provided him with a lasting and well-ordered income. As with the wide majority of print designers, we know nothing about Kunisada's motivation to become an artist. Presumably in 1801, at the age of 15 or 16, he became a student of the very successful artist Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 (1769–1825), who bestowed upon him an artist name, following the tradition starting with the second character of Toyokuni's name, 'kuni' 国.

According to the 1844 compiled *Zōho ukiyoe ruikō* 増補浮世絵類考 (*Ukiyoe ruikō Supplement*), Kunisada's first work in the print format was a fan print (*uchiwae* 団扇絵) of the actor Nakamura Utaemon III 中村歌右衛門 (1778–1838) as the monkey trainer (*sarumawashi* 猿廻し) Yojirō related to a performance in the fourth month of 1808. Shindō Shigeru however, identified a fan print related to a performance in the third month of 1808 as Kunisada's earliest known actor design, and an untitled *ōban*-size triptych published in IV/1807 as the earliest certified design by the 21-year-old Kunisada.[30] This triptych, called *Futamigaura hatsuhinode* 二見ヶ浦初日の出 (*New Year's Sunrise at Futamigaura*) in Japanese literature, captures a party of *bijin* at sunrise at the beach of Futami. Though the patterns on the kimonos can be associated with popular actors of the time, this triptych clearly focuses on *bijin* and it is remarkable that there seems to have been an audience for Kunisada's *bijin* designs before he became known for his actor portraits.

Yet, even the *Futamigaura*-triptych was not Kunisada's debut as a designer of prints. As it stands now, that is an even earlier published *bijin* print in *koban*-size (Fig. 1).[31] Reliably dateable to the third month of 1807, one month prior to the triptych, this *koban* in the Japan Ukiyo-e Museum belongs to a series *Keisei jūnitoki* 契情十二時 (*Twelve Hours of the Courtesans*) of which no other designs seem to have survived. Taking into account that a triptych was a considerable investment for a publisher, it seems reasonable from a business point-of-view, that Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門 first tested the market for a new designer with a less complex composition. It can be assumed that Kunisada designed a complete series of twelve designs, one design for each hour of the day, and the response of the market must have been sufficient encouraging for the publisher Tsuruya Kinsuke to commission the newcomer one month later to design a large and expensive design like the *Futamigaura*-triptych.

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29. Cf. Ōta 2004, 166–70.
30. Cf. Shindō 1993, 151.
31. Cf. Marks 2007b. The publisher was erroneously identified as Tsuruya Kinsuke 鶴屋金助.

The theme of the Twelve Hours (*jūnitoki* 十二時) that is perceived in the *Keisei jūnitoki* series was employed before by designers such as Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長 (1752–1815) and Kitagawa Utamaro. Kunisada's identified design relates to the hour of the horse, the seventh double hour from 11 to 13 hrs, and is clearly inspired by the corresponding design in Utamaro's *ōban*-size series *Seirō jūnitoki* 青樓十二時 (*Twelve Hours of the Green Houses*) from the mid 1790s. Both designs show two courtesans, one with her hair loose seated in front of a mirror on a stand and holding a long pipe in her hand, the other standing and showing a love letter to the first.[32]

Kunisada's first book illustrations are in *Oi senu kado keshō no wakamizu* 不老門化粧若水 (*Gate to Eternal Youth, New Year's Lotion*), published in XII/1807 (see Fig. 2). This advertising magazine of a cosmetics supplier was created by the first professional writer in Japan, Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848).[33] More successful book illustrations for other popular writers such as Santō Kyōzan 山東京山 (1769–1858) followed, and Kunisada rapidly became high in demand.[34] This jump start is reflected in the high number of extant titles that he already illustrated in the first years of his career. In 1808, when other students of Toyokuni illustrated just one book, Kunisada received commissions for 14 (Toyokuni himself doing 19, Hokusai 16). In 1809, he again illustrated 14 books, which was more than his teacher (Toyokuni 13, Hokusai 3, and Kunimitsu 3).

Kunisada seems to have designed his first actor portraits in 1808, when he was 22 years old. The earliest known is a fan print related to the III/1808 performance of the play *Date kurabe Okuni kabuki* 伊達競阿国戯場 (*Competition of the Date Clan in Okuni Kabuki*) at the Ichimura Theater.[35]

In the 1810s, Kunisada was commissioned to design more than 60 series of *bijin* and actor prints. He established his own studio and the first books illustrated by some of his own students surfaced; the earliest by Utagawa Sadashige 歌川貞繁 in 1814, followed by Utagawa Sadakage I 歌川貞景 in 1817. However, in the first half of the 1810s Kunisada himself could not maintain his position as leading book illustrator. Other students of Toyokuni, such as Utagawa Kunimaru 歌川国丸 (1794–1829) and especially Utagawa Kuninao I 歌川国直 (1793–1854) clearly dominated this field. From 1819 on, when Kunisada again became the most often employed illustrator of books, he would maintain his leading position in this field for many years to come. His popularity outstripped that of

32. Utamaro's design shows also a third courtesan that Kunisada omitted.

33. Kyokutei Bakin is also known as Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴.

34. Cf. Suzuki 1969, 41–42. For a list of the first six publications with illustrations by Kunisada, see Iijima 1993, 49.

35. Cf. Shindō 1993, 151. The *Ukiyoe ruikō* states, that Kunisada's earliest actor design refers to the play *Horikawa no dan* 堀川の段 (*The Horikawa Act*), a reduced version of *Chikagoro kawara no tatehiki* 近頃河原の達引 (*The Recent Rivalry at the Riverbank*), the main play on the Oshun-Denbei-theme お俊伝兵衛 (cf. Izzard 1980, 29–30; Izzard 1993, 20). This play, however, was performed in the fourth month.

his teacher and his skills as illustrator were from now on, versus Toyokuni and his other students, much sought-after and high in demand.

On the seventh day of the first month 1825, Kunisada's teacher Toyokuni died and, quite surprisingly, the name of Toyokuni passed onto the rather obscure Toyoshige 豊重 (1777–1835), a minor student who apparently entered Toyokuni's studio in 1818 and was adopted by him presumably in 1824.[36] Kunisada seems to have been the only student who designed memorial portraits of Toyokuni. One portrays Toyokuni standing (issued by Yamaguchiya Tōbei), the other seated (issued by Matsumura Tatsuemon, see Fig. 3).[37] Also early in 1825, Kunisada's first erotic book, *Hyakki yagyō* 百鬼夜行 (*Nocturnal Procession of a Hundred Demons*), referring to the homonymic sixteenth century hand scroll, was released. It marked the beginning of a long line of erotic books with explicit illustrations, all in all at least fifty-eight.[38]

Maybe Kunisada was offended and wanted to show distance to Toyoshige (aka Toyokuni II), the newly appointed leader of the Toyokuni branch of the Utagawa tradition, when, in the second half of the 1820s, he began to take lessons with the painter Hanabusa Ikkei 英一珪 (1749–1844), a fourth generation successor to the genre painter Hanabusa Itchō 英一蝶 (1652–1724). These lessons did not cause an interruption in his artistic output. On the contrary, in the 1820s, hundreds of individual actor portraits after kabuki performances came out, as well as over 120 series, the vast majority of these *bijinga*. He also made the illustrations to more than 100 books, among them the *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 偐紫田舎源氏 (*A Country Genji by a Fake Murasaki*), a humoristic parody of the Heian period *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語) by the writer Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦 (1783–1842) that was an overwhelming success and would lead to a new genre of Japanese woodblock prints, the so-called *Genjie*.[39]

The 1830s are marked by the coming of age of landscape prints in the predominant *ōban* format. Kunisada would also make an effort to tie up with this development and, as we will see below, his incorporating landscape views in designs of *bijin* and actor prints are no less than a major change in the development of these two genres.

This wave of landscape prints was initiated by Hokusai's highly successful series *Fugaku sanjūrokkei* 富嶽三十六景 (*Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*), published from 1830 on-

36. Cf. Yoshida 1977b, 53. Toyoshige is sometimes erroneously described as Toyokuni's son-in-law, but Toyokuni's only daughter Okin おきん married in 1826 a Watanabe Ihei 渡辺伊兵衛 (Yoshida 1977b, 53). Very little is known about Toyoshige and many questions remain. As his first illustrated book was only published in 1825, what could he have done before? Are Toyoshige and Toyokuni's disciple Kunishige 国重, of whom only one illustrated book from 1817 is known, the same persons? Why did Toyokuni adopt him, if at all? Did Toyokuni's family pass the name Toyokuni onto him or did he 'take' it as Toyokuni's granddaughter Ume claimed (cf. Tsubōuchi 1919h, 5–7).

37. The first is illustrated in Succo, vol. 1, pl. 25; Yoshida 1977b, 57; Iwata 2006, 38.

38. The majority of Kunisada's erotic books were published in the Bunsei and Tenpō periods; see Hayashi 1989, 59–61.

39. For a description of *Inaka Genji* designs, see Kondō 1982 and Marks 2006.

wards. Other designers followed his example and concentrated more on scenery than before. The little known Hiroshige experimented with the landscape genre and designed *c.*1831 the series *Tōto meisho* 東都名所 (*Famous Sights in the Eastern Capital*).[40] Kunisada, accurately interpreting the development of the current vogue, also directed more attention to the scenic elements in his designs and even created in *c.*1832 a landscape series. But despite this general interest in landscape prints, his engagement in this genre was discontinued after this series. Demand for his book illustrations continued and he remained illustrating books on a large-scale. As in the 1820s, his individual prints in the 1830s are primarily actor prints. His serial works, however, now start showing a balance between *bijinga* and actor portraits. For each of these genres he composed over 80 series, whereas those devoted to actors are comprised of more designs than his *bijin* series.

This reflects a significant change in the development of actor prints. The publishers now broadly realized that actor prints composed in series were well received and this positive response of the audience caused them to commission more and more such series. A different method of composing actor prints was established with Kunisada as chief designer. The role that his designs played in this development should not be underestimated and especially his many series of half-length portraits, untied from current performances, seem to have caught the attention of the kabuki aficionados.

The early 1840s saw a dramatic change in the *ukiyoe* world, particularly in the field of actor prints. Between 1842 and 1843, the shogunate passed new anti-luxury laws, the so-called Tenpō reforms (*Tenpō no kaikaku* 天保の改革), that included severe restrictions for designers and craftsmen. Mizuno Tadakuni 水野忠邦 (1794–1851), the chief counselor to the shogun Ieyoshi 家慶 (1793–1853, r.1837–1853), caused the prohibition of actor portraits and images from the Yoshiwara. Designers were expected to portray morally suitable content such as noble ladies, heroes, and landscapes.[41] Despite all efforts, the reforms were not as successful as hoped and Mizuno Tadakuni soon lost his influence, resulting in a less restricted handling of the regulations which, as so often when the authorities made an attempt at regulating popular culture, led to a contrary effect. The artificially suppressed interest in actor images caused a much greater demand and eventually resulted in an explosion of designs plus an increase in publishing firms as a result of the abolition of guilds.

During this short period, Kunisada primarily concentrated on pictures of anonymous women and less harmful book illustrations. The production of his actor prints which flourished in the 1830s came to an abrupt end in mid 1842. In late 1843, after an

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40. Published by Kawaguchiya Shōzō. A second series of the same title was commissioned by Sanoya Kihei soon thereafter; see Forrer 1997, figs. 6–10.

41. The common believe that Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1798–1861) was punished because of the allusions he imbedded in the triptych *Minamoto Raikō yakata Tsuchigumo yōkai wo nasu zu* 源頼光公舘土蜘作妖怪図 (see Suzuki 1969, 51), can apparently not be substantiated (see Nagoya City Museum 1996, 267–68, figs. 260–61).

interval of more than one year, Kunisada gradually returned to kabuki themes by depicting legends that had found their way into kabuki, such as plays on the story of the Soga brothers (*Soga monogatari* 曽我物語).[42] The earliest designs of this kind after the Tenpō reforms were all published as individual compositions. The first production in the format of a series appeared in 1845.

The year 1844 was decisive in Kunisada's life. Nineteen years after the death of his teacher Toyokuni, at a moment when the 58-year-old Kunisada had long been at the height of his career as a commercial designer and with Hiroshige and Kuniyoshi the leading figure in *ukiyoe*, Kunisada was finally awarded the long refused name 'Toyokuni' by Toyokuni's family.[43] The initiative to the name change came on the occasion of a commemorative visit to Toyokuni's grave on the seventh day of the first month (February 24), the nineteenth anniversary of Toyokuni's death. The occasion is also commemorated in a triptych designed by Kunisada, in which we see a small, kneeling boy in the center sheet, surrounded by three congratulating women. The *toshidama* seals on the boy's kimono suggest that the boy is the new-born Kunisada who respectfully receives the presents.

In his 1846 *Kesaku no hana akahon sekai* 戯作花赤本世界 (*The World of Cheap Fiction in Flowers of Light Literature*), Shikitei Kosanba 式亭小三馬 (1811–1853) reported that the announcement ceremony, seen in Fig. 4, took place on the seventh day of the fourth month (May 23) 1844. Kunisada, quite understandably, never considered himself the successor to Toyokuni II, aka Toyoshige. Ignoring Toyoshige altogether, he initially signed his work 'Toyokuni II', later reducing it to 'Toyokuni.' Despite this development and Kunisada's obvious attitude, he would posthumously enter literature on Japanese woodblock prints as Toyokuni III.

In 1847, the censorship regulations were changed once more. Portraits of actors were now allowed; however, it was still forbidden to inscribe their names on the prints. The liberalization was something like a starting signal for the actor print business to take off again and Kunisada was commissioned to design one series after the other, employing a wide range of sizes: *chūban* in both vertical and horizontal compositions, *koban*, fan prints, single-sheet *ōban* and also polyptychs, as well as a large number of series in horizontal *ōban* format. As a result, the late 1840s are the final turning point in his serial work of the two major genres he was most active in, *bijin* and actors. From now on actor series are predominant, whereas *bijin* series were to be superseded by series on the theme of *Inaka Genji*.

With almost 700 designs published as part of over 40 series, plus an immeasurable number of individual designs, 1852 was Kunisada's most productive year. He now pursued a method of juxtaposing actor portraits with scenery, employing many different devices, all and foremost the Tōkaidō. Kunisada's designs of the 1850s are predominantly actor prints, primarily issued in series. His engagement in book illustration

42. For an overview of plays about the Soga theme, see Leiter 1997, 608–10.

43. Cf. Izzard 1993, 35.

dropped significantly and from now on he was mainly commissioned to illustrate first installments of serial novels or just to create a number of covers or *kuchie* 口絵 (frontispieces). Designs signed with his name functioned as an inducement and were a guarantee for successfully placing or keeping a publication on the market. He did not confine himself to provide designs only to publications of his students, but also created covers for others, like for volume one and two of the serial novel *Ōuchi monogatari* 大内譚 (*The Tale of Ōuchi*), published in 1859 and 1861 respectively, illustrated by no less a colleague such as Kuniyoshi.[44] At this time, it was nationwide known who was best; Hiroshige for landscapes, Kuniyoshi for warriors and Kunisada for actors. In the *banzuke* of the most popular designers, Kunisada ranked first, before Kuniyoshi and Hiroshige.

Kunisada's cover designs for installments of novels, illustrated by other designers, are mostly signed 'gedai Toyokuni ga' 外題豊国画, 'title painted by Toyokuni.'[45] *Kuchie* are signed with the usual 'Toyokuni ga' (painted by Toyokuni). Figs. 5 and 6 show the two successive double page *kuchie* from the first part of volume 34 of the serial novel *Shiranui monogatari* 白縫譚 (*The Tale of Shiranui*), published in 1861. This serial novel was initiated in 1849 and the text of the first volumes is by Ryūkatei Tanekazu (1807–1858), the illustrations by Kunisada. Kunisada's designs illustrated here show Toriyama Akisaku and Washizu Rokurō in a dirigible balloon (*keikikyū* 輕氣球), peering through a telescope at Princess Wakana, captured on the following double page.

Keeping all the interrupted ongoing serial publications in mind, it must have been rather sudden that Kunisada died on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month in the year Genji 1 in his house in Yanagishima, aged 79.[46] His ashes are buried in the Kōmyōji Temple 光明寺 in Kameido, Sumida, where his gravestone still stands today. Next to it are the gravestones of his wife and other family members.[47] Though Kunisada did not reach the highly respected age of 80, a few designs such as Fig. 7 exist with his signature reading 'yaso-ō Toyokuni hitsu' 八十翁豊國筆, 'drawn by the old man Toyokuni at 80.' Kunisada is believed to have created such designs shortly before his death, indicating that he soon would be turning 80.[48]

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44. The novel was written by Ryūtei Senka 笠亭仙果 (1804–1868). The final volumes three to nine were published from 1862 to 1867, illustrated by Yoshitora.

45. Kunisada's covers of the 1849 serial novel *Miiri no akihana no Karukaya* 實入秋花野苅萱, text by Ryūtei Tanekazu 柳下亭種員 (1807–1858), illustrations by Utagawa Kuniteru I 歌川国輝, published by Fujiokaya Keijirō, are signed 'ōju hyōdai Toyokuni ga' 應需表題豊國画, 'by request, cover painted by Toyokuni'.

46. This date is equivalent to January 12, 1865. New designs, predominantly part of series, continued to surface in 1865 and 1866. Presumably the last being a Genji triptych, *Yasa Genji kuruwa yūran* 優源氏廓遊覧 (*An Affectionate Genji Visiting the Pleasure Quarter*), published in the first month of 1867, more than two years after Kunisada's death.

47. For an image of the gravestone, see Izzard 1993, 37.

48. To convey an improper and exaggerated age with a possible discrepancy of many years was common practice, cf. Chamberlain 1905, 12–13, and the 1859 farewell speech by the 68-

2.1 Serialization in Japanese woodblock prints

Before focusing on Kunisada's series, it is necessary to discuss the phenomenon of titled series of Japanese woodblock prints in general, especially since the concept of works of art in series is largely unknown to the Western tradition, the Spanish painter and printmaker Francisco de Goya (1746–1828) being an exception.

A series is, after its Latin root, a succession of issues published with related subjects or authors, similar format and price, or continuous numbering.[49] Modern, western art history, in general, tends to classify serial and repetitive works as lacking novelty and innovation and consequently to be without individuality and originality. This perception of serial art as minor and secondary has been questioned by Umberto Eco in his 1985 article "Innovation & Repetition: Between Modern & Postmodern Aesthetics." To consider repetitive and reproduced works, such as e.g. prints, as 'minor' arts, was long before Eco fundamentally challenged by Walter Benjamin's pioneering study *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (*The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*) from 1935/36. Series, television series in particular, are in our post-modern world subject to extensive analysis of their structure and their ability to grasp the receptor's attention.[50]

In late fifteenth-century China developed a tradition of artists creating albums, sets of uniform paintings on a single theme.[51] Contrary to publishing practices in Japan, for Western artists, e.g. in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, producing works of art in series was rather an exception than a common aspect in marketing. In 1745, the first state of 14 unnumbered etchings of the series *Carceri d'invenzione* (*Imaginary Prisons*) by the Italian artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1729–1778) were produced. In 1747, the Italian landscape painter Bernardo Bellotto (1720–1780) created for Count Brühl a series of 21 views of Dresden. In 1760–63, the British artist Gavin Hamilton (1723–1798) followed with six paintings on the Illiad. Outstanding is Francisco de Goya who did a number of series, such as *Los Caprichos* in 1799 (80 etchings), *Los Desastres de la Guerra* (*The Disasters of War*) in the 1810s (over 80 etchings), and *Tauromaquia* (*The Art of Bull Fighting*) in 1816 (44 etchings). The two sunflower series from 1887 and 1888/89 by the Dutch impressionist Vincent Van Gogh (1853–1890) and the 25 paintings of the haystack series by his French colleague Claude Monet (1840–1926), created in 1890/91, are other examples of the sporadic occasions when Western artists decided to serialize their works.

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year-old Ichikawa Danjūrō VII, referring to his age as 75, cf. Guth 2006, 30, for a partial translation of his farewell speech.

49. When referring to a series in total it can be called a 'set.' The term 'set' is independent from the actual structure or content of a series as the series could have been produced until its intended or logical end or discontinued and ended unfinished.

50. Cf. Hickethier 2003, 146–48.

51. James Cahill (1978, 92–93) identifies the *Twelve Views of Tiger Hill* by Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509) as one of the first of its kind.

The type of Japanese woodblock print that is today considered as *ukiyoe* developed from book illustrations, which are per se interconnected images that tell a continuous story, even over several installments. The earliest appearances of *ukiyoe* are dissociated from the text and released from the bound form, but still of such sequential, serial-type character. Designed to be viewed sequentially, these prints were published in form of untitled sets called *kumimono* 組物. Hishikawa Moronobu (d.1694), the alleged 'founder of *ukiyoe*,' who designed such sets, *Yoshiwara no tei* 吉原の躰 (*Scenes of the Yoshiwara*), a set of twelve *ōban* dating from *c*.1681–84, probably being the best-known example.

To design prints in series was not a singular phenomenon but a common practice throughout the history of *ukiyoe* with slightly different approaches to actor portraits and *bijinga*. In general, *bijinga* could have been issued in series as vehicle, whereas actor prints were mostly issued after a successful performance and therefore not serialized. Serialized actor prints began to appear only in the second half of the eighteenth century and gradually increased until the 1850s and 1860s when serialized actor prints, first and foremost because of Kunisada's contribution, finally superseded non-serialized actor prints.

Dating from the mid 1730s, *Genji gojūyonmai no uchi* げんじ五十四まいのうち (*The Fifty-four Sheets of Genji*) by Nishimura Shigenaga 西村重長 (*c*.1697–1756) and Torii Kiyomasu II 鳥居清倍 (1706–1763) is one of the earliest titled series, but it was Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信 (*c*.1725–1770) and especially Isoda Koryūsai 磯田湖竜斎 (1735–1790) who became strongly engaged in designing series. Harunobu experimented with a number of themes, but was outranged by Koryūsai with 170 series, many of them novel devices.[52] Koryūsai, who was in the eighteenth century the foremost designer of serialized prints, gave *ukiyoe* a tremendous impetus by exploring a much wider range of themes, in seemingly endless variation. In his study of Koryūsai, Allen Hockley examines the themes employed in eighteenth century series by the example of the Eight Views (*hakkei* 八景), the most successful theme of that period.[53]

Hockley provides a chart of the total number of print series produced between 1765 and 1810 and states, that almost all of the *c*.720 series he recorded are prints of beauties.[54] Much like Kiyonaga, who created over 100 series that primarily focus on *bijin*, also Utamaro designed numerous *bijin* series, experimenting with many different serialization devices. Since the beginning of his artistic career in the 1780s, Hokusai too created series of prints, altogether over 140 for which he initially employed established devices such as *hakkei* (Eight Views), *setsugekka* 雪月花 (Snow, Moon, and Flowers) and *mu tamagawa* 六玉川 (the Six Jewel Rivers), later novel devices such as *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五拾三次 (Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō), or *Fugaku sanjūrokkei* (Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji).

52. Cf. Hockley 2003, 3.
53. Ibid., 41–86.
54. Ibid., 43.

However, not all designers were equally engaged in the creation of series of prints. Such an engagement essentially depended on the genre a designer mainly pursued, consequently resulting in a clear distinction between designers of primarily *bijin* or actors. Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章 (*c*.1726–1793), for example, designed hundreds, maybe thousands of actor prints, nearly all composed as single-sheet or as diptychs, triptychs etc. His individual portraits of actors sold well on the booming market and it was obviously not necessary to compose many series, as the few known examples, such as *Azuma ōgi* 東扇 (*Fans of the East*) from *c*.1775–82, attest.[55] The reason for his predominantly non-serialized compositions lies in their function to serve as a record of a specific performance. These designs did not address popular actors of the time in general, or retrospectively refer to famous actors in the past, but they focused on a one-time occasion that is followed by another one in a month's time and so on. Only few examples are known from the late eighteenth century of actor portraits separated from the related performance and amalgamated into series; an outstanding example is Utagawa Toyokuni's series *Yakusha butai no sugatae* 役者舞台之姿繪 (*Appearances of Actors on Stage*) from 1794–96. The concept of this series is comparable to Koryūsai's *bijin* series *Hinagata wakana no hatsu moyō* 雛形若菜初模様 (*Models for Fashion: New Designs as Fresh Young Leaves*) from 1776–82.[56] Both are without any well-defined end/number and were continued as long as designer and publisher agreed that there is a market. The same market rules apply to Kunisada's achievement in the nineteenth century, the almost limitless creation of performance-unrelated actor series that focus on a wide range of specific themes, such as e.g. the Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō.

The basic idea of collecting and forming units is apparent in the individually compiled albums of prints or paintings, *gajō* 画帖, that were particularly popular among the literati-scholars. Favorite works were pasted into an accordion type book that provided safe storage and quick access. Some publishers applied this concept also to prints, offering a completed series in the album format, occasionally provided with a preface and table of content.

One important aspect of series in Japanese woodblock prints is also that the vast majority is titled and the series-titles are inscribed on each of the designs making up the series. Connecting and combining prints became an important concept in *ukiyoe* and, in modern times, the term *soroimono* 揃物 developed, referring mainly to such titled series. Another term is *tsuzukie* 続絵, relating to polyptychs with a continuous composition, most commonly found as triptychs or diptychs. In the late Edo period, the term *tsuzuki* was also used as a synonym for a series, sometimes as well called *tsuzukie* 続画, written with a different second character. But what are the general principles behind serializing *ukiyoe*, especially during the late Edo period?

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55. The same applies to Ippitsusai Bunchō 一筆斎文調 (act. *c*.1755–90) who also primarily designed actor prints. For a discussion of *Azuma ōgi*, see Clark 1994, 208–13.

56. For an in-depth analysis of this series, see Hockley 2003, 87–132 and 225–237.

The choice for an individual design or a series depended primarily on market factors and differed between the genres. In general, the publishers aimed for a market of middle to lower-class middle class populace, a broader stratum of society. In order to persuade the public to buy their products and, as a second step, to also encourage customer loyalty, publishers conceived of the idea of marketing *ukiyoe* in the format of titled series. Instead of selling individual prints, series of *ukiyoe* with related designs, which concentrated on a specific theme, were created. The aim of a series was to meet the expectations of potential customers and to evoke in them a feeling of familiarity with the product. As opposed to individual designs, the customers discover the entire composition of a series step by step, with expectations based on their knowledge of previous works and their socio-cultural context. After buying one print, the customers were inclined to buy more, and hopefully become regular clients; however, it is important to note that these series were usually not aimed to create tension and excitement that gradually leads to a final climax, such as in modern film and literature. Although this final climax is missing, the typical nature of a series, to induce the need of the collector to complete it, is immanent in *ukiyoe* series that follow a specific subject. In the case of the Tōkaidō series, a collector can, through the station name, easily grasp if some print is missing. In contrast, it is much more difficult for a collector to keep track of the actual number of prints in series without such an identifier (and, as is mostly the case, without a table of content which would usually be issued only after completing a series). An example of this is Kunisada's series *Hana kurabe tenarai kagami no uchi* 花競手習鏡ノ内 (*The Flower Competition with the Secrets of Calligraphy*) published by Kogaya Katsugorō from the ninth to the eleventh month of 1852 (see Fig. 8). This series depicts half-length portraits of characters from the popular play *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* 菅原伝授手習鑑 (*Mirror of Learning and Transmitting Sugawara's Secrets of Calligraphy*). Eleven *ōban* are known, but as each title cartouche gives only the series' title and the name of the displayed character, the series may have been comprised of more designs. This virtual state of limbo is avoided by using denominating numbers, *meisū* 名数, in the process of serialization that clearly indicate the complete number of prints in a series, or, also, issuing a table of content.

The themes that were used as grouping device (*shukō* 趣向) derive e.g. from classical Japanese or Chinese literature, legends or other familiar tales. Within these serial devices, the usage of ordinal numbers to artificially group interrelated subjects was common. An incomprehensible amount of these *meisū* range from three, such as *sankō* 三光 (the three luminaries), over *shiki* 四季 (Four Seasons), *shigei* 四芸 (Four Accomplishments), *gogyō* 五行 (Five Natural Elements), *gosekku* 五節句 (Five Seasonal Festivals), *mu tamagawa* (the Six Jewel Rivers), *rokkasen* 六歌仙 (Six Immortal Poets), *shichifukujin* 七福神 (Seven Gods of Good Fortune), *nana Komachi* 七小町 (the Seven Episodes in the Life of Ono no Komachi), *hakkei* (Eight Views), *jūnikagetsu* 十二ヶ月 (the Twelve Months), *sanjūrokkasen* 三十六歌仙 (Thirty-six Immortal Poets), *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* (Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō), *Genji gojūyojō* 源氏五十四帖 (Fifty-four Chapters of Genji),

up to one-hundred, such as *hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (One Hundred Poems of One Hundred Poets).[57] The utilized topics derive from geography, literature, daily life, etc. Particular attention must be given to the release procedure of such series as the designs were not at all stringently published according to their position within the series, as was the case with serial novels. The release, however, was influenced by other factors, e.g. the production time that depended on the technical refinements.[58]

Fortified by the three Utagawa masters Kunisada, Hiroshige and Kuniyoshi, devices for series of more than thirty prints appeared quite often from the Tenpō and Kōka eras on (1830s/40s). See Table 1 for a list of devices with more than fifty sheets per series that were designed more than one time, unlike e.g. *Kannon reigenki*, a serial device for 100 prints that was utilized only once.[59] Some designers specialized in certain themes, e.g. Hiroshige, who designed more than twenty Tōkaidō series.

Though in general an entire series follows a specific subject, the depicted motifs of each print might be grouped together quite arbitrarily, even without an obvious connection to the series title. Especially after the Tenpō era reforms were promulgated in the early 1840s, it was common to conceal portraits of actors by using a wide range of serial devices, resulting in a vast production of "visual parody pictures," *mitatee* 見立絵, a concept that Kunisada often complied with.[60]

The narration told through a series, can be linear or cyclic / nonlinear. Linear, such as series about the famous vendetta of the 47 *rōnin*, dramatized in *Kanadehon Chūshingura* 仮名手本忠臣蔵 (*The Syllabary Copybook of the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*), with one print per act, parallel to the drama, gradually describing the development up to the great finale.[61] The order in linear series is not changeable, as logical gaps would arise. Cyclic series are characterized by interchangeable units. The elements of a series are usually defined by a predetermined theme which, most often, includes *meisū*. This connective theme holds the separate elements of equal weight together.

The creation of a series has certain advantages, both in terms of artistic creativity as well as technical production. The print medium, in particular, in addition to enabling

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57. For an overview of important grouping devices with ordinal numbers in *ukiyoe*, see Koop 1923, 97–128; Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan 1999. Asakura 1974 lists most of the compound numbers used in Japan.

58. Kunisada's series *Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所圖會 (*Gathering of Pictures of Famous Sights in Edo*), published by Iseya Chūsuke in 1852, is an example for the flexible release of prints in a series. Nineteen designs inscribed with numbers that range from 5 to 34 are known. In the seventh month the following numbers were released: 8, 17, 20, 21; in the eighth month: 5, 9, 18, 28, 29, 30; in the ninth month: 10, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26; in the tenth month: 32; in the eleventh month: 16, 34.

59. On the series *Kannon reigenki*, see Baskett 1980, 96–104; and Katō 1998.

60. For further reading on the use of *mitate*, see Clark 1997.

61. A large number of designers created such *Chūshingura* series, see e.g. Stewart 1922, 230–291; and Nakau 1998. *Kanadehon Chūshingura* is the only play that serves as an important serial device.

reproduction, also seems predestined for serial production because of the possibility to re-use elements in a design and therefore with very little means to generate a common layout. A series guarantees the collector a continuous quality in terms of production methods. It furthermore abides by a specific composition, a repeated segmentation of the canvas, including design elements such as serial and title cartouches. By choosing an unconstrained theme, well-known motifs which are independent from each other can repeatedly be utilized in new series. From a marketing viewpoint a series also enables the publisher to bind customers as their interest in completing a series makes them come back to his shop, possibly also buying a print from some newly launched series etc.

The implementation of familiar motifs evoking recognition should be paired with a new arrangement, an innovative composition that awakes interest. This new arrangement might be conceived as *mitate*, for example imaginary images of actors in roles they either never performed or performed a long time ago. However, if the level of novelty is too predominant, the series might flop. An ingenious designer would therefore be able to also create a new series with even microscopic variations. Japanese receptors in the Edo period were conditioned to repetitions through the many variants within the kabuki theater. The supreme principle of repetition through variations is executed here on both the macro and micro level, such as variations of entire plays, topoi, or the transfer of popular characters from one play to another. These variations, in fact the motifs in general, imply a meaning and a context that modern receptors are not familiar with and therefore fail to grasp. Though they may recognize the beauty of a print, an awareness of the hidden allusion within it is not present.

By utilizing a significant choice of motifs, aficionados were able to start collecting a series at any point without having the impression that they were missing something which came into being earlier. Providing a simple way to identify a particular series can be effective for dealing with the core problem, especially of non-linear *ukiyoe* series, sustaining buyer interest. Also important for the success of a series is to react to actual trends, with the ultimate proof of success if the series itself can be the catalyst for a trend.

2.2 The role of series in Kunisada's oeuvre

Kunisada's works in series play a central role in his oeuvre, from the beginning of his career in 1807 until his death in 1865. In the history of *ukiyoe*, no other designer created as many series as he did. This section focuses on the development of his series and investigates the subject matters, the employed formats, grouping devices, and serial titles.

The popularity of Kunisada's designs in the late Edo period and his artistic domination during that time is reflected in his and his studio's prolific production. He mainly focused attention on portraits of kabuki actors and of beautiful women, and his prints were published as individual designs as well as in the form of series of prints, both titled and untitled. The majority of his individual designs depict theatrical scenes relating to a specific performance.

In 1966, Willibald Netto stated empathically that Kunisada designed at least 20,000 prints, making him the most prolific designer of Japan, probably even of the whole world.[62] Sebastian Izzard also proposes at least 20,000 prints.[63] An estimate of approximately 20,000 compositions, half of which is serial work, seems realistic.[64] Such an impressive number would only have been possible by operating a large studio with dozens of students, assisting the master in designing background landscapes, inset frames, et al., and sometimes these students signed their section. Only an assumption can be made on how much assistance Kunisada, in general, received on his designs, especially since in the last third of his life, the studio's output increased significantly, reaching such a large annual productivity which normally could not have been attained by a single person.

The identification of over 900 series, comprised of more than 7,400 individual compositions, reveals two main categories in Kunisada's oeuvre (see Table 2).[65] The largest theme or subject matter consists of actors, with roughly 58%, followed by *bijin* with 31%. *Genjie* make up for the largest group in the remaining 11% with approximately 7%, followed by series combining designs from assorted subject matters, such as sumo wrestlers (*sumōe* 相撲絵), pictures of warriors (*mushae* 武者絵), and landscapes. When also taking his non-serial works into account, 72% of Kunisada's output would be comprised of actor prints and just 18% of *bijin*. The reason for this lies in the fact that Kunisada's prints of *bijin* were predominantly issued as part of a series, contrary to a substantial number of actor prints which were designed after specific performances.

Until today, no general research and evaluation has been done of Kunisada's serial work. Some monographs focus on specific series, e.g. *Edo meisho hyakunin bijo* 江戸名所百人美女 (*One Hundred Beautiful Women with Famous Sights of Edo*); others discuss a subject matter, such as *bijin* or *yakusha*, within his individual designs and serial work.[66] Ku-

62. Netto 1966, 7, wrote: "Man schätzt, dass nach seinen Entwürfen mindestens 20000 Holzschnitte, wahrscheinlich aber mehr, in Druck gekommen sind. Damit ist er der fruchtbarste Zeichner Japans, möglicherweise hat sogar kein anderer Maler oder Zeichner der gesamten Kunstgeschichte mehr Werke geschaffen."

63. Cf. Izzard 1993, 40. Surprisingly, Ellis Tinios recently doubled this number to 40,000 prints (Clark 2005, 48 and 53, footnote no. 50), and Timothy Clark (1992, 91) even speaks of 50,000 designs including the book illustrations. Without substantiating his calculation Clark leaves open how he counted the book illustrations; per title, per volume, per installment, per illustration? In the case of the serial novel *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* alone, it would be 38 volumes, published in 76 installments with 904 illustrations.

64. Based on *c.*15,000 identified compositions from major collections world-wide and an estimate of an average yearly output of 70 compositions in the late 1800s, 200 in the 1810s, 250 in the 1820s, 350 in the 1830s and 1840s, 550 in the 1850s and early 1860s.

65. This includes series not solely designed by Kunisada but also Kunisada's designs in joint enterprises with other designers. A composition is here counted as one, regardless of whether it consists of one or more sheets (the count of each sheet would total 8,266).

66. Cf. Kikuchi 1963; Hiraki Ukiyoe Zaidan 1974; Mukai 1980.

nisada's earliest identified design and, presumably, his first *koban*-size series, *Keisei jūnitoki*, was published in III/1807.[67] In III/1809, Nishimuraya Genroku 西村屋源六 published Kunisada's first *hosoban*-size 細判 (narrow format) prints, namely the series *Edo sanki no uchi* 江戸三木之内 (*The Three Trees in Edo*), and *Fūryū mitate Ōtsue* 風流見立大津絵 (*Elegant Visual Parody of Ōtsu Pictures*), see Fig. 9.[68] It should be realized that these early series feature *bijin* and not actors, as one might have expected bearing his prospective domination of that subject matter in mind.

It was only in the 1810s, that Kunisada focused on actors, one of his most striking series portraying actors half-length, being *Ōatari kyōgen no uchi* 大當狂言之内 (*The Great Hits of the Stage*).[69] The actors are shown in popular roles, each role from a different play. *Ōatari kyōgen no uchi* follows a method of serialization that Kunisada employed first at the end of 1812 in the *ōban* series *Yakusha hanjimono* 役者はんじもの (*Actor Riddles*). *Yakusha hanjimono* is also the first series by Kunisada to capture actors in half-length portraits.[70] Nine prints of this series are known, featuring a balance of well-established stars and shooting stars in Kunisada's age, such as the then 21-year-old Ichikawa Danjūrō VII, the 24-year-old Sawamura Tanosuke II, and the 28-year-old Onoe Matsusuke II (the later Onoe Kikugorō III).

In addition to non-serialized actor prints and steadily increasing actor portraits in series, *bijin* prints in series constitute an essential part of Kunisada's designs of the 1810s and 1820s (see Table 3). In this period, he designed more than 70 series in the *ōban* format, all featuring *bijin* in full-length. The success of these series depended on how Kunisada managed to impose new elements on this already long existing subject matter, and his ability to challenge popular designers such as Kikugawa Eizan 菊川英山 (1787–1867) and to cope with Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉 (1790–1848) who also was establishing himself as a designer of *bijin* prints. As is clearly seen in Kunisada's first series *Keisei jūnitoki* but also in later works, some of his *bijinga* in the 1810s and 1820s are also inspired by earlier concepts developed by Utamaro and Toyokuni, which he would successfully transform after the vogue of the time, a device even more regularly adopted by Eizan.

In these *bijin* series, Kunisada experimented with visual elements and grouping devices. On the one hand he employed traditional devices such as the Twelve Months, the Six Immortal Poets, the Eight Views, or the Seven Episodes in the Life of Ono no Komachi, simply adding new facets to them. On the other hand he also originated series independent of traditional devices, some of which were based on his personal interest in and extensive knowledge of the kabuki theater, e.g. *Tōsei aishō kaichū kagami* 當世相姓懐中鏡 (*Pocket Mirror of Modern Matching Couples*), depicting *bijin*, paired with an actor

67. Cf. Marks 2007b.

68. Cf. Shindō 1993, 151–52.

69. Illustrated in Izzard 1993, 46–51.

70. For illustrations, see Doesburg 1990, fig. 2; Izzard 1993, 23; and Shindō 1993, 19.

bust portrait set on a pocket mirror, alluding to famous couples of the theatrical world.[71]

Unlike Hiroshige and Hokusai, Kunisada hardly designed landscape series, but by the mid-1820s, he first experimented with landscapes in horizontal *ōban* format as a setting for his *bijin*. The result is a series of twelve untitled designs, published by Nishimuraya Yohachi, which are similar to contemporary designs by Katsukawa Shunsen 勝川春扇 (Shunkō II 春好, 1762– *c.*1830). Figs. 10 and 11 show Kunisada's and Shunsen's respective designs of a group of *bijin* visiting the Husband and Wife Rocks at Futami beach. Kunisada's composition closely follows Shunsen's, and he even employed a horizontal red cloud line that is apparent in several of Shunsen's designs.

In the early 1830s, Kunisada returned to the landscape genre and focused on landscapes in a number of fan prints. The subordinate position which scenery had for him is also seen in joint series with other designers. In such collaborative projects, Kunisada was always in charge of the figures, the other designer(s) of the scenic element. Surprisingly, 84 of the total number of 901 series produced by Kunisada in his career are joint projects in collaboration with other designers. One of the largest among these is the series *Kuni zukushi Yamato meiyo* 國尽倭名誉 (*A Collection of the Provinces with Honorable Characters of Japan*), published by Minatoya Kohei from IV/1852 until X/1853 (see Fig. 12). The sixty-eight *chūban* prints this series is comprised of feature full-length portraits of actors designed by Kunisada, all accompanied by an inset frame entrusted to one of his students. Twenty-six other designers, the vast majority of them his students, worked with him on this series.[72] One of the inset frames was designed by the seventeen-year-old student Yasohachi 八十八, better known as Utagawa, or also Toyohara Kunichika 豊原国周 (1835–1900).[73] (Fig. 12 shows this designer's first work.)

Though Kunisada and Kuniyoshi worked practically in the same areas, competing in *bijin*, actor, as well as warrior prints, when asked by some publisher, they from time to time collaborated on series of prints. Hiroshige was not part of this competition as he

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71. Eight designs are known, initially *c.*1820 published by Nishimuraya Yohachi, who later sold the blocks to Imariya Ushizō. Other early series are: *Hokkoku goshiki zumi* 北國五色墨 (*Five Shades of Ink from the Northern Countries*), see Seikadō 1996, 99–101; *Shinpan nishikie tōsei bijin awase* 新板錦繪當世美人合 (*Comparison of Newly Published Brocade Pictures of Current Beauties*), published by Hagiwara, re-issued by Enomotoya Kichibei (Izzard 1993, 66–69; Seikadō 1993, figs. 19–23); *Hōnō tenugui* 奉納手拭 (*Votive Hand Towels*), see Izzard 1993, 60–61; *Imayō Ōtsue* 今様大津繪 (*Stylish Ōtsu Pictures*), see Yoshida 1931, figs. 41–44.

72. Toyohara Kunichika, Utagawa Kuniaki II, Utagawa Kunihisa II, Utagawa Kunikiyo II, Utagawa Kunimaro I, Utagawa Kunimasu, Utagawa Kunimori II, Utagawa Kunisada II, Utagawa Kunisato, Utagawa Kuniteru II, Utagawa Kunitoku, Utagawa Kunitomi II, Utagawa Kunitoshi 歌川国利, Utagawa Kunitoshi 歌川国年, Utagawa Kunitsuna, Utagawa Kuniyū, Utagawa Sadahide, Utagawa Sadamasa, Utagawa Sadamasu I, Utagawa Sadami, Utagawa Sadashige, Utagawa Sadatomo, Utagawa Sadatoshi, Utagawa Hirosada, and two unidentified designers Isokichi 礒吉, and Yasu 安.

73. Newland 1999, 11, mentions this print, but fails to susbstantiate its existence.

mainly focused on designing landscapes. Moreover, there seems to have been a real friendship between Kunisada and Hiroshige, probably deriving from the time of the first publication of Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* in the 1830s. Kunisada and Hiroshige jointly drew seven series where Kunisada was in charge of the main figures and Hiroshige desiged the background or the inset frame.

After the death of Kuniyoshi in 1861, Kunisada was the last great master of the Utagawa tradition and the grand seigneur in traditional *ukiyoe*. Despite his age of seventy-six years, the production of Kunisada and his studio did not diminish and Table 4 lists the fifteen series, each consisting of 30 designs and more, that were published in the early 1860s, the last years before his death early in 1865. For most of these series, the publishers commissioned tables of content to emphasize their value and to enable collectors to complete their sets, making sure that they would purchase all of the designs. One of these is *Kokon yakusha nigao daizen* 古今俳優似顔大全 (*Anthology of Actor Likenesses Past and Present*), a set of 101 *ōban* published by Hirookaya Kōsuke from late 1862 to late 1863. This unique compendium of 302 actor portraits is even accompanied by a table of contents in the format of a diptych.[74]

As already pointed out by Sebastian Izzard, the first editions of Kunisada's later series are characterized by the use of the best possible materials, such as rich colors on thick, high-quality paper, elaborately printed with the most advanced and expensive techniques.[75] Among these is an untitled series, popularly known after its publisher Kinshōdō 錦昇堂 (i.e. Ebisuya Shōshichi 恵比寿屋庄七) as *Kinshōdō-ban yakusha ōkubie* 錦昇堂版役者大首絵 (*Kinshōdō Edition of Large Head Actor Portraits*), intended to be Kunisada's homage to the theatre, his final manifestation.[76] The striking designs of this series received attention ever since their creation, and shortly after Kunisada's death, the famous author Kanagaki Robun noted on one of Kunisada's memorial portraits, that a total of 150 designs had been planned.[77] Sixty of Kunisada's designs were completed and published between the third month of 1860 and the seventh month of 1863. Two years after the publication of the first prints, it was decided that Yoshitora would have to assist and in the sixth month of that year his first design was released. In the end, Yoshitora would contribute ten designs.[78]

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74. Cf. Engeki Hakubutsukan Yakushae Kenkyūkai, ed. 1998.

75. Cf. Izzard 1993, 37.

76. The series was first mentioned by Takashima 1919. The woodblock cutter is Shimizu Ryūzō.

77. This memorial portrait was issued by the same Kinshōdō publisher. Robun wrote: 當時發市の俳優似顔繪の半身大首の大錦繪今百五十余番に及び近きに満尾に至らんとす.

78. Two more, similar prints are known by Yoshitora, executed in the same style. However, they were released by an unidentified publisher in IV/1869, four and a half years after Kunisada's death and four years after Yoshitora's last designs of this series. Both designs refer to the play *Hototogisu ama yo no minogasa* 百音鳥雨夜蓑笠, performed at the Nakamura Theater in IV/1869. One depicts Onoe Kikugorō V as Gofukuya Seishichi and the other

In 1991, letters by Kunisada were published stating that this series was commissioned by the wealthy wholesaler Midani Chōzaburō 三谷長三郎.[79] We know today that Robun was correct with his assessment. In 1930 and 1931, Kojima reproduced Kunisada's 60 designs, and two additional keyblock proof impressions (*kyōgōzuri* 校合摺). Suzuki Jūzō identified three more, mentioned in the catalogue of the 1977 exhibition of this series.[80] In 1996, Kondō Eiko pointed out, that a woodblock with an additional image was sold in the winter auction of Lempertz, Cologne, making it to a total of six additional images by Kunisada, and in 2006, Iwakiri Yuriko identified an album in the Midani collection with sketches and blockcopies (*hanshita* 版下) of 61 unpublished designs by Kunisada and one design by Yoshitora, thus making it now to a total of 138 known designs.[81]

In general, there are various difficulties in identifying Kunisada's series. Tables of content are known for only 18 of the identified series, ten accompany his last series listed in Table 4. Each of them provides information on the different designs of a series. In many cases, the exact number of prints can only be deduced from the series title itself or from the depicted motifs. Kunisada used a wide range of denominate numbers (*meisū*) for his series. He sometimes even escaped tradition and invented his own *meisū*. Frequently applied devices are, e.g. the Eight Views, to be found in more than 30 series; more than 20 series depict motifs from *Kanadehon Chūshingura* 仮名手本忠臣蔵 (*The Syllabary Copybook of the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*); at least 22 series are linked to the Twelve Months; the Four Seasons are the device for at least 19 series, ten of which would take the format of triptychs.

In terms of numbers, the two largest grouping devices are the fifty-four chapters of Genji, primarily related to the Edo period parody *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 偽紫田舎源氏 (*A Country Genji by a Fake Murasaki*) and not to the classic *Tales of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語), and another the Tōkaidō.[82]

When there is no indication for the number of prints in a series, this can only be determined by investigating all surviving copies; however, tracing earlier series, in particular, has proven to be very difficult. It is therefore possible that additional prints surface, especially as more collections world-wide become accessible to researchers. Moreover, it is likely that designs published in small editions, did not survive at all. This is

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Bandō Mitsugorō V as the geisha Miyokichi. The woodblock cutter is like before Shimizu Ryūzō.

79. Cf. Ōkubo 1991.

80. Cf. Hiraki Ukiyoe Zaidan 1977.

81. Cf. Iwakiri 2006.

82. This determination is based on a differentiation between genre and grouping device, trying to avoid overlapping. The series *Genji mitate hakkei no uchi* 源氏見立八景之内 (*The Visual Parody of the Eight Views with Genji*) for example, publ. by Kakumotoya Kinjirō in VIII/1858, depicts motifs from *Inaka Genji*, but the Eight Views are used as grouping device and not the Fifty-four Chapters of Genji.

especially the case with cheaper prints, considered ephemeral, often in smaller paper formats than *ōban*, executed with less technical effort. The general rule here is, that collectors tended to better preserve luxury issues than very common prints (that were maybe not even considered as collector's items).

The existence of a title on a print that appears to be a series title does not necessarily imply that this print is actually part of a series. It might be that, though there were initially plans for a series, the envisaged series was quickly discontinued, either by the designer or by the publisher.

Almost 20% of Kunisada's series is untitled (177 out of the 901 identified series). Though a serial title is missing, prints are here considered to be part of a series when they have several of the following distinguishing features in common:

- size (e.g. vertical *ōban*),
- format (e.g. triptych),
- subject matter,
- composition (e.g. bust portraits),
- style,
- common elements, such as a *tanzaku* (poem slips) etc.

Other features that must be considered, however not strictly, are:

- signature (in the case of Kunisada, several artist names might have been used within a series, e.g. Kōchōrō and Gototei),
- publisher (more than one publisher is possible; furthermore, the seal of a publisher can vary within a series),
- censorship / date seals (within a certain restricted spam of time that may cover several years).

It should be noted that varying signatures and several publishers are more common in series of larger size.

A closer look at the titles of the identified 724 titled series reveals that Kunisada employed the suffix *no uchi* の内 in one quarter of them. An unusual high number compared to his contemporaries Hiroshige and Kuniyoshi, who used this suffix in less than one tenth of their serial productions. There seems to be no distinct pattern in Kunisada's frequent use of *no uchi*, as it cannot be related to any period of time, nor to any specific genre or to any particular serial device.

Timothy Clark's identification of *fūryū* 風流 as the most commonly used word in eighteenth and nineteenth century print titles, cannot be substantiated in Kunisada's serial oeuvre.[83] *Fūryū*, found in 30 series (140 compositions), is clearly outranged by *mitate* 見立, found in 72 series (502 compositions), and *tōsei* 當世 (55 series, 408 compositions).[84]

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83. Cf. Clark 1997, 11.

84. *Imayō* 今様 is found in 14 series (189 compositions).

A general frequency count of words conducted in the series titles of the three last Utagawa masters reveals further differences that are derived from the genres they were mainly engaged in. Because of Hiroshige's many landscape series, his most favored word is *meisho* 名所, 'famous places' (26 series), followed by *Tōkaidō* and *hakkei*, both referring straight to the employed serial device. Kuniyoshi's majority of series center on warrior prints, embraced by the terms *kagami* 鑑, 'mirror' (23 series), *den* 傳, 'biographies' (17 series), *zukushi* 尽, 'collection' (17 series), and *eiyū* 英雄, 'heroes' (12 series). Such a genre related distinctive term is not found in the titles of Kunisada's series, who often employed abstract terms such as the above mentioned phrase *no uchi* and the terms *mitate* and *tōsei*, as well as *awase* 合, 'comparison' (36 series), and *zukushi* (36 series).

It is not surprising that the vast majority of Kunisada's designs are vertical compositions in the *ōban*-size, which was the most popular paper size in the late Edo period, and best suited for his field of subject; the vertical alignment of the paper suited his motifs and the *ōban*-size the appeal of the audience. However, he also created series in other sizes such as *chūban* and a significant number of fan print series (see Table 5). A substantial number of his series are not single-sheet compositions but triptychs, especially the series with *Inaka Genji* motifs (see Table 6).

In some rare cases, the format of a series was afterwards, or even during publication, modified. *Edomurasaki sugata kurabe* 江戸紫姿競 (*A Competition of Edo Purple Appearances*), for example, published by Jōshūya Kinzō over a period of five years (from VIII/1852 until VIII/1857), was initially conceived as a series of 12 diptychs. Each diptych is numbered and the title cartouche is always on the right side of the right sheet. Diptych one and two were published in the eighth month of 1852; three, four, and six in the tenth month of 1853, five, seven, and eight in the tenth month of 1854; nine, ten, and eleven in the eleventh month of 1856. The conversion of some of these designs into triptychs came in the eighth month of the following year, along with the release of the twelfth 'diptych' right away as a triptych. Kunisada was then commissioned to design additional sheets for the three 1856 diptychs, most likely to make it possible to reissue them as triptychs, a format for *Inaka Genji* prints that was very popular at that time. For compositional reasons, it was, however, not always possible to add a third sheet to the far left of a diptych. In number ten and eleven, Kunisada therefore attached the extra sheets to the far right, causing the title cartouches to now be positioned in the middle.

Not all publishers were able to or wanted to invest into series, as it was always a risk, and gain or loss in the market was unforeseeable. Kunisada's many series were published by a great number of publishers. Most of the time a series was published entirely by a single publisher; sometimes publishers issued series collaboratively to share the risk. It also happened that the blocks were sold from one publisher to the next and the exact same image or images with slight variations were published by this second publisher.

Overall, Kunisada provided designs for series by 136 publishers.[85] This high number is derived from Kunisada's long artistic career of almost sixty years and the circumstances during the Tenpō era that were influenced by two factors. The Tenpō famine (*Tenpō no kikin* 天保の飢饉) between 1832 and 1838, caused by flooding and cold weather, as well as mismanagement of the Tokugawa shogunate, cost the lives of thousands, mainly in the provinces. The effect on Edo was at the beginning limited and the kabuki theatres continued to flourish.[86] The sales of souvenirs including woodblock prints that were mainly purchased by travelers from the provinces must have dropped however. This led to bankruptcy also for larger publishers, but an even more significant effect on the publishing industry had the Tenpō reforms between 1841 and 1843. Many new publishers started in the aftermath of these reforms while the publisher guilds were temporarily abolished, but many of these publisher firms were short-lived enterprises about whom very little is known. This explains why there are today a significant number of unidentified publisher seals.

Roughly for two thirds of these 136 publishers, Kunisada designed less than six series. With more than fifty series, Yamamoto Heikichi clearly stands out. Kunisada worked continuously for this publisher throughout his professional career as a designer, from the 1810s to the 1860s. With Yamaguchiya Tōbei taking the second place, it was Sanoya Kihei, with 33 series, who was the third largest publisher of Kunisada's series. He also published the two *chūban* Tōkaidō series.

85. For an additional number of 52 publishing companies he composed only individual designs. To the total number of 189 must be 75 unidentified publisher seals added that might be derived from the same amount of small enterprises.

86. Cf. Forrer 1982b; Markus 1992, 178; and Smith 1997, 40–41.

3 THE TŌKAIDŌ THEME

This chapter introduces the Tōkaidō theme within Japanese arts, in particular its development and presentation within the framework of Japanese prints. To begin with, the importance of the Tōkaidō during the Edo period is described to determine why this theme developed. Starting with the Tōkaidō's original construction based on Chinese models in the eighth century, to its extension in the twelfth century due to military necessity, and to its final route in the seventeenth century, is first a historical overview presented. The second part concentrates on elements captured in the arts: the geographical characteristics of this highway and the vivid life along it, including a description of the different types of travelers. This is followed by examples of the perception of the Tōkaidō in Edo period literature and art. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the Tōkaidō theme in Japanese prints, providing a definition of Tōkaidō series, a historical outline, and a presentation of the categories that developed.

3.1 The Tōkaidō from a historical-cultural perspective

3.1.1 The history of the Tōkaidō

During the Edo period (1603–1868), the Tōkaidō was the main arterial road in Japan. It connected the two most politically important cities Edo 江戸 (present day Tokyo) in the East, the residence of the Tokugawa government and the imperial capital Kyoto in the West. The Tōkaidō was part of a network of larger and smaller roads between the three major cities (*santo* 三都) Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka and minor cities throughout the country. Edo was the predominant city because it was the location of the *bakufu* 幕府, the shogunate. Kyoto was the cultural center and of great industrial importance, too. Osaka, the financial and commercial center, controlled shipping and trade.[87]

The route of what literally translates as the 'Eastsearoad' ran, according to its name, from Edo to Kyoto along the Pacific Ocean, adjusted to the mountainous countryside. The start and end of the route were bridges: the Nihon Bridge 日本橋 in Edo and the Broad Sanjō Bridge (Sanjō Ōhashi 三条大橋) in Kyoto. The distance from start to end is *c.*495 km, 126 *ri* 里 6 *chō* 町 and 1 *ken* 間.[88] It was common to say that one traveled from Edo up to the imperial capital Kyoto, *nobori* 上り, and from there down to Edo, *kudari* 下り.[89] With the transfer of the imperial residence from Kyoto to Edo in the Meiji period, this concept of 'up' and 'down' was reversed, still being today, especially for trains.

The Taihō code (*taihōryō* 大宝令) from 702 is connected with the beginning of a network of roads in Japan. Among others, this code determined that the administration

87. Cf. Moriya 1990, 97–99.

88. Cf. Hori 2003, 156.

89. The term *kudari* was also used by kabuki actors when coming down to Edo for a performance, cf. Leiter 1997, 361; Iwata 2002, 128–29.

had to be modeled after the example set by China's Tang dynasty (618–907). The country was divided into provinces (*kuni* 国), which were subdivided into districts (*gun* 郡).[90] Each province was governed from a provincial capital that imposed taxes on rice before it was sent to the imperial capital. In order to supervise these provinces, roads were built.

The road system was adopted after the network designed during the Chinese Zhou dynasty (*c.*1025–221 BC). A network of post stations was established for the military and for official couriers, where travelers could eat and rest. These post stations were initially built every ten miles (Ch.: *li* 里) and then later every thirty (Cheng 1970, 8). This network was well-known throughout ancient China and it was even mentioned in philosophical writings, e.g. in the book *Mencius*, a collection of sayings and conversations of the Confucian thinker Mengzi 孟子 (*c.*372–289 BC).[91]

Since the Tang dynasty, the 1,630 post stations (Ch.: *yizhan* 驛站) were under military control and the couriers were soldiers. It was reported that the emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762, r.712–756 as Minghuang 明皇) used this network of roads to transport fresh lychee over thousands of kilometers to satisfy his favorite Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–756).[92]

The oldest records on the Tōkaidō are to be found in the *Kojiki* 古事記 of 712 and the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 of 720. Originally an administrative entity falling under one inspector, roads were set in place mainly to transport taxes and to speed up the journey of officials from the capital to the provinces and back, which lasted approximately ninety-one days per direction. The roads served governmental interests, solely, and the inns and castles were therefore only available for governmental use.[93] This restriction was loosened in 833 and orders were given that separate buildings within temple compounds had to be installed to host unofficial travelers.[94]

In 1185, the first shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199) commanded that the road between Kyoto and his capital Kamakura had to be extended to sixty-three stations (*shukueki* 宿駅). By extending the road and his military reach, Yoritomo hoped to more efficiently control provinces distant from Kamakura.

During the following years, these extensions continued. In order to increase control over the country, it was in 1189 determined that messages from Kyoto to Kamakura had to be delivered within seven days. In 1239, this was even brought down to four days, whereas an average journey took twelve to fifteen days.[95]

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90. Cf. Hall 1987, 55–57.
91. Mention is made of frontier-passes, road taxes, messengers, e.g. in *Mencius* II.i.5.3 and II.ii.2.3.
92. Cf. Cheng 1970, 9.
93. Cf. Traganou 2004, 16.
94. Cf. Graham 1980, 3.
95. Cf. Traganou 2004, 16.

The growing importance of the Tōkaidō is apparent in the literature of the time, as it is mentioned by name, e.g. in the war epic (*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語) *The Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語) from the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[96]

In the following centuries, the influence of the central government diminished and the security in the provinces could no longer be guaranteed. Robbers made the roads unsafe and travel became extremely difficult.

A long and bloody war between various feudal lords took place at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. The different rulers of the Momoyama period (1573–1603) attached great importance to a well functioning road system. Already under Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582), five ministers supervised the extension of the roads.

By the end of the war and the unification of the country under Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616), the final structure of the road network was completed, which remained unchanged until the industrialization of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Tōkaidō became Japan's most important arterial road and a national symbol. In 1601, Tokugawa Ieyasu commanded the extension of the Tōkaidō, and in the years to come, the *gokaidō* 五街道 was established, a network of five tree-lined highways starting from Edo's Nihon Bridge:

- Nakasendō 中山道 (also called Kisokaidō 木曾街道), inland road to Kyoto;
- Tōkaidō 東海道, along the Pacific coast to Kyoto;
- Kōshūkaidō 甲州街道, to Shimosuwa 下諏訪;
- Ōshūkaidō 奥州街道, to Shirakawa 白河;
- Nikkōkaidō 日光街道, to Nikkō 日光.

The central government saw a military and political, rather than an economic necessity in the expansion of the road network. The establishment of checkpoints (*sekisho* 関所), which to some extent existed already and were used to introduce customs duties, was institutionalized. The Tōkaidō had two of these checkpoints. The Arai checkpoint 新居関所 (also called Imagiri checkpoint 今切関所), *c.*225 km away from the destination

96. Book 5, Chapter 9 of *The Tale of the Heike*, "The Exile of Mongaku" (Mongaku nagasare 文学被流), states, that Mongaku was going to be sent into exile first via the Tōkaidō and later by sea: 源三位入道の嫡子、仲綱の其比伊豆守にておはしければ其沙汰として、東海道より船にて下すべしとて、伊勢國へ將て罷りけるに、放免兩三人ぞつけられたる。Kitagawa 1975, 320 translated: "It was Nakatsuna who received the order to send Mongaku into exile. He appointed three officials to escort Mongaku first to Ise Province; from there he was to continue his journey by boat." McCullough 1988, 182 erroneously transformed the Tōkaidō into a sea route, as Mongaku was "to be transported by sea via the Eastern Sea Road." In Book 7, Chapter 1, "Shimizu no Kanja" 清水冠者, Kanehira says to Yoritomo: "Now that you have conquered the eight eastern provinces, I believe that you are going up to the capital on the Tōkaidō highway to overthrow the Heike." 御邊は東八箇國を打隨へて、東海道より攻上り、平家を追おとさむとし給ふ也。(Transl. Kitagawa 1975, 395)

Kyoto, was built in 1601.[97] In 1636, the Hakone checkpoint 箱根関所, *c.*97 km away from the starting point Nihon Bridge, was put into operation.[98]

The checkpoints were enclosed by fences with one gate (*gomon* 御門) in each direction. Between the fences were fortified guard houses. The Hakone checkpoint comprised an area of *c.*7,800 square meter. Although the officers on duty were armed they certainly could not have maintained their position in the case of an uprising.[99] The armament acted as a deterrent to prevent people from creeping through. Passage through the Hakone checkpoint was allowed every day between sunrise in the sixth hour of the morning (*akemutsu* 明六つ) and sunset in the sixth hour of the evening (*kuremutsu* 暮六つ).[100]

In 1604, mile markers (*ichirizuka* 一里塚) were erected along the Tōkaidō in equal distances of one *ri*.[101] These *ichirizuka* were earthen mounds positioned to the left and the right of the road with a diameter of 9.1 meters, on which hackberry trees (*enoki* 榎) called *namiki* 並木 were planted.[102] They were used to assess transport costs and travel fees along the Tōkaidō and to assist in better orientation, especially in the evening and during the winter. The width of the Tōkaidō varied from between 5.5 and 7.3 meters.[103]

In the following years, the communication and transportation system for governmental use was systemized. The checkpoint system and the governmental post courier system were reformed in 1625.[104] The new rules at the checkpoints included that all persons had to take off their head gear, all persons in sedans had to open the doors for inspection, and, if there was anything suspicious, all persons, no matter their rank, could be more closely inspected.[105] This measure was obviously aimed against the illicit traveling of spouses of daimyo who were, in accordance with the *sankin kōtai* system, held hostage in Edo.

Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651) institutionalized the so-called *sankin kōtai* system 参勤交代 of alternating residence in 1635. It was at first only applicable to *tozama daimyō* 外様大名 (outside daimyos), but was enhanced to *fudai daimyō* 譜代大名 (he-

97. Vaporis 1994, 101 mentions that this checkpoint was already built in 1600 or 1601.

98. A drawing of the Hakone checkpoint is in Takeuchi 2003, 18–19. The Arai checkpoint is preserved in its original form and the Hakone checkpoint is now being reconstructed and should be reopened in 2007.

99. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 112–14.

100. Cf. Hori 2003, 33. The sixth hour of the morning, called hour of the Hare (*u no koku* 卯の刻) is from 5–7 AM, the sixth hour of the evening, called hour of the Cock (*tori no koku* 酉の刻) is from 5–7 PM.

101. Cf. Takeuchi 2003, 32–34. A comparable system, taken from China, was already before used by Oda Nobunaga.

102. Cf. Graham 1980, 11; Ehmcke 1994b, 60.

103. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 36.

104. Cf. Takeuchi 2003, 32–34.

105. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 120.

reditary daimyos) in 1642. The *shinpan daimyō* 親藩大名 (daimyos nearly related to the Tokugawa) were not included.[106]

Sankin kōtai, forced upon the daimyos, was an obligatory system of alternating residence. In general, the daimyos had to live one year in Edo and the next in their fief; however, their wife and children were not allowed to leave Edo.[107] Keeping two residences and the frequent journeys with appropriate entourage were very costly. Henry D. Smith II believes that because of this system approximately 300,000 samurai lived in Edo.[108] The traffic along the Tōkaidō was very much dominated by the *sankin kōtai* system and roughly sixty per cent of all daimyo processions (*daimyō gyōretsu* 大名行列) traveled along the Tōkaidō.[109] The size of the entourage depended on the rice production of the fief (see Table 7). An important daimyo had to appear magnificent, in accord with his status. The procession was divided into sections with *hatamoto* 旗本 (banner men) and other retainers, cavalry, foot soldiers, porters, and servants. Following a certain etiquette, the other travelers had to respect the rank of the daimyo and behave accordingly.[110] Because of the high number of processions and the danger of congestion, the *bakufu* decided which daimyo traveled when.

As the highways were increasingly used by private travelers, the available services were modified to cope with their needs and a price system was established. A service that was frequently used by travelers was prostitution. These prostitutes were mostly female servants. The *bakufu* tried to control this custom by banning prostitutes from inns in 1659. Since this was difficult to enforce, the same prohibition was once again proclaimed in 1662. Since this again showed to be ineffective, from 1718, every inn was allowed to have two 'female servants' (*meshimori onna* 飯盛女).[111] According to Constantine Vaporis, the station of Shinagawa 品川 had 1,358 'post town entertainment women' (*shukuba jorō* 宿場女郎) in 1844.[112] Apart from Shinagawa, Okazaki 岡崎 was also well known for its prostitutes, and, in addition, Fuchū 府中 especially was famous for its pleasure quarter Nichōmachi 二丁町.

The official courier system was copied in 1663 by merchants. Three times per month, messages were delivered between Osaka and Edo with a delivery time of around twelve days.[113] The fastest official couriers (*hayauma* 早馬) needed sixty to sixty-

106. For further details, see Takeuchi 2003, 66–67; Graham 1980, 4.

107. Some daimyo were allowed to live in alternate sequence of several years and not just one.

108. Cf. Smith 1993, 30.

109. Tsukahira 1966, 70–71, mentions that in the year 1821 146 of 245 daimyo traveled along the Tōkaidō. See also Vaporis 1994, 28.

110. Cf. Traganou 2004, 76–78.

111. Cf. Fister 1980, 23.

112. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 81.

113. For further details, see Graham 1980, 15; Moriya 1990, 108.

five hours for the Edo-Kyoto distance in 1696.[114] Large cargo, however, was still transported by sea because carts with wheels were not allowed on the Tōkaidō.

To provide efficient and smooth transport, the *sukegō* 助郷 system of 'assisting villages' was established in 1694. These were villages in the vicinity of the post stations that in times of high demand had to help out with horses and porters.[115]

Within the next 150 years not much changed in the structure of the highways. The gravel surface allowed for traveling during bad weather conditions and the repair costs were limited, especially as the use of carts was banned on the Tōkaidō. Only from 1862, carts with wheels were officially allowed on all roads.[116]

With the opening of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century and the Meiji-restoration in 1868, a modernization and industrialization started, and as a result, the old lifestyle became obsolete. The Tōkaidō and all other highways lost their main function.

The *sankin kōtai* system was repealed in 1868 and one year later also the checkpoints were abandoned and people could travel freely. With the first railway lines in 1872 and the construction of telegraph lines in 1880, travel by foot as well as the horse courier system were no longer necessary.[117]

3.1.2 Traveling Along the Tōkaidō

The German physician Philipp Franz von Siebold traveled along the Tōkaidō in 1826. His travelogue, published in 1841 in New York, gives the following description:

> The roads, generally speaking, are good and sufficiently wide for the passage even of such travelling retinues as we have described. It is owing to the mountainous character of the country, a plain being scarcely anywhere to be found, and the practice of forming the roads in steps over the mountains, that wheel-carriages can be so little used. Most of the roads are bordered by trees. They are constantly kept clean, as much through the diligence of the peasantry in collecting manure as in honour of distinguished travellers, and the sides are thronged with the manufacturers and sellers of straw shoes for horses and oxen. […] It may be added, that roadbooks, containing every species of information important to travellers, down to a minutely accurate table of rates, charges, and prices for bearers at inns, ferries, &c., abound in Japan.[118]

Every station had its own special appeal or attraction, now a famous site, then a popular view, a historical reference, or a local specialty (*meibutsu* 名物). It could have also

114. Cf. Ehmcke 1994b, 59.
115. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 58–60.
116. Ibid., 47.
117. Cf. Graham 1980, 17.
118. Cf. Siebold 1977, 72.

been a typical behavior of the inhabitants, for example in the case of the station Goyu 御油, which was famous for the *tome-onna* 留女 called female touts, who tried to lure male travelers into the inns.[119]

A journey from Edo to Kyoto normally started from the, in 1618, 37 *ken* 間 4 *shaku* 尺 and 5 *sun* 寸 (*c*.68 m) long and 4 *ken* 2 *shaku* and 5 *sun* wide (*c*.8 m) Nihon Bridge.[120] The bridge went over an extension of the River Sumida (Sumidagawa 隅田川). All five main highways started from here, which therefore caused the Nihon Bridge, much like the Forum Romanum, to be perceived as the center of the country. As starting and ending point, Edo and Kyoto were traditionally not counted as one of the fifty-three stations along the Tōkaidō, the *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* (see Table 8). The Tōkaidō passed through ten provinces: Musashi 武蔵, Sagami 相模, Izu 伊豆, Suruga 駿河, Tōtōmi 遠江, Mikawa 三河, Owari 尾張, Ise 伊勢, Ōmi 近江, and Yamashiro 山城.

Initially, the route from Edo followed the coastline without any major geographical obstacles. After a short distance of two *ri* 里 (7.8 km), the first station was Shinagawa. Shortly before the second station, Kawasaki, travelers were brought to a halt by the River Rokugō (*Rokugōgawa* 六郷川) that had to be crossed by ferry.[121] There were three possible ways of crossing rivers along the Tōkaidō: by ferry, by bridge, or by the help of porters. How a river could be crossed depended on the depth and width of it. Such as the Rokugō 六郷, the rivers Ba'nyū 馬入, Fuji 富士, and Tenryū 天竜 were crossed by ferry boats using punt poles.[122]

The Tōkaidō had only three large bridges: at Yoshida across the River Toyo 豊川, at Okazaki 岡崎 across the River Yahagi 矢矧川, and the Broad Seta Bridge (*Seta Ōbashi* 瀬田大橋) at Kusatsu. The bridge across the River Yahagi was built in 1600 on seventy pillars and was, with 378 meters, the longest bridge of the country. When crossing the bridge, a fee had to be paid. The same applied to the pontoon bridges (*ukibashi* 浮橋) made of a number of boats tied together.

The common way to cross a river was at a ford with the service of porters (*kawagoshi ninsoku* 川越人足). High-ranking travelers were carried over in their sedans; other people and luggage were carried over on stretchers (*rendai* 輦台) or directly on the back (*kataguruma* 肩車). Depending on the depth of the water, it could have been rather dangerous, thus the price was adjusted to the depth. The price at Japan's widest river, the River Ōi 大井川, varied e.g. between 38 and 94 *mon* 文.[123] If it was too dangerous to cross, the river was closed (*kawadome* 川止め) and the travelers were trapped and their travel money diminished because of the unexpected extension of their journey.

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119. Cf. Spinks 1954, 8.

120. Now *c*.49 meters long, cf. Ishikawa 1977, 121.

121. The ferry service was stopped after a bridge was built in 1868, cf. Hori 2003, 13.

122. Vaporis 1994, 48, mentions eight rivers that could have been crossed by ferry and four other larger rivers.

123. Cf. Takeuchi 2003, 107.

Apart from the danger and hustle to cross a river, the other major geographical challenges were mountain roads and passes. The most demanding was the Gongen Slope (*Gongenzaka* 権現坂) over the 849 meters high Hakone Pass (*Hakone tōge* 箱根峠).

Another complicated mountain pass was the Satta Pass (*Satta tōge* 薩埵峠) between Yui and Okitsu. The road was built in 1655 to provide a Korean delegation with a more comfortable journey.[124] Until then, the road followed the coastline along the Suruga Bay 駿河. Because of the stormy sea, it could only be used at low tide, and even then people were still at risk. The new road was high above the bay on a steep slope.

The third demanding pass was the Utsunoya Pass (*Utsunoya tōge* 宇津之谷峠) between Mariko and Okabe. The narrow path (*tsuta no hosomichi* 蔦の細道) was previously mentioned in a poem by the poet Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825–880), listed in the *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (*Tales of Ise*).[125]

In the winter, the crossing of rivers and the usage of mountain roads were especially dangerous. To provide better orientation, apart from the mile markers, direction signs (*dōhyō* 道標) were erected.

The size of the station villages varied, and according to a statistic from 1843, Sakanoshita was with 564 inhabitants, the smallest, and Ōtsu with 14,892 inhabitants, the largest of the fifty-three stations along the Tōkaidō.[126] Some stations were port towns (*minatomachi* 港町), e.g. Kawasaki, some temple towns (*monzenmachi* 門前町) such as Mishima, and others castle towns (*jōkamachi* 城下町). The Tōkaidō went through nine towns with castles: Odawara, Numazu, Fuchū, Kakegawa, Hamamatsu, Yoshida, Okazaki, Kuwana, and Kameyama.

Travelers could choose between distinctive types of inns to stay over night, but the luxurious *honjin* 本陣 were only for daimyo and other high-ranking officials. Announcing boards were put up in front of the *honjin* to inform all travelers which daimyo stayed there. In 1843, most of the stations had two to three *honjin*, only Odawara had eight.[127] The average travelers could have stayed in so-called *hatagoya* 旅籠屋, with prices depending on comfort.[128] The cheapest resting places were *kichin-yado* 木賃宿 (lit. 'firewood fee inn'), where travelers had only to pay for the firewood and arrange for their own meals. In *kichin-yado*, the customers slept on straw mats layed out in large sleeping halls.[129]

Robbers and thieves were a common threat. Travelers were good bait, since they carried all of their money with them. It was wise to be cautious, especially during the

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124. Cf. Hori 2003, 50.

125. The poem reads: Here in Suruga / At Mount Utsu / Neither in reality / Nor in my dreams / I can meet you. (*Suruga naru / Utsu no yamabe no / utsutsu ni mo / yume ni mo hito ni / awanu narikeri* 駿河なる宇津の山辺のうつつにも夢にも人に逢はぬなりけり).

126. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 265–66.

127. Ibid.

128 Ibid., 226–27.

129. Cf. Ehmcke 2003, 22–24.

night because of the *makura-sagashi* 枕探し (lit. 'pillow sneaker') called night thieves.[130] Certain inns betrayed travelers and abused them, which caused traveling to get a bad reputation. Associations were established by some inns to provide safe shelter.[131] One of them was the *Naniwa-kō* 浪花講 (*Association of Merchants Originated in Osaka*).[132]

Basically, almost all travelers needed permission for traveling (see Table 9). Two different types of permissions existed: the travel permit (*sekisho tegata* 関所手形) and the travel pass (*ōrai tegata* 往来手形).[133] Every traveler was checked at the two checkpoints along the Tōkaidō, the Hakone checkpoint and the Arai checkpoint. This check was mainly done to control the delivery of weapons to Edo and the leaving of women from Edo (*iri-teppō ni de-onna* 入り鉄砲に出女).

The Hakone checkpoint was specialized in tracking down *de-onna* 出女, female members of daimyo families, who lived in Edo and tried to leave without a permit. All women, regardless of their status, needed a permit when leaving the city. An edict from 1711 specifies the inspection of women. Every woman who wanted to pass through a checkpoint had to be checked according to their travel documents. If they were carried in a sedan, they had to be brought to the guard house for an examination by a female inspector (*onna-aratame* 女改).[134] The clothes, the eyebrows, teeth, and hair were checked. If there were any doubts about the gender of the inspected person, the anatomy was examined more closely.[135] This was also applicable to persons who were believed to be female. It could be demanded that suspicious boys, in particular, open the front side of their kimono for inspection (see Fig. 13).[136]

The second function of the Hakone checkpoint was the thorough inspection of travelers for weapons in order to prevent a coup d'état. Someone who tried to sneak through the gate risked the death penalty.

Traveling along the Tōkaidō in the Edo period was not an adventure into the unknown, but an established way of traveling with its own kind of excitement. Basically there were four possible reasons for traveling in the Edo period: business, pilgrimage, *sankin kōtai,* or pleasure. Typical travelers were:

- Processions of feudal lords (*daimyō gyōretsu*)
- Officials
- Samurai
- Couriers
- Merchants and tradesmen

130. Cf. Spinks 1954, 14.

131. Other important associations are the *Azuma-kō* 東講 and the *Santo-kō* 三都講, cf. Vaporis 1994, 230.

132. Cf. Fister 1980, 24.

133. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 137–39.

134. Ibid., 121.

135. Ibid., 164.

136. Ibid., 167–68.

- Itinerant monks (*unsui* 雲水), mendicants (*komusō* 虚無僧) and monks traveling to deliver hand-copied sutra to the sixty-six temples (*rokubu* 六部)[137]
- Buddhist priestesses (*bikuni* 比丘尼)
- Pilgrims (*junrei* 順礼)
- Sightseers
- People who traveled for a living, e.g.:
    - Theater groups
    - Musicians, such as blind singing women (*goze* 瞽女)
    - Exorcists (*yakuharai* 厄払)[138]
    - Doctors
    - Craftsmen
    - Peddlers
- Porters (*ninsoku* 人足)
- *Rōnin* 浪人 (masterless samurai)
- Beggars
- Thieves

Peasants were very fond of pilgrimages.[139] The shintō shrine in Ise 伊勢 was the most popular place of worship in Japan. An average farmer would have never been able to afford such a journey, which led to the establishment of so-called 'Ise clubs' (*Ise-kō* 伊勢講) in the villages. These clubs collected money, and it was decided through a lottery, who would travel.[140] The travelers represented their village and received a farewell gift (*senbetsu* 餞別), mostly money. It was their duty to bring souvenirs (*miyage* 土産) in exchange.[141] Pilgrims came from all over the country and in certain periods mass pilgrimages (*okage-mairi* 御蔭参り) were organized. In 1830 from the first to the thirtieth day of the third month over 228,000 pilgrims were counted in Ise alone, overall are 5,000,000 participants estimated for the 1830/31 mass pilgrimage.[142]

Courier systems that varied in both price and speed were established along the Tōkaidō. The *sando-hikyaku* 三度飛脚 courier service was offered nine times per month and a transmission of a message took six days.[143] The faster station courier service (*tsugi-hikyaku* 次飛脚) delivered messages only to the consecutive station.[144] It was always a pair of runners, one carrying the letter box the other a lantern inscribed *goyō* 御用 (in

137. For a list of the 66 holy sites, see Nishiyama 1997, 123.
138. For a detailed description, see Nishiyama 1997, 113–15.
139. Cf. Traganou 2004, 72–74.
140. Cf. Ehmcke 1994b, 62.
141. This custom is still alive today.
142. Cf. Ehmcke 1994b, 63; Nenzi 2006, 77.
143. Cf. Moriya 1990, 107–09.
144. Ibid., 108.

government service), signifying that everybody had to let them through.[145] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this service was overtaken by an express delivery service (*haya-hikyaku* 早飛脚). The *haya-hikyaku* needed three and a half days for the journey Edo-Kyoto. After the couriers were allowed to travel also during the night in the early nineteenth century, this service was able to speed up the delivery to two days.[146]

The *bakufu* demanded a tripartite system of fees for the transport services of the stations. For certain government officers and officials, the transport was free of charge (*muchin jōsha* 無賃乗車). The remaining officials and daimyos had to pay a fixed charge (*osadame chinsen* 御定賃銭). All others had to bargain for a price with the porters (*aitai chinsen* 相対賃銭), and the prices varied according to the type of the cargo. It was roughly double the fixed price, and the charges on the Tōkaidō were usually one third higher than on the other highways.[147] Normal station porters, who carried their load only to the next station and then returned, were usually limited to a load of 5 *kan* 貫 (18.75 kg).[148]

Higher ranking or financially better standing travelers were allowed to be carried in sedans (*kago* 駕籠). The sedans differed in the length of the carrying pole, the number of carriers, if they were open or closed, and if they had a pillow. Some types of sedans could have been used only by persons of a certain status or with special permission.[149] The basic sedan (*ryōgake* 両掛) was carried by one man in the front and one in the back (*kagokaki* 駕籠舁). Express sedans (*haya-kago* 早駕籠) guaranteed a faster journey. These were carried by two porters, a third pulled in the front and a fourth pushed from behind. The porters were exchanged at each station but the passenger could remain seated.[150] A luxurious sedan (*norimono* 乗物) was closed and up to six carriers were necessary, providing a very comfortable journey.[151] Sedans for daimyos were the largest with many more carriers.

3.2 The Tōkaidō theme in Edo period literature and art

With the growing significance of the Tōkaidō in the seventeenth century, it became the subject of fictitious, humorous travel journey books as well as practical guide books and topographical maps. These publications were mostly enhanced with illustrations do-

145. Cf. Ehmcke 2003, 19.

146. Cf. Moriya 1990, 111–12.

147. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 26–27.

148. Horses carried a maximum of 40 *kan* (150 kg). Cf. Vaporis 1994, 27.

149. Cf. Graham 1980, 13.

150. Cf. Ehmcke 2003, 19–20.

151. Cf. Vaporis 1994, 221.

cumenting life and geography along the Tōkaidō. No other highway ever reached this level of attention in literature and art.

Because of the vast amount of material, only a few key works on the Tōkaidō, important in the development of Tōkaidō related *ukiyoe* series, are outlined here. To provide a better overview, the material is arranged in categories, beginning with non-printed works of art such as scrolls (*emaki* 絵巻) and folding screens (*byōbu* 屏風), followed by printed material. The printed material includes literary, non-erotic books, erotic books and topographical maps and game boards (*sugoroku* 双六). The enormous field of *ukiyoe* will be introduced in chapter 3.3. Within the distinctive categories, the works are dealt with in chronological order.

3.2.1 Scrolls and screens

The so-called *Illustrated Book on the Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi zukan* 東海道五十三驛圖鑑) in the Daigoji Sanbōin Temple 醍醐寺三宝院, Kyoto, is supposed to be the oldest surviving work, dated around 1640, illustrating the Tōkaidō.[152] The scroll is attributed to the genre painter Iwasa Matabei 岩佐又兵衛 (1578–1650), who saw himself as a painter of the Tosa tradition though his works show clear traces of the Kanō style of painting. Raised in Kyoto, he moved to Edo in 1637 to paint for the shogun. This scroll would be a result of this journey.

The central focus is on people and their occupations. The life along the Tōkaidō is documented in detail and the depicted people are captured in their movements. Because of a kicking horse, for example, a daimyo procession has been brought to halt. In another part of the scroll, men and horses struggle with the high tides of the River Ōi. Golden, horizontal cloud bands (*suyarigasumi* すやり霞) at the upper and lower part of the scroll run through the whole work, sometimes reaching into the middle of the silk. Especially when the highway climbs up, the cloud bands increase. The scroll starts with the castle of Edo and ends in Kyoto.

The *Folding Screens of the Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi zu byōbu* 東海道五十三次圖屏風) is a pair of six-fold screens and the only work of its kind where the artist, Kanō Munenobu 狩野宗信, is confirmed.[153] This pair is dated to the Kanbun period (1661–1672) and located in the Edo-Tokyo Museum 江戸東京博物館, Tokyo.[154]

The panorama-like painting shows the route of the Tōkaidō from Edo to Ōtsu. For obvious reasons, the depiction is divided into two levels. Starting from top right, the route from Edo to Numazu (12) is continued unto the left-hand screen, covering Hara

152. Illustrated in Ōto 1976, figs. 2–10, 98; and Kodama 1977, fig. 387.

153. The painter mentioned here is not to be confused with the Kanō Munenobu 狩野宗信 (1514–1562), who was in service to the Ashikaga. Cf. Roberts 1990, 114.

154. Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 11; and Kodama 1977, fig. 4.

to Mitsuke (28), to be taken up again bottom right showing Hamamatsu to Kuwana (42), and ends bottom left with Yokkaichi to Ōtsu. Broad cloud bands of gold leaves separate the upper part from the lower. The green mountain peaks, snow-capped Fuji, and the white walls and grey roofs of the castles emerge through their deep colors.

In the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History 神奈川県立歴史博物館 is a six-fold screen pair called *Folding Screens of the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō zu byōbu* 東海道圖屏風) from the beginning of the eighteenth century.[155] It depicts the complete route from Edo to Kyoto. Like the preceding pair, the route was divided into two parts, one part in the upper half and one in the lower, but the division itself was executed differently.

On the right screen the castle of Edo, the starting point, is in the upper right corner and the first section ends at Okitsu. Separated through golden cloud bands and deep blue water, the route goes on in the lower part of the right screen from Ejiri to Hamamatsu. It then continues on the same height on the lower part of the left screen from Maisaka to Kuwana. The road finally moves up again to conclude with the section from Yokkaichi to Kyoto.

The unsigned *Tōkaidō scroll* (*Tōkaidō emaki* 東海道絵巻) in the National Museum of Japanese History 国立歴史民俗博物館, Sakura, Chiba Prefecture, was probably painted at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[156] Without interruption, the panorama-like painting continues over a painted area of 1,787.4 cm length and 33.9 cm height.

The detailed route from Shiba in Edo to Kyoto is depicted in light colors. Places and scenic spots are inscribed, whereas the stations are highlighted by using yellow cartouches. In a realistic manner, the road sometimes disappears behind mountains. It seems to have not been the intention of the painter or commissioner to document the vivid life along the Tōkaidō, as people are not depicted.

3.2.2 Literary works and non-erotic picture books

Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (Dōshun 道春; 1583–1657) was a Confucian scholar and an adviser of Tokugawa Ieyasu.[157] He is the author of the single volume *Heishin kikō* 丙辰紀行 (*Travel Notes from the Year Heishin*). Though issued in 1638, it describes, as suggested in the title 'Heishin,' or 'Hinoe tatsu,' a journey from Edo to Kyoto made in 1616. The main emphasis is on historical incidents connected to certain localities.[158] The book was printed in large size (*ōbon* 大判, *c.*27 × 19 cm) without illustrations, and to a large extent, it was written in *kana* 仮名 (Japanese syllabary), along with a few Chinese poems.[159]

155. Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 13.
156. Illustrated in ibid., fig. 22.
157. Cf. Kato 1990, 255–57.
158. Cf. May 1973, 67.
159. A copy of the first edition is in the library of the Department of Japanese Studies, University of Bonn (Collection Trautz No. 103).

The *kanazōshi* 仮名草子 (syllabary booklet) *Chikusai* 竹斎 describes the journey of the futile quack doctor (*yabuisha* 藪医者) Chikusai and his servant Niraminosuke にらみの介 from Kyoto via Osaka to Edo. This novel, first issued in the Kan'ei period (1624–44) in two volumes printed in movable type (*kokatsujibon* 古活字本), is inscribed to the physician Isoda Dōya 磯田道冶 (1585–1634).[160] In this novel, the role of the Tōkaidō is only marginal, and the main focus of this book is the humorous account of the two travelers' experiences.[161] The illustrations are simple and the frequent use of cloud bands resembles the style of *emaki*. Because of its wide popularity later editions were issued with new illustrations and sometimes modified title.[162]

Perhaps the most important work in the genre *meishoki* 名所記 (accounts on famous sights), is the *Tōkaidō meishoki* 東海道名所記 (*Accounts on Famous Sights Along the Tōkaidō*), written in 1659 by Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 (1612–1691), a samurai who became *rōnin*.[163] The humorous narration of the journey of the monk Raku-Amidabutsu 楽阿弥陀仏, in short Rakuami 楽あみ, together with his young companion, is the skeleton of this work.

The influence of the *dōchūki* and of the *Heishin kikō* is obvious; however, more elements than are offered in those works are connected here. These elements are practical traveling information and advices, records on famous places told through poems, comic poems, historical and religious background information, accounts of the daily life, and descriptions of costumes and manners.[164]

A large compendium of material on geography, history, and literature in six chapters is the 1797 published *Tōkaidō meisho zue* 東海道名所圖會 (*Gathering of Views of Famous Sights Along the Tōkaidō*), written by Akisato Ritō 秋里籬島 (1780–1814).[165]

The illustrators are from various traditions of literati painting. Each illustration is in the painter's own style, resulting in a lack of uniformity. The main illustrators are: Aoki Shukuya 青木夙夜 (d. 1802), Hara Zaisei 原在正 (d. 1810), Hayami Shungyōsai 速水春暁斎 (d. 1823), Ishida Yūtei 石田友汀 (1756–1815), Kamei Tōkei 亀井東渓 (1748–1816), Ka-

160. Isoda Dōya is also known as Tomiyama Dōya 富山道冶. May 1973, 16; Ehmcke 1994b, 67; Keene 1999, 153; and Traganou 2004, 103, mention as author Tomiyama Dōya and the year 1620. Kato 1990, 273, erroneously read the author's name Isoda Dōji. Putzar 1961, 161, regarded the *waka* 和歌 poet and writer Karasumaru Mitsuhiro 烏丸光廣 (1579–1638) as author. According to Ehmcke 1994b, 67, it was published between 1626 and 1635. *Chikusai* is illustrated in Ōto 1976, fig. 55.

161. Partially translated in Putzar 1961.

162. Later editions with a modified title are e.g.: *Chikusai kyōka banashi* 竹斎狂哥ばなし (Manji period, 1658–61), *Chikusai shokoku monogatari* 竹斎諸国物語 (1713).

163. Biographical data are in May 1973, 30–51. See May 1973 for an in-depth analysis. For an illustration see Ōto 1976, fig. 59.

164. Cf. May 1973, 67–76.

165. Reprinted in Kazusa 2001. Illustrations are also in Ōto 1976, figs. 60, 351, 424, 444, 466; and Yoshida 1976, figs. 199, 211, 215. According to May 1973, 101, it is the most comprehensive work with information on the Tōkaidō.

no Eishun 狩野永俊 (1770–1810), Kinoshita Ōju 木下応受 (1777–1815), Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美 (1764–1824), Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733–1795), Matsumura Gekkei 松村月渓 (1752–1811), Nishimura Chūwa 西村中和 (d. 1820), Oku Bunmei 奥文鳴 (d. 1813), Sakuma Sōen 佐久間草偃 (d. 1828), Shimokōbe Ikei 下河辺維恵 (end 18th cent.), Shirai Naokata 白井直賢 (1756–1833), Takehara Shunsensai 竹原春泉斎 (end 18th cent.), Tanaka Totsugen 田中訥言 (1767–1823), Tosa Mitsutada 土佐光貞 (1738–1806), Tosa Mitsuyasu 土佐光安 (end 18th cent.), and Yamaguchi Soken 山口素絢 (1759–1818).[166]

A humorous framework story like in *Chikusai* or *Tōkaidō meishoki* is missing; however, the illustrations dominate this text about a journey from Kyoto to Edo. Apart from the concentration on travelers and other human figures, a large number of illustrations concentrate on the distinctive geography along the Tōkaidō. It will later be emphasized that the illustrations of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* were used by a number of subsequent designers, such as e.g. Hiroshige, as source of inspiration for their Tōkaidō images.

Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1766–1831) is the author of the novel *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* 東海道中膝栗毛 (*Strolling Along the Tōkaidō*), published from 1802 until 1809 in nine installments, all except the first illustrated by Ikku himself. Because of its success, a sequel followed in twelve installments under the title *Zoku hizakurige* 続膝栗毛 (*Strolling Continued*), issued from 1810 until 1822. Again mainly illustrated by Ikku though a number of other illustrators were commissioned for the *kuchie* 口絵 (frontispieces), such as Kitagawa Tsukimaro 喜多川月麿 (act. *c.*1800–30), Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) etc.[167]

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166. Hempel 1963, 116, lists Maruyama Ōkyo as Maruyama Shusui. Hempel mentions twenty-five artists, however, lists only nineteen (Hempel 1963, 114–18). The new edition of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* provides a list with thirty names (Kasuya 2001, vol. 1, 403), apparently without further research, as, e.g. Kuwagata Keisai 鍬形蕙斎 and Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美 are the same person. Further contributors are (picture by the artist in Kasuya 2001 in parantheses; the pronunciation of names is sometimes an asumption): Kashiwa Tomonori 栢友徳 (Vol. 1, 338–39), Kiran 鬼卵 (Vol. 2, 130–31), Suruyō Chōan 駿陽張安 (Vol. 2, 328–29, 384–85), So Eirin 蘇英林 (Vol. 3, 76–77), Chihaku 知白 (Vol. 3, 100), Kawa Chisei 川地勢 (Vol. 3, 188–89), Yamamoto Senken 山本専顕 (Vol. 3, 190–91), Kō Jakusetsu 高若拙 (Vol. 3, 250–51), Gamō Yōgyo 蒲生踊魚 (Vol. 3, 280–81).

167. Cf. *Ukiyoe jiten*, vol. 2, 231. Illustrations are in Ōto 1976, fig. 65; and Kodama 1977, fig. 380. In 1960, Thomas Satchell translated it into English (Jippensha 2001). *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* publication dates and illustrators (other than Ikku): vol. 1: 1802, Hosoda Eisui 細田栄水 (act. *c.*1790–23); vol. 2: 1803; vol. 3: 1804; vol. 4: 1805; vol. 5: 1806; vol. 6: 1807; vol. 7: 1808; vol. 8: 1809; origin (*hottan* 発端): 1814. *Zoku hizakurige* publication dates and illustrators (other than Ikku): vol. 1: 1810, Tsukimaro (*kuchie*); vol. 2: 1811, Hokusai (*kuchie*); vol. 3: 1812, Tsukimaro, Kitagawa Shikimaro 喜田川式麿 (act. *c.*1800–20) (*kuchie*); vol. 4: 1813, Tsukimaro; vol. 5: 1814, Tsukimaro, Shikimaro (*kuchie*); vol. 6: 1815, Shikimaro (*kuchie*); vol. 7–8: 1816, Kitagawa Utamaro II 二代喜多川歌麿 (d. 1831) (*kuchie*); vol. 9: 1819, Hokusai II (*kuchie*); vol. 10: 1820, Katsukawa Shuntei 勝川春亭 (1770–1820) (*kuchie*); vol. 11: 1821, Shuntei (*kuchie*); vol. 12: 1822, Ikku.

In the first series, the jokers Kitahachi 喜多八 and Yajirōbei 弥次良兵衛, in short Kita and Yaji, start their journey in Edo, erroneously via the shrines in Ise, travel to Kyoto, and finally reach Osaka. Apparently, they had a homosexual partnership before the journey but turned to the opposite sex during the journey.[168] Their travel experiences are loosely connected and the reader gains an insight into life along the Tōkaidō. The sequel recounts their journey along the Kisokaidō as well as pilgrimages to Konpira Shrine 金比羅 and to Miyajima 宮島.

The stories told in the *Hizakurige* consist mainly of funny dialogues and exaggerated comical acts.[169] It follows the *Tōkaidō meishoki* by using a humorous skeleton; however, the Tōkaidō itself is relegated more to the background.[170] It belongs, like the *Nikokuren pekidan*, to the genre of *kokkeibon* and was not meant to be a travel guide book. The illustrations are either caricatures of the two protagonists without scenic elements or pure landscape images. Because the *Hizakurige* was so popular, it boosts the interest and subsequently the turnover of Tōkaidō series in general. Moreover, the *Hizakurige* was imitated by other writers and the two protagonists became also a frequent motif in *ukiyoe*. Apart from singular images in different types of Tōkaidō series, a special type of series developed, with all images relating to the *Hizakurige*.

Kanagaki Robun 假名垣魯文 (1829–1894) wrote a sequel titled *Seiyō dōchū hizakurige* 西洋道中膝栗毛 (*Strolling through the West*). It continues the story of Kita and Yaji, who now travel throughout the world. Published from 1870 to 1876 in fifteen installments, it is illustrated by Utagawa Hiroshige II 歌川広重 (1826–1869), Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831–1889), and Utagawa Yoshiiku 歌川芳幾 (1833–1904).

3.2.3 Erotic books

Erotic books (*enpon* 艶本), though officially prohibited, were condoned and privately distributed during the Edo period. Well-known authors worked together with popular illustrators and jointly created, in word and image, detailed erotic narrations usually published under a nom de plume. Erotic versions of classical novels and other well-known themes were extremely popular during the Tenpō era (1830–44).[171] The text itself was secondary and the main focus was on the illustrations. The amount of text was considerably smaller compared to the many illustrations.

The first volume of the *Keichū hizasurige* 閨中膝磨毛 (*Slippery Thighs in the Bedroom*) was published in 1826, directly referring to the *Hizakurige*.[172] Sixteen books in seven

168. Cf. Jippensha 2001, 369.

169. Cf. Shirane 2002, 732–33. For an in-depth analysis, see Kato 1990, 446.

170. Cf. May 1973, 101.

171. For a discussion of the beginning of erotic images in woodblock prints from the years 1700 to 1820, see Screech 1999.

172. Screech 1999, 270–72, mentions 1812 as date of origin. 1812 is according to the Japanese calendar the year Bunka 9, and therefore apparently a confusion with Bunsei 9, i.e. 1826.

volumes by various authors were published until 1852. The first two are by Azumaotoko Itchō I 吾妻男一丁, a pseudonym of Santei Shunba 三亭春馬 (d. 1852). Volumes three and four are by Azumaotoko Itchō II, i.e. Jippensha Ikku II 十返舎一九, and volumes five to seven by Azumaotoko Itchō III, i.e. Baitei Kinga 梅亭金鵞 (1821–1893). The illustrator of the last two volumes is Maromaru 麿丸, i.e. Kunisada's student Utagawa Kunimaro I 歌川国麿 (*fl.* 1850–1875). Like its literary predecessor *Hizakurige*, it tells the story of two protagonists, appropriately enough called Kujirōbei 九二郎兵衛 and Shitahachi 舌八.[173]

Utagawa Kunisada is responsible for the *koban*-size series *Shunga gojūsan tsugi* 春画五十三次 (*Images of Spring Along the Fifty-three Stations*) that he created under the pseudonym Bukiyo Matabei 不器用亦平.[174] This title is given on the wrapper, whereas each design is titled *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 五十三次之内 (*The Fifty-three Stations*). Eighteen numbered *koban* are known, but as the highest number is 31, Maisaka, the series may have been comprised of more designs, presumably 56 as four *koban* fit on one block. The images are not furnished with a narrative text that usually accompanies the erotic illustrations. The stations along the Tōkaidō are indicated by a title cartouche and a elaborately decorated small inset providing a scenic illustration of the station. According to an inscription in one of the designs, this series was released in the first month 1835. Contrary to other series by Kunisada in the 1830s are the landscape insets here not designed after Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* that was issued around the same time.

The *Gojūsan tsugi—Hana no miyakoji* 五十三次花廼都路 (*Fifty-three Stations of the Flower Street to the Capital*) was published in 1839 in three books.[175] The author is Renchian Shujin 恋痴庵主人, i.e. Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1843), and the illustrations are also by Utagawa Kunisada, concealed as Bukiyo Matabei 婦喜用又平, though with a slightly changed nom de plume, as the first two characters were replaced. The *Hana no miyakoji* lists a certain Kinseidō 金勢堂 as publisher, probably a pseudonym for Kinkōdō 金幸堂 (Kikuya Kōsaburō 菊屋幸三郎).[176]

Each station is illustrated on a single or a double page. Most of the images show a sexual scene accompanied by an explanatory inscription. In the upper right or left corner is a vertical red cartouche with the name of the station next to a small scenic element. Fig. 14 shows the station Totsuka とつか. Next to a large blooming tree is a horsewoman captured in a sexual act with the horse leader. Bound to the tree and sexually aroused by watching the coitus of its rider, the horse copulates with a knothole.

The *Tabimakura gojūsan tsugi* 旅枕五十三次 (*Travel Pillow Along the Fifty-three Stations*) by Koikawa Shōzan 恋川笑山 (1821–1907) was published during the 1850s.[177] It

173. The text is reprinted with remarks in Fujii 1952.

174. Cf. Hayashi 1989, 178–79, figs. 85–86; Screech 1999, figs. 139–40.

175. Screech 1999, 272, calls it *Irokurabe hana no miyakoji*.

176. Cf. Hayashi 1989, 138.

177. Also known as Tamanomon Shōzan 玉廼門笑山. He signed the *Tabimakura gojūsan tsugi* with the pseudonym Mizusawasanjin Tamanomon Shujin 水澤山人玉の門主人.

came out in three books with a total of fifty-four multi-colored pages, one for each of the Tōkaidō stations. Every page shows a typical citizen of Edo (*Edokko* 江戸っ子) copulating with a traveling woman, a female servant, or a country beauty.[178] The illustrations depict the copulating couples in connection to a landscape referring to Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*.[179]

Fig. 15 shows the stations Mishima and Numazu from right to left. Each page has a bipartite structure of an image depicting a sexual act and a text cartouche above it. The text is inscribed in a yellow-white cartouche in a blue frame. Next to it on the right side is a red title cartouche with the name of the station. The image of Mishima shows a couple copulating in an open sedan that was used for crossing mountains (*yamakago* 山駕籠). The background shows the entrance gate to the Grand Shrine of Mishima (Mishima Taisha 三島大社) in morning fog, taken from Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series. Shōzan's idea to the erotic act in the foreground comes also from Hiroshige, who captured in front of the gate a group of travelers including a similar sedan. The twilight scene at Numazu also depicts the travelers from Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series in a sexual act in the foreground, with the *Hōeidō* scenery in the background. In this case the woman is on a secret pilgrimage to Ise. She left home without travel expenses and therefore lives now from alms, indicated by the ladle (*hishaku* 柄杓) she carries with her. In the original *Hōeidō* print she has the ladle in her hand; here it lies in front of her.

Utagawa Kunimaro created the *Hizasuri nikki* 膝寿里日記 (*Diary of Slippery Thighs*).[180] Published in 1855, the pages of the *Hizasuri nikki* have a tripartite structure. Like in the previous works, each image relates to one Tōkaidō station. The main part in the lower two thirds of each page depicts a sexual act accompanied by a describing text. In the upper part of each page is a group of matching cartouches. The title cartouche with the station's name in the right corner is surrounded by a landscape relating to the station. A poem accompanies each image. On the left side is a text cartouche providing prices of prostitutes as well as other practical information for travelers.

Fig. 16 shows the stations Shinagawa and Kawasaki. Shinagawa on the right captures a porter and a traveler in a sexual act. Next to them are two containers used to transport armor (*yoroi* 鎧) and helmets (*kabuto* 甲), referring to the daimyo procession captured in the small image above. The image of Kawasaki depicts the copulation of two travelers on a bench during a break, with their sedan standing behind them. The accompanying image shows the ferry at Kawasaki. In these cases, the scenic elements are very similar to Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series.

178. Cf. Screech 1999, 272.

179. Cf. Sano 1989, 97–176.

180. Reprinted in Higashiōji 1984a. Screech 1999, 272, erroneously mentions Utamaro II as illustrator. Cf. Traganou 2004, 181–83.

3.2.4 Topographical maps and books

In 1591, with Toyotomi Hideyoshi's order to the daimyo to submit summary cadastral records, early modern mapmaking started in Japan.[181] These endeveours were continued under the Tokugawa shogunate who shared material with Edo publishers which subsequently issued commercial maps made attractive by popular artists. Scale and topographical fidelity were secondary against pictorial representations of mountains, temples, et al.[182]

The *Tōkaidō michiyuki no zu* 東海道路行之圖 (*View of Traveling Along the Tōkaidō*) from 1654 is probably the oldest existing printed street map of the Tōkaidō. The map is not very accurate; however, practical information on distances and road charges are recorded.[183]

From 1668 is the *Kisoji Nakasendō Tōkaidō ezu* 木曽路中山道東海道繪圖 (*Illustrated Map of the Kisoji Nakasendō and the Tōkaidō*), a map, which was the result of a road analysis conducted at the behest of the government. It is one of the first official road maps.[184]

In 1672, the *Tōkai seikai ryōdō saiken zu* 東海西海両道細見圖 (*View of an Examination of both the Eastern Sea and Western Sea Roads*) was published as a printed folding book (*oribon* 折本) in four, hand-colored sections. The first two sections are about the Tōkaidō and the last two sections about the road from Osaka to Nagasaki. The map was drawn in panorama view from the seaside with only a few comments.[185]

The *Tōkaidō bunken ezu* 東海道分間繪圖 (*Proportional Illustrated Map of the Tōkaidō*) from 1690 was one of the most popular printed road maps in the Edo period. Ochikochi Dōin 遠近道印 (born 1628) presumably created this map, illustrated by Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618–1694) and published by Hangiya Shichirōbei 板木屋七郎兵衛.[186] Printed as an *oribon* in five quires (*jō* 帖), it had text cartouches to identify the stations, lists of road fees and information on teahouses, temples, and shrines etc. Geographical elements such as mountains, lakes, and rivers are also included with small compass-like illustrations to assist travelers in their orientation on the road. The importance of this road map lies, above all, in its accuracy and the illustrations by Moronobu.[187]

In 1806, the *Tōkaidō bunken nobe ezu* 東海道分間延繪圖 (*Proportional Linear Illustrated Map of the Tōkaidō*) was published, a hand-colored official road map, created for admin-

181. Cf. Berry 2006, 84.

182. Cf. Kornicki 1998, 60–61.

183. Cf. Traganou 2004, 31. A copy of the map is in the Kobe City Museum.

184. Cf. Traganou 2004, 29. A copy of the map is in the National Diet Library, illustrated in Ōto 1976, fig. 12.

185. Cf. Spinks 1954, 16–17.

186. Traganou 2004, 231, calls him "Ichikochi," stating that it is not known who this exactly is. The map is illustrated in Toyohashishi Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, ed. 2001, 146–49.

187. For a detailed discussion of this map and later copies, see Traganou 2004, 36–38. A copy of the map is in the Tōkyō National Museum, illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 16; Ōto 1976, fig. 13, 430–32; and Yoshida 1976, fig. 189.

istrative purposes. This map belongs to a set about the five national highways, *Gokaidō bunken nobe ezu* 五街道分間延繪圖 (*Proportional Linear Illustrated Map of the Five Highways*), which was created in the Kansei era (1789–1801). Inscribed, apart from inns and temples, are also mile markers, signposts (*dōhyō* 道標), bridges, and notice-boards (*kōsatsu* 高札).[188] The Tōkaidō appears somewhat disproportional to the bridges and rivers in this topographical map. The map was used by high-ranking officials as visual aids for discussing geographical and structural characteristics that were of political and military importance.[189]

3.2.5 Game boards

Sugoroku 双六 is a game of dice, originally from India, that came via China to Japan. Comparable to backgammon, it is played by two players.[190] The so-called *e-sugoroku* 絵双六 (picture board game) was a popular pastime in the Edo period. Game boards illustrating the five national highways are called *dōchū sugoroku* 道中双六. The majority of *dōchū sugoroku* refer to the Tōkaidō, with the Nihon Bridge as the starting point of the game. The course of the game brings the player in touch with the various sightseeing spots and temples along the Tōkaidō, and the game ends either in Kyoto or in Osaka. The aim of the game is to cover the distance through throwing the dice and reaching the destination before the opposition. The route is the same for both players, resulting in a footrace against each other. A road was therefore just the right motif for such a game.

More than eighty different board games with the Tōkaidō as motif are known. Contrary to the Tōkaidō *ukiyoe* series that came into existence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first Tōkaidō *sugoroku* date from the second half of the eighteenth century.[191] The majority, however, is from the 1850s, in connection to the many popular *ukiyoe* series during that time.

Common to all Tōkaidō *sugoroku* is to list the stations along the road. In general, there are two styles of composition. The first and rarest style is a homogenous bird's-eye view of the Tōkaidō like a topographical map. Cartouches indicate on the map the important stations for the game. Start and destination of the game is placed in opposite corners.

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188. A copy of the map is in the Tokyo National Museum, illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 9; Toyohashishi Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, ed. 2001, 134–41; Ōto 1976, figs. 80, 87, 97, 104, 110, 301, 305, 308, 347, 384; Kodama 1977, figs. 11, 19, 122, 135, 204, 205, 237, 265, 305, 360; and Yoshida 1976, fig. 193.

189. For a profound examination of this map, see Traganou 2004, 39–41.

190. For a brief overview, see Yamamoto 2006, and more detailed Takahashi 1980, and Katō 2002.

191. Cf. Spinks 1954, 19–20.

In the second style, separate, independent images of the stations are stringed together in a spiral with the destination located in the center of the *sugoroku*. The images sometimes refer to illustrations in books or motifs from *ukiyoe* series. The advantage of this composition is to be able to emphasize local landmarks, which are difficult to place in a homogenous map. The focus of the images was sometimes alternated, away from landscape depictions to, for example, local specialties.

The earliest Tōkaidō *sugoroku*, of which the designer is known, is believed to be the *Tōkaidō saiken sugoroku* 東海道細見雙六 (*Examination of the Tōkaidō Game of Dice*) by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739–1820). Measuring *c.*60 cm × 101 cm, it was published by Iseya Kinbei 伊勢屋金兵衛 in 1775.[192] The game starts in the lower right corner at the Nihon Bridge in Edo and ends in the center in Kyoto. The lined-up images focus on the scenery around the stations that the players walk through. Human figures are secondary and miniaturized. The stations are clearly separated and the images on each side face the viewer.

Dated to the eleventh month of 1857 is the *Sangū jōkyō dōchū ichiran sugoroku* 参宮上京道中一覧雙六 (*Pilgrimage to Ise and Journey to Kyoto at a Glance Game of Dice*) by Hiroshige. It was published by Tsutaya Kichizō 蔦屋吉蔵 as six connected *ōban*-size prints with a total size of *c.*72 cm × 72 cm.[193] This is the last of approximately eleven Tōkaidō *sugoroku* by Hiroshige.[194] The title refers to the connection of two different routes in one game. The Tōkaidō from the Nihon Bridge in Edo to Kyoto as well as the road to Ise, a branch leading away from the Tōkaidō at the station Yokkaichi, are both joined together in this game board. Because of the panorama-like composition of this map, both the route of the Tōkaidō in the inland and the road to Ise along the coastline could have been placed side by side.

3.3 The development of the Tōkaidō theme within Japanese print series

The Tōkaidō *ukiyoe* series are an important concept within the framework of Japanese woodblock prints in the nineteenth century. They provide visual images of life, society, culture and landscape during the final years of the Tokugawa shogunate and the beginning of the reign of Emperor Meiji. In the commercial world of *ukiyoe*, the Tōkaidō theme is one of many serialization devices, methods mainly invented by publishers to primarily compel customers to purchase their products. In contrast to the popularity of the Tōkaidō, the Kisokaidō (also called Nakasendō), the alternative inland route from

192. Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 123.

193. Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 141.

194. Keyes 1982b, 81, lists nine different Tōkaidō *sugoroku*, without the one mentioned here and without *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi—Haikai dōchū sugoroku* 東海道五十三次—俳諧道中雙六 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō—Travel Game of Dice with Poems*).

Edo to Kyoto, never aroused much interest and prints are therefore rare. The three commonly known series with reference to the Kisokaidō were not successful because of the Kisokaidō theme but because their genre was popular at that time.[195]

Most of the identified 84 Tōkaidō series are by an individual designer; some are collaboratively designed, by up to sixteen designers. Series depicting images from the Tōkaidō, or referring to the Tōkaidō by citing the name or number of a station along the Tōkaidō, are themed as Tōkaidō series. While the name or number of a station on a print of a series is immanent, an explicit series title might be absent, as is the case with eleven identified series, four by Hokusai. If a series title is given, it always includes at least one of the three phrases: 'Tōkaidō,' 'gojūsan' 五十三 (fifty-three), or 'dōchū' 道中 (on the road).[196] The Tōkaidō, by its very nature, is topographical, but the series have different focuses, marginalizing the topography down to a symbolic or nominal character only. According to their focus, the series are then categorized according to their motif.

Of some series, only a handful of prints are known and the complete number cannot be precisely determined. Sometimes prints might be part of a series as they have serial characteristics, bear a series title and refer to a specific station; however, as no other matching prints are known, it can only be presumed that they are part of a series. The illustrated list of Tōkaidō series in the appendix, therefore, presents the number of prints known from a series.

The largest series consists of 162 prints; however, the traditional complete number of a Tōkaidō series is fifty-five, comprising of the start, Edo, fifty-three stations, and the destination, Kyoto. If the total number of a series exceeds fifty-five prints, the supplementary prints refer to either a specific station, providing alternative perspectives, or depict intermediate locales between the stations.

Usually one print refers to one station, but sometimes up to six stations are represented on one print.[197] The print size also varies, according to what was in vogue at the time of creation.

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195. These three series are the landscape series *Kisokaidō rokujūkyū tsugi no uchi* 木曽街道六十九次之内 (*The Sixty-Nine Stations Along the Kisokaidō*) from the late 1830s until early 1840s by Eisen and Hiroshige, the series *Kiso rokujūkyū tsugi* 木曽六十九驛 (*Sixty-Nine Stations Along the Kiso*) from 1852 by Kunisada focusing on actors, and Kuniyoshi's series *Kisokaidō rokujūkyū tsugi no uchi* 木曾街道六十九次之内 (*The Sixty-Nine Stations Along the Kisokaidō*) from the same year, focusing on warriors. For further reading on Hiroshige's series, see Kikuchi 1976; on Kunisada's series, see Hiraki Ukiyoe Zaidan 1997, and "Fugū no kararisuto Kunisada de yuku Kisōkaidō;" on Kuniyoshi's series, see Sugawara 2002.

196. The only exception is the series *Gojūgomai tsuzuki no uchi* 五拾五枚続之内 (The Fifty-five Prints Set) by Katsukawa Shunsen 勝川春扇 (1762–*c*.1790), referring to the actual number of prints and stations and therefore exceeding the symbolic number of fifty-three.

197. Kuniyoshi's *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五拾三驛 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*) consists of twelve prints, each print referring to three to six stations.

3.3.1 Historical development of Tōkaidō series

The birth of the subject Tōkaidō in commercial Japanese woodblock prints could have been based on the artistic inspiration of a particular designer but could also have been the result of publishers' demands, which centered on the attempt to expand their business and to make use of the new travel boom in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the popularity of Jippensha Ikku's novel *Hizakurige*.

Akisato Ritō's guidebook *Tōkaidō meisho zue* from 1797 and other travel related publications were used by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) as a source of inspiration for his first untitled Tōkaidō series from *c.*1802, which is also the very first Tōkaidō series. It is likely that this series was designed after the publication of the *Hizakurige* in 1802, though Hokusai's designs relate neither to the illustrations in the novel nor to its two protagonists. However, it can be assumed that this lack of direct relation to the *Hizakurige* was intentionally to provide the market with alternative designs, whereas the *Hizakurige* served just as a catalyst.

Until 1810, Hokusai designed seven series related to the Tōkaidō. The small, postcard-like series depict daily life and travel along a road without the typical Tōkaidō indicators and landmarks. Topographical depictions are limited and their main motif is genre scenes (*jinbutsu* 人物).

Numerous publications deal with one or more of Hokusai's series. The best overviews are given by Matthi Forrer, Richard Lane, and Nagata Seiji.[198] Precise dating is still problematic as only two series provide dates.

During the time of Hokusai's series, Kitagawa Utamaro 北川歌麿 (1753–1806) designed the first Tōkaidō-themed *bijin* series, titled *Bijin ichidai gojūsan tsugi* 美人一代五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations of a Beauty's Life*). Utamaro designed a wide range of *bijin* series, using various serialization devices; hence, it is not surprising that he also used the Tōkaidō when it was en vogue. The novelty in his Tōkaidō series, apart from the new main motif, is that he captures the image of the Tōkaidō in a small round inset (*komae* こま絵) together with the name of the station. Two figures are always depicted, one in bust, the other in half-length size. The exact number of prints is unknown. Edmond de Goncourt and others believed that prints, at least until the twentieth station Fuchū, seen in Fig. 17, exist.[199]

Also during the 1800s, the time of Hokusai's series, Utagawa Toyohiro 歌川豊広 (1773–1828), one of Utagawa Toyoharu's 歌川豊春 (1735–1814) students, who was himself the founder of the Utagawa-school, created the first pure landscape Tōkaidō series. The scenery at a station is no longer secondary, or simply used nominally as a serialization device, which makes Toyohiro's minimally titled *Tōkaidō* 東海道 series the first landscape Tōkaidō series. Four designs of this horizontal *chūban*-size series are known: the sixth station Fujisawa, the fourteenth station Yoshiwara, the twenty-eighth station

198. Cf. Forrer 1974; Lane 1989; Nagata 1990 and more elaborated in Nagata 1994.

199. Cf. Goncourt 1891, 233–34; *Ukiyoe jiten*, vol. 3, 81.

Mitsuke, and the thirty-second station Shirasuka. The irregular gaps between these stations indicate that Toyohiro designed also the stations inbetween the four prints found. Furthermore, this series was issued by the publisher Izumiya Ichibei, one of the longest active publishers, most certainly financially capable to produce even a complete set of 54.

It must be mentioned that Toyohiro's series certainly did not result in a boom of Tōkaidō landscape series. Landscape prints became only very popular at the beginning of the 1830s as another consequence of the booming travel market and the striking compositions by Hokusai and Hiroshige. Hokusai's series *Fugaku sanjūrokkei* 富嶽三十六景 (*Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*) and Hiroshige's series *Tōto meisho* 東都名所 (*Famous Sights in the Eastern Capital*) from *c.*1831 were responsible for the larger interest in serialized landscape prints. Shortly thereafter, Hiroshige designed his first landscape Tōkaidō series using widely known illustrated guide books as a template, in particular the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*. In this showpiece series of *c.*1832–33 titled *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 東海道五拾三次之内 (*The Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*), known as *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*, named for the publishing house, he emphasizes the scenic aspect of the Tōkaidō (see Fig. 18). After his *Tōto meisho* series with twenty-one prints, the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* is his first major work. The choice of the horizontal *ōban*-size and Hiroshige's innovative style brought a new focus to the depiction of the Tōkaidō and provided a new perception of landscape images. Producing a long lasting effect, this series is the reason for Hiroshige's fame. When discussing Tōkaidō prints, or even *ukiyoe* masterpieces, it is this series that comes to mind.

Publications dealing with Hiroshige's series are numerous. Various authors speculate whether Hiroshige, prior to designing the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō,* truly traveled along the Tōkaidō.[200] Even though this was mentioned by his student Utagawa Hiroshige III (1843–1894), it is very unlikely, as a large number of the images originate from illustrations in previously published *meisho zue* guides, with strikingly similar designs especially at the end of the series.[201] This eliminates the theory that his designs are the result of sketches made during a trip. In the concise *Hiroshige Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi: Hōeidō-ban* 広重東海道五拾三次:保永堂版 (*Hiroshige's Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō: The Hōeidō Edition*), Suzuki Jūzō, Kimura Yaeko and Ōkubo Jun'ichi try to determine the earliest variants and illustrate the different re-designs.[202]

The Tōkaidō was Hiroshige's most successful subject. Following the success of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō,* he designed, until 1856, at least twenty-two Tōkaidō series consisting of over 700 prints, which make him the most productive designer in this field. Some of his

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200. Keyes believes, if he really traveled to Kyoto, it must have been between the seventh and eighth month of 1832 (Keyes 1982a, 49).

201. Hiroshige III's statement was recorded by Iijima Kyoshin 飯島虚心 (1841–1901) in *Ukiyoe shi Utagawa retsuden* 浮世絵師歌川列伝 (*Lives of the Utagawa-school Masters*) from 1894 (cf. Iijima 1993, 156).

202. Cf. Suzuki 2004a.

series were so popular that designers outside Edo simplified them for example into *baiyaku'e* 売薬絵, prints that were handed out when purchasing patent medicine.[203]

Accompanied by few scenic elements, Jippensha Ikku designed a series of small prints with comic poems (*kyōka* 狂歌) after his successful novel *Hizakurige*. James Austin dated them between 1809 and 1815.[204] Yaji and Kita, the two protagonists of the novel, are depicted in a reduced, unadorned style with light coloring. These two characters are a popular motif and appear in a variety of prints from different series. This series is the first of a range of so-called Hizakurige series entirely themed after their adventures.

Around the same time as Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* became more and more successful, Kunisada designed two series that relate the Tōkaidō to popular kabuki actors. Both the series *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 五十三次ノ内 (*The Fifty-three Stations*) from 1835 as well as *Mitate yakusha gojūsan tsui no uchi* 見立役者五十三對ノ内 (*The Fifty-three Pairs of Visual Parodies of Actors*) from *c.*1837–38, depict actors in full-length with the majority of the scenic elements following Hiroshige's designs.

Above all, the designers of the Utagawa tradition dominated the Tōkaidō subject and designed one series after the other. In the nearly thirty years from 1840 to the beginning of the Meiji period, well over 2,000 prints on the Tōkaidō were published. More than forty percent focus on landscape, closely recording social and other changes along the road during this time. The second biggest group is portraits of actors, a motif that is discussed later in detail.

The largest Tōkaidō series and largest *ukiyoe* series ever was created shortly before the end of the Tokugawa shogunate by a collaboration of sixteen designers and more than twenty publishers. The occasion was the journey of the shogun Tokugawa Iemochi 徳川家茂 (1846–1866, reign 1858–66) to Kyoto in 1863.[205] The publishing industry jointly made use of this event by developing a series of landscape pictures, which captured some part of the shogun's procession. Further series on this theme as well as others were created until 1875 when Hiroshige III in his series *Tōkaidō meisho—Kaisei dōchūki* 東海道名所—改正道中記 (*Famous Sights Along the Tōkaidō: Revised Travel Record*) depicts the achievements of the industrialization along the Tōkaidō in the form of iron bridges, railway, power cables and poles (see Fig. 19).

The last Tōkaidō *ukiyoe* series in the nineteenth century seems to be Tamenobu's 為信 (end 19th cent.) untitled series with motifs from *Hizakurige*. This series of sixty horizontal *ōban* was published in 1890.[206] The complete series was reprinted in 1918. In the

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203. Such simplified *baiyaku'e* series by Hiroshige himself and redesigns of his series by the designer Matsuura Moriyoshi 松浦守美 (1824–1886) were frequently published in Toyama, located *c.*400 km west of Edo on the coast of the Sea of Japan, see the remarks to Hiroshige's landscape series in the appendix. On Moriyoshi, see Toyamashi Kyōdo Hakubutsukan 1997, 37–47.

204. Cf. Austin 1964, 16.

205. For an analysis of this series, see Marks 2007a.

206. For illustrations, see Ōno 1998, vol. 2, 242–45.

1960s, two modern Japanese print designers, Sekino Jun'ichirō 関野準一郎 (1914–1988) and Munakata Shikō 棟方志功 (1903–1975), revived this topic by producing one series each (see Fig. 20).[207]

3.3.2 Categories of Tōkaidō series

Eighty-four Tōkaidō series with more than 3,000 prints, created between *c.*1802 and 1890, have so far been identified (see 8.1). The motifs depicted in such a series are centered on a specific subject matter. Seven subjects developed; chronologically these are: genre pictures (*jinbutsu* 人物), pictures of beautiful women (*bijin* 美人), pictures on Jippensha Ikku's novel *Hizakurige*, landscape pictures (*fūkei* 風景), portraits of kabuki actors (*yakusha* 役者), pictures with a more or less arbitrary assorted compilation of motifs (*fukiyose* 吹寄), and pictures alluding to the pilgrimage of the last shogun, Tokugawa Iemochi, to the emperor in Kyoto (*go-jōraku* 御上洛).[208]

The identified eighty-four Tōkaidō series are arranged in seven categories, according to their thematic motif. Although the Tōkaidō aspect is immanent, in all but the landscape and *go-jōraku* series, the Tōkaidō was merely used as a serialization device. The Tōkaidō series focus only in name on the Tōkaidō's topography.

The development of the aforementioned categories must be considered in relation to the creation of a series itself. In general, the design of a series is market driven, geared towards certain tastes and predilections in conjunction with the preference of a designer for a particular topic.

The landscape series amount to twenty-eight percent of all Tōkaidō designs. With more than 900 prints in over twenty series, it is by far the largest category. The second biggest category is genre scenes, making up twenty percent (see Table 10).

The term genre scene (*jinbutsu* 人物) refers to the depiction of aspects of everyday life; to portray ordinary people engaged in common activities. In the case of the Tōkaidō, these scenes derive from situations along the road or at a station, and are therefore for customers who are familiar with such a situation, that awakes memories. Common to all genre series is the concept of a single station per print.

The first Tōkaidō series focus on genre scenes, and their success is a result of the demand for genre prints during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Although roughly one fifth of all Tōkaidō series depict genre scenes, there was never a revival of this theme. After *c.*1810 until Hiroshige's *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi saiken zue* 東海道五十三次細見圖會 (*Gathering of Views Examining the Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*) from *c.*1843–46, no new series were designed.[209] The last major work of Tōkaidō genre scenes

207. For a detailed list of Sekino's series, see Merritt 1992, 259–60.

208. The term *fukiyose* means lit. 'blown together' and derives from Japanese literature. Cf. Iwasaki 1993, 52–53.

209. The Nihon Bridge design from this series is illustrated in Vaporis 1994, fig. 11.

is Hiroshige's complete set of fifty-six *chūban*-size prints, titled *Gojūsan tsugi* 五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations*) from 1851–52.

Hokusai dominates this category, as all seven of his series (almost 400 prints) depict genre scenes. Seventy percent of all designs in this category are by him. Because they follow the different travel guide books on the Tōkaidō, illustrated with images on the life along the road, it is self-evident that the first Tōkaidō series focused on genre scenes.

The scenic element in these series, in general, is either subordinate and reduced or might not exist at all. If scenery is depicted, it is merged with the main motif. *Komae* or other similar insets were not used in the composition of these images.

Common to all *bijin* Tōkaidō series is the depiction of one or more beautiful women as the main motif in the foreground of the design. Contrary to genre series, there is no universal concept on how to include scenic elements in a *bijin* series. The scenic element either covers the entire, or at least the majority of the background or it is reduced to an inset frame. Furthermore, the *bijin* are either integrated into the scenery or independent of it. In the *bijin* series, stations are never combined on one print.

No real peak period is discernible within a historical analysis of the development of this category. As mentioned above, Utamaro's *Bijin ichidai gojūsan tsugi* is the first of these series. Apart from Kunisada and Eisen, each designer created just one *bijin* Tōkaidō series. Kunisada's three *bijin* series will be discussed later (see 4.1). Eisen designed two *bijin* series, one titled and one untitled.

Eisen's first series *Keisei dōchū sugoroku—Mitate Yoshiwara gojūsan tsui* 契情道中双婦—見立吉原五十三對 (*Road Game of Dice with Courtesans—Fifty-three Pairs of Visual Parodies of the Yoshiwara*) has fifty-five *ōban*-size prints.[210] It was published in the middle of the 1820s by Tsutaya Kichizō. On each print is the name of the courtesan with the name of her brothel. A yellow-framed cartouche in bookmark form (*shiori* 枝折) in the upper part of a print shows a scenic image of a station with its name in black written in a smaller yellow cartouche. The images of the stations are sometimes quite similar to the motifs of Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*. This is the first of four series by various designers with the word '*tsugi*' ('station') replaced by '*tsui*' ('pair') in its title. *Tsui* refers to the juxtaposition between the main motif and the Tōkaidō station, the pair of *bijin* and landscape. Eisen emphasized the difference of his series in direct competition to the before published *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* series, the first pure landscape series. Kunisada designed thereafter an actor series also with *tsui* in the title, referring to the actor-station combination.

Eisen's second, untitled *bijin* Tōkaidō series was published in *c.*1837, again by Tsutaya Kichizō. Forty prints from this series are known.[211] The composition follows Kunisada's *bijin* series *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* (*Chūban Bijin*). Divided by a cloud band is

210. *Sugoroku* is usually written with different characters. In this connection, the two characters literally mean 'paired with a woman.'

211. Cf. Suzuki 1991, 83. Pages 158–60 show forty images from this series.

a *bijin* placed in front of a landscape image that either derive from the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* or from a similar source.

The biggest and most popular type of Tōkaidō series are the pure landscape series. One third of all series are from this category. Based on the geographical nature of the Tōkaidō, it could have been assumed that the first series were pure landscape series; however, this category really developed with Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* in the 1830s, even though the earliest such series by Toyohiro is from the 1800s.[212] With well over 500 prints, Hiroshige's thirteen series undoubtedly dominate this category.

Kuniyoshi designed eight series relating to the Tōkaidō. The series *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五拾三驛 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*), followed by a reference to the number of stations depicted on a print, e.g. *go shuku meisho* 五宿名所 (*Famous Sights of Five Stations*), is his only complete series, published from *c.*1838–42 (see Fig. 22).[213] All previously published Tōkaidō series depict the scenery and the landmarks of one station per print, but the novelty here is that Kuniyoshi combined stations in a topographical three-dimensional view. From a distant perspective, he provides a panorama of three to six stations at once, therefore reducing this series to a set of twelve prints in total.[214]

Hasegawa Sadanobu 長谷川貞信 (1809–1879) is noteworthy for his contribution of three complete series in this category. All three series are horizontal octavo-size prints. Published in the 1860s, the motifs are sometimes strikingly similar to the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*.[215]

Hizakurige Tōkaidō series are themed after Jippensha Ikku's successful novel *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* and depict the two protagonists, Kita and Yaji. Ikku also designed the first Hizakurige Tōkaidō series during the publication of his novel. In general, the scenic element in the Hizakurige Tōkaidō series is not subordinate and, for example, reduced into an inset frame, but the protagonists are integrated into the scene, building a unity.

In the first books of the novel, Ikku also provides the illustrations, showing his artistic side as a painter. Replaced by Hosoda Eisui, Ikku designed a series of fifty-six octavo-size prints (*yatsugiriban* 八つ切判, 7.2 cm × 11.5 cm) titled *Dōchū hizakurige* 道中膝栗毛 (*Strolling on the Road*). Dated between 1809 and 1815, the protagonists are captured in the style of the novels' illustrations, minimalist, with very little scenic elements,

212. Non-actor prints produced during the 1800s cannot be assigned to a specific date as date seals were not consistently in use all the time and on all prints.

213. Amy G. Poster published a monograph on this series (1977).

214. Another Tōkaidō related work by Kuniyoshi, proof of his innovative style, is the famous Tōkaidō cats' triptych as discussed in Robinson 1999.

215. For illustrations and a list of the print titles of Sadanobu's series, see Matsudaira 1997, 44, 84–92, and 109–10. See also Suzuki 2004b, 209, on the series *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*).

though, accompanied by comic poems.[216] The complete series was published in album format in the fifth month of Bunka 12 (1815) under the title *Tōkaidō hizakurige gajō* 東海道膝栗毛画帖 (*Album of Strolling Along the Tōkaidō*). The two albums consist of twenty-eight prints each with two prints for the destination Miyako (Kyoto).[217]

Series of this category are scarce and the designers who created them never created a second one. After a gap of more than forty years, Hiroshige designed in *c.*1850 the series *Ise sangū hizakurige Tōkaidōchū* 伊勢参宮膝栗毛東海道中 (*Strolling Pilgrimage Along the Tōkaidō to Ise*), seen in Fig. 21, of which only five *ōban* are known.[218]

Historical analysis reveals that all following series were designed in intervals of nearly a decade. Remarkably, Utagawa Yoshiiku's 歌川芳幾 (1833–1904) series *Tōkaidōchū kurige no yaji uma* 東海道中栗毛弥次馬 (*Curious Onlookers Along the Tōkaidō*) from 1860 features twenty-eight vertical *ōban*, each showing two horizontal *chūban* (one per station). Though both images are independent and framed, there is just one title cartouche, in the top right corner, next to the upper image. There is also only one mark of the publisher Shinagawaya Kyūsuke 品川屋久助 in the bottom right corner, next to the lower image. Each image is signed by Yoshiiku and titled with the station name in a red cartouche. The images are furnished with a text by the writer Kanagaki Robun, describing the captured situation.

Common to all actor Tōkaidō series is the portrayal of kabuki actors in connection to certain stations (or intermediate locales) along the Tōkaidō; however, these series differ in the source of their motifs, either originating from a particular performance of a single play or from an assortment of different plays. In series with motifs from an assortment of plays, these motifs, in most cases, are imaginary pictures, *mitate*, i.e. actors captured in roles they did not perform themselves before.

The actors are portrayed either in full-length or half-length size. The scenic element appears in a variety of forms, i.e. reduced to inset frames of variable size, sometimes covering half of the canvas, or as a background before which the actors are set against a cloud band. On one particular print, up to three stations are depicted.

Apart from Kunisada's dominion over this category, Kuniyoshi and Kunichika must be also mentioned as contributors. Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series will be thoroughly discussed later, including the first actor Tōkaidō series from 1835, *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi*, and the largest actor series ever, *Yakusha mitate Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi*, from 1852.

Eight *ōban* are known of Kuniyoshi's series *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi* 忠臣蔵五十三次 (*Along the Fifty-three Stations with the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*). Published by Ebiya Rinnosuke, the prints bear the double censor seals Kinugasa and Watanabe. It refers to the play *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi* 忠臣蔵五十三紀 (*Fifty-three Records on the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*), performed in the fifth and sixth month of 1850 at Edo's Ichimura Thea-

216. Cf. Austin 1964, 16.

217. Reprinted in Nakamura 1989, 351–418.

218. Suzuki 1970, 189 and Keyes 1982b, no. 8, erroneously date the series to the early 1840s.

ter.[219] Two stations are combined on each print, which would result in twenty-eight designs, if Kuniyoshi completed this series. Kunisada's series referring to this play will be discussed later (see 4.3).

In 1867, the series *Tōkaidō hitome senryō* 東海道一ト眼千両 (*Tōkaidō—Stars at a Glance*) was published by a group of at least eight publishers (see Fig. 23).[220] This series of fifty-five *ōban* is a joint work of Kunichika and Hiroshige II.[221] Comparable to the series *Sōhitsu gojūsan tsugi* 雙筆五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations by Two Brushes*) by Kunisada and Hiroshige, Kunisada's student Kunichika designed the main motifs, the actor portraits, and Hiroshige's student Hiroshige II the background landscapes. In most of the designs, the actors are set against a cloud band.

The last actor Tōkaidō series *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 五十三次の内 (*The Fifty-three Stations*) was published in 1871 by Tsujiokaya Yasubei. Kunichika alone designed the fifty-five vertical quarter-size prints (*yotsugiriban* 四つ切判).

The sixth category is series of prints with an assorted compilation of motifs (*fukiyose* 吹寄). In comparison to the series of the previously discussed categories, the series of this category do not focus on only one subject but on motifs derived from a wide range of subjects. The depicted subjects are actors, *bijin*, legends, famous stories, landmarks, local specialties (*meibutsu* 名物), *utamakura* 歌枕 (poetical allusions), and so on. The motifs were carefully chosen to match each station.

The six series in this category are divided into two groups. Hiroshige's three *harimaze* 張交 series, designed between 1851 and 1856, encompass the first group (see Fig. 24).[222] *Harimaze* prints show an assortment of several subjects, each in a separate cuttable frame. The frames in these series are all designed by Hiroshige and show landscapes, legends, meibutsu, etc.

The second group of the three series is collaborative works by two and more designers, displaying one station per print. The earliest series is from the middle of the 1840s, the second was published between 1854 and 1857, and the third in 1872. Because Kunisada was involved in the first two series, they will be discussed later. The third and last series, *Shoga gojūsan tsugi* 書畫五拾三驛 (*Paintings and Writings Along the Fifty-*

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219. Cf. *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 539; *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 578–79.

220. Of the thirty-four prints found, three are published by Ebiya Rinnosuke, four by Enshūya Hikobei, seven by Gusokuya Kahei, five by Hiranoya Shinzō, three by Iseya Kanekichi, three by Maruya Heijirō, eight by Maruya Tetsujirō, and one by Yorozuya Zentarō.

221. For illustrations, see also Ōno 1998, vol. 2, 44–57.

222. For Hiroshige's first *harimaze* series, see Watanabe 1918, no. 228; Suzuki 1970, 161; Keyes 1982b, no. 18; Elvehjem 1990, 177–78; Hori 2003, 150–55, Suzuki 2004b, 204–05 no. 16. For the second see Watanabe 1918, no. 229; Suzuki 1970, 162; Keyes 1982b, no. 21; Elvehjem 1990, 178–79; Ōno 1998, vol. 1, 150–151; Suzuki 2004b, 204–05 no. 12. For the third, see Watanabe 1918, no. 231 (however the illustrated image belongs to the series *Edo meisho harimaze zue*), Suzuki 1970, 162; Keyes 1982b, no. 24; Elvehjem 1990, 179–80; Suzuki 2004b, 204–05 no. 15.

three Stations), was a major project, involving a large number of *ukiyoe* designers and classical painters.

The 1872 series *Shoga gojūsan tsugi*, was published by Sawamuraya Seikichi 沢村屋清吉 (see Fig. 25).[223] The fifty-five *ōban* have, with a few exceptions, a tripartite structure, composed of title cartouches, a main motif, and additional images. On the right are two title cartouches, a smaller green cartouche inscribed with the names of the station and the prefecture, and an explanation of the main motif. Behind it is a red cartouche with the series title. The main motif is captured in a frame on the left side of the title cartouche, commonly of the same height. Usually above it is an additional frame, typically bearing two images, a painting and calligraphy.

Utagawa Yoshitora designed most of the main motifs (see Table 11). Other involved designers are Kunisada II, Kyōsai, Utagawa Shigekiyo 歌川重清 (act. *c.*1854–87), and Utagawa Yoshimori 歌川芳盛 (1830–1884). Additional images and inscriptions are contributed by Hiroshige III, Utagawa Yoshiharu 歌川芳春 (1828–1888), Utagawa Yoshimune 歌川芳宗 (1817–1880), Tani Bunchū 谷文中 (1823–1876), Koyama Unsen 小山雲泉 (1855–1911), Matsumoto Fūko 松本楓湖 (1840–1923), Noguchi Yūkoku 野口幽谷 (1814–1898), Iijima Kōga 飯島光峨 (1829–1900), Sugihara Chikuho 杉原竹圃 (1833–1882), Nakajima Kyōsai 中島享斎 (d. 1896), and others.[224]

The series breaks out of the traditional system of Tōkaidō stations by renaming some of them, reflecting the changes in the Meiji period. Fuchū is replaced with Shizuoka 静岡, Yoshida with Toyobashi 豊橋, Miya with Atsuta 熱田, and Kyoto is called Saikyō 西京 (Western Capital).[225] Another sign of the changing times and the progressive industrialization is the electricity pylon at the right border of each design.

The processional (*go-jōraku* 御上洛) Tōkaidō series originate in an historical incident in 1863, the first journey of a shogun from his residence in Edo to the emperor in Kyoto after 229 years. This and subsequent processions were used by publishers to issue print sets to commemorate such events. The business idea behind it is to provide the aficionados of *ukiyoe* with an attractive product that refers to a well-known recent incident.

A characteristic of such series is the depiction of processional elements in a mostly predominant landscape setting. Sometimes these elements are reduced to no more than the tip of a standard. The procession itself is integrated into the scenery and usually not separated, partitioned by a cloud band or similar device. As one would expect, due to government restrictions, it is only indicated that the leader of the procession is in fact the shogun. Elements of an unidentifiable daimyo procession are frequently seen in Hiroshige's landscape series or Hokusai's genre series. Hiroshige, for example, cap-

223. For illustrations, see Ōno 1998, vol. 2, 32–43.

224. Some unidentified signatures presumably read: Akika 秋香 (maybe relating to Nakamura Akika 中村秋香, 1841–1910), Eisai 永斎, Hideki 秀輝, Hōso 豊祖, Kansui 觀水, Kaseki 花蹟, Kirō 貴瑯, Kiyoyoshi 清可, Kokō 湖江, Monshi 文紫, Morimasa 盛政, Rinsei 林静, Shōsō 蕉窗, Takayuki 貴之, and Tōgyoku 董玉.

225. Futagawa is written in an unusual way with the characters 婦多川.

tured the start of such a procession at the Nihon Bridge in Edo in the first design of his *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*.

The processional Tōkaidō series were published after a shogun's journey and as the shogunate inevitably found its end, the last processional Tōkaidō series was published in 1868. Within five years, five series comprising of over 300 designs were created (see Table 12). The cause of this high number in such a short period lies in the so-called *Processional Tōkaidō* series, the genesis of this subject. With 162 individual designs, it is by far the largest *ukiyoe* series ever published, made possible only through the cooperation of sixteen designers and twenty-four publishers.[226] One of its successors, the series *Suehiro gojūsan tsugi* 末廣五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations with a Folding Fan*) was also a collaborative work, involving eight designers and thirteen publishers (see Fig. 26).

Two years after the huge success of the first processional Tōkaidō series that resulted in several re-prints, a group of publishers tried to copy its concept by again bringing together some of the most popular designers of the time in order to create a series commemorating the shogun's procession to the emperor in Kyoto. This time, however, it seems that the realization was better planned and coordinated between the publishers and designers. The result is a traditional set of fifty-five *ōban*, one per station.[227]

All prints bear a combined date-censor seal of the intercalary fifth month of 1865. This indicates that all prints were placed on the market at once, most likely in a complete set accompanied by its table of content.[228] Like the *Processional Tōkaidō* series, Miyagi Gengyo 宮城玄魚 (1817–1880) designed only the table of content, listing all 55 designs. With the exception of the catalogue print, all designs are titled *Suehiro gojūsan tsugi* 末廣五十三次, written on an opened folding fan in the upper right corner. The catalogue print bears the title *Suehiro gojūsan tsugi zue* 末廣五十三驛圖會 (*Gathering of Views of the Fifty-three Stations with a Folding Fan*) inscribed on a large standing umbrella (*tate kasa* 立傘).[229]

Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年 (1839–1892) is, with fifteen prints, the most active designer of this series, followed by Utagawa Sadahide 歌川貞秀 (1807–1873) with twelve prints and Utagawa Hiroshige II 歌川広重 (1826–1869) and Utagawa Kuniteru II 歌川国輝 (1830–1874) with ten prints each. The remaining eight prints are by four designers: Three each by Kunisada II and Yoshimori and one by Toyohara Kunichika 豊原国周 (1835–1900) and Utagawa Yoshiiku 歌川芳幾 (1833–1904). It is remarkable that Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831–1889), one of the driving forces behind the *Processional Tōkaidō* series, did not take part in this set.

Of the thirteen publishers who issued prints of this series, nine published exactly five prints. These publishers are Daikokuya Kinnosuke, Kagaya Kichiemon, Kiya Sōjirō,

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226. For an analysis of this series, see Marks 2007a.

227. For illustrations, see Ōno 1998, vol. 2, 64–83.

228. The catalogue print bears no publisher or date seals.

229. A *tate kasa* is typical for processions, used to afford shade for a resting lord.

Maruya Tetsujirō, Morimoto Junzaburō, Sagamiya Tōkichi, Tsujiokaya Bunsuke, Yamaguchiya Tōbei, and an unidentified publisher. The remaining four publishers issued either two or three prints. Three prints were produced by Ebiya Rinnosuke and Iseya Kanekichi; two prints by Enshūya Hikobei and Itoya Shōbei. This leads to the conclusion that the publishers originally intended that each of them would publish an equal number of five prints. For whatever reason, there must have been some kind of agreement between the ones who issued less than five prints. Probably, two of them overestimated their financial situation, having not enough capital to invest in such a production, and therefore needed a partner. It is known that Itoya Shōbei had to close his business in the sixth month of 1865, the month following the publication of this series.[230]

Four block-cutters worked on the *Suehiro gojūsan tsugi* series: Asakura Manjirō, Katada Chōjirō, Watanabe Eizō, and Yokokawa Takejirō. These block-cutters worked for specific publishers only:

- Asakura Manjirō was employed by Tsujiokaya Bunsuke, and only these designs are inscribed with a number in the title cartouche,
- Watanabe Eizō worked for Morimoto Junzaburō,
- Yokokawa Takejirō worked for Kiya Sōjirō,
- Katada Chōjirō was the most active block-cutter, working for Daikokuya Kinzaburō, Fujiokaya Keijirō, and Maruya Tetsujirō.

The block-cutters for the remaining publishers cannot be determined as their prints don't bear a block-cutter seal.

Some of the designs show a commander's standard (*umajirushi* 馬印) decorated with the *sasarindō* 笹龍胆 motif (gentian leaves), the crest of the Minamoto clan, the ruling family in Japan in the thirteenth century. The *sasarindō* motif was deliberately chosen to circumvent government restrictions on illustrating actual events.

230. Cf. *Genshoku ukiyoe daihyakka jiten*, vol. 3, 135.

4 KUNISADA'S TŌKAIDŌ SERIES

The Tōkaidō series in general are an important theme in nineteenth century Japanese woodblock prints, spanning a period from the turn of the century to the industrialization of the country, when traveling itself developed from a joyful experience to an irrevocable necessity to reach the destiny. The nation-wide interest in and romantification of the Tōkaidō is reflected in the many hundreds of woodblock prints that were created to satisfy the high demand. Several categories of Tōkaidō prints came into existence and Kunisada was initially engaged in creating Tōkaidō series with *bijin* as main motif. He soon left this theme and turned to actors as main motif followed by series with assorted motifs (*fukiyose*) and a series that focuses on the shogun's procession along the Tōkaidō.

Kunisada's identified fifteen Tōkaidō series consist of at least 452 designs, and his earliest known Tōkaidō series dates from the mid 1820s, the last from 1864 (see Table 14). The vast majority of his designs portray actors in roles, juxtaposed to Tōkaidō stations through employing well thought-out connections. The intention of his series was neither to show the vivid life along Japan's main arterial road nor to capture the beauty of the scenery. From the very beginning, the scenery was simply a means to emphasize the actual main motif and therefore only secondary to Kunisada; at a certain point he even refrained from employing a scenic element at all. He created a type of print that challenged the viewers to solve the puzzle why a role was juxtaposed to a certain station, and at the same time these viewers became familiar with those far away stations, locales that the average citizen dreamed of traveling to. Over the years, Kunisada established a canon of station-motif patterns in his actor Tōkaidō series that he repeatedly employed throughout his oeuvre.

Kunisada's earliest two Tōkaidō series depict *bijin* in full-length, the series thereafter portray mainly actors. In these earlier series, the main motif is very loosely connected to the scenic element in a print. The dominance of the foreground portraits underlines the subordinate role of the scenic element in Kunisada's Tōkaidō series. This subordinate role culminates in his 1857 actors' series *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 東海道五十三次之内 (*The Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*), composed entirely without a scenic element, capturing only a double pair of actors.

Kunisada's first *bijin* Tōkaidō series (*Koban Bijin*) dates from the mid 1820s and is in *koban*-size (small format), the second in the slightly larger *chūban* format, published *c.*1832–33 (*Chūban Bijin*). The landscape background in the *chūban* series adapts, in most cases, from Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*, an approach that Kunisada applied to some of his later series as well. In 1835 he designed an *ōban*-size series, capturing characters of a specific kabuki play performed in that year, accompanied by an inset frame with an impression from the Tōkaidō. The only Tōkaidō series in the format of fans to have been identified followed in 1836, also featuring *bijin* in a Tōkaidō setting, resembling the prior *chūban*-size *bijin* series (*Tōkaidō Fan Prints*). In 1837/38, a series of actors in full-length was published that is similar in style and composition to the *chūban*-size *bijin* series (*Chūban Actors*).

With the two actor Tōkaidō series in the 1830s, Kunisada was the first designer who associated the Tōkaidō to the kabuki theater; an approach that he continued to take in

his following series. After a short break during which the Tenpō reforms were enacted, the first *fukiyose* Tōkaidō series with an assortment of motifs, jointly designed by Kunisada, Hiroshige, and Kuniyoshi, was published in 1845 (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsui*).

His gigantic production of half-length portraits of actors in 1852 was launched with the publication of his, until today, most wide-spread actor series, *Yakusha mitate Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 役者見立東海道五十三驛 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō with Visual Parodies of Actors*), hence called *Yakusha Mitate*. To make further use of the success of these designs, he invented intermediate locations between the traditional stations along the Tōkaidō. Before the final number of 139 *ōban*-size prints was reached in 1853, Kunisada started designing a series of *koban*-size half-length portraits of actors (*Koban Actors*).[231]

Because Kunisada was not a landscapist like Hiroshige or Hokusai, other designers commonly contributed the scenic element in jointly created series. This is also the case with the second collaborative series with assorted motifs, published in the years 1854 to 1857, where Hiroshige designed the scenic element (*Two Brushes*). The subsequent series of double actor portraits from 1857 marks the culmination of Kunisada's negligence of the Tōkaidō's landscape character by omitting it completely, concentrating only on the actors (*Double Portraits*).

Comparable to the *Spring of the Plum* series from 1835, Kunisada designed, in 1861, a series portraying characters in half-length from a kabuki play performed in this year (*Alphabet Diary*). In 1863, he was the senior designer in the largest series in the history of *ukiyoe*, a joint project, showing the shogun's procession from Edo to Kyoto (*Processional Tōkaidō*). In 1864, the year before his death, Kunisada started to design his last Tōkaidō series, again with the usual actor motifs (*Famous Pictures*). Kawanabe Kyōsai and Utagawa Yoshimori were responsible for the scenic element in this unfinished series.

Kunisada's Tōkaidō series mirror the development of his artistic career, reflecting the interest of his clientele and the market he served. While in the 1810s and 1820s, his interest lay more in *bijin* prints; in the 1830s and 1840s, the number of actor prints designed continued to grow, rivaling the number of *bijin* prints produced, and eventually became the overwhelmingly predominant subject of Kunisada from the 1850s until his death in January 1865.[232] His actor Tōkaidō series in particular influenced succeeding designers such as Kunichika.

4.1 The early Bijin Tōkaidō series

Kunisada first used the Tōkaidō as serial device in the first half of the 1820s for a rare *koban*-size series of *bijin*. The second time was in the 1830s with a set of fifty-six *bijin*

231. Izzard 1993, 37, errouneously mentions that 128 prints of this series were published in 1852, but it were actually 136 prints in 1852 and three in 1853.

232. The number of *bijin* prints Kunisada designed in the 1850s was not even half the number of *Genjie*.

prints in *chūban*-size. Since the beginning of his professional artistic career in the 1810s, he had designed well over one-hundred *bijin* series using various subjects for serialization. These subjects include the Five Colors (*goshiki* 五色), the Twelve Hours of the Day (*jūnitoki* 十二時), the Seven Episodes in the Life of Ono no Komachi (*nana Komachi* 七小町), the Eight Views, the Six Immortal Poets (*rokkasen* 六歌仙), the Thirty-two Physiognomies (*sanjūni sō* 三十二相), the Six Jewel Rivers (*mu tamagawa* 六玉川), the Calendar of Yearly Events (*nenjū gyōji* 年中行事), the Twelve Months, Seven Gods of Good Fortune (*shichifukujin* 七福神), the Fifty-four Chapters of Genji, the Four Seasons, and Snow, Moon, and Flowers (*setsugekka* 雪月花). With only a few exemptions, these series are all in *ōban*-size. Like Utamaro, it is not surprising that Kunisada also reached for the Tōkaidō as serial device for the composition of a *bijin* series.

4.1.1 Koban Bijin

The Tōkaidō as device for serializing *ukiyoe* was rarely used for *bijin* series. Before Kunisada, only Utamaro and Shunkō designed one *ōban* series each with the scenic element in an inset frame.[233] Utamaro used a circular frame (see Fig. 17) and Shunkō, a frame shaped like an opened folding fan (*sensu* 扇子). Kunisada's first Tōkaidō series falls into line with the composition of these series. The *bijin* are predominant and the landscape is reduced to an inset frame.

Seven *koban* are known, titled *Bijin awase gojūsan tsugi* 美人合五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations Compared with Beauties*), henceforth referred to as *Koban Bijin*. Although these rare prints are neither signed nor do they bear any other mark like a publisher or a censor seal, they are attributed to Kunisada and conform to his mid-1820s style (Bunsei period). Traditionally, each print refers to a particular station, and in this case the first of the known designs illustrates the fifth station Hodogaya and the last the twentieth station Fuchū (see Table 15). The broad frame of the scenic element is decorated with a floral pattern. Due to its miniature size, the drawings are minimalistically executed and the travelers in the insets appear like stick figures. The main motifs, the *bijin*, are captured in various situations, e.g. with musical instruments, reading, or strolling.

During the Bunsei period, Kunisada designed at least seven small format *bijin* series with motifs adopted after previously issued *ōban* series as seen in the case of Fuchū, illustrated in Fig. 27.[234] The motif of a sitting courtesan embraced from behind is strikingly similar to Fig. 28 from the earlier *bijin* series *Oatsurae ema zukushi* 御誂繪馬盡

233. Eisen's series *Keisei dōchū sugoroku—Mitate Yoshiwara gojūsan tsui* was published around the same time as Kunisada's first *bijin* Tōkaidō series.

234. Vice versa, he later composed *ōban* after previously issued surimono. The portrait of Ichikawa Danjūrō VII as Kamakura Gongorō Kagemasu from the play *Shibaraku* (*Wait a Moment*) in the series *Jūhachiban no uchi* 十八番之内 (*The Eighteen Plays*), III/1852 (ill. in Nakayama 1988a, 10), for example, is modeled after a surimono from *c*.1826 (ill. in Doesburg 1990, fig. 22). Impressions of these prints are in the Museum for Ethnology, Leiden.

(*Collection of Commissioned Votive Plaques*), titled *Shiba Futagoyama no gaku no uchi* 芝愛宕山の額ノ内 (*A Framed Picture of Mount Futago in Shiba*).[235]

Kunisada applied the same familiar serial devices to the different small format series as to the *ōban*-size series, with the exception of the Tōkaidō and *hyakunin bijo* 百人美女 (One Hundred Beautiful Women).[236] As both devices imply a great number of designs, 55 and 100 respectively, it was financially safer for the commissioning publishers if they invest in small *koban*-size prints and not in the standard *ōban* prints. The costs for *koban*-size prints were four times lower compared to *ōban*-size prints, as four *koban* fit on one block. 14 *ōban* had to be designed and printed for an output of 55 *koban*, and 25 *ōban* for an output of 100 *koban*. In the 1820s and 30s, the number of designs per *bijin* series varies, but usually does not exceed ten or twelve.[237] In this respect, 14 and 25 *ōban* are already a large number. Furthermore, they were created much faster, because the motifs were copied from existing designs. Such series were therefore produced cheaper and sold for a lower price. However, taking the rich colors, the quality of the pigments, and the thick paper into account, these prints cannot be considered 'cheap.' They were rather marketed as pocket editions in which regular collectors were able to recognize miniature versions of known designs.

Chris Uhlenbeck raised several questions on the genesis of such *koban* series, e.g. if they were created by someone in the publishing house.[238] In the case of the *Koban Bijin* series are the *bijin* motifs taken from a number of series by different publishers, which would mean that if the designs were carried out by one particular publisher, *ōban* prints from other publishers had to be collected first. Besides, if they were not created at least in the studio of a designer, how come that some of the prints are signed. It seems more likely that students were told to copy the master's original designs and the master, busy

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235. Seven prints of this series are known, all signed 'konomi ni makasete Kunisada ga' 任好國貞画 ('left to my taste, painted by Kunisada'), published by Iwatoya Kisaburō in *c*.1823.

236. *Hyakunin bijo* 百人美女 (*One Hundred Beautiful Women*) is a series of probably one-hundred *koban* (thirty-two are known), published from *c*.1823–1825. On this series, see also Uhlenbeck 1987, 17–19. The serial device *hyakunin bijo* 百人美女 (One Hundred Beautiful Women) derives from the popular device *hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (One Hundred Poems of One Hundred Poets).

237. An exception is the series *Tōji kōmei kaiseki zukushi* 當時高名會席盡 (*Collection of in These Days Renown Restaurants*) from *c*.1822 with 48 *ōban* known (Seikadō 1996, 110). Two of these early *bijin* series are built on the fifty-four chapters of Genji as serial device, therefore implying the existence of fifty-four prints per series. However, only nine prints from both series are known and it is doubtful that Kunisada designed complete sets of fifty-four prints. See Marks 2006, 75. Furthermore, one of these series titled *Fūryū tōsen kyō* 風流投扇興 (*Elegant Fan-Tossing*) seems to be based on reused blocks from an earlier untitled *bijin* series with poems, published by Azumaya Daisuke in *c*.1818–21. For the re-edition by the publisher Yamamotoya Heikichi in *c*.1823–24, the poems were removed and a small title cartouche was added.

238. Cf. Uhlenbeck 1987, 19.

with creating innovative designs did not bother to sign each of these small prints but maybe he signed a wrapper that came along with the set.[239]

In the 1820s and 1830s, not only *koban* prints were designed with *bijin* motifs copied after *ōban* series, but also actor and warrior prints. A set of warrior *koban* prints published by Kawaguchiya Uhei, for example, takes its motifs from two series by Kunisada, *Honchō kōmei kagami* 本朝高名鑑 (*Mirror of this Country's Fame*), published by Jōshūya Kinzō, and an untitled series published by Moritaya Hanzō.[240]

4.1.2 Chūban Bijin

Presumably in 1832, Kunisada started to design his, until then, largest series of fifty-six prints.[241] This series is not in the common *ōban*-size but in *chūban*-size, thus we will call this the *Chūban Bijin* series. As a novelty, Kunisada's designs were issued in a print size that was largely employed in the second half of the eighteenth century by designers such as Suzuki Harunobu and Isoda Koryūsai.

Kunisada composed this series in a new style for Tōkaidō *bijin* series by attaching greater importance to the scenic element. Instead of banning the scenic element into a small inset cartouche, the landscape covers now approximately two third of the background. Only the bottom third is done as a stylized cloud band on which he placed a *bijin*. The somewhat floating stereotypical *bijin* loom over the clouds, into the middle of the landscapes. Though it seems preposterous to place the main motifs on a cloud, this cloud is not just a pictorial element but a crucial device to support the viewer's focus on the *bijin*. It enabled Kunisada to display the *bijin* in full-length, significantly larger than the figures in the landscape background. Without employing the cloud device, the *bijin* would have perished in the vivid and colorful scenery.[242]

In most of the cases are the depicted *bijin* not imperatively connected to a particular station and not interacting with the background. In general, the *bijin* represent all kinds of people one could meet along the Tōkaidō, such as travelers, servants, courtesans, porters, pilgrims, musicians, dancing girls, and monkey trainers. An exception for these

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239. Kunisada's later set *Ukiyo jūnishi* 浮世十二支 (*Twelve Signs of the Zodiac and the Floating World*), published by Jōshūya Jūzō in *c*.1845, consists for example of 12 *koban* prints and a wrapper.

240. Sometimes the prints of the first mentioned series are titled *Honchō musha kōmei kagami* 本朝武者高名鑑 (*Mirror of this Country's Famous Warriors*).

241. The largest set of actor prints until that time is an untitled set of fourty-two portraits reflected in mirrors, commonly known as *Yakusha oshie kagami* 俳優押絵鏡 (*Actors in Mirror Reflections*), published in the years 1832–33. For an illustration, see Tinios 1996, 6. For a list of large *bijin* series prior to the *Chūban Bijin* series, see note 237. If completed, Kunisada's *koban* series *Hyakunin bijo* would be the largest compilation of *bijin* designs in the first half of his life.

242. Kunisada's earliest series with such a cloud band is an untitled *bijin* series from the early 1820s, published by Yamaguchiya Tōbei. Cf. Ushiyama 1928a, 52–54, Yoshida 1931, 181–83.

interchangeable motifs is the station Ōiso where the *bijin*'s kimono pattern of flying plovers (*chidori* 千鳥) clearly reminds the viewer of Tora, the lover of Soga Jūrō Sukenari, and the common motif for this station.[243]

Kunisada's long experience of portraying *bijin* is expressed in the complex designs and the particular attention he has given to capture each one in a unique pose. All are dressed in lavishly decorated kimonos with layers of different patterned cloth. The elaborately arranged hairstyles feature hair sticks (*kōgai* 笄), hairpins (*kanzashi* 簪), and combs (*kushi* 櫛), and are sometimes covered with towels (*tenugui* 手拭).

Kunisada included tables, dressing tables (*kyōdai* 鏡台), braziers (*hibachi* 火鉢), and alike in around one third of the designs to suggest that the *bijin* are captured in a somewhat interior setting. In four designs, he lets the *bijin* interact with children, puppies, and oxens. It is remarkable that these additional elements abruptly ended after the 32nd station, with the only exception of an ox in the 55th design, the first Kyoto design. It seems that the intention of a swift publication refrained Kunisada from adding further elements to the later designs.

The place allotted to the scenic element in this series reflects the interest in landscape images and the success of Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*; however, the exact genesis of Kunisada's series can only be assumed. As always two *chūban* were printed from a block, he designed the even number of fifty-six *chūban*, one for each of the 53 stations, plus two for the starting point Nihon Bridge and the end-station Kyoto, as well as an additional design related to Kyoto Palace. All designs are similarly titled *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 東海道五十三次之内 (*The Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*) in a long vertical cartouche. The name of the station is given in a somewhat smaller cartouche next to the series title. This smaller cartouche is always placed left of the series title, drawn staggered in the vertical direction. Both cartouches are positioned either in the upper left or upper right corner.[244]

Most of the landscape settings are not original designs by Kunisada. Forty-two of these, actually the first 41 and the 44th designs, closely resemble the well-known designs of Hiroshige's so-called *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*.[245] A closer look at Hiroshige's designs reveal that from the total 42 designs Kunisada employed, thirteen are actually based on images in the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*. Hiroshige consulted also other illustrated landscape books for his designs, e.g. Fuchigami Kyokkō's 淵上旭江 *Sansui kikan* 山水奇観 (*Wonderful Sights of the Scenery*) from 1802, and Kawamura Minsetsu's 河村岷雪 *Hyaku Fuji* 百富

243. Tora is also called Ōiso no Tora 大磯の虎 (Tora from Ōiso).

244. For a description of some prints, see Hardie 1986, figs. 10–62. For an illustration of the complete series, see Satō 1994.

245. Some of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* blocks, namely Nihon Bridge, Shinagawa, Kawasaki, Kanagawa, Totsuka, and Odawara, were recut with significant changes and published between late 1835 and early 1836 (ill. in Suzuki 2004a, 136–43). The *Chūban Bijin* designs relate to the earlier versions.

士 (*One-hundred Fuji*) from 1767, that influenced Hiroshige's design for the station Hiratsuka, as seen in Figs. 29 to 31.

Hiroshige's method of using illustrated guide books as inspiration source was neither new nor disapproved. Other designers did so as well, for example Kunisada. Four designs of Kunisada's landscape series from *c.*1832 are based on the 1821 *Bunpō sansui ikō* 文鳳山水遺稿 (*Posthumous Manuscript of Landscapes by Bunpō*), a collection of posthumously published designs by the Nanga-painter Kawamura Bunpō 河村文鳳 (1779–1821).[246] Kunisada was aware that the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* from 1797 was Hiroshige's main source of ideas, because after he discontinued using Hiroshige's designs as scenic element, he created his landscapes, analogous to Hiroshige, after the illustrations in the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*. Of Kunisada's fourteen designs not related to the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* prints, eight follow closely the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* and three the *Ise Sangū meisho zue* 伊勢参宮名所圖會 (*Gathering of Views of Famous Sights Along a Pilgrimage to Ise*) from 1797, which Hiroshige also used as his source of inspiration for the fiftieth print Tsuchiyama and the fifty-third print Kusatsu.

Though both designers used the same sources for the last prints of their series, they refrained from using the exact same images. This is especially noticeable in the sequence Ishibe–Kusatsu, illustrated in Figs. 32 to 37. Figs. 32, 34, and 36 show six consecutive pages from the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*. Figs. 33, 35, and 37 show the stations Kusatsu by Kunisada, Ishibe by Hiroshige, and Ishibe by Kunisada. The situation depicted in Takehara Shunsensai's *Forked Road at Kusatsu* (*Kusatsu oiwake*), a two-page illustration in the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* seen in Fig. 32, is picked up by Kunisada for the background of his Kusatsu print (see Fig. 33). The following page in the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* depicts the village Mekawa, famous for its tofu (see Fig. 34). Hiroshige utilized this scene, including the shop and the traveling parties, as motif for his Ishibe print, seen in Fig. 35. Fig. 36 illustrates the next double page, showing travelers at the Zesai shop in Umenoki. A similar village scene with travelers resting at a shop is the background motif of Kunisada's Ishibe print (see Fig. 37).

Various theories have been expressed as to why Kunisada at first chose the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* images as scenic element in the *Chūban Bijin* series. Roger Keyes and Suzuki Jūzō believe that the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* was used because of its success.[247]

Another theory is, that Takenouchi Magohachi 竹内孫八, the Hōeidō publisher, probably asked Kunisada's publisher Sanoya Kihei to publish a *chūban* series in order to push sales of his own series. Sanoya Kihei had a large number of incidental clients, as the shop was conveniently located in Mishima-chō 三島町, Shiba Shinmei-mae 芝神明前, along the Tōkaidō and in front of the Zōjō Temple 増上寺, the Tokugawa family temple. This was an ideal location to shop for souvenirs before the start of the journey

246. The 1824 edition is called *Bunpō sansui gafu* 文鳳山水画譜 (*An Album of Landscapes by Bunpō*). Kuniyoshi and Eisen also used the illustrations from this book for some of their designs, see Onari 1929, and Tinios 2004. For an in-depth analysis of Bunpō, see Tinios 2003.

247. Cf. Keyes 1982a, 52; Suzuki 2004a, 173–74.

back home. Takenouchi Magohachi's shop was located in Shiochō 塩町 on Reigan Island 霊巌島, Nihonbashi district; though not far away from the beginning of the Tōkaidō, this was not a perfect place to reach many customers.

A third theory states, that it might have been the idea of Kunisada to support the launch of the eleven years younger Hiroshige as a landscape designer. Be that as it may, the reason for the discontinuation of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* as background seems to lie in the slow publication of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*. Because Kunisada's series is *chūban*-size with two designs to a block, it could be produced with less technical effort and financial burden. *Chūban*-size prints were popular as souvenirs and sold quickly.

Kimura Yaeko claims that Kunisada indicated the commission by the publisher for a series incorporating the *Hōeidō* designs in using '*ōju*' (by request) in his signature.[248] Kimura's proof is that the prints without *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* landscape are not signed '*ōju*.' However, her theory seems not very likely, as actually only fifteen prints featuring *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* landscape settings are signed '*ōju*.' If the indicated 'request' refers to the usage of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* landscape, why did Kunisada not sign all forty-two prints with '*ōju*?'

The way how the backgrounds in Kunisada's designs were executed show no sign of haste. He paid meticulous attention to every little detail and alternated positions of mountains and other pictorial elements as they appear in the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* to better suit his foreground motifs. This and the way how both designers alternately choose the motifs from the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* in the last, separate part arouses suspicion, that it was not a coincidence but both designers agreed upon this procedure. Kunisada was expressis verbis allowed to use Hiroshige's landscapes as background motif, and as he and his large studio were faster with the design, both designers discussed that Kunisada would continue on his own. If his designs could not follow Hiroshige's all the way through, they should now noticeably differ from Hiroshige's future designs. For this purpose, the motifs were divided between them to make sure that the images were going to be dissimilar.

The question evolves, why Hiroshige did not vice versa follow Kunisada's designs for the latter part of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* series. Like Kunisada turned to Hiroshige's designs, it would have been easy for Hiroshige to do so as well. But what would had been his benefit from doing so? We can assume that Kunisada's support for Hiroshige's designs had shown some effect at the time of Kunisada's overhaul. Taking into consideration how many variations of the *Chūban Bijin* exist, sales were successful, maybe even more than the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* itself. If Hiroshige would have taken up Kunisada's last designs, his achievement would have only been to extract Kunisada's landscape and to present it on a wider canvas. Such an approach would have lacked the novelty and freshness that characterize his first designs. Kunisada's *Chūban Bijin* with *Hōeidō* scenery are, on the other hand, not in this predicament as their focus is on *bijin* and they belong to a different print category. Hiroshige relied in his remaining designs even

248. Cf. Kimura 2004, 200–02.

more on the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* than at the beginning, but the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* images were not on the market as individual, full-color prints and therefore no competition. Of course he could have turned to the same *Tōkaidō meisho zue* images as Kunisada and create his own interpretations. This, however, would have led to a direct competition with an incomparably more popular designer. A very serious challenge for an upcoming designer such as Hiroshige and a small publisher such as Takenouchi Magohachi. From a business point of view, it was therefore much safer to continue with interpretations of different *Tōkaidō meisho zue* images than Kunisada.

Another issue that must be addressed is that of the publisher of the *Chūban Bijin* series. Similar to the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* and the involvement of the second publisher Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門, Kunisada's *Chūban Bijin* series is a product of a collaboration of two publishers, Sanoya Kihei and Moriya Jihei. Moriya Jihei's shop was located approximately 5 km away from Sanoya's shop in Bakurochō 馬喰町, Nihonbashi district, close to the Ryōgoku Bridge.

Due to the overall success of this series, many different variations exist, making it almost impossible to verify the specific edition a print belongs to. Up to four different variations in the publisher seals of some designs have been determined. The four different possible variations are: 1) publisher seal of Sanoya Kihei only, 2) publisher seal of Moriya Jihei only, 3) publisher seals of Sanoya Kihei and Moriya Jihei, and 4) no publisher seal.

When determining the circumstances of the *Chūban Bijin* series genesis and the many variations, it can be started out from the fact that Sanoya Kihei must have been the publisher in charge because twenty-five of the fifty-six designs only exist with his publisher seal (see Table 16). Furthermore, a wrapper to a re-edition exists bearing the following inscription:

> *Brand-new richly colored printed, series of fifty-six prints,*
> ***Pictures of beauties in sceneries Along the fifty-three stations***
> *Painted by Kōchōrō Utagawa Kunisada*
> *Eastern capital, Shiba Shinmei-mae, Kikakudō, publ. by Sanoya Kihei*
>
> *Shinsei goku saishiki suri, gojūroku mai tsuzuki*
> ***Gojūsan tsugi keshiki iri bijin e***
> *Kōchōrō Utagawa Kunisada ga*
> *Tōto, Shiba Shinmei-mae, Kikakudō, Sanoya Kihei han*
>
> 新製極彩色摺　五十六枚續
> **五拾三驛景色入美人繪**
> 香蝶樓歌川國貞画
> 東都　芝神明前　喜鶴堂　佐野屋喜兵衛板

Another reason why Sanoya is most likely the main publisher of this series is that no design surfaced only in a version issued by Moriya; in fact, a version by Sanoya only of each print exists. It therefore seems that Sanoya was not only in charge of the large-scale re-edition as indicated by the cover page, but of the first edition as well. Moriya's involvement must have been limited to assisting Sanoya in coping with the demand of

the market, and as Moriya was also well established, their joint effort yielded fruit. Furthermore, as Moriya's shop was located in the Nihon Bridge area where the Tōkaidō started, it was beneficial for Sanoya from a business perspective to have him as a partner, because he could sell the prints also directly to the Tōkaidō travelers.

An additional sign of the overwhelming success of this series is the many different color variations. Minakuchi, for example, is printed with a blue, a red, or a yellow sky. It is in most cases the sky that was printed in different colors, but sometimes also the color and pattern of a kimono is altered, as in the Mariko and Okitsu designs. Especially the Okitsu design draws attention as the prime example of this series for the changes that occur if woodblocks are worn and a new set of blocks is cut. As seen in Fig. 38 and Fig. 39, not only the colors differ, but even more so the facial expression of the *bijin*, the pattern of her kimono, the characters in the title cartouches, the size and the foliage of the trees in the background, etc.

A specific date seal had not been introduced at the time of this series' publication and dating must be done on the basis of other indicators. A number of advertisements placed by Sanoya in at least three of his publications, listed in Table 17, indicate a date in the early 1830s. The earliest of these publications with advertisements was published in the first month of 1836. The advertisement reads:

> *Quarter-size large paper size, richly colored printed,*
> ***Pictures of women in sceneries Along the fifty-three stations***
> *Painted by Kōchōrō Kunisada*
>
> *Ōbōsho yotsukiri, goku saishiki suri*
> ***Gojūsan tsugi keshiki iri onna e***
> *Kōchōrō Kunisada ga*
>
> おおぼうしょ　　きり　　ごくさいしきすり
> 大奉書四ッ切　極彩色摺
> ごじゅうさんつぎけしきいりおんなえ
> **五十三次景色入女繪**
> 香蝶樓國貞画

In comparison, the wording is very similar to the front page of the re-edition and it can be assumed that the advertisements actually refer to this re-edition. Because of the advertisements and the discontinuation of using *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* landscapes as background, 1832–33 seems to be likely as a publication date for Kunisada's *Chūban Bijin* series.[249]

Based on the *Chūban Bijin* series, Kunisada designed two other Tōkaidō series soon after: a strikingly similar fan print series (*Tōkaidō Fan Prints*) and his first actor Tōkaidō

249. Cf. Keyes 1982a, 52; Hardie 1986, 12. The date 1852, given by Ehmcke 2001, 325, and repeated in the English translation (p113), must derive from a confusion with Kunisada's later famous actor Tōkaidō series.

series with motifs from various plays, solely published by Sanoya Kihei (*Chūban Actors*).[250]

4.1.3 Tōkaidō Fan Prints

Kunisada designed the fan print (*uchiwae*) series *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 五十三次ノ内 (*The Fifty-three Stations*) visually and chronologically after his *Chūban Bijin* series. The conspicuous similarity in style and composition indicate that the publisher Enshūya Matabei, one of a small group of publishers who specialized in fan prints, aimed to make use of the success of its predecessors and therefore commissioned Kunisada to rapidly design such a similar series.[251] It is the only fan print Tōkaidō series known. Previously, individual fan prints that relate to specific kabuki performances in connection to the Tōkaidō were issued.

The use of date seals on fan prints during that time was common practice, enabling a precise dating of this series to 1836. Because one of the three prints survived depicts *Maisaka*, traditionally the thirty-first print in a Tōkaidō series, it seems that a complete set was at least originally planned. The other two designs known are *Kanagawa* (fourth print) and *Mariko* (twenty-first print).[252] Because fan prints were meant for practical use and eventual discard, an accurate estimation on the number of designs is rather impossible. But it is certain that Kunisada designed no less than 108 fan print series and a number of individual designs; all in all over 650 designs survived.[253]

As seen in Fig. 40, the full-length *bijin* are set in front of a stylized cloud band, covering almost half of the canvas. The landscapes in the background are analogous to the landscapes of the *Chūban Bijin* series, which originated in the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*. The series cartouche and the title cartouche are also adjoined; however, the shape of the cartouches is different.

4.2 The first actor series

Some kabuki plays unambiguously refer to the Tōkaidō by mentioning it in their title. This reference is usually based on the location, where the story of a play takes place. Plays referring to a single locality along the Tōkaidō such as *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan* 東海道四谷怪談 (*Tōkaidō Ghost Story at Yotsuya*) differ from plays, where the story sets forth from one station to the next. The first version is not necessarily related to the entire

250. A simplified *baiyaku'e* (patent medicine print) version by the designer Matsuura Moriyoshi appeared in Toyama, see Toyamashi Kyōdo Hakubutsukan 1997, fig. 73.

251. To this small group of publishers belong also Ibaya Kyūbei, Ibaya Senzaburō, Iseya Sōemon, Kojimaya Jūbei, and Tsujiya Yasubei.

252. Kanagawa is illustrated in Tanba 1963, fig. 149; and Suzuki 2004b, 206, fig. 72.

253. In comparison to this, Rupert Faulkner believes the number of survival designs by Hiroshige to be at around 400 (Faulkner 2001, 11).

Tōkaidō or a longer part of it, but just to one location on it, and the story could in fact be set somewhere else. Because travel is a key component, the second version is obligatorily related to the Tōkaidō. These plays are usually constructed of familiar characters that are placed into new plots. Kunisada was commissioned to design one series each for three 'Tōkaidō plays,' namely *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi* 梅初春五十三駅 (*Fifty-three Stations During the Spring of the Plum*) from 1835, *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 忠臣蔵五十三次ノ内 (*Along the Fifty-three Stations with the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*) from 1850, and *Tōkaidō iroha nikki* 東駅いろは日記 (*Tōkaidō Alphabet Diary*) from 1861. The other Tōkaidō plays were captured by him in compositions of one or more sheets, which are either individual designs or part of an arbitrarily combined series.

The first play, at least related to the Tōkaidō by its title, is *Tōkaidō daimyō Soga* 東海道大名曽我 (*The Soga and Daimyo Along the Tōkaidō*), staged in the first month of 1714 at the Yamamura Theater, about which nothing further is known.[254] Twenty-two years later in the seventh month of 1736, it is followed by *Tōkaidō yukumi guruma* 東海道湯汲車 (*Drawing a Hot Water Cart Along the Tōkaidō*), based on the story of Oguri Hangan 小栗判官 described in chapter 6.2.

To this day the play *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan*, written by Tsuruya Nanboku IV 鶴屋南北 (1755–1829), is still regularly performed. It premiered at the Nakamura Theater in the seventh month of 1825. The story is linked to the play *Kanadehon Chūshingura* with which it ran in a two-day program. It takes place in several locations in and around Edo without precisely mentioning the Tōkaidō and its stations.[255]

In 1827, Tsuruya Nanboku IV wrote the first play where the characters and story set along the Tōkaidō, *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* 独道中五十三駅, *Traveling Alone Along the Fifty-three Stations*. It premiered at the Kawarazaki Theater in the sixth month of 1827.[256] Hasegawa Kanbei XI 長谷川勘兵衛 (1781–1841), responsible for the stage adaptation, invented for this play the 'snake-eye revolve' (*ja no me mawashi* 蛇の目廻し), a device of two revolving stages inside each other that could be turned independently.[257] Nanboku IV wrote this play for the popular actor Onoe Kikugorō III 尾上菊五郎 (1784–1849) who brilliantly performed in ten different roles with quick costume changes. In the six acts, twenty-five scenes and symbolic fifty-three stages, the story sets forth along the Tōkaidō from Kyoto to Edo. It borrows from numerous sources, e.g. from the plays *Hakone reigen izari no adauchi* 箱根霊験躄仇討 (*The Revenge of Crawling to the Hakone Mi-*

254. The story is most likely somehow connected to the Soga brothers, described in 6.3.1.

255. For a general description, see Nakayama 1988b, 42–3. For a summary of the plot, see Herwig 2004, 296–301, and the Ph.D. dissertation of Tominaga Takeko, who amongst other pecularities presents the following translation of the title "The Yotsuya Town on the Tokyo Road Ghost Story" (Tominaga 2003, 40).

256. Cf. Nakayama 1988b, 44–7. *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 149-50, and *Kabuki saiken*, 557-58, say sixth month; *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 160, and *Kabuki jōruri gedai jiten*, 658-59, erroneously say sixth intercalary month.

257. Leiter 1997, 232, writes Hasegawa Kanbei II but it is the XI.

racle), *Kuwanaya Tokuzō irifune monogatari* 桑名屋徳蔵入舩物語 (*Kuwanaya Tokuzō—Tale of Boats Entering the Harbor*) and from Ikku's novel *Hizakurige*. In 1981, the actor Ichikawa Ennosuke III 市川猿之助 (b.1939) resuscitated this play, adding new action elements.[258]

Two aspects introduced in *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* were taken up by all other subsequent 'Tōkaidō plays,' mentioning the fifty-three stations in their title (*gojūsan tsugi* 五十三次): the route of the story along the Tōkaidō from Kyoto to Edo with the different scenes taking place in the various stations and the eerie encounter with a cat ghost, usually at the station Okazaki. These plays are categorized as 'ghost stories from the fifty-three stations' (*gojūsan tsugi no kaidan* 五十三次の怪談).[259]

Again with Onoe Kikugorō III as leading light, the play *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi* 梅初春五十三駅 (*Fifty-three Stations During the Spring of the Plum*) premiered in 1835. Kunisada's first actor Tōkaidō series *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 五十三次ノ内 (*The Fifty-three Stations*) depicts actors from it.

4.2.1 Spring of the Plum

From the second to the fourth month of 1835, the play *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi* 梅初春五十三駅 (*Fifty-three Stations During the Spring of the Plum*) was performed at the Ichimura Theater. Written by Nakamura Jūsuke IV 中村重助 (1807–1841) together with Mimasuya Nisōji 三升屋二三治 (1784–1856) and Uba Jōsuke II 姥尉輔 (i.e. Tsuruya Nanboku V 鶴屋南北, 1796–1852), the six acts focus on the story of Ōe Inabanosuke 大江因幡之助, played by Ichimura Uzaemon XII 市村羽左衛門 (1812–1851), and his lover Usugumo-tayū 薄雲太夫, played by Onoe Kikugorō III.[260]

The plot was an adaptation of the earlier described *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* and with at least forty-six actors, amongst them all popular actors of its time, playing in more than ninety roles (Onoe Kikugorō III alone in ten different roles), it was a gigantic production. Like its predecessor, the plot ran along the Tōkaidō and combined various well-known threads, e.g. the story about the cat witch from Okazaki, the Soga brothers, or Shirai Gonpachi and Banzuiin Chōbei at Suzugamori. In the first part, staged from the twenty-third day of the second month, the story continued until Yoshiwara and includes the ghost scene at Okazaki. The performance of the second part, about the journey from Numazu to Edo's Nihon Bridge, started on the fourth day of the fourth month.

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258. The text of the modern version is reprinted in Nagawa 1993. For an English summary, see Kokuritsu Gekijō 1993.

259. Cf. chapter 120 in *Kabuki saiken*, 557. The ghost story element is already embodied in *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan*, which is considered the masterpiece of ghost plays.

260. For more information on this play, see *Kabuki saiken*, 559–60; *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 266–67; *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 298–300. This play was resuscitated in January 2007 at Japan's National Theater to honor Onoe Kikugorō VII.

The play was so successful that one of its authors, Tsuruya Nanboku V, wrote the book *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五十三駅 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*). Three volumes were published by Yamamotoya Heikichi from 1836 until 1841 with illustrations by Kuniyoshi.[261] The play then traveled to Osaka where it was staged at the Kado Theater in the fourth month of 1841, again with Onoe Kikugorō III in the leading roles.[262]

In 1847, at the height of Onoe Kikugorō III's career the play *Onoe Kikugorō ichidai banashi* 尾上梅寿一代噺 (*Anecdotes from the Life of Onoe Kikugorō*) was dedicated to him, where he performed in most of the roles. Even though the title is not relating to the Tōkaidō, the story of the play clearly is. The first part premiered at the Ichimura Theater at the end of the seventh month and the second part at the beginning of the ninth month.[263] In the years to follow, every once in a while a new modified 'Tōkaidō play' was staged as seen in Table 18.

Most of Kunisada's actor prints in the 1830s were commissioned to accompany a play, as it was the case with his series *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 五十三次ノ内 (*The Fifty-three Stations*), which depicts actors from *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi* in full-length. Each print bears the subtitle 'performing in a large-scale production' (*ōjikake ni tsukamatsuri sōrō* 大仕掛ニ仕候), sometimes preceded by 'large stage setting' (*ōdōgu* 大道具). Seven *ōban* prints of this very first actor Tōkaidō series are known (see Table 19), all bear the usual *kiwame* censor seal and are signed *Gototei Kunisada ga*. They were issued in early 1835 by Takenouchi Magohachi or Hōeidō, the publisher of Hiroshige's famous first landscape Tōkaidō series.[264] The landscapes here are in an inset frame in the upper part of each print. Almost all of them noticeably derived from Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*. Only the landscape of Ōtsu is neither taken from that series nor from Kunisada's *Chūban Bijin* series.[265] Taking this irregularity into account, Suzuki Jūzō and Kimura Yaeko suggest

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261. Volume 1 was published in 1836, vol. 2 in 1837, and vol. 3 in 1841. It seems that it was not a success and they stopped in 1837. Probably because of the play *Tōkaidō furiwake sugoroku* 東海道振分双六 (*The Tōkaidō Spread over a Game of Dice*), also written by Nanboku V, staged at the Kawarazki Theater in IX/1840, they decided to continue the *gōkan* and volume three appeared at the beginning of 1841.

262. Cf. *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 428.

263. For further information, see *Kabuki saiken*, 560–61; *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 515–18; *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 505.

264. This series is also listed in Kimura 2004, 199–200, and in Suzuki 2004b, 207, however, both list six designs amiss the Nihon Bridge design. A Nihon Bridge print was two times offered at auctions in 1997. First in May at the Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne, Auction 743, lot 622. The black and white image of the Nihon Bridge print in vol. 2 is taken from the second sale in 1997, in the December mail auction of Hattori Shōkai, Nagoya (Hattori 1997, lot 36). It seems likely that the same print went from Cologne to Nagoya and might now be in a Japanese collection. I owe it to Horst Gräbner to have found the second listing.

265. The Ōtsu print with Onoe Kikugorō III as Shimizu no Kanja Yoshitaka is illustrated in Doesburg 1990, fig. 31.

that Hiroshige's series was not finished at that time, but finalized in mid 1835 and published as an album after New Year's Day 1836.

Their theory is supported by the assumption that the dated preface of the Kyoto album (I/1834) was written at a time when the end of the series production was rather close, however, the end was not reached as planned. Furthermore, this theory is strengthened by the publisher's address given on the advertisement sheet that accompanies this album, the address of a second shop that he had opened at the beginning of 1836. They also record that the preface and the advertisement sheet appear quite different, one in black, the second in blue.[266]

Such a late date as Suzuki and Kimura assume does not provide an indication to when Hiroshige started with the series. This theory implies however, that the publication was well under way in late 1833 because of the date given in the preface and then surprisingly prolongated by over two years to be finished in early 1836. It would also mean that the last designs of the series were published almost at the same time as the recuts of some designs, which are dated between late 1835 and late 1836 because of their publisher seal. Taking this into account, the Hōeidō publisher Takenouchi Magohachi would appear as a rather obtuse but lucky businessman. Why did he not update the two year old preface for the inclusion in the finally complete album? It would have been easily possible without much technical effort. In the fast developing *ukiyoe* market where constantly new designs were issued, it would have been a setback to issue a new product with an obviously old preface. Unless complete albums were not issued for the first time in early 1836, but in early 1834 as indicated in the preface, and a clever publisher added an advertisement sheet to a later edition that he expected to sell well in his new second shop. The series was in 1836 still in demand and customers would have turned to it again, as Hiroshige became more well-known, also through his other designs, such as the Kisokaidō series. This would explain the reported discrepancies between the advertisement sheet and the preface.

Coming back to the irregular scenic element in the Ōtsu design of Kunisada's *Spring of the Plum* series, the reason for designing this new scenery might lay somewhere else than in the delay of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* until 1835. The designs of the 53rd station Ōtsu in the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* and the *Chūban Bijin* follow different illustrations in the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*. Maybe Takenouchi Magohachi, the *Spring of the Plum* and *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* publisher, preferred the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* scenery, while Kunisada favored his own *Chūban Bijin* scenery, and the solution to this debate was the compromise of a new short section of Ōtsu port at Lake Biwa, that might have very well been inspired by the images of Lake Biwa in the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* or by Hiroshige's or Eisen's *Ōmi hakkei* series. In any case, the different scenery of the Ōtsu design does not necessarily imply such a delay of the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* as suggested by Suzuki and Kimura, keeping in mind that there are other comparable series by Kunisada where he as well did not consistently take all the backgrounds from the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*. Eight of the 31 known *Chūban Ac-*

266. Cf. Suzuki 2004.

tors designs that were published not long after the *Spring of the Plum* series also don't show a *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* landscape (see 4.2.2).

The depicted roles in the *Spring of the Plum* series are all listed in the *banzuke* (stage bill) apart from Mimasu Gennosuke I as Kobayashi no Asahina (see Fig. 41). Even though Gennosuke I is listed playing five roles, this role is surprisingly neither mentioned in the original *banzuke* nor in the *Kabuki nendaiki* or in the *Kabuki nenpyō*. Asahina is a friend of the Soga brothers and helps them to pursue their revenge. Intrinsically connected to their story, maybe it was planned to integrate this role into the play; however, as it is unlisted, the role was maybe written out at short notice, while Kunisada's print was already designed and in production. The publisher decided to carry on, not willing to loose his investment, blowing it on the production without sales revenues. Seven designs are known, but as the plot included so many roles, it wouldn't be surprising if Kunisada designed more prints than the seven known.

In the *Spring of the Plum* series, Kunisada juxtaposed for the first time actor portraits in specific roles with Tōkaidō stations. All previous actor prints related to the Tōkaidō also accompany a specific performance, but were not designed as a consistent series. Such prints are individual designs, commissioned by numerous publishers. In the case of *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* from 1827, for example, Kunisada designed inter alia polyptychs for the publishers Ōmiya Heihachi, Daikokuya Heikichi, Matsumura Tatsuemon, Yamamoto Heikichi, and fan prints for Enshūya Matabei and Iseya Sōemon.[267] Amongst these is a diptych, illustrated in Fig. 42, that is titled *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi: Shimada* 東海道五十三次の内　嶋田 (*The Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō: Shimada*), capturing a scene form the *River Ōi* (*Ōigawa* 大井川) act which was naturally set at Shimada. By explicitly relating to a specific station and portraying its protagonists, this diptych serves as prototype for the gradually developing actor Tōkaidō series.

The main focus of actor Tōkaidō prints is not the scenery along the Tōkaidō, but the actor portrait. The composition of the *Spring of the Plum* series therefore follows the *Koban Bijin* series by reducing the scenic element into an inset frame. Instead of showing the actors within the stage setting of a scene such as the *Shimada* diptych, Kunisada captures them alone in a representative pose, before a plain background. But to attract not only the usual actor prints buyers he installs small corresponding images from Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*. Through the inclusion of in that time popular and highly successful images he tries to cover the span between two different markets.

Through the *Spring of the Plum* series Kunisada develops patterns of kabuki character and Tōkaidō station combinations, such as Soga Jūrō Sukenari and the station Ōiso,

267. Both fan prints portray Onoe Kikugorō III. The fan print published by Enshūya Matabei is titled *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi: Kanagawa shuku* 東海道五十三次之内　神奈川宿 (*The Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō: Station Kanagawa*) and illustrated in Tanba 1963, fig. 144; that by Iseya Sōemon is titled *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi: Kanaya Ōigawa* 五十三次之内　金谷大井川 (*The Fifty-three Stations: The River Ōi at Kanaya*) and illustrated in Honcoopová 2005, fig. 116*1.

or Soga Gorō Tokimune with Hakone. Furthermore, he emphasizes characters that become typical for Tōkaidō prints, e.g. Shirai Gonpachi. In the subsequent actor Tōkaidō series, he will continue to use these motif patterns and further consolidate them into a canon. The motif patterns are in the *Spring of the Plum* series limited, as the entire series is about a single play, meant to draw attention to this particular performance. In the next series soon thereafter Kunisada combined roles from various plays into a series, creating the first actor Tōkaidō series that stands on its own and does not accompany a single play.

4.2.2 Chūban Actors

With roughly sixty percent, the largest part of Kunisada's Tōkaidō related work is series of actor portraits from various plays. The five series, published between 1837 and 1864, consist of almost 300 designs. *Mitate yakusha gojūsan tsui no uchi* 見立役者五十三對ノ内 (*The Fifty-three Pairs of Visual Parodies of Actors*), henceforth referred to as *Chūban Actors* series was the very first actor Tōkaidō series with motifs from various plays.[268] It seems that Kunisada and the publisher of the aforementioned *Chūban Bijin* series, Sanoya Kihei, planned to distribute an actor series as well in *chūban*-size and in the same style, on the whole, also making use of Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* landscapes.

The series was published in 1837–38. Sanoya Kihei advertised it on the last page of the fourth and last installment of a *gōkan* published by him. The *gōkan* from the first month of 1838 is titled *Edo meisho zue* 絵図名所杖 (*Picture Book of Drawings of Famous Sights*), written by Santō Kyōzan and illustrated by Kunisada. The advertisement reads:

> Quarter-size large paper size, richly colored printed,
> **Pictures of visual parodies of actors along the fifty-three stations**
> Published bit by bit
> Painted by Kōchōrō Kunisada
>
> *Ōbōsho yotsukiri, goku saishiki suri*
> ***Gojūsan tsugi mitate yakusha e***
> *Enen deki*
> *Kōchōrō Kunisada ga*
>
> 大奉書四ッ切　極彩色摺
> **五十三次見立役者繪**
> 延々出来
> 香蝶樓國貞画

The advertisement indicates that prints were already published in 1837, before the publication of this book, and the last prints were issued in 1838, because of the depicted motifs. The pseudo-diptych Yoshida-Goyu for example captures the actors Sawamura Sōjūrō V 澤村宗十郎 (1802–1853) as Ashikaga Yoshihisa and Ichimura Uzaemon XII 市

268. For illustrations, see Tanba 1963, figs. 164 (Hodogaya), 216 (Hiratsuka).

村羽左衛門 (1812–1851) as Katsuragi in the play *Gosho moyō Genji no Edo-zome* 内裡模様源氏紫 (*Court Style and Genji's Edo-pattern*), performed at the Ichimura Theater in the third month of 1838. These two prints were most likely designed during the time of the performance, to make use of the great public interest in the first dramatization of *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, the most successful illustrated novel of the Edo period.[269]

The *Chūban Actors* series, Kunisada's first actor series in *chūban*-size, was by far not as successful as the preceding *Chūban Bijin* series; a reason for this might have been the impact of the Tenpō famine on Edo in the second half of the 1830s. Only thirty-one prints were handed down, and it is not known if Kunisada in fact designed a complete set of fifty-five prints (or fifty-six such as the *Chūban Bijin* series). The thirty-one prints known range from the first station Nihon Bridge to the thirty-sixth station Goyu. Some successional prints in this series form diptychs with regard to motif, and in the cases of Yui-Okitsu, Shimada-Kanaya and Mitsuke-Hamamatsu, also background. Twelve of these pseudo-diptychs are within the thirty-one prints found (see Table 20).

The actors in full-length are separated by a cloud band from the landscape in the background. Even though the method is the same as in the *Chūban Bijin* series, Kunisada has now expanded the cloud partition and reduced the landscape from two third to the upper third of the print. The actor portraits were accentuated through enlarging their size by roughly one half compared to the *bijin*. On the whole the reduction of the secondary, scenic element through the expansion of the cloud band made the production easier in terms of cutting time and color costs.

As described before, Kunisada used the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* as background for the first forty-one prints of the *Chūban Bijin* series. Unfortunately, the last known print of the *Chūban Actors* series is the thirty-sixth print and the question remains, whether he designed the background of the last *Chūban Actors* prints after the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* or after the newly created backgrounds in his *Chūban Bijin* series. It is significant that he, contrary to the *Chūban Bijin* series, refrained from consequently using the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* as background in the known thirty-one actor prints. He attached great importance to the design of pseudo-diptychs and therefore changed especially in these prints the scenery accordingly.

Apart from two designs are all of them signed 'Kōchōrō Kunisada ga' (drawn by Kōchōrō Kunisada). The designs for the stations Yoshiwara (S0327-015) and Kanbara (S0327-016) are signed 'Gototei Kunisada ga' (drawn by Gototei Kunisada). All prints, but the design for Fujisawa (S0327-07) and Goyu (S0327-036), bear a red *kiwame* 極 censor seal and a red Sanoki 佐野喜 seal of the publisher Sanoya Kihei. The vertical cartouche with the series title is in a simple bookmark form (*shiori* 枝折) with mostly a red but sometimes also a yellow or green background. It is combined with a second smaller cartouche of the same shape in a different color, positioned slightly below it, bearing the station name and the actor's poet name (*haimyō* 俳名); half of them include also the name of the depicted role.

269. For more details on prints on the *Inaka Genji* theme, see Marks 2006.

The parallels in the motif patterns to the preceding *Spring of the Plum* series are obvious: the pattern Soga Jūrō and Ōiso is repeated in the pseudo-diptych Hiratsuka-Ōiso with Soga Jūrō Sukenari and his lover Tora as motifs; Soga Gorō Tokimune is again juxtaposed to Hakone; Shirai Gonpachi reappears, however this time not in the Nihon Bridge but in the Shinagawa design, as he will so in the series to come. Kunisada even reruns a modified version of the Shimada diptych he designed in 1827 to the play *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* (Fig. 42). As seen in Fig. 43, he captures again Ichikawa Danjūrō VII as the villain Akabori (aka Fujikawa) Mizuemon, and also confronts him with Onoe Kikugorō III, however this time in the role of Miki Jūzaemon (see Fig. 44).[270] The two actors are shown in the exact same manner, being carried over the River Ōi, and as it is now a pseudo-diptych, they are juxtaposed not only to Shimada but also to Kanaya respectively. But there is even more behind this design. In fact, Kunisada did not only allude to his own design from approximately ten years ago, but goes even further back to a design by his master Toyokuni in 1805.

The scene of two opponents, traveling along the Tōkaidō in opposite directions who accidentally meet when being carried over a river, derives from plays on the vendetta at Kameyama.[271] Toyokuni's diptych, seen in Fig. 45, accompanies the play *Hanashōbu ukigi no Kameyama* 花菖蒲浮木亀山 (*The Iris Raft of Kameyama*), which premiered at the Ichimura Theater in the fourth month of 1805. This dramatic scene was integrated by the playwright Tsuruya Nanboku IV into his first Tōkaidō play, *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi*, and maintained an integral part of future Tōkaidō plays. Kunisada's artistic achievement here is to merge contemporary, popular actors into a thirty year old composition on the original Kameyama story, furnish it with Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō,* and place it into a *chūban*-size Tōkaidō series.

Despite this effort and the integration of the successful *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* into portraits of popular actors, was this new concept of serializing portraits of characters from various plays by using the Tōkaidō as a device evidently no success. The rare occurrence of *Chūban Actors* prints today in comparison to the *Chūban Bijin* series or even to the *Yakusha Mitate* series from 1852 lead to this conclusion. The sales did not go as well, and Sanoya Kihei did undoubtedly not release a new edition as with the *Chūban Bijin* series. The market's unenthusiastic response derived from a lack of interest in *chūban* prints with actor motifs. At that time, *ōban*-size prints were state of the art, and *chūban*-size a relic from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and designers such as Suzuki Harunobu. The exceptional *Chūban Bijin* series turned out well due to its motif, but *ōban*-size was considered more suitable for actor portraits. The outcome of the *Chūban Actors* series might have been very different if Sanoya would have commissioned an *ōban* series instead.

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270. The portrait of Onoe Kikugorō III is a *mitatee*, as a performance of him in this role is not known.

271. Cf. *Kabuki saiken*, 312–15.

Though the *Chūban Actors* series seems to have been a business failure, it plays a pioneering role in the development of actor Tōkaidō prints. Not only in respect of role–station motif patterns and kabuki brain puzzles, moreover in composition and conceptual design in general is the *Chūban Actors* series the progenitor of the *Yakusha Mitate* series from 1852. Kunisada, fifteen years after the *Chūban Actors* series, revived his method of adjoining motifs from different plays in one series, and created the largest actor series and the largest *ukiyoe* series by a single designer.[272]

4.3 Series in the aftermath of the Tenpō reforms

Kunisada is involved in two collaboratively created Tōkaidō series, depicting motifs from a wide range of subjects. The symbolism within these *fukiyose* series includes the kabuki theater, *bijin*, poetical allusions, famous stories, legends, local specialties, etc. Because the motifs were carefully chosen to harmonize with the station, it is not surprising, that some theater motifs coincide with the motifs used by Kunisada in his actor Tōkaidō series.

4.3.1 Fifty-three Pairs of the Tōkaidō

The *ōban* series *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsui* 東海道五十三對 (*Fifty-three Pairs of the Tōkaidō*) was a joint project by the three designers Hiroshige, Kunisada, and Kuniyoshi, and six publishers: Ebiya Rinnosuke, Enshūya Matabei, Ibaya Kyūbei, Ibaya Senzaburō, Iseya Ichiemon, and Kojimaya Jūbei. It is one of three series published in the mid 1840s, where the three leading print designers of the Utagawa tradition worked together.[273]

Created in 1845, the motifs reflect the restrictions imposed by the government through the Tenpō-era reforms. This series falls in a period when designers, actors, writers, and publishers had been imprisoned or expelled from Edo. The lucrative and immense market of actor prints had collapsed and it was vital for the print industry, designers and publishers alike, to develop methods to continue serving the still existing high demand and satisfy the customers. Designers like Kunisada, who were not prosecuted, revived actor prints with cautious designs, confiding in the vast knowledge of their receptors, the kabuki fanatics. Because actor portraits were prohibited, the identifier, the actor's name—until the reforms usually inscribed in the print—was now

272. Schwan 2003, 678, mentions Hiroshige's series *Meisho Edo hyakkei* 名所江戸百景 (*One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*) (1856–1858) with 119 prints to be the largest ever produced series. However, both the *Yakusha mitate Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* series and the *Processional Tōkaidō* series are larger. Hiroshige's series might be the largest landscape series.

273. Ibaya Sensaburō alone published the second joint series *Ogura nazorae hyakunin isshu* 小倉擬百人一首 (*Ogura Allusions of One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each*). The complete set of one-hundred *ōban* is illustrated in Yoshida 2002 and Herwig & Mostow 2007. The third joint series, *Dai Nihon rokujūyoshū no uchi* 大日本六十餘州之内 (*The Sixty-odd Provinces of Japan*), was designed by Kunisada and Kuniyoshi, with insets by their disciples.

omitted. Furthermore, actor prints display generic, unidentifiable faces, entirely loosing the connection to the well-known stars of the time. Theater designs were now hidden behind inconspicuous serial devices or the designers turned to legends that happen to have been taken up in kabuki and were therefore not outlawed. The fans seemingly enjoyed the puzzles that were created and the appetite for actor portraits even increased. Already by 1846, the actors' facial features return and they are now easily identifiable. The reforms fell more and more into disuse and the market steadily grows until it reaches a one-time high in 1852. The actor's names returned sporadically in 1860 and became standard by 1861.

The *Fifty-three Pairs* series seems to be the earliest series after the Tenpō reforms incorporating theatre designs. Because of the tense financial situation after the reforms it had to be published with the collected effort of a number of publishers. Dominated by the aftermath of the reform, are here not only the actor's names omitted and the characters are juxtaposed to and hidden behind Tōkaidō stations, but furthermore are facial features absent through which a specific actor normally could have been identified. Additionally, such theater designs are concealed in this set between other types of designs like that of *bijin* or festivals. Their depiction differs greatly from previous examples, and to make it perfect, the accompanying texts refer not to a dramatization, but to a legend. The integration of text that may have reinforced the 'innocence' of the images in accordance with the new regulations became common practice at that time. Kabuki prints feature explanatory text that refers to legends and *bijin* prints bear poems by popular writers.

Because of its popularity, designs of the *Fifty-three Pairs* series were often reprinted and are widespread. Almost all major collections have some prints, though not usually the complete series. This series was subject of past research. The earliest is Morozumi Kōki's short article from 1917.[274] The so-called *Society for the Publication of Customs Picture Scrolls* (*Fūzoku emaki shuppan kyōkai* 風俗絵巻出版協会) reprinted parts of the series in a Japanese-style bound book format in 1933.[275] The first discussion in a western language seems to be by Edward F. Strange in 1925.[276] A more intensive debate was initiated by Rob de Bruijn in 1997 and continued by Helmut Wilmes in the year after.[277]

One of the particularities of this series is that for some stations, two different designs exist, causing several theories about the total number of prints, ranging from fifty-two to sixty-two, to be in circulation.[278] As a result of its success, various re-editions

274. Cf. Morozumi 1917a, 23–24.

275. Cf. Fūzoku emaki shuppan kyōkai 1933.

276. Cf. Strange 1983, 157–61.

277. Cf. Bruijn 1997, 13–20; Wilmes 1998, 35–38.

278. Morozumi 1917a, 23, mentioned fifty-two (twenty-nine by Kuniyoshi, sixteen by Hiroshige, seven by Kunisada), fifty-seventy are given by Strange 1983, 157–161; Speiser 1963, 83; Robinson 1963, 10. With Robinson 1982, 127–28, the figure fifty-eight (thirty-one by Kuniyoshi, nineteen by Hiroshige, eight by Kunisada) appeared (also in: Van Vleck 1990, 53; Does-

were published, sometimes with distinctive differences in its most extreme form bearing an entirely different inscription.

After thorough research of prints in various collections, it seems that actually fifty-nine unique designs, consisting of the traditional fifty-five stations, enlarged by second designs for Hakone (S0457-011B), Hara (S0457-014B), Mitsuke (S0457-029B), and Ōtsu (S0457-054B), exist.

Thirty designs of this series were created by Kuniyoshi, twenty-one by Hiroshige, and eight by Kunisada. The second design for Ōtsu (S0457-054B), counted here as Kuniyoshi's design, was actually a joint work with Hiroshige. Kuniyoshi drew the main motif, depicting the stutterer Matahei and his wife Otoku, and Hiroshige the upper cartouche of three typical *Ōtsue* 大津絵 images (satirical pictures after folk belief). In charge of cutting the woodblocks for this series was Matsushima Fusajirō 松嶋房次朗, assisted by his student Yokokawa Takejirō 横川竹次郎.

Most significant is the tripartite composition of the designs. The upper one third of each print is divided into two parts, the black title cartouche on the right side with a white inscription and a descriptive cartouche on the left. The title is consistently written with the exact same seven characters and no variations, as we find them in many other series, occur. The wide descriptive cartouche appears in six different shapes, each representing a specific publisher (see Table 21).[279]

Ibaya Sensaburō used a bean-shaped form (*mame* 豆), a trademark that is sometimes apparent in his publisher seals. Ibaya Kyūbei, who published, amongst others, fan prints, chose an unmounted round fan. Enshūya Matabei, another very active publisher of fan prints, decided to use two round fans that are embossed in the deluxe version. One fan sometimes appears in his publisher seal. Kojimaya Jūbei chose two snow rings (*yukiwa* 雪輪). Iseya Ichiemon used the hiragana letter '*tsu* つ' in a rectangular form, a stylized version of his publisher seal '*Kaku-Tsuji* 角辻' (the character *tsuji* 辻 in a square). Ebiya Rinnosuke referred to his name by using a stylized shrimp (*ebi* 海老), in the deluxe edition with mica applied to the brown outlines.

This descriptive cartouche always bears the station name and an additional text that might either by a description of the main motif or a poem. The poet Umenoya Kakuju 梅屋鶴寿 (1803–1864) contributed nine original poems to this series. Five of them are on Kuniyoshi's designs (Nihon Bridge S0457-001, Shinagawa S0457-002, Numazu S0457-013, Maisaka S0457-031, Ishibe S0457-052), three on Hiroshige's (the first design for Hakone S0457-011A, Kanaya S0457-025, The Capital S0457-055), and one on Kunisada's (Yoshida S0457-035).[280] One more poem, but by another author, is inscribed in the

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burg 1990, fig. 33; Schaap 1998, figs. 46–50, 72). Sixty-two (twenty-nine by Kuniyoshi, twenty-two by Hiroshige, eleven by Kunisada) are mentioned in *Ukiyoe jiten*, vol. 2, 219–20; Rappard-Boon et al. 1991, figs. 406–421.

279. Cf. also Wilmes 1998, 35–36.

280. Iwakiri 1992a, 8, mentions that seven designs are inscribed with Umenoya's poems. Bruijn 1997, 16, erroneously writes, that the poems would be on "seven of Kuniyoshi's prints."

descriptive cartouche of Kunisada's Shimada design (S0457-024). It is by Akisato Ritō, the author of the about fifty years earlier published *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, which serves actually as source for this poem. Kunisada took Akisato's poem about the River Ōi at Shimada from the River Ōi design in the fourth book of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, and connected it—logically—with his own design of the River Ōi.[281]

In general, the pattern and coloring of the descriptive cartouche and the background color of the main motif were altered in later editions. This can be seen in designs such as Nihon Bridge (S0457-001), Hodogaya (S0457-005), Fujisawa (S0457-007), Hiratsuka (S0457-008), Ōiso (S0457-009), Yui (S0457-017), Okitsu (S0457-018), Mariko (S0457-021), Fukuroi (S0457-028), Shirasuka (S0457-033), Goyu (S0457-036), Ishiyakushi (S0457-045), Seki (S0457-048), or Tsuchiyama (S0457-050). An exception, with even more changes, is Hiroshige's design for Totsuka (S0457-006), which is available in two versions with altered poem by the *kyōka* poet Shigenoya Mitsuo 重の屋光雄.[282] In one version, the poem reads:

> かまくらを出る鰹につれだちて
> やぼないなかになく郭公
>
> *Kamakura o deru katsuo ni tsuredachite*
> *yabo na inaka ni naku kakkō.*
>
> Accompanying the bonito who leaves Kamakura
> To an uncouth countryside where cuckoos sing.

The other version says:

> 白雲によう似た花へ舞ふ蝶も
> とまりとまりの枝の夕霧
>
> *Shirakumo ni yō nita hana he mō chō mo*
> *tomari tomari no eda no yūgiri.*
>
> Even the butterflies, fluttering to flowers that appear like white clouds, Stop
> at twig after twig in the evening mist.

Quite frequently, the appearance of water, in particular waves, was modified in later editions. This is especially apparent in the designs of Kawasaki (S0457-003), Kanagawa

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His conclusion that Kuniyoshi wanted to promote Umenoya doesn't seem likely, as Umenoya's poems are also inscribed on prints by Hiroshige and Kunisada. Furthermore, Markus 1993, 150, mentions a "kyōka master Umenoya Matsuō 梅の屋秣翁 (1804–1865)" who seems to be identical with Umenoya Kakuju.

281. The main motif of a traveling sumo wrestler seems to be inspired by an illustration in the same the same book of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, depiction traveling sumo wrestlers who cross the River Abe, cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 2, 306–307.

282. Hiroshige's main motif depicts Okaru from *Kanadehon Chūshingura* and not simply a daimyo maid, as described in Strange 1983, 158.

(S0457-004), Arai (S0457-032), Fujikawa (S0457-038), Kuwana (S0457-043), Yokkaichi (S0457-044), and Shōno (S0457-046). Occasionally, wave lines disappear, sometimes the *bokashi* ぼかし (gradation printing) is reversed and the top of the wave instead of the valleys is dark blue, or the *bokashi* is completely replaced by a consistent blue.

As mentioned before, the motifs in this series are from a wide range of subjects, and the treatment is from designer to designer different. Despite the designers' differences in style and composition, the influence of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* is apparent in designs of all three designers. It seems that all three designers previously discussed to consult the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* up to a certain extent for inspiration.[283] Hiroshige even used the entire image of the New Year's Festival in Mishima with hardly any changes as motif for this station (S0457-012).[284] Kuniyoshi's Shōno motif, capturing Sasaki Shiro Takatsuna crossing the River Uji on horseback (S0457-046), clearly resembles the image of Akechi Samanosuke crossing Lake Biwa on horseback.[285] A few other prints feature just smaller pictorial elements from the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, like the image of the Mirage of Nago Bay in the background of Kunisada's Yokkaichi design (S0457-044).[286]

Some of the motifs captured by the three designers Kuniyoshi, Hiroshige, and Kunisada in this series will later be discussed in detail when examining the motifs of Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series. The same applies to the second collaborative series with motifs from different themes, *Sōhitsu gojūsan tsugi* 雙筆五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations by Two Brushes*), that was created approximately ten years after the *Fifty-three Pairs* series.

In Osaka, the publisher Tenmaya Kihei commissioned Kunisada's students Sadahiro and Sadayoshi to design a miniaturized version of the *Fifty-three Pairs* series. The 56 *koban*, 30 by Sadahiro and 26 by Sadayoshi, were issued around 1849. To make it more appealing to the audience in Osaka, the order of the stations was reversed and for printing reasons, a second design for Kyoto was added.[287]

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283. The question can be raised, if this series was initiated as remembrance of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, published almost exactly fifty years before.

284. It might therefore be assumed, that the print was issued for the New Year. Cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 3, 100.

285. Cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 1, 118–19.

286. Cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 1, 330–31. Other elements derived from the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* are: the background landscape in Hiroshige's Kyoto design (S0457-055, cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 1, 34–35), the *bijin* on a veranda in Hiroshige's Shirasuka design (S0457-033, cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 3, 280), the dancer in Hiroshige's Mariko design (S0457-021, cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 3, 210–11), the house in the background of Hiroshige's first Hakone design (S0457-011A, cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 3, 121), and Mt. Fuji and the forested coast with temples in the background of Kuniyoshi's Nihon Bridge design (S0457-001, cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 3, 326).

287. See no. 76 in the appendix.

4.3.2 Chūshingura Tōkaidō

In the late 1840s, when careful attention was paid to the restrictions on actor prints, especially on how they could have been circumvented, Kunisada was engaged in creating large numbers of actor prints in various formats, composed as individual designs as well as series. Contrary to the actor prints prior to the reform, are now only roles inscribed without mentioning names of actors. In this time falls a series of *ōban* prints, accompanying the play *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi* 忠臣蔵五十三紀 (*Fifty-three Records on the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*), staged at the Ichimura Theater in the fifth and sixth months of 1850. *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi* is a variation of *Kanadehon Chūshingura*, set along the Tōkaidō. Like Kuniyoshi, Kunisada was also commissioned to design a series with characters from this play.[288] Whereas Kuniyoshi's series combines two stations in one design, Kunisada composed one station per print. Furthermore, contrary to Kuniyoshi's series, Kunisada abstained from implementing any scenic elements. Set against a plain background, his minimalistically executed series portrays only two actors, one standing erect whilst the other bends or kneels. Kunisada's treatment of the Tōkaidō theme here is comparable to the development of other popular serial devices that refer to a specific scenery such as the Eight Views or the Six Jewel Rivers. These themes became so well known that the actual appearance of scenery was from a certain time on considered unnecessary, such as in Harunobu's series *Zashiki hakkei* 座敷八景 (*Eight Parlor Views*) from *c*.1765.

Two designs are known, issued by Wakasaya Yoichi 若狭屋与市, and because such designs directly accompanied the actual performance, they most likely were released in the fifth month of 1850.[289] These designs are the forty-third station Kuwana and the fiftieth station Tsuchiyama. Both are signed 'Toyokuni ga' and titled *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 忠臣蔵五十三次ノ内 (*Along the Fifty-three Stations with the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*) in an oval red cartouche decorated with two yellow, comma-shaped figures called *futatsu domoe* 二つ巴, the well-known crest of Ōboshi Yuranosuke Yoshio 大星由良之助良雄, the main character from the parent play *Kanadehon Chūshingura*.[290]

The leading actor of *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi* is Seki Sanjūrō III, who performed in seven roles, e.g. as Kakogawa Honzō 加古川本蔵, Horibe Yahei Kanemaru 堀部弥兵衛金丸, Senzaki Yagorō 千崎弥五郎, Yazama Jūtarō 矢間重太郎, and Kō no Musashinokami Moronao 高武蔵守師直. Onoe Baikō IV, Sawamura Chōjūrō V, and Ichimura Uzaemon XII are the other main actors of this play.

Kuwana, seen in Fig. 46, portrays Uzaemon XII as Hayano Kanpei 早野勘平, disguised as Ishiya Gorōda 石屋五郎太 together with Fujikawa Kayū III as Kudayū's

288. Kuniyoshi's series is listed as no. 68 in the appendix.

289. Like the five known prints of Kuniyoshi, this series also bears the censor seals Kinugasa and Watanabe.

290. The title varies slightly: 忠臣蔵五十三次ノ内 on the Kuwana design and 忠臣ぐら五十三次乃うち on the Tsuchiyama design.

daughter Okumi お組. Tsuchiyama shows Chōjūrō V as Shioda Matanojō 汐田又の丞 and Baikō IV as Numasawa Jiemon 沼沢治右衛門.[291]

It cannot be determined how many designs of this series exist, and it rather seems that similar designs were released by other publishers, sometimes without a title and in a different format. Fig. 47, for example, shows a diptych published by Ebisuya Shōshichi at the same time, as the censor seals Kinugasa and Watanabe indicate. The right print bears a cartouche with the title *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 忠臣蔵五十三次内 (*Along the Fifty-three Stations with the Treasury of Loyal Retainers*) and the station name Kusatsu, the fifty-third station. The design of the cartouche is very similar, as is the composition of the figures. Each print shows a double portrait of two actors. On the right are Sawamura Chōjūrō V as Ōboshi Yuranosuke and Seki Sanjūrō III as Senzaki Yagorō; on the left are Onoe Baikō IV as the courtesan Kashiwagi and Arashi Kichisaburō III as Teraoka Heiemon.[292]

The importance of the *Loyal Retainers* prints in the development of Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series lies in their catalytic function in regard to the climax of this theme one and a half years later, and not in their design itself. At that time, Kunisada portrayed also for other publishers actors from a number of plays in the same uniform style, actor pair set against a plain background, and the *Loyal Retainers* prints are therefore too normal and basic to be able to reach wide attention and to be an outstanding success.[293] Nevertheless is this series the first time that the grouping device Tōkaidō was used as a vehicle for half-length actor portraits. It is a kind of unconscious rehearsal for the 1852 series that became a success because Kunisada then combined the *Chūban Actors* series with the *Loyal Retainers* prints: actors in front of a cloud device, posed against landscapes like in the *Chūban Actors* series, with the figure size and print format derived from the *Loyal Retainers* prints.

4.4 The 1852 series

The productivity of Kunisada and his studio culminated in the year 1852, when he was sixty-seven years old. Already within his serial work are well over 670 prints from more than forty series, published in 1852.[294] Almost 500 of these prints are half-length actor

291. I am grateful to Horst Gräbner for providing me a copy of this print.

292. Maruya Tetsujirō (i.e. Kobayashi Tetsujirō) published three untitled prints by Kunisada with double portraits of actors from this play, see Waseda University Theater Museum Collection, no. 100-8858, 100-1197 (100-0679), and 100-1198.

293. The difference to these similar designs is, however, that they are untitled. Such designs were published by Ebisuya Shōshichi, Enshūya Hikobei, Ibaya Senzaburō, Kobayashi Taijirō et al.

294. Because of the concentration on these designs, Kunisada seized to continue with illustrations for the highly successful *gōkan* series *Shiranui monogatari* 白縫譚 (*The Tale of Shiranui*),

portraits.[295] This 'mass production,' as one could call it, of theoretically almost two designs per day was only possible because of Kunisada's previous success and the involvement of a large number of students, block-cutters, and printers.

Kunisada took many of the motifs in the 1852 series from the kabuki performances of the previous years, respectively his horizontal (*yokoe* 横絵) *ōban* designs of these performances. This however does not imply portraying the exact same actors of these performances as well. Most of these new half-length actor portraits are *mitate*, capturing other actors who actually did not play in these performances. Actors are portrayed in roles that were familiar to the buying public because they might have been to the theater just a few months ago or heard of the show, however, the portrayed actors in many cases did not participate in these performances or maybe even never played that particular role at all. To use Iwata Hideyuki's words, these images show a "'dream cast' for a kabuki play."[296] The performances of the years 1848 to 1851 were to a large extent captured by Kunisada in series of horizontal *ōban*.[297] In these years, at least 23 series were successively issued by different publishers, and half of the serial designs are numbered though they are without a unifying serial title (see Table 22).

Sometime in late 1851, Kunisada for whatever reason must have decided to abandon the horizontal format and to concentrate fully on portraits. One of his last designs in horizontal format before its drastic abandonment is illustrated in Fig. 48. It is one of two prints from the set *Satomi hakkenden* 里見八犬傳 (*Satomi and the Legend of the Eight Dog Warriors*), referring to the dramatization of Kyokutei Bakin's serial novel *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* 南総里見八犬, originally published from 1814 until 1842, staged at the Ichimura Theater in the first month of 1852.[298] Contrary to Kunisada's usual horizontal designs at that time where he virtually captured the actors on stage, they are here set in front of a plain background.

Maybe the market for horizontal format was saturated and Kunisada as well as his publishers chose to put more emphasis on the vertical format. Along with the format change was the change of composition, resulting in extracting and emphasizing single roles instead of showing them in a group within a stage set-up. Kunisada resumed the tradition of half-length actor portraits seen in his earlier compositions, but instead of

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cf. Iijima 1993, 139. Including non-serial works, close to 1,000 designs by Kunisada were published in 1852.

295. Izzard 1993, 37, mentions "at least 300," and Tinios 1996, 41, "nearly 400." My research however revealed it to be near 500, within the serial works alone.

296. Cf. Iwata 2002, 134.

297. Two *Genjie* series in horizontal format fall also in this period: *Sono sugata yukari no utsushie* 其姿紫の写絵 (*His Appearance in Purple Magic Lantern Pictures*) with fifty-four prints, and *Sugata hakkei* 姿八契 (*Eight Views of His Appearance*) with eight prints.

298. From 1848 on, two sequels were issued that revived Bakin's story, one, initially illustrated by Kunisada (*Inu no sōshi* 犬の草紙), was issued until the Meiji period, the other, at the beginning with illustrations by Kuniyoshi (*Kanayomi hakkenden* 仮名読八犬伝), was published until 1867.

placing them in front of a neutral canvas did he develop a method of setting them against a scenery with a cloud band in-between. The background scenery is either an unpretentious landscape or a scaled down scene with characters connected to the main motif.

Previously, Kunisada used such a style only for the actor series *Sensha mōde* 千社詣 (*Thousand Shrines Visited*), illustrated in Fig. 49.[299] The eight *ōban* were released *c.*1833 by Takenouchi Magohachi, the same publisher and during the same time as Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*. The actors are here also depicted in half-length size, but contrary to series from 1852 onwards are they off stage and dressed in summer kimonos. Kunisada designed the landscapes himself, referring to various shrines. Actors and landscapes are partitioned by a red cloud band. Though Kunisada did not repeat this composition in his actor series until 1852, he pursued it often in fan print series of *bijin* in half-length size, however, without the intermediary cloud band.

4.4.1 Yakusha Mitate

The publication of the first three designs of Kunisada's most successful series was in the intercalary month (between the second and third months) of 1852. This series of 139 half-length actor portraits in *ōban* format is widely known as *Yakusha Mitate* series, or precisely *Yakusha mitate Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 役者見立東海道五十三驛 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō with Visual Parodies of Actors*) according to the title provided by the table of content.

The parallels with the *Chūban Actors* series of 1837/38 are obvious. The first three juxtapositions feature the same patterns: Nihon Bridge-Bonito Vendor, Shinagawa/Kawasaki-Gonpachi/Chōbei, and other motifs later in the series do so as well. Moreover, the composition of the designs alludes to the *Chūban Actors* series by portraying a single actor, posed against a landscape, partitioned with a cloud band. The figure size, however, is no longer full-length but reduced to half-length as in the *Loyal Retainers* series from 1850. The overall appearance therefore, directly adjoins to his experiment with the *Thousand Shrines* series, however, capturing the actors in role. Through merging these elements and adding well-considered kabuki brain puzzles of roles that are juxtaposed to specific elements, Kunisada creates a new design that was more than welcomed by the public. In 1852, the combination of actor portraits and Tōkaidō stations et al. was not an attempt to merely disguise actor prints. The *Loyal Retainers* series proofs that already in 1850 censors allowed the publication of forthright actor portraits.[300] The implementation of a scenic background derives from Kunisada's attempt to visualize the serial device and/or the juxtaposed element. The concept of challenging kabuki brain puzzles was appealing and the overwhelming success of this

299. Cf. Shindō 1993, 142–43.

300. Cf. Thompson 1991, 82–3.

new print type resulted in many publishers commissioning series after this pattern, as listed in Table 23.

Despite the success and vast distribution of prints from this series, the literature about it is scarce. In 1984, F. K. Lotgering made an attempt to analyze this series, referring to an unpublished manuscript by Willibald Netto from 1964 and an exhibition catalogue by the former Riccar Art Museum from 1978. In 1995, the Tōkaidō Hiroshige Art Museum published a small brochure accompanying the exhibition of this series.[301]

The *Yakusha Mitate* series as it exists today consists of three parts. The first is the originally planned set of traditional fifty-five prints plus table of content, initially published between the intercalary month (between the second and third months) and the sixth month of 1852 ('traditional set'). The second and third parts are both results of the attempt to make use of the demand created by the success of the first. The twenty-seven prints providing an additional view of the traditional stations form the second part and were published between the eighth month of 1852 and the first month of 1853 ('additional set,' *zokuhen* 続編). The third part of fifty-seven designs related to intermediate locales was published about the same time, between the eighth month of 1852 and the second month of 1853 ('intermediate set,' *ai no shuku* 間の宿).[302]

The 'traditional set' concludes with a table of content, listing the stations, the names of the roles, and the actors' names. Because of the ban on actor prints, the actors' names were not inscribed on the 139 portraits, though the print purchasers and kabuki lovers were easily capable of identifying their stars. The table of content was published unofficially and has no date seal, censor seals, or publisher mark, but the addition 'not for sale' (*kingaibai* 禁買賣).

Two months after the publication of the last print of the 'traditional set,' the first prints of the 'additional set' and 'intermediate set' were published. The twenty-seven prints of the 'additional set' provide a second or third view of twenty-six stations.[303] Sometimes, they were composed as diptychs or triptychs in conjunction with the designs from the 'traditional set' by means of a common background and / or reference.[304] Kunisada apparently followed his own pattern of designing actor diptychs in combination with Tōkaidō stations as seen in the 1837/38 *Chūban Actors* series.

The fifty-seven prints of the 'intermediate set' refer to fifty-five intermediate locales, each located between two traditional stations.[305] Kunisada did not insert intermediate locales between all stations. Eleven times, two intermediate locales were placed

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301. Suzuki 2004b, 207, speaks erroneously of only 129 designs.

302. I have numbered the traditional set consecutively from 1 to 55 following the order of stations. To the additional set are the letters A and B added after the number, and to the intermediate set are the letters C, D, and E added.

303. The station Fujieda was drawn twice (or three times when counting the print from the first part).

304. Cf. Lotgering 1984, 13–14.

305. The intermediate locales Takanawa 高輪 and Yamanaka 山中 were designed twice.

between two stations. Two times three: between Totsuka and Fujisawa, and between Odawara and Hakone. Kunisada was the first to design intermediate locales between the traditional stations—no preceding Tōkaidō series shows that.

Morikawa Chikashige 守川周重 (*fl. c.*1869–82), a student of Kunichika, is quoted in the *Ukiyoe shi Utagawa retsuden* 浮世絵師歌川列伝 (*Lives of the Utagawa Tradition Masters*) from 1894, to have reported on this series, that 7,000 copies were printed of the station Okazaki with the portrait of Nakamura Utaemon IV as Karaki Masaemon (seen in Fig. 50 in two different editions). He continued that the publisher Iseya Kanekichi was overjoyed, because usually already 3,000 to 4,000 copies were considered a great success.[306] Without doubt, this enormous number of copies was not printed with only one set of woodblocks, and as this series was so successful, it is therefore not surprising, that different states and editions of more than half of the designs exist.

Table 24 indicates the differences between the editions, confined from a comparison of more than 850 impressions.[307] In general, later editions can be without printer, censor, or block-cutter seals, and might be issued by a different publisher (e.g. S0525-030) or seals can be at different positions (e.g. S0525-032). Deluxe editions have more *bokashi*, in particular are the watersides dark blue and the roofs of huts and houses yellow-brown, and furthermore are hilltops dark accentuated. Later editions can vary significantly in color, e.g. a green kimono becomes brown (S0525-033) or a blue sky becomes white (S0525-022). Even the entire sky of some designs was changed to grey, creating a 'night impression' (S0525-004C, S0525-018, S0525-026, S0525-033A, and S0525-040C).

The modifications of a number of designs are far greater and more detailed than a repositioning of seals or a change of colors. An example is the Maisaka design (S0525-039) where the pattern of Komachiya Sōshichi's kimono was changed from round petals, seen in Fig. 51, to oblong petals as in Fig. 52. The brown stripes differ as well. As seen in the detail, from the collar to the first fold shows the first edition one and then four stripes, the second edition one and just three stripes.

Another example where the modification is more easily visible is the Mitsuke design (S0525-029), illustrated in Fig. 53 and Fig. 54. The first edition shows in the background the dark treetops of two rows of trees, while the second edition omits the top row and the bottom row is fully black.

Kunisada designed the portraits of the *Yakusha Mitate* series not always as separate motifs, but he sometimes grouped them together to diptychs like in the *Chūban Actors* series and in addition to this to triptychs and even a tetraptych. These 48 pseudo-ptychs make over 80% of all designs and are scattered throughout the three different sets. Es-

306. Cf. Iijima 1993, 137; Izzard 1993, 37.

307. Of S0525-013D, S0525-017C, S0525-019C, S0525-024C, and S0525-054C only two impressions could be compared, making these designs the rarest in the set. Given that the Okazaki design mentioned by Chikashige was not particularly frequent in this survey (10 impressions), it can be deducted that other designs with 10 and more impressions were printed in comparable quantities.

pecially the motifs of the 'additional set' match often to a pendant in the 'traditional set,' however, not necessarily also the background scenery. It is noteworthy, that he created these pseudo-ptychs not at once and that they were issued with a time gap of up to nine months in-between the separate designs. Without the invention of intermediate locales it would not have been possible to construct these logical sets. Table 25 provides an overview of the pseudo-ptychs, their themes, and the time gap between the release of the first and the last print. It also indicates the 19 sets that were issued by a single publisher. All others were released by different publishers.

Kunisada did not use one consistent title for the entire series. The 'traditional set' and the 'additional set' are rather consistent and differ mostly just in different writings of the particle 'no.' However, the title of a large number of designs from the 'intermediate set' is abbreviated to simply 'Tōkaidō,' as the following list of titles shows:

- *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* in six different writings on one-hundred designs
- *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi uchi* on "Arai" (S0525-032) from the 'traditional set'
- *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* on "Ishiyakushi, two" (S0525-045A) of the 'additional set'
- *Tōkaidō* on thirty-seven intermediate designs, apart from "Village Ina, between Yoshida and Goyu" (S0525-035C), and "Yabunoshita, between Ōtsu and the Capital" (S0525-054E), written in a cartouche with three-colored background
- *Yakusha mitate Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* on the table of content

The reason behind the irregular titles lies in the amount of designs produced and in their composition. As the head of a flourishing studio, Kunisada primarily designed the central motif and he was not engaged in outlining every little item that is seen on a print. It is therefore not surprising that variations of titles occur. Furthermore were the titles in the *Yakusha mitate* series adjusted to fit into the design of the cartouche. The decorative elements are sometimes considerably large or the name of the intermediate locale is too long to leave space for the usual series title.

Similar to both *chūban* series from the 1830s, Kunisada used Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* landscapes as scenic element for his designs. Though this time not to the extent as in his *Chūban Bijin* series, twenty-one designs, mainly from the 'traditional set,' are obviously after the *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* and further nineteen backgrounds seem to have been inspired by it.

Apart from the table of content, all are signed 'Toyokuni ga' (drawn by Toyokuni) in a red or yellow (six times) *toshidama* cartouche.[308] Each print bears the usual double censor seals that were necessary for publishing during that time. All designs have a prominent cartouche in which the series title, the station and the name of the character is inscribed. These cartouches are generally elaborately decorated with designs ranging from simple flowers to a number of different items drawn around the cartouche.

Designs of the traditional stations differ slightly in quality from the ones on intermediate locales. All are printed with *bokashi* and almost all with *mokume* 木目 (wood

308. The yellow signature cartouches are on the prints S0525-038, S0525-001D, S0525-015C, S0525-039C, S0525-051C, and S0525-054E.

grain background). Other high-quality printing methods that have been used for this series are *karazuri* 空摺 (embossing), *kirazuri* 雲母摺 (mica-ground impression), and *shōmenzuri* 正面摺 (surface-luster). These techniques can be found in seventy percent of the prints, obviously making them more appealing to possible buyers. The difference to the intermediate prints is that they lack the round *toshidama* emblems in *shōmenzuri* in the cartouches as it can be seen in a number of designs from the 'traditional set' and the 'additional set.'

For the publication of the 'additional set' and the 'intermediate set,' a number of publishers were called in. Only four publishers were involved in the publication of the 'traditional set,' namely Tsujiokaya Bunsuke, and Izutsuya Shōkichi, both located in the Nihon Bridge area where the Tōkaidō started, Sumiyoshiya Masagorō located in Yotsuya, and Iseya Kanekichi located in Akasaka. Apart from two prints published by Tsutaya Kichizō, these four publishers were also responsible for the 'additional set.' For the 'intermediate set,' five more publishers joined and Iseya Kanekichi dropped out (see Table 26). It seems that the interest in further designs was so high that the initial publishers were not able to cope with the pressure and the new designs had to be shifted to others. Furthermore, the four publishers of the 'traditional set' and Tsutaya Kichizō were also involved in the publication of Kunisada's similar series of actor portraits, connected to the Kisokaidō highway from the tenth to the twelfth month of 1852.[309]

Ishii Kendō quoted the block-cutter Ōta Komakichi 太田駒吉 (called himself later Ōta Tashichi 太田多七, born 1834) in his *Nishikie no hori to suri* 錦絵の彫と摺 (*Printers and Block-cutters of Nishikie*), saying about his colleague Koizumi Minokichi 小泉巳之吉:

> 私は午年生れなので、駒といふ名なのだが、巳のは巳年生れだから、私より一つ兄キな筈だ、役者東海道五十三次（豊国筆）の白須賀の猫婆を彫ったのは、巳の、十八の時だった、あの猫婆の長い髪の毛が、ちゃんと毛筋が通り、本はこまかで末広がり、しかもフワリとして一本も乱れて居ない手際、あの百枚余りの続き絵の中、第一等の出来で、当時大に評判されたものだった。[310]

> I was born in the Year of the Horse, so they called me the Colt, but Mino ('the Snake') was born in the Year of the Snake, which made him one year my senior. Mino carved the "Cat Witch of Shirasuga" from the series *Actors and the Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō Highway* (by Toyokuni III) when he was about eighteen. The long strands of the Cat Witch's hair was perfectly arranged, fine at the root and spreading out at the ends. It gave an impression of softness and not a single hair was out of place. It was the most skillfully executed of that whole series of more than one hundred prints and was highly praised at the time.[311]

309. Cf. Hiraki Ukiyoe Zaidan 1997.

310. Ishii 1929, 114.

311. Translation from Clark 1992, 100. See also Clark 2005, 37. The print he refers to is S0525-033.

But Minokichi was not the only block-cutter working for this large series. The leading block-cutter must have been Yokokawa Takejirō 横川竹次郎 as his seal is on sixty prints, double the number of Minokichi (see Table 27). He is also listed on the table of content as block-cutter in charge together with the printer Ōumiya Hisatarō 大海屋久太郎, whose seal is on twenty-four designs.[312]

Lotgering, in 1984, pointed out that "drawings" to this series appeared on the market in the early 1980s. These "drawings" are actually *kyōgōzuri* 校合摺, keyblock proof impressions with background and color indications. The thirty-two *kyōgōzuri* he referred to were all sold by Mattia Jona's La Portantina Gallery in Milano. However, these are not the only *kyōgōzuri* that survived.[313] Another *kyōgōzuri* was sold by Christie's New York in September 1981 as lot 383, one more was sold by the late dealer Herbert Egenolf in 2000, one is illustrated in a booklet by the Gallery Tanakaya, Paris, one belongs to the Society for Asian Art Fund, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, one is in the James B. Austin Collection of the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh, and four were offered by the gallery Oranda Jin in 's-Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands, making it to a total of forty-one known *kyōgōzuri* (see Table 28).[314]

These forty-one *kyōgōzuri* are of designs from the 'traditional set,' 'additional set,' and 'intermediate set' of the *Yakusha Mitate* series. They bear the collector's seal 'Shōan' 慫庵, in common and contain inscriptions from the printer for what color he used. On two *kyōgōzuri* of designs from the 'traditional set,' Kunisada's signature is written in a way that he had never signed his works. The *kyōgōzuri* for Ōtsu is signed 'Toyo-ku-ni ga' 豊久仁画, and the *kyōgōzuri* for Odawara 'To-yo-ku-ni ga' 途代九仁画.[315]

Apart from these forty-one *kyōgōzuri* for published designs, one more, exceptional, *kyōgōzuri* exists for a design that was not published as part of this series (Fig. 55). This *kyōgōzuri* in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum is inscribed as "Okitsu River between Yui and Okitsu" and was therefore originally conceived to belong to the 'intermediate set' (S0525-017D). The design shows the actor Iwai Kumesaburō III as Princess Yaegaki holding the Nagao heirloom helmet in her hands. This motif, slightly alternated in its design, was in fact issued in the tenth month of 1852 by Ebisuya Shōshichi (Fig. 56), a publisher who did not take part in the *Yakusha Mitate* series, as tenth design of the series *Nazorae eto awase* 擬繪當合 (*Allusions to the Sexagenary Cycle*).

But why did Kunisada decide to design his next Tōkaidō series that does not accompany a specific performance, fifteen years after the last one? According to Hachimonsha Jishō's 八文舎自笑 (aka Hachimonji Jishō III 八文字自笑三世) preface to the

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312. Izzard 1993, 173, *Ukiyoe jiten*, vol. 2, 156, and *Genshoku ukiyoe daihyakka jiten*, vol. 3, 106, call him Ōumiya Hisagorō. Izzard 1980, 79, calls him Ōkaiya Hisatarō.

313. Lotgering 1984, 16, stated, that lot 360 of the September 1981 auction at Christie's New York were a convolute of three *kyōgōzuri*. Unfortunately this could not be verified, but one *kyōgōzuri* (lot 383) was found in the catalogue from this particular auction.

314. For Tanakaya, see Ikeda 2004, 21. For the Carnegie Museum of Art, see Kita 1996, fig. 25.

315. Lotgering 1984, 16, calls him a "Mr. Kaoen."

first volume of the 1852 book *Yakusha mitate gojūsan tsugi* 俳優見立五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations with Visual Parodies of Actors*), Kunisada aimed with the *Yakusha Mitate* series to commemorate Onoe Kikugorō III who died 1849 on the Tōkaidō while returning to Edo. The statement is not clear, whether Jishō knows this from Kunisada or from someone in his immediate vicinity, or just believes that this is the reason. Onoe Kikugorō III played the leading roles in the first three Tōkaidō plays of 1827, 1835, and 1847 (see Table 18), and his connection to the Tōkaidō was obvious.[316] To revive the Tōkaidō as serial device for a set of portraits in remembrance of the actor that personificates Tōkaidō plays like no other, was therefore the perfect choice. However, Hachimonsha Jishō's reasoning seems questionable when determining how many portraits of Kikugorō III are in this series. Of the 139 designs depict him just six; Bandō Shuka I is seven times portrayed, Iwai Kumesaburō III eleven times, and Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII holds the record with fourteen portraits. But when taking the time of creation into consideration, the many portraits of the last three actors is reasonable as they were extremely popular at that time and at the height of their careers, while the three first mentioned actors passed away years ago.

Assuming that Jishō's reasoning is not from Kunisada directly, his deduction might have been influenced by another series issued at that time, solely devoted to one actor, Ichikawa Ebizō V. At the same time when the earliest prints from the *Yakusha mitate* series were released were the first of eighteen prints from the series *Jūhachiban no uchi* 十八番之内 (*The Eighteen Plays*) published by Ebisuya Shōshichi, illustrated in Fig. 57. The entire series is devoted to the so called "Kabuki jūhachiban," "The Kabuki Eighteen," a set of eighteen plays representative for the Danjūrō-line of actors, compiled by Ichikawa Ebizō V at a time when he was acting under the name Ichikawa Danjūrō VII.[317]

Be that as it may, the *Yakusha mitate gojūsan tsugi* book must have been published after the tenth month of 1852, because the actor Sawamura Chōjūrō V is listed as Suketakaya Takasuke, the name he took in the tenth month. This implies that it was published approximately eight months after the start of the series and at a time when 124 of the 139 designs were already on the market, suggesting that it just jumps on the bandwagon. The two volumes illustrate the first, 'traditional set' of fifty-five prints of the *Yakusha Mitate* series. Each volume starts with a table of content listing stations, roles, and actors, twenty-six in the first volume and twenty-seven in the second. The tables of content are followed by a preface of four pages in the first volume and two pages in the second volume. The preface to the second volume is by the writer Umebori Kokuga II 梅暮里古久我 (aka Hagiwara Otohiko 萩原乙彦, 1826–1886).[318]

316. Moreover, Kikugorō III was the leading actor in the premiere of *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan* in 1825.

317. The entire series is illustrated in Nakayama 1988a. For a detailed description of the *Kabuki jūhachiban*, see Leiter 1997, 244–45.

318. On Umebori Kokuga II, see Markus 1993, 154.

The main part repeats Kunisada's portraits, one per page, accompanied by a poem of the actor and a red cartouche, indicating the station and the role. The style clearly indicates that they are not by Kunisada himself but by one of his students as they are of less artistic quality. The multi-colored portraits are reduced in size and most of them are strikingly similar to the *Yakusha Mitate* series as seen in Fig. 58.[319] Though all images portray the same roles, the direction of the portraits has been altered frequently in order to let them face each other. Seven portraits are remarkably different as in the case of the station Yui. The motif in the *Yakusha Mitate* series is Ichikawa Danzō V as Minbunosuke, captured with bound hair, sternly looking to the left (S0525-017). In the *Yakusha mitate gojūsan tsugi* book, this role is called Uji Jōetsu 宇治常悦, and Danzō V is depicted with long, open hair, looking to the right. Another remarkable change is the motif of the robber Jiraiya for the station Okitsu. Whereas Kunisada portrayed the deceased Segawa Kikunojō V in this role (S0525-018), the *Yakusha mitate gojūsan tsugi* book shows Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII, who had shortly before (at the Kawarazaki Theater in the seventh month) successfully performed this role in *Jiraiya gōketsu monogatari* 児雷也豪傑譚語 (*The Tale of the Gallant Jiraiya*).

According to the preface to the second volume, the merchandizing of the *Yakusha Mitate* series was immense. Takahashi reports from the preface that the series "was advertised by means of paper lanterns on poles outside the publisher's shop. We are also told that the prints in this set were praised in a popular song of the time with words to the effect that Kunisada's actor portraits were to be prized as highly as the flavor of Asakusa seaweed (a famous delicacy of the time) and that his pictures of the fifty-three Tokaido post stations were the 'flowers of Edo.'"[320]

4.4.2 Actor Cards

To exploit the great interest in the *Yakusha Mitate* series, other types of printed material with the same design were published, starting in the seventh month of 1852 with a series of *ōban* prints, each depicting nine miniature actor portraits. This series was published right before the first prints of the 'additional set' and therefore incorporates only images of the 'traditional set.' This is the first Tōkaidō series by the publisher Kiya Sōjirō, who published the *Double Portraits* series around five years later. It is also one of Kiya Sōjirō's earliest published prints, who went in business in *c.*1851 and specialized himself in actor prints. Kiya's shop was located in the Nihon Bridge area and a Tōkaidō series should have sold well to the Tōkaidō travelers who started their journey there.

Five of the presumably seven designs are known, the first two of this series, published in the seventh month, the fourth, fifth, and seventh design, all published in the eighth month of 1852. Four designs are titled *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*); the last design bears the suffix *furoku* 附録 (supple-

319. See 6.1 for a discussion of the motif pattern illustrated in Fig. 58.

320. Quote from Takahashi 1978, 129. Cf. Izzard 1980, 77–78; Izzard 1993, 173.

ment). The first two are signed 'Toyokuni,' the fourth and fifth 'Toyokuni shukuga' 豊國縮畫 (abridged by Toyokuni), and the last 'Toyokuni ga.'

The print in the William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Acc. Nr.: 11.40137), is the beginning of this series. It shows the first nine portraits relating to the stations from the Nihon Bridge to Ōiso. The second print in the Tsubōuchi Memorial Theater Museum of the Waseda University (No. 201-1270) depicts the next nine stations, from Odawara to Okitsu. According to this pattern, it can be assumed that a third, unknown, design shows the stations Ejiri to Kakegawa. The fourth appropriately illustrates Fukuroi to Goyu and the fifth at the Victoria & Albert Museum Akasaka to Ishiyakushi. An unknown sixth design would show Shōno to Ōtsu. The seventh and last design completes the Tōkaidō set with the image of Kyoto. The remaining eight miniature actor portraits of this design show a new designed *Ōmi hakkei* set (*Eight Views of Ōmi*) that was never published in a large *ōban* version.[321] The *Eight Views of Ōmi* was a popular theme in Japanese woodblock prints and in this case ideal to fill the empty space.[322]

The nine images on each print were meant to be cut out in order to play with them. Prints of this type are called *karutae* 加留多絵. Such a print incorporates several independent designs, each in an individual frame. The number of designs on a print depends on the card game it was made for.[323] Comparable to this so called *Actor Cards* series, Kunisada designed, in the preceding five years, a number of cards series. In *c.*1847, he designed *Honchō jinbutsushi* 本朝人物史 (*A History of Persons from Our Country*), in 1848, *Edo no hana nishikie kurabe* 江戸の花錦絵競 (*A Competition of Edo Flowers and Brocade Prints*), and between 1848 and 1851, the series *Kyōkun iroha tatoe* 教訓いろはたとゑ (*Instructive Iroha Metaphors*) and *Mitate hana kurabe* 見立花競 (*Competition of Visual Parodies of Flowers*). The earliest example of a *karutae* by Kunisada seems to be a print titled *Ichikawa Danjūrō Date kyūyaku* 市川團十郎伊達九役 (*The Nine Date Roles of Ichikawa Danjūrō*), relating to the play *Hajimomiji ase no kaomise* 慙紅葉汗顔見勢 (*Debut of Sumac*

321. These miniature portraits are not related to Kunisada's uncomplete series of half-length actor portraits composed as diptychs in *ōban* format, *Ōmi hakkei no uchi* 近江八景之内 (*The Eight Views of Ōmi*), that was published in the sixth and seventh months of 1852. The publishers Hayashiya Shōgorō and Izuya Sankichi each published one diptych; Kobayashi Taijirō published only one portrait and seems to have run out of business shortly thereafter.

322. The motifs are, as in the *Yakusha Mitate* series, inspired by performances in the years before and carefully chosen to logically correspond with the predefined *hakkei* images. Iwai Kumesaburō III, for example, is portrayed as the novelist Murasaki Shikibu, juxtaposed to the classical motif of the *Autumn Moon at Ishiyama Temple* (*Ishiyama no shūgetsu* 石山秋月), because, according to legend, Murasaki Shikibu envisioned her *Tale of Genji* while watching the full moon from Ishiyama Temple.

323. Cf. *Ukiyoe jiten*, vol. 1, 259; Newland 2005, 454. Not to be mistaken with *harimazee*, scattered with images of different sizes as seen in Hiroshige's three Tōkaidō *harimazee* series, mentioned above.

Maples Dew), a variation of the play *Meiboku Sendai hagi* 伽羅先代萩 (*The Precious Incense and Autumn Flowers of Sendai*), performed at the Kawarazaki Theater in the seventh month of 1815. Ichikawa Danjūrō VII performed in ten different roles and this print shows him in nine of these roles, each role is depicted in half-length and set in a frame before a checkered background. Here, each frame is signed *Kunisada ga* 國貞画 (painted by Kunisada).[324]

In the *Actor Cards* series, each miniature portrait bears a red cartouche inscribed with the name of the station and the role. The same actors are portrayed in exactly the same roles as in the *Yakusha Mitate* series. Though captured in the same pose, the arms and the lower-body are left out to fit the small size. It was seemingly successful to release a card version of a popular *ōban* series, because card versions were also released of other series at that time. In the ninth month of 1853, for example, a set of four *karutae* prints was released, relating to the thirty-six *ōban* series *Mitate sanjūrokkasen no uchi* 見立三十六歌撰之内 (*The Visual Parodies of Thirty-six Selected Poets*), published between the ninth and the eleventh month of 1852. Like the *Actor Cards* series, each one of the prints depicts nine miniature actor portraits.[325]

A further attempt to make use of the success of the *Yakusha Mitate* series was the publication of a *sugoroku* board game in the eighth month of 1852, at the same time as the first supplementary portraits of part two and three.[326] This *sugoroku* is titled *Visual Parody of a Game of Dice of the Fifty-three Stations* (*Gojūsan tsugi mitate sugoroku* 五十三驛看立雙六), and was published by Kinshōdō 錦昇堂 (Ebisuya Shōshichi, written 笑壽屋庄七 on the board game), a publisher who was not involved in the *Yakusha Mitate* series. Obviously referring to the prints of part one, each of the perimetric fifty-four fields depicts a simplified image of the corresponding actor portrait. Only the target field Kyoto, the larger fifty-fifth field in the middle, was enhanced and does not simply depict Ishikawa Goemon, the motif of Kyoto in the 'traditional set,' but also Mashiba Hisayoshi from the 'additional set.' The original *ōban* portraying these two characters were designed to form a pseudo-diptych. The background of the fields Hara and Numazu was

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324. An example of this print, published by Chōkichi, is in the William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Acc. Nr.: 11.15094). Kunisada portrayed Danjūrō VII in the exact same roles also in the *ōban* series *Kyūyaku no uchi* 九役之内 (*The Nine Roles*), illustrated in Shindō 1993, 31–33. Another early *karutae* by Kunisada is titled *Shinpan chūshin kōshaku kyōgen zukushi* 新版忠臣講釋狂言づくし (*Newly Published Collection of a Play on the Account of the Loyal Retainers*), depicting nine actors from the play *Kanagaki chūshin kōshaku* 仮名筆忠臣講釈 (*Account of the Japanese Syllabary Writings on the Loyal Retainers*), a variation of the *Chūshingura* theme, staged at the Nakamura Theater in the ninth month of 1818 (Shindō 1993, 137).

325. Like the parent series was the cards set published by Iseya Kanekichi, cf. Osada 2001, fig. 94061.

326. This *sugoroku* is signed 'painted by Ichiyōsai Toyokuni' (Ichiyōsai Toyokuni ga 一陽齋豐國画), and bears the censor seals of Kinugasa and Murata, and the seal 'Hori Mino' of the block-cutter Koizumi Minokichi.

connected, just like the depicted roles are connected. The *sugoroku* was printed with lesser lavished printing techniques. Only the hair of Tonbei (Kanagawa, S0525-004) and of the cat witch (Shirasuka, S0525-033) is executed with fine *karazuri*.

4.4.3 Koban Actors

During the same time as the additional and intermediate designs of the *Yakusha Mitate* series were published, a peculiar and outstanding series of half-length actor portraits by Kunisada appeared.[327] Obviously a further attempt to exploit the market and to make use of the wave of success created by its predecessor, the 'traditional set' of the *Yakusha Mitate* series, a series of fifty-five portraits plus table of content was published in vertical quarter size (*yotsugiri tate* 四つ切竪), one fourth the size of the parent series and half the size of the 1837 series. This was the usual size for books and it was deliberately chosen with the idea to publish a set of familiar styled portraits in a handy size that could have been easily carried about. However, because this series is so rare, it looks like it was not printed in the same numbers and with the same success.

Each of the fifty-five portraits of this series, referred to as *Koban Actors* series, has a red title cartouche in which the series title, the station, and the name of the character are inscribed. They appear very similar to the title cartouches of the *Yakusha Mitate* series, but they are not equally elaborately decorated. The title itself is on nineteen portraits reduced from *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 東海道五十三次之内 (*The Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō)* to *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*), omitting the final '*no uchi*.'[328]

We have seen above that the title cartouches of the 'traditional set' and the 'additional set' of the *Yakusha Mitate* series were highlighted with shining *toshidama* emblems in *shōmenzuri*. Here, these *toshidama* emblems were substituted by different patterns in *shōmenzuri*, mostly flowers or Genji crests.

Two portraits were always printed together, resulting in twenty-eight horizontal *chūban* (*chūban yoko* 中判横). The depicted stations are arranged from right to left, and a pseudo diptych of two portraits bears only one set of seals (censor, publisher, and block-cutter) and the usual 'Toyokuni ga' signature in a red or yellow *toshidama* cartouche.

The scenic element of this series was not taken from Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*; however, the landscapes are sometimes very similar to the *Yakusha Mitate* series (e.g. Totsuka or Hiratsuka). Apart from the pseudo-diptych Numazu-Hara which is connected in the background by the Fuji, they are only connected either by a cloud band, a red horizon, or a blue sky. Another peculiarity of the pseudo-diptych Numazu-Hara, is in the line of vision of these portraits. The pseudo-diptych character was underlined by the line of vision of the actors. Usually they were designed to face each other. Only in

327. Illustrated in Kokuritsu gekijō 1996, figs. 70–124.

328. The catalogue print doesn't give a title.

Numazu-Hara, they look into the opposite direction, and in Yoshida-Goyu, they both look left. Some of the motifs in the *Koban Actors* series are rarely found characters, underlining Kunisada's profound knowledge of the kabuki theater.

Six *chūban* were printed in the ninth, six in the tenth, four in the eleventh, and eleven in the twelfth month of 1852. Only the last portrait for the destination Miyako in combination with the table of content were printed significantly later, in the ninth month of 1853, almost one year after the rest of the series. The table of content lists the stations and the names of the depicted characters. The actor's names as in the table of content of its predecessor are not inscribed. The reason must have been that this was not an unofficially published print with a 'not for sale' indication but intrinsically tied with the final portrait of the series. This final portrait lacks a publisher seal, and the missing information on the publisher of this last *chūban* is inscribed in the left bottom corner of the table of content.

Four publishers worked together on this series, and each published exactly seven *chūban*. The four publishers were: Enshūya Hikobei, Hamadaya Tokubei, Hayashiya Shōgorō, and Minatoya Kohei.[329] The block-cutter was again Yokokawa Takejirō, the leading block-cutter of the parent *Yakusha Mitate* series.

4.5 Series in the second half of the 1850s

4.5.1 Fifty-three Stations by Two Brushes

After the big wave of half-length actor prints in 1852, initiated by the *Yakusha Mitate* series, Kunisada returned to full-length figures in his next Tōkaidō series. Each print of the *Sōhitsu gojūsan tsugi* 雙筆五十三次 (*Fifty-three Stations by Two Brushes*) series is a joint work of Hiroshige and Kunisada.[330] Quite frequently, Kunisada worked together with Hiroshige and later his student Hiroshige II on series and triptychs, whereas Kunisada was always in charge of the foreground figures and the second designer drew the surrounding image. In this case, Hiroshige contributed the scenic element, covering half of the background. In the composition of this series, the designers did not use the cloud band as partition like in the *Chūban Actors* or *Yakusha Mitate* series, but the scenic element is captured in a rectangular frame, accompanied by the simple, red title cartouche in the upper right corner. The size of this frame is not always the same but varies, depending on the scenery it captures and on the height of the foreground figures. These figures reach usually almost half way over the background image. The only compositional exception is the station Ejiri (S0432-019), seen in Fig. 59, depicting a flying *tennin*

329. Enshūya Hikobei, Hayashiya Shōgorō, and Minatoya Kohei were also involved in the abovementioned Kisokaidō series.

330. This series was briefly described by Morozumi 1917b, 17, and Stewart 1973, 96. For a list of motifs, see Strange 1983, 156–57. The entire series is illustrated in Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan 1990.

天人 (celestial being, skrt. apsara) dressed in a *hagoromo* 羽衣 (feather mantle) in the upper half of the design, high above Hiroshige's Mount Fuji and the Pine Field of Miho (*Miho no matsubara* 三保の松原).

The motifs are not only actors, but also *bijin*, and legendary stories, and the series therefore follows the almost ten year old *Fifty-three Pairs* series, designed by the same two designers together with Kuniyoshi. The entire *Two Brushes* series of fifty-five *ōban* was published by Maruya Kyūshirō continuously over a period of almost three years, between the seventh month of 1854 and the fourth month of 1857. Remarkably, Maruya Kyūshirō published the first forty designs in consecutive regular sets of ten designs per month as Table 29 shows. Initially, sets were quickly issued one after another, in the seventh, eighth and twelfth month of 1854, but then we notice a break of four months until the next set appears in the fourth month of 1855. Another four month break follows until this time 13 designs are issued; finally the last two designs are published after an astounding delay of 20 months.

Maruya Kyūshirō did not publish a lot of Kunisada's designs.[331] His shop was located in Akasaka and the prefinancing if this series including the commission for the two best-known active designers was certainly not easy for a rather small publisher. This might be the reason for the delay of the publication. This delay certainly evoked the necessity of a table of content to inform collectors how many designs were published over the last years.

All landscapes bear Hiroshige's signature 'Hiroshige ga' 廣重画 (painted by Hiroshige) apart from one design, paired with his diamond shaped seal, and sometimes a small textual information on the scenery.[332] With the exception of Akasaka, Kunisada signed his figures 'painted by Toyokuni' (Toyokuni ga 豊國画) in a *toshidama* cartouche. Only on the Akasaka design did he interrupt this regularity by adding the pen name (*gō* 号) Hanabusa Ittai 英一蟬 in front of it (S0432-037). Kunisada studied painting under Hanabusa Ikkei, and as a result of this learning period, Kunisada used the pen name Ittai when painting in the style of Ikkei such as in this portrait of Manzai 万歳.[333]

Yokokawa Takejirō who participated in the carving of the previous series *Fifty-three Pairs* is the exclusive block-cutter of this series. At one point, presumably after the publication of the last two designs in the fourth month of 1857, Miyagi Gengyo was commissioned to design a table of content called "*Shukutsugi mokuroku*" 宿つぎ目録 (Relay

331. Apart from individual designs did he publish an untitled series of seven *ōban*, accompanying the play *Ise meisho wazato iezuto* 伊勢名所業土産, performed at the Nakamura Theater in the tenth month of 1856. After the *Two Brushes* series, he published ten designs of the *Edo meisho hyakunin bijo* series, between the eleventh month of 1857 and the third month of 1858.

332. The Ishibe design is without seal (S0432-052).

333. This design was released in the fourth month of 1855. Another design signed Hanabusa Ittai is from the fifth month of 1854, published by Kiya Sōjirō 木屋宗次郎, showing the demon slayer Shōki 鍾馗 riding on a lion.

station table of content) (S0432-000). This table of content displays a signboard (*tatefuda* 立札) with wooden tags (*kifuda* 木札), each inscribed with a station name and some information on the motif. Surprisingly, it does not entirely comply with the standard order for a Tōkaidō series. The forty-second tag should be for Miya and the forty-third for Kuwana; however, Miyagi Gengyo, for whatever reason, exchanged them. Kuwana with the names of the two depicted characters Princess Oto and Urashima (*Kuwana Otohime Urashima* 桑名乙姫浦島, S0432-042) precedes Miya with Kagekiyo as motif (*Miya Kagekiyo* 宮景清, S0432-043). Some of the station names are not written in a usual manner on the table of content but creatively modified as riddles. The station Fukuroi, for example, is represented by a red bag, *fukuro* 袋 in Japanese, inscribed with the character 'i' 井, Akasaka is rendered by a red colored (*aka* 赤) character '*saka*' 坂, a small drawing of a turtle (*kame* 亀) and a mountain (*yama* 山) refer to the station Kameyama.

The *Two Brushes* series seems to have been a success as Maruya Kyūshirō sold the woodblocks to Izumiya Ichibei who reissued them in the 1860s. These reissues can easily be distinguished from the original version through the newly applied background colors; purple behind the landscape frame and bright green behind the foreground figures. This new background serves not very favorable to the designs and one might wonder, whether this was the taste of the time or if the blocks were sold under the premise that the reissue must be distinguishable from the originals.

4.5.2 Double Portraits

Between the first and the third month of 1857, before the last two prints of the *Two Brushes* series were issued, a set of twenty-eight actor Tōkaidō designs was released. Each print bears the seal of the publisher Kiya Sōjirō, an *aratame* 改 censor seal, a date seal and the 'Toyokuni ga' signature in a mostly red *toshidama* cartouche.[334] The seals are always grouped together around the signature cartouche and are not scattered about in the picture. Seventeen prints are titled *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 東海道五十三次ノ内 (*The Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*), the title of the remaining eleven is without the '*no uchi*' at the end.

The composition of the 1857 actor Tōkaidō series appears like the seven years earlier *Loyal Retainers* series as it shows a pair of actors set against a plain background. One of this series novelties, compared to previous Tōkaidō series by Kunisada is, that this actor pair does not represent one station, but Kunisada juxtaposed each actor to a station and therefore combined two succeeding stations on one design, resulting in twenty-eight prints.[335] Instead of continuing to design pseudo-ptychs as in the *Chūban Actors*

334. Only the *toshidama* cartouche of Kuwana-Yokkaichi (S0453-022) is yellow. No indication is given who the block-cutter was.

335. Kuniyoshi was the first who combined more stations in one design in his c.1838–42 landscape series of twelve horizontal *ōban*, titled *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五拾三驛 (*Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*), cf. 8.1, no. 52.

and *Yakusha Mitate* series, each *ōban* displays directly a pair of related actor portraits, again making it a total of fifty-six portraits. The motifs themselves of this *Double Portraits* series, as it shall be called here, derive on one hand from preceding series, creating a sense of recognition, on the other feature new attractive and vividly captured characters.

Each design has two title cartouches, one per station-character juxtaposition. Every cartouche is inscribed with the series title, a station name and the depicted character. The composition of the title cartouches is comparable with that of the *Yakusha Mitate* series as they are lavishly decorated. There are always two different types of cartouches on one print, one is red with lighter colored *toshidama* emblems, the other is in intergradient colors with *bokashi*, deriving from the cloud separation device of the *Yakusha Mitate* series.[336] The sequencing of stations is indicated by the order of the two cartouches from right to left, following the traditional order in Tōkaidō series. Only in the *Nissaka-Kanaya* design (stations twenty-five and twenty-six, S0453-013) the correct order was reversed. That cartouches are sometimes not placed next to the portrait they are related to, creates confusion among viewers who are not familiar with the motifs, however, this seems to have been considered negligible, as this series was in principal directed to the kabuki aficionados.

Another novelty of the *Double Portraits* series is that it is a pure actor series as Kunisada has now left out the scenic element completely. The reference to the Tōkaidō is only through the series title and the name of the station. The background is simple single-colored and printed with *mokume.* A dark sky is on top of each print that fades out. A landscape is no longer considered necessary, and Kunisada goes right to the point by focusing on the actors without a hypothetically disturbing background element.

The reason for the lack of a vivid background might also lie in the missing space and the overcrowdedness that would have been created, remembering that each print bears also two title cartouches in the upper half. Ultimately, a plain background evokes a deeper impression of the interaction within each actor pair, who most of the times look at each other, and the simplicity of the composition. The two portraits are not equally positioned; one is depicted as half-length, the other as three-quarter-length portrait. In this connection, the composition resembles Utamaro's *bijin* Tōkaidō series *Bijin ichidai gojūsan tsugi* from the beginning of the nineteenth century, in which Utamaro also depicted two characters, though each print relates only to one Tōkaidō station. Here, only two different styles of composition were used for the entire series. Fig. 60 illustrates the style chosen for sixteen prints with the higher positioned portrait on the right placed behind the lower positioned on the left (both indicated in red), and the heads arranged in a diagonal line from bottom-left to top-right (indicated in blue). The remaining twelve prints are composed vice versa, seen in Fig. 61, with the higher positioned portrait on the left placed behind the lower positioned on the right, and the

336. The *shōmenzuri* printed *toshidama* emblems in the title cartouche of the *Yakusha Mitate* series were replaced by less expensive to produce toshidama emblems printed in lighter color.

heads now arranged in a diagonal line from bottom-right to top-left. This consistent composition created recognition in the collectors and was beneficial to a faster production scheme.

The majority of the actors portrayed in this series were performing on stage when it was released. Only two actors are depicted posthumously, Sawamura Sōjūrō V, who had died in late 1853, and Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII, who had died in the year after. By portraying these two actors Kunisada reflects the still existing popularity of them. An actor's popularity is also indicated when he deliberately repeats portraits, though in different roles, so is Iwai Kumesaburō III captured six times, Kawarazaki Gonjūrō I, Onoe Kikugorō IV, and Onoe Kikujirō II each four times.

Apart from the abdication of *shōmenzuri* printed *toshidama* emblems in the cartouches the same elaborated printing techniques were used in this series as for the *Yakusha Mitate* series. *Shōmenzuri*, *kirazuri* and / or *karazuri* were again applied on approximately 70% of the prints.

4.6 Series in the 1860s

4.6.1 Tōkaidō Alphabet Diary

In 1861, Kawatake Mokuami 河竹默阿弥 (1816–1893) wrote the play *Tōkaidō iroha nikki* 東駅いろは日記 (*Tōkaidō Alphabet Diary*), performed at the Ichimura Theater in the seventh month, with Kawarazaki Gonjūrō I as leading actor. In the fashion of previous Tōkaidō plays, proceeds the story along the Tōkaidō, however, in the opposite direction than usual, from Kyoto to Edo. The play focuses on characters from *Kanadehon Chūshingura*, which are combined with the usual cat witch story.[337]

The series by Kunisada bears the same title as the play and was published by Ōtaya Takichi in the seventh and eighth month of 1861 in order to accompany the play. The identified eleven *ōban*, listed in Table 30, portray four popular actors of that time: Nakamura Shikan IV (four designs), Kawarazaki Gonjūrō I (three designs; see Fig. 62), Ichimura Uzaemon XIII (two designs), and Sawamura Tanosuke III (two designs). These four actors actually played even more roles than the ones listed and a range of other actors were also involved in the performance. It is therefore possible that more portraits were designed or at least planned.

The series is modeled after the *Yakusha Mitate* series, depicting half-length figures, separated from a landscape view by a cloud band. The bottom part of this cloud is always green, graduating into white and then into blue-grey or red-grey at its top. Most significant about the landscapes is that they are all in shades of grey and black, resembling a night view. The beholder focuses on the main figure in the foreground with its vibrant colors and is not distracted by a multi-colored background. Only the landscape

337. Cf. *Kabuki saiken*, 561–62; *Zoku zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 19; *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 7, 90–91.

of the print connected to the station Okazaki has been enhanced by a multi-colored image, the flying cat witch on a passing cloud. For whatever reason, two different versions of the cloud with the cat witch exist. Fig. 63 illustrates the version in the collection of the Japan Ukiyo-e Museum which seems to be prior to the version in the National Diet Library, seen in Fig. 64, as the cloud is elaborately executed with small whirls, contrary to a simple black area. The cat face of the witch is also slightly different and it might be assumed that the simplification of this area is the result of the recarving of the blocks because the prints sold very well.

In 1862, a three volume (six books) *gōkan* was published by Tsutaya Kichizō 蔦屋吉蔵 under the same title. The text of the first five books was written by Yanagiya Umehiko 柳屋梅彦 (aka Shōen Umehiko 松園梅彦, 1822–1896), that of the last book by Kawatake Kisui 河竹其水 (aka Takeshiba Kisui 竹柴其水, 1847–1923). All illustrations were designed by Kunisada II, unmistakably inspired by Kunisada's prior series, as Fig. 65 of the hunter Minezō proofs.

4.6.2 Processional Tōkaidō series

Kunisada is one of sixteen designers who jointly worked on the first processional Tōkaidō series from 1863, commonly called *Processional Tōkaidō*.[338] He contributed eighteen designs; all signed 'by request, painted by Toyokuni at the age of seventy-eight' (*ōju nanajūhassai Toyokuni ga* 應需七十八歳豊國画). These prints, listed in Table 31, were issued in the fourth and fifth month of 1863 by nine different publishers, and were aimed to make use of the nation-wide interest that the journey of the shogun Tokugawa Iemochi 徳川家茂 (1846–1866, reign 1858–66) to Kyoto in 1863 evoked.

During that time, Kunisada was the most renowned living *ukiyoe* designer and his name precedes the list of designers provided by this series tables of content. In this series, Kunisada only sometimes refers to his previously created actor series by using familiar, easily identifiable motifs. He integrates actors into the composition letting them interact with the passing procession. These portrayed roles will be later discussed in the systematical approach of the station-character juxtapositions.

4.6.3 Famous Pictures

Kunisada's last Tōkaidō series, again connecting the Tōkaidō with characters from different plays, was published in 1864, in the last months before his death. The uncompleted *ōban* series *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi meiga no kakiwake* 東海道五拾三驛名画之書分 (*Differently Drawn Famous Pictures of the Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*) displays half-length portraits of one to three actors in combination with a scenic impression of the shogun's second procession to the emperor Komei. Though due to government restrictions the shogun himself is not depicted in the processional scenes, the time of publication indicates that this series refers to his visit in Kyoto.

338. Cf. Marks 2007a.

This hence to be called *Famous Pictures* series was jointly designed by Kunisada, Kawanabe Kyōsai, and Utagawa Yoshimori; three designers of the first processional series from 1864. As usual in joint series, Kunisada designed the portraits in the lower two thirds of the images and Kyōsai or Yoshimori the processional scene in the upper third. Of the fourteen prints known, twelve processional scenes are by Kyōsai and two by Yoshimori. Like the *Double Portraits* series, each print imbeds two stations; one is connected to the processional scene, the other to the portraits. The motif in the foreground is placed before a single-colored background. Their size, or the size of attributed elements exceed sometimes to the top, over the processional scene. It is obvious that the idea behind this bi-partite composition was to make use of two popular themes at once, portraits of famous actors and the shogun's procession, and to receive a maximum of attention from the collectors through commissioning a long-established designer and new upcoming designers alike.

Narazaki Muneshige wrote about this series that the full story behind it is not clear.[339] The last print known is Akasaka-Fujikawa, the nineteenth combination of two stations, a symbiosis of the thirty-seventh and the thirty-eighth stations. Even though it was presumably planned to design a complete set of twenty-eight prints, it is likely that Kunisada died before completing the whole set.

The *Famous Pictures* series was published between the fifth and the ninth month of 1864, as indicated by the combined date-censor seals. Strangely these seals are missing on four prints (nos. 001, 005, 012, and 019). The actual print-making production of this series was executed by two brothers. The publisher was Ōta Takichi 太田多吉 and the block-cutter his brother Ōta Tashichi 太田多七 (aka Ōta Komakichi 太田駒吉).

Three different signatures were used by Kunisada for this series. One time each he used 'issei ichidai, nanajūkyūsai Toyokuni hitsu' 一世一代七十九歳豊国筆 (once in one's lifetime, drawn by Toyokuni at the age of 79), 'konomi ni makasete nanajūkyūsai Toyokuni ga' 任好七十九歳豊国画 (left to my taste, painted by Toyokuni at the age of 79). For all other designs, he used the combination of both, reading 'issei ichidai, konomi ni makasete nanajūkyūsai Toyokuni hitsu' 一世一代任好七十九歳豊国筆 (once in one's lifetime, left to my taste, drawn by Toyokuni at the age of 79). All three signatures were followed by a *toshidama* emblem. Yoshimori signed his processional scenes simply 'Kōsai' 光斎 and Kyōsai once 'Kyōsai zu' 狂斎図 (picture by Kyōsai) and all other times 'ōju Seisei Kyōsai' 応需惺々暁斎 (by request, Seisei Kyōsai).

The portrayed roles are part of the usual Tōkaidō canon, the only exception being a group of three blind men (*sannin zatō* 三人座頭), juxtaposed to Kusatsu. Narazaki pointed out, that they allude to the three Kichisa from the play *Sannin Kichisa kuruwa no hatsugai* 三人吉三廓初買 (The Three Kichisas and the New Year's Visit to the Pleasure Quarters) that premiered at the Ichimura Theater in the first month of 1860.[340]

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339. Cf. *Ukiyoe Masterpieces*, vol. 3, 231.

340. Cf. *Ukiyoe Masterpieces*, vol. 3, 231; *Zoku zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 4.

5 METHODOLOGY OF STATION-CHARACTER MOTIF PATTERNS IN KUNISADA'S ACTOR TŌKAIDŌ SERIES

The most significant part of Kunisada's oeuvre in terms of quantity is commercially issued prints of actors, published individually or in series. These prints were either designed to accompany a specific performance or to commemorate an actor. If a play was a success, it was, and in fact still is, reperformed; however, usually not the entire play was popular but only separate scenes, which were then shown again. This reappearance created a familiarity with a scene and its characters that was then reflected in the woodblock prints. The stage setting and props, the costumes, and the make-up, are all continued in a similar way and therefore support a swift identification.

As discussed earlier, Kunisada's designs were in high demand and he perfectly understood how to develop new themes and conceive innovative styles; in short, how to satisfy this demand. His Tōkaidō actor series were inspired by the 'Tōkaidō plays' of 1827 and 1835, where different threads were merged together to a more or less consistent plot, somehow setting forth along the Tōkaidō. Kunisada was the first designer to translate this formula into his designs by compiling unrelated motifs into a joined set associated with the serial device Tōkaidō. Certain stations were repeatedly connected with the same character resulting in a canon of station-character motif patterns that he employed from his first series in 1835 to the last in 1864.

Since the beginning of his career, Kunisada sometimes employed a cloud band in his individually published actor compositions that accompany specific performances. In serialized designs, are the actors either set against a plain background, a pattern, or integrated into a theater set. His earliest designs with independent landscapes as backgrounds date to the end of the Bunsei period / beginning Tenpō period and create a feeling of distance. These first experiments are fan prints depicting a single actor or a pair of actors in half-length.[341] In *c*.1832/33 followed two series in *ōban*-size, *Yakusha mu tamagao* 俳優六玉顔 (*Actors' Six Jewel Faces*) captures the actor in full-length, *Sensha mōde* in half-length (see Fig. 49). To emphasize the distance between the foreground figure and the background scenery, Kunisada employed in the untitled fan print series from 1830 and the subsequent two *ōban*-size series, a cloud band between the actor and the landscape. All these series have in common, that the actors are captured off stage, not related to a specific play. They mostly wear summer kimonos, and are suggested to basically enjoy the scenery they are juxtaposed to.

Because these early actor-landscape juxtapositions are not built on relations implied in a role, they do not rely on a common systematic of role-scenery motif patterns and the applied serial devices of the three capitals (*santo* 三都), the Six Jewel Rivers (*mu ta-*

341. These fan print series are *Santo meibutsu* 三都名物 (*Specialties from the Three Capitals*), *Fuji Tsukuba aiaigasa* 富士筑波愛合傘 (*Sharing an Umbrella at Fuji Tsukuba*), illustrated in Shindō 1993, 90–91, and an untitled series from 1830, published by Iseya Sōemon, illustrated in Honcoopová 2005, 189.

magawa 六玉川) etc., are not repeated. They are, however, the basis for the creation of a new type of actor-landscape print that should manifest in the Tōkaidō as serial device. While the main motifs of the *Spring of the Plum* series from 1835 are set against a plain background, accompanied by a facile landscape in an inset frame, the *Chūban Actors* series puts more emphasis on the landscape. The earlier attempts that captured the actors off stage are now continued with actors in a specific role. These roles are plausibly paired to sceneries, creating kabuki brain puzzles; predictable, allusive station-character motif patterns that open up to contemporary kabuki aficionados.[342]

Kunisada's constant use of the same particular character for a specific station does not however imply that he also portrayed the same actor again and again. His actor Tōkaidō series show to a considerable extent *mitate*, imaginary portraits of actors who performed in the depicted role many years before, or at least until the creation of the portrait did not perform in this role at all. Three of the nine actor series relate entirely to one particular performance. The other six series portray assorted motifs from numerous plays, undoubtedly created as *mitate* as it is indicated through the explicit inclusion of the word 'mitate' in the titles of the two largest actor Tōkaidō series, the *Chūban Actors* series (*Mitate yakusha gojūsan tsui no uchi*) and the *Yakusha Mitate* series (*Yakusha mitate Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi*).[343]

That the station-character juxtapositions were not arbitrarily chosen demonstrate especially the intermediate locales in the *Yakusha Mitate* series that originate from the possibility for a plausible connection. Kunisada invented these locales not out of the blue, but he deliberately chose a locale if he was able to conceive a logical combination with a character. These combinations challenged the aficionados and resulted in many new kabuki brain puzzles in this bipolar actor-landscape print. The puzzles were achieved through several methods including the direct connection to a play, the connection to a legend or literary work, the connection through a homophone to a station, or through paronomasia as connection.

The ideas for some of these patterns seem to derive from identical segments in the early Tōkaidō plays. The vendetta at Kameyama, for example, is integrated in the 1827 *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* and the 1835 *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi*, after which Kunisada then modeled the characters in the *Chūban Actors* series (S0327-025), and later repeated it in the *Yakusha Mitate* series (S0525-047 and S0525-047A), the *Koban Actors* series (S0454-038), the *Double Portraits* series (S0453-019), and the *Two Brushes* series (S0432-047).

Each Tōkaidō actor series presents familiar station-character motif patterns along with innovations, newly created juxtapositions that reflect current interests and devel-

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342. In late 1812, Kunisada's first puzzles appeared in the series *Yakusha hanjimono* 役者はんじもの (*Actor Riddles*), in this case the pictorial quizzes lead to the actor's name which was, unusually for the time, omitted. For an example of such a riddle, see Shindō 1993, 132. For other examples of Edo period pictorial quizzes, see Iwasaki 2004.

343. On *mitate*, see Clark 1997, and Iwata 2002.

opments. Such one-time juxtapositions were designed only once and related kabuki material like the narration, playbills, etc. might be lost. In these cases is the reconstruction why Kunisada choose this motif virtually impossible.

Fig. 66 and Fig. 67 is an example for such a one-timer. This pseudo-diptych captures Onoe Kikugorō III as the ghost of Iwafuji together with Matsumoto Kōshirō V as Ōtomo Hitachinosuke Yorikuni. It seems to refer to the play *Yayoi no hana Oedo no irifune* 桜花大江戸入船 (*Spring Flower and the Arrival of a Ship in Edo*), staged at the Nakamura Theater in the third month of 1837, in which Kikugorō III's performance as the ghost of Iwafuji was the highlight. This play, written by Tsuruya Nanboku V, was the first of a number of plays known as *Kotsuyose no Iwafuji* 骨寄せ岩藤.[344] Kōshirō V also took part in this production; however, the character Hitachinosuke does not appear in this play, according to the *tsuji banzuke* 辻番付 (street playbill) and *ehon banzuke* 絵本番付 (picture book playbill).

Here, the ghost, composed in a round line, appears from flames, wearing a long blue garment with even longer hair. Hitachinosuke holds an open miniature shrine (*zushi* 厨子) with a sacred image (*sonzō* 尊像) against her. Kōshirō V wears a *noshime* 熨斗目 *naga-gamishimo* 長裃 costume, decorated with yellow ginkgo-leaves and white crests of four flowers arranged in a circle (*maru ni yotsuwari hanabishi* 丸に四つ割花菱), the crest of the Matsumoto Kōshirō line of actors. The long sword in his right hand and the miniature shrine in the left, he strikes an impressive pose.

The reason for the juxtaposition to Kakegawa and Fukuroi is not clear and becomes also not clear through comparison with similar images such as Fig. 68. The triptych from 1860 depicts a scene from the play *Kagamiyama gonichi no Iwafuji* 加賀見山再岩藤 (*Iwafuji past Mount Kagami*), another version on the *Kotsuyose no Iwafuji* theme, performed at the Ichimura Theater in the third month. Ichikawa Kodanji IV appears as the ghost of the lady-in-waiting Iwafuji, opposed by Iwai Kumesaburō III as Onoe II (aka Ohatsu) with a miniature shrine in her hand, and Kawarazaki Gonjūrō I as Hasebe Tatewaki 長谷部帯刀, posing with the long sword. Hitachinosuke, who opposes the ghost of Iwafuji alone in the pseudo-diptych, is now separated into two characters.

5.1 Play connection

Most of the station-character juxtapositions are derived from a direct connection between station and character as told in a specific play or a group of plays. Kabuki plays mostly consist of a number of acts and scenes which are not virtually set at the exact same location. The various locations might be geographically near, e.g. within a city or even within a large estate, but they can also be set at distant places like a far away island where a protagonist was exiled to etc. Locales along the Tōkaidō, the most important travel route, were also chosen as setting. To portray characters from these Tōkaidō

344. Cf. *Kabuki saiken*, 412–13; Leiter 1997, 252.

locales was therefore the first and the most often executed choice for a station-character motif pattern.

A play with scenes set along the Tōkaidō is *Igagoe dōchū sugoroku* 伊賀越道中双六 (*Journeying Through Iga Province Along a Picture-map Game*). The two connected scenes *Numazu Heisaku uchi* 沼津平作内 (*Heisaku's Home in Numazu*) and *Senbon matsubara* 千本松原 (*Field of One-Thousand Pines*) tell the story of the mercer Jūbei 重兵衛, the old porter Heisaku 平作, and his daughter Oyone お米, and because of the scenes' locations, they are frequently juxtaposed by Kunisada to the twelfth and thirteenth stations Numazu and Hara.[345] A different scene of the same play takes place at the thirty-eighth station *Okazaki* (*Okazaki no ba* 岡崎の場) and the two leading characters in this scene, Karaki Masaemon 唐木政右衛門 and his wife Otani, were therefore an obvious choice as motifs for Okazaki.[346]

Igagoe dōchū sugoroku belongs to the *Igagoe mono* 伊賀越物 group of plays, telling the story of a revenge through Iga Province, based on a true incident in 1634 known as one of Japan's three great vendettas.[347] In the historical incident Araki Mataemon 荒木又右衛門 (Karaki Masaemon 唐木政右衛門 in the play), a master swordsman, helped Watanabe Kazuma 渡辺数馬 (Wada Shizuma 和田志津馬) to take revenge on Kawai Matagorō 河合又五郎 (Sawai Matagorō 沢井又五郎), the murderer of his father. The main narrative follows Wada Shizuma on his hunt for Matagorō that takes him through Japan along the Tōkaidō.[348]

Act three deals with a subplot, which begins on the road to Numazu. The mercer Jūbei erupts and is asked by the aged porter Heisaku to be allowed to carry his bags. Heisaku can hardly carry the bags and stops often. He trips and injures a foot that Jūbei miraculously cures with a potion. Jūbei carries the bags by himself as he is too worried about the old man (see Fig. 69). They move on and reach Heisaku's cottage where Jūbei immediately falls in love with Heisaku's daughter Oyone and accepts her offer to stay over night as gratitude for having saved her father's life. Jūbei proposes to Oyone, who rejects him as she is already spoken for. In fact, Oyone served as a courtesan under the name Segawa 瀬川 in the Matsubaya 松葉屋 in Edo's Yoshiwara district and is in love with Shizuma. They turn in for the night, and Oyone uses the dark of night to steal the miraculous potion from Jūbei in order to help her wounded lover Shizuma. But Jūbei catches her red-handed and demands an explanation for her insidious deed. He ascertains who she is and who her lover must be, and would like to help them by giving them the potion, but it belongs to his patron. When asking Heisaku if Oyone is his only child, Heisaku says that he has also one older son, who was adopted by a family in

345. See Leiter 1997, 211–13, for a description of the play and *Meisaku kabuki zenshū*, vol. 5, 296–316, for the complete text of these scenes.

346. Cf. *Meisaku kabuki zenshū*, vol. 5, 325–41.

347. Cf. Leiter 1997, 211–13. The other two famous vendettas are the revenge of the Soga brothers and the revenge of the forty-seven retainers (*Kanadehon Chūshingura*).

348. Cf. Bandō 1972, 56–62; Kodama 2001, 57–61.

Kamakura and is now a wealthy merchant. Although he is poor, he doesn't want to ask his abandoned son for help. Jūbei realizes that he must be Heisaku's son and Oyone's older brother, as he carries the amulet with the birth certificate Heisaku described. He wants to help them now even more, but is obliged to Matagorō, Shizuma's enemy.

Jūbei makes up a story that he wants to sponsor a monument and Heisaku should arrange for this. He leaves money with them and departs at dawn. After his departure, they discover that he left the medicine case and Oyone realizes that it belongs to Matagorō. Furthermore, Jūbei has left much more money than needed to erect a monument, and they also find the amulet, revealing that he must be Heisaku's older son; however, they are obliged to Shizuma and want to ask Jūbei where to find Matagorō. Accompanied by Ikezoe Magohachi 池添孫八, Shizuma's footman, they rush after him.

The last scene of this act takes place at the Thousand Pines Plain (*Senbon matsubara* 千本松原), a famous scenic spot along the Tōkaidō, where they can catch up with Jūbei by using a shortcut. Heisaku alone talks to him and returns the thirty gold coins. He begs Jūbei to reveal Matagorō's hiding place but Jūbei cannot betray Matagorō and remains silent. Heisaku stabs himself, so that Jūbei can report Heisaku's killing of a Shizuma affiliate to Matagorō to fulfill his duty. Jūbei tells the whereabouts of Matagorō to Heisaku loud enough that the nearby hiding Oyone and Magohachi can hear it.

Several single and double portraits by Kunisada, as well as images by Kuniyoshi and Kunichika, depict Jūbei, Heisaku, and Oyone in juxtaposition with the stations Numazu and Hara.[349] Kunisada's designs have in common to capture Jūbei as a wealthy mercer with a *tenugui* covering his head, wearing a long coat, *tekkō* 手甲 (gloves covering the back of the hands), *kyahan* 脚絆 (gaiters), and sandals (*zōri* 草履). Also, he usually carries a pipe (*kiseru* 煙管), its case (*kiseruzutsu* 煙管筒), and a tobacco pouch (*tabakoire* 煙草入). Heisaku is shown as a poor old man, indicated by an opened jacket with no shirt underneath and his bamboo twig walking stick. Oyone usually doesn't appear as poor as her father.[350] She is always captured with the same hair, needle, comb, and clothes.

In the story prior to the *Okazaki* scene, the master fighter Masaemon starts to help his brother-in-law Shizuma to avenge the death of his father, and they both search for the murderer Matagorō. To do this, Masaemon divorces his pregnant wife Otani, who he married five years ago without permission. He immediately marries a young girl of seven, actually Otani's little sister, to get the official permission to participate in the vendetta. In the *Okazaki* scene, Shizuma disguises as Matagorō to deceive Matagorō's fiancée to reveal his hiding place. Otani appears, carrying her infant with a note that

349. These designs are S0327-013, S0327-014, S0432-013, S0453-007 (ill. in Marks 2007a, fig. 17), S0455-007, S0454-013, S0525-013, S0525-014, S0525-014A, S0458-013 (ill. in Marks 2007a, page 27, fig. 13 (47)).

350. The only exception here is the image in the *Chūban Actors* series, which shows her as a porter, replacing her father Heisaku. Her depiction looks very similar to that of a *bijin* in the Fuchū design of the shortly before released *Chūban Bijin* series (S0456-020).

this is Masaemon's son, and the masquerade is about to be busted. Masaemon is forced to kill his own child in order to consolidate their false identities.[351]

Kunisada captured the couple Masaemon and Otani together with their infant in the crucial moment, when Masaemon must decide to sacrifice his newborn son to be able to proceed with the vendetta (S0453-020, S0525-039, and S0525-039A). Masaemon is shown as a samurai in a simple khaki *kitsuke* with white *mon*. Otani is depicted with the child, trying to protect herself and the infant from the snow with a rush mat (*goza* 茣蓙). Her patchwork dress indicates that she cannot afford a real kimono. Her hair is open, falling down on her shoulders. Kunichika later depicted the villain Matagorō in juxtaposition with Okazaki in the *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* series from 1871.

Michiyuki 道行, travel dances, are predestined for being the subject matter of Tōkaidō prints. Their characters, in most cases a pair of tragic lovers, journey to their destination while also paying attention to the scenery.[352] *Michiyuki* are originally an integral part of a longer play and some were so popular that they became independent. Several *michiyuki* are set along a segment of the Tōkaidō, between two or more stations, and as they portray two protagonists, it is comprehensible to capture them in pseudo-diptychs or double portraits.

Michiyuki oboro no Katsuragawa 道行朧の桂川 (*Travel Scene at the Misty River Katsura*), the last act of the play *Katsuragawa renri no shigarami* 桂川連理柵 (*Union by the Weir in the River Katsura*), reports of the dramatic suicide of Ohan and Chōemon. The original play was written by Suga Sensuke 菅専助, based on an historical incident, and premiered as a puppet play in the tenth month of 1776 at the Kita Horie Theater 北堀江 in Osaka and was in the next year adapted to kabuki.[353] Later additions, which premiered in 1847, set the story back by fifteen years. Important for the Tōkaidō series is the opening Ishibe part and the concluding *michiyuki*.[354] The merchant Chōemon from the Obiya (an obi shop) in Kyoto returns along the Tōkaidō from a business trip, when he meets Ohan, the fourteen-year-old daughter from the neighboring Shinanoya shop. Ohan, accompanied by the apprentice Chōkichi 丁稚長吉 and her nurse Orin, is en route from a pilgrimage to the Ise Shrines. Chōkichi had been sent back to pick up a forgotten article and Orin meanwhile waits for him. Ohan and Chōemon decide to continue their journey to Kyoto together and stop at an inn in Ishibe to spend the night there. That night, Ohan tries to escape Chōkichi's advances and flees to Chōemon. They sleep together in the same bed, which is angrily noticed by Chōkichi who substitutes Chōemon's precious sword with his own in retaliation.

In the following scenes, the reputation of Chōemon is saved by his wife Okinu, who tries to cover up Chōemon's affair with Ohan. Chōemon, having lost the sword and not

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351. For further details, see Leiter 1997, 213.

352. For further details on *michiyuki*, see Leiter 1997, 402.

353. Leiter 1997, 303–04. Earlier works on this theme that cannot be verified are listed in Kokuritsu Gekijō 1969, 1–2.

354. Cf. Bandō 1972, 150–53; Kodama 2001, 235–37.

knowing how to cope with Ohan's pregnancy, concludes that life is not worth living. He hurries after Ohan, who had ran away and left him a note, which stated that she cannot be with another man but Chōemon, hence her only solution is death. In the concluding *michiyuki* scene, Chōemon succeeds in overtaking Ohan and carries her on his back into the River Katsura, where they drown together.

The infamous lovers Ohan and Chōemon are a theme in *ukiyoe*, strictly speaking, their interaction in Ishibe and the love suicide at the River Katsura. Kunisada captured both scenes in three Tōkaidō series: *Yakusha Mitate* (S0525-051, S0525-052), *Two Brushes* (S0432-052), and *Double Portraits* (S0453-026).

5.2 Legend / literary connection

A respected number of motif patterns are based on legends or literary works that are in some way related to the Tōkaidō.[355] Allusions to such legends can also be embedded in kabuki plays or the legends can be dramatized into a play. Several of these legends were long before the establishment of the genre Tōkaidō prints illustrated in the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*. Through consulting the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, designers such as Kunisada, Kuniyoshi, and Hiroshige, had therefore immediate access to a wealth of information that proved to be an asset in developing station-character motif patterns. Such a popular pattern is the thirty-ninth station Chiryū with the Heian period poet Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825–880).

Narihira was on a journey along the Tōkaidō, when he reached Chiryū and went to a nearby place called Yatsuhashi 八橋. Yatsuhashi or 'Eight-fold Bridge' is an area, where the River Azuma 逢妻川 branched into eight streams, each with a bridge. This area, apparently full of irises, inspired him to compose a *waka* poem, listed in the *Tales of Ise*. Each line of this poem begins with one of the five syllables composing the word of the flower *Ka-ki-tsu-ba-ta* (rabbit-ear iris):

から衣
きつつなれにし
つましあれば
はるばる来ぬる
たびをしぞ思ふ

Karagoromo
kitsutsu narenishi
tsuma shi areba
harubaru kinuru
tabi o shi zo omou

I have a beloved wife,
Familiar as the skirt

355. For a discussion of folk beliefs captured in Tōkaidō prints, see Yamamoto 1980.

Of a well-worn robe,
And so this distant jouneying
Fills my heart with grief.
(Transl. from McCullough 1968, 75.)

The triumvirate Narihira, the eight-fold bridge, and irises became a theme in Japanese arts, that e.g. the painter Ogata Kōrin 尾形光琳 (1658–1716) employed in a pair of six-panel folding screens, created in the last years of his life. The pair depicts an eight-fold bridge that winds its way through bunches of irises.[356] In the third book of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, Takehara Shunsensai captured Narihira, looking at the eight-fold bridge and irises.[357] This motif in juxtaposition to the station Chiryū was retained by Kuniyoshi in the *Fifty-three Pairs* series (S0457-040) and by Kunisada in the *Yakusha Mitate* series (S0525-040), the *Two Brushes* series (see Fig. 70), as well as in the *Processional Series* (see Fig. 71). Furthermore, Kunisada's student Kunichika revived the Narihira motif in his series *Gojūsan tsugi no uchi*, published in 1871.

One more legend that is reported in the fourth book of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*, however not illustrated, is that of a celestial being, *tennin*, at the Pine Field of Miho near the eighteenth station Ejiri.[358] Different versions of this story are narrated, all centered on her feather mantle (*hagoromo*) that she had hung on a pine tree.[359] This legend was dramatized in a No play and later in different kabuki dances.[360] Kunisada employed the motif of the feather mantle wearing *tennin*, juxtaposed to the station Ejiri, in the *Chūban Actors* series (S0327-019), as did Kuniyoshi in the *Fifty-three Pairs* series (S0457-019). Furthermore, the feather mantle is the decoration of the title cartouche in the Ejiri design of Kunisada's *Yakusha Mitate* series (S0525-019), and again the main motif in the *Two Brushes* series, illustrated in Fig. 59.

5.3 Homophone connection

The last two methods applied in station-character motif patterns require an even deeper knowledge of the kabuki theater and are proof for Kunisada's profound familiarity with the plays and characters he portrayed. The third method is the connection through a homophone to a station. This homophone might be the name of the portrayed character, a related character, or the name of a related place.

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356. The pair is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Narihira is also included in several kabuki plays and dance pieces, especially the ones on the six poets (*rokkasen* 六歌仙) like *Rokkasen sugata no irodori* 六歌仙容彩 (*Colored Appearances of the Six Immortal Poets*). Cf. *Meisaku kabuki zenshū*, vol. 19, 186–98; Leiter 1997, 532. For the Meiji period dance piece *Bun'ya* 文屋, see *Buyō techō*, 232–33.
357. Cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 2, 90–1.
358. Cf. Kasuya 2001, vol. 2, 336.
359. Cf. *Nihon denki densetsu daijiten*, 708–09.
360. Cf. Leiter 1997, 142.

The thirty-fourth station Yoshida, for example, is combined with Yoshida Matsuwaka 吉田松若 (or Matsuwakamaru 松若丸), who was kidnapped by mountain goblins (*tengu* 天狗) when he was young. Raised in the underworld, he possesses supernatural powers and attempts to avenge the death of his brother Umewakamaru 梅若丸 as told in the *River Sumida* group of plays (*Sumidagawa mono* 隅田川物).[361] Matsuwaka is also the motif for the intermediate locale Yoshida Bridge between Totsuka and Fujisawa (*Totsuka Fujisawa no aida: Yoshidabashi* 戸塚藤澤間吉田橋) in the *Yakusha Mitate* series (S0525-006D). Moreover, the station Yoshida is combined with the high-ranking courtesan (*tayū* 太夫) Yūgiri 夕霧 and her lover Fujiya Izaemon 藤屋伊左衛門, characters from the play *Kuruwa bunshō* 廓文章 (*Love Letters from the Licensed Quarters*), because Yūgiri works at the Yoshidaya brothel 吉田屋 in Osaka (S0525-035, S0525-035A).[362]

An example for a homophone connection through a related character is the portrait of Sakuramaru from the play *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* 菅原伝授手習鑑 (*Mirror of Learning and Transmitting Sugawara's Secrets of Calligraphy*) in the *Yakusha Mitate* series (S0525-052C). He is juxtaposed to the Yae hamlet between Ishibe and Kusatsu (Ishibe Kusatsu no aida: Yae no sato 石部草津間八重里), because Sakuramaru's wife is called Yae.

A rather obvious homophone connection that one could expect to appear in actor Tōkaidō prints is missing: *Seki no to* 関の扉 (*Barrier Gate*), a dance featuring Ono no Komachi as Sumizome, the ghost of the Komachi Cherry Tree, and Ōtomo Kuronushi as the villainous Sekibei who wants to cut down the tree.[363] *Seki no to* premiered in 1784 and was frequently performed in Edo but is not juxtaposed to the homonymic station Seki. The standard source for motifs in juxtaposition to the station Seki is the story of the courtesan Koman, known as *Seki no Koman*.[364] The reason for this might be, that Koman's story is directly connected to the Tōkaidō as she works in an inn at Seki, whereas *Seki no to* is set at a barrier gate on Ōsaka Mountain.

5.4 Paronomasia connection

Station-character motif patterns were also achieved through paronomasia, plays on words that reach, in this case, beyond the usage of simple homophones. They rely on different shades of meaning, pronunciation, or metaphors of one or more kanji of a station name, without touching the dimension of humor.

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361. Cf. Kabuki saiken, 484–94; Leiter 1997, 626–27.
362. For further details on this play, see Leiter 1997, 370–71.
363. Short for *Tsumoru koi yuki no seki no to* 積恋雪関扉 (*Love's Snowbound Barrier Barrier*), cf. Clark 1994, 36–48; Brandon et al. 2002b, 214–41.
364. From the play *Koinyōbō somewake tazuna* 恋女房染分手綱 (*The Loving Wife's Reins Dyed in Different Colours*). Cf. Bandō 1972, 147–49; Kodama 2001, 217–19; Leiter 1997, 341–42.

Kanō Utanosuke 狩野雅楽之助 from the play *Keisei Hangonkō* 傾城返魂香 (*The Courtesan of the Hangon Incense*) is juxtaposed in the *Yakusha Mitate* series to Mount Fudesute between Seki and Sakanoshita (Seki Sakanoshita no aida: Fudesuteyama 関坂の下間筆捨山) as *fudesute* literally means 'to lay down the brush,' which he did in order to rescue his master Kanō Shirojirō Motonobu 狩野四郎次郎元信 and his lover Princess Ichō-no-mae 銀杏の前 (S0525-048C).[365]

In the *Koban Actors* series is Higuchi Jirō Kanemitsu 樋口次郎金光, disguised as the boatman Matsuemon 松右衛門, the motif of the station Hamamatsu (S0454-030). In the final scene of the third act of the play *Hiragana seisuiki* ひらかな盛衰記 (*A Beginner's Version of the Vicissitudes of the Heike and Genji Clans*), *Sakaro no matsu* 福島逆艫の松 (*Reversing Oar at a Pine Tree*), he climbs a pine tree at the shore of Fukushima on the outlook for his enemies. Hamamatsu literally means 'pine trees at seashore.'[366]

Hiragawara no Jirozō 平河原の次郎蔵 and Akogi no Heiji 阿漕平次, the two protagonists of the play *Seishū Akogi ga ura* 勢州阿漕浦 (*The Akogi Bay in Seishū*), are repeatedly connected with the station Sakanoshita. Sakanoshita, lit. 'below the slope,' relates to Sakanoue (lit. 'above the slope') Tamuramaro 坂上田村麻呂, Heiji's former master.[367] Their portraits are in the *Yakusha Mitate* series (S0525-049, S0525-050), the *Two Brushes* series (S0432-049), and the *Double Portraits* series (S0453-025). Because the *Yakusha Mitate* and the *Double Portraits* series combine exactly one character with each station, Heiji is the motif of the subsequent station Tsuchiyama.

365. For further details on this play, see Leiter 1997, 310–11.

366. For further details on this play, see Leiter 1997, 167–69. This scene is translated by Matthew Johnson in Leiter 2002a et al., 164–95.

367. On Sakanoue Tamuramaro, see *Nihon denki densetsu daijiten*, 400–01. For further details on the play, see Leiter 1997, 563–64.

6 CANONIZATION OF STATION-CHARACTER MOTIF PATTERNS

In principle, the motifs that Kunisada employed in his actor Tōkaidō series derive from recently performed plays as well as traditional plays that contained Tōkaidō related material. Because the high-demanding market was thirsty for novelties it was immanent for the success of such large series as the Tōkaidō series, that present-day attractive elements were not neglected but woven into the motif catalogue. Such motifs, therefore, reflect the vogue at that particular time but appear only once, as the plays and with them the motifs, were quickly replaced by others.

An example for such a one-timer is the pseudo-diptych of the stations Yoshida and Goyu in the *Chūban Actors* series, portraying the actors Sawamura Sōjūrō V as Ashikaga Yoshihisa 足利尚久 and Ichimura Uzaemon XII as Katsuragi 葛城 (S0327-035, S0327-036). It refers to the play *Gosho moyō Genji no Edo-zome* 内裡模様源氏紫 (*Court Style and Genji's Edo-pattern*) that was modeled after the highly popular serial novel *Inaka Genji*, and performed only once at the Ichimura Theater in the third month of 1838. The integration of these motifs into the *Chūban Actors* series shows the attempt to cope with and make use of the demand at that time.[368]

Kunisada, however, did not use all plays and roles intrinsically connected to the Tōkaidō as motifs for his actor Tōkaidō series. An example of a missing play is *Tsutamomiji Utsunoya tōge* 蔦紅葉宇都谷峠 (*Scarlet-Tinged Ivy at Utsunoya Pass*), first performed at the Ichimura Theater in the ninth month of 1856. Bandō Mitsugorō VIII as well as Fujita Hiroshi list *Tsutamomiji Utsunoya tōge* in connection to the station Mariko in their discussions of plays linked to the Tōkaidō.[369] Though Kunisada designed at least eight triptychs for various publishers displaying several scenes of this play, none of the two series designed after the premiere, the *Double Portraits* series from 1857 and the *Famous Pictures* series from 1864, portray a character from this play.

An example of a missing character, so to speak, is the courtesan Komurasaki, the lover of the robber and murderer Shirai Gonpachi. Their story will later be presented in detail. There is not a single portrait of Komurasaki in the actor Tōkaidō series, which is especially of interest as Gonpachi, with eight portraits, is the most often depicted character. Though Kunisada portrayed the role of Komurasaki as early as 1818 and later again and again, she was apparently not important enough to include in his Tōkaidō series.[370] The relationship between Gonpachi and her seems to be of minor interest, es-

368. At the same time, Kunisada designed also a real diptych capturing these two characters. An example of this diptych, published by Ezakiya Tatsuzō, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

369. Cf. Bandō 1972, 80–81; Fujita 1992.

370. 1818 refers to the portrait of the actor Segawa Kikunojō V 瀬川菊之丞 (1802–1832) as Komurasaki in the play *Banzui Chōbei shōjin manaita* 幡随長兵衛精進俎板 (*The Chopping Board*

pecially in comparison to his relationship to Banzuiin Chōbei, his accomplice and a famous *Edokko*.[371] Kunisada either preferred Chōbei as an accompanying character to Gonpachi or a minor supporting role such as the young retainer Sahei like in the *Double Portraits* series (S0453-001).

Kitahachi and Yajirōbei the two protagonists of the novel *Hizakurige* are intrinsically connected to the Tōkaidō, however, their portraits are not constrained to a fixed station-character motif pattern. Each series with their portraits captures them in combination with a different station.

In the *Yakusha Mitate* series, Yajirōbei is juxtaposed to Ejiri (S0525-019) and Kitahachi to the following station Fuchū (S0525-020). Nakayama Bungorō II is portrayed as Yajirōbei holding a pipe in his right hand and a tobacco pouch (*tabako-ire* 煙草入れ) with an ashtray *netsuke* in his left. In the novel, they pass Ejiri during hard rain and on the road to Fuchū, Kitahachi asks a postboy to give him a light.[372] Ichikawa Hirogorō I is captured as Kitahachi. The novel reports, that he and Yajirōbei stay in a brothel in Fuchū over night.[373] The brothel is located near the River Abe, depicted in the background of this design. They are served the local specialty their, a rice-cake called *Abegawa-mochi*. The elements around the red title cartouche refer to this specialty. When crossing the River Abe they are tricked by the porters who carry them over a more dangerous part of the river to be able to charge more.[374]

In the *Double Portraits* series, seen in Fig. 72, they are juxtaposed to the stations Yoshida and Goyu (S0453-018). The design from the second month of 1857 captures Nakamura Tsuruzō I as Kitahachi and Nakayama Ichizō as Yajirōbei, and relates to the Yoshida scene of the play *Tabi suzume aiyado banashi* 旅雀我好話 (*Stories of the Two Traveling Sparrows*), Nakamura Theatre VII/1854.[375] Yajirōbei and Kitahachi are stopping for the night at an inn in Yoshida. They fell in love with Oao おあを, the beautiful daughter of the pilgrim Wanahei わな兵衛. She, however, doesn't share their feelings.[376] Like in

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for Banzui Chōbei's Lenten Fare), performed at the Nakamura Theater in the third month of 1818, nevertheless there might be earlier portraits of Komurasaki by Kunisada.

371. Double portraits of Gonpachi and Komurasaki by Kunisada are for example in the series *Tōto Fuji sanjūrokkei* 東都富士三十六景 (*Thirty-Six Views of the Fuji from the Capital*) from the third month of 1860, *Koi awase hashiuta zukushi* 戀合端唄尽 (*Collection of Love Compared with Songs*) from the forth month of 1860, *Oatsurae goshiki zome* 御誂五色染 (*Commission for a Five-Colored Pattern*) from the ninth month of 1860, *Sanjūrokkusen* 三拾六句撰 (*Thirty-Six Selected Poems*) from the fifth month of 1862.

372. Cf. Jippensha 2001, 80.

373. Ibid., 81–7.

374. This is also the case with series that do not primarily focus on actor portraits. In the *Fifty-Three Pairs* series, Hiroshige turns twice to the couple and presents them in connection to Mitsuke (S0457-029B) and Futagawa (S0457-034). In the *Processional Tōkaidō* series, Kunisada captured them in Hara (S0458-014), ill. in Marks 2007a, page 27, fig. 14 (49).

375. Cf. *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 659.

376. Cf. *Sōgō Nihon gikyoku jiten*, 378; *Kabuki jōruri gedai jiten*, 492.

Fig. 73 which accompanied the performance, Kitahachi has, for whatever reason, covered his head with his checkered *kosode* and beats a red *mokugyō* 木魚, a Buddhist wooden drum, with a drumstick.

In the *Famous Pictures* series, Ichikawa Kuzō III is depicted as Kitahachi and Ichikawa Danzō VI as Yajirōbei, juxtaposed to Akasaka (S0455-019). The double portrait refers to an evening scene on the road to Akasaka, known for wicked foxes. It tells the story from plays on the two protagonists, like *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi*, when Yajirōbei puts on a fox mask and scares Kitahachi.[377] Danzō VI performed the role of Yajirōbei in the play *Tsuyu to obana nobe no nuregoto* 露尾花野辺濡事 (*A Love Scene in a Grass Field Moist with Dew*), staged at the Nakamura Theatre in the eighth month of 1863.[378]

By repeating motifs for certain stations, Kunisada established and perpetuated over the years a canon of station-character motif patterns that was also employed by other designers such as Kuniyoshi or Kunichika. Table 32 lists twenty-four station-character motif patterns, capturing identical characters or minor supporting characters from the same narrative, that are repeated in Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series. The following are examples of oft repeated station-character motif patterns and their treatment in the different series.

6.1 Shinagawa: Shirai Gonpachi, Banzuiin Chōbei

The first station of the Tōkaidō after the start at the Nihon Bridge is Shinagawa, related to the famous story about the handsome Shirai Gonpachi 白井権八 and the *otokodate* 男達 (chivalrous commoner) Banzuiin Chōbei 幡随院長兵衛. A large number of plays deal with their friendship, but their meeting is entirely fictitious. Gonpachi committed his first murder in 1672, when Chōbei was already 22 years dead.[379] The kabuki drama modified reality, and the two characters were highly idealized.[380]

Banzuiin Chōbei was the leader of a gang of *otokodate*, a Robin Hood-like figure known for helping the poor and standing up against the authorities. Shirai (originally Hirai) Gonpachi was a young samurai, who became a highway robber. On the third day of the eleventh month 1679, he was executed in Suzugamori, the execution ground of Edo near Shinagawa. Tied to a crucifix (*haritsuke* 磔), he was impaled to death with spears. His lover, the courtesan Komurasaki from the Miuraya, is said to have commit-

377. Cf. Leiter 1997, 171. The story is different to Ikku's novel where Yajirōbei conceives the idea that Kitahachi turned into a wicked fox. Kitahachi had gone to reserve a room for them in Akasaka and when they meet again, Yajirōbei beats him (Jippensha 2001, 142–44).

378. The upper image by Kyōsai depicts a hunting scene at Fujisawa. It is already dark when the hunting party, led by a man with a blazing flare, returns with the wild boar they have caught.

379. Cf. *Nihon denki densetsu daijiten*, 390.

380. Cf. Kodama 2001, 10–11; Bandō 1972, 15–18; *Meisaku kabuki zenshū*, vol. 15, 53–126.

ted suicide at his grave near the main gate of Fudō Temple in Meguro, where a *hiyoku zuka* 比翼塚 (a lover's mound, a common tombstone) was erected.[381]

Because of Shirai Gonpachi's popularity and his immediate connection to the Tōkaidō, he is the most often portrayed character in Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series. Kunisada depicted him in eight portraits, three of them alone in the *Yakusha Mitate* series. Furthermore, two portraits in the actor Tōkaidō series are of his accomplice Banzuiin Chōbei. The portraits of Gonpachi refer to different scenes within the various plays, the most famous being the first meeting at Suzugamori.[382]

Kawatake Shinshichi I's *Edo meisho midori Soga* 江戸名所緑曽我 (*Soga and Famous Green Sights of Edo*), performed at the Morita Theater in the first month of 1779, is the earliest play where Gonpachi runs into Chōbei.[383] The meeting at Suzugamori appears for the first time in the puppet play *Meguro hiyoku zuka* 驪山比翼塚 (*Lover's Mound at Meguro*), staged at Edo's Hizen Theater 肥前座 in the seventh month of 1779. In the play *Omowaku kuruwa katagi* 思花街容性 (*Expectations of the Licensed Quarters*) at Osaka's Kado Theater in the eighth month of 1784, they returned to the kabuki stage. This time Gonpachi searched for a missing ink stone. Three more plays followed in Edo and Osaka before the *Suzugamori* scene finally premiered within *Banzui Chōbei shōjin manaita* 幡随長兵衛精進俎板 (*The Chopping Board for Banzui Chōbei's Lenten Fare*), performed at the Nakamura Theater in the eight month of 1803.[384]

The *Suzugamori* scene starts with Gonpachi's flight along the Tōkaidō to Edo after killing his uncle Honjō Sukedayū 本庄助太夫. Although he wanted to go to the great Kannon temple in Asakusa, his palanquin stops at Suzugamori on the bay of Shinagawa. His palanquin-bearers and a band of robbers try to take him into custody after finding out that he is wanted for murder. In front of the large stone marker of Suzugamori inscribed with the prayer *Namu myōhō renge kyō* 南無妙法蓮華経 (*Glory to the Lotus Sutra Law*), the central mantra of the Nichiren Buddhism, a long fight scene (*tachimawari* 立ち回り) takes place. With his excellent swordsmanship, Gonpachi succeeds in fighting them off. In the meantime, a second palanquin arrives and the passenger demands to speak to him. He reveals that he is the famous Banzuiin Chōbei on his way back to Edo. They discover a letter, dropped during the fray, which demands the arrest of Gonpachi,

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381. In series on famous sights in Edo, Kunisada tended to choose Komurasaki and/or Gonpachi as motif for Meguro, e.g. in *Tōto kōmei kaiseki zukushi* 東都高名會席盡 (*A Collection of Famous Restaurants in the Capital*), published by Fujiokaya Keijirō in XII/1852; *Tōto Fuji sanjūrokkei* 東都富士三十六景 (*Thirty-Six Views of the Fuji from the Capital*), published by Sasaya Matabei in III/1860; *Tōto sanjūrokkei no uchi* 東都三十六景之内 (*The Thirty-Six Views of the Capital*), published by Ōmiya Kyūjirō in III/1864.

382. This scene is translated by Ronald Cavaye in Brandon et al. 2002c, 100–17.

383. Chōbei alone appeared already in *Sazareishi suehiro Genji* 礫末広源氏, Nakamura Theater, I/1744 (cf. *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 2, 445; *Kabuki saiken*, 853–54).

384. The three plays are *Keisei azuma kagami* 傾情吾嬬鑑, Nakamura Theater, IV/1788; *Hirai Gonpachi Yoshiwara ga yoi* 平井権八吉原街, Kado Theater, III/1793; *Banzui Chōbei* 幡随長兵衛, Nakamura Theater, I/1800 (cf. Kabuki saiken 856–59).

the murderer. Chōbei burns the letter to cover Gonpachi's identity and he asks him to kill a robber, who had overheard their conversation. After striking expressive poses, they depart together to Edo.[385]

A different story of Gonpachi is told in *Sono kouta yume mo Yoshiwara* 其小唄夢廓 (*The Short Ballad of a Dream in the Pleasure Quarters*), first performed at the Nakamura Theater in the first month of 1816.[386] The play consists of two parts known as *Gonjō* 権上 and *Gonge* 権下, and these parts also reappear later in other plays. In *Gonjō*, Gonpachi was caught and is now brought to the execution grounds. He sits backward on a horse and when he arrives, Komurasaki manages to cut his ropes and frees him. Suddenly Gonpachi awakes in his palanquin and realizes that this was a dream (*Yume no ba* 夢の場). It is night and he is in fact in the Yoshiwara. Komurasaki's *kamuro* 禿 (little girl attendant of a courtesan) arrives to deliver a letter. He reads the long letter by the aid of a lantern and rushes off to see Komurasaki.

In *Gonge*, Gonpachi arrives at Komurasaki's house and reports on his dream. They are, however, interrupted by police and decide that he must flee in disguise. Komurasaki shaves off his front lock of hair and Gonpachi leaves (known as *Kamisuki no Gonpachi* 髪梳きの権八). Attacked by police he manages to get to the Rokugō river crossing between Shinagawa and Kawasaki. He captures a ferry boat and casts off. Half-way across, he must realize that he cannot escape because the police are already waiting for him on the other shore. In the dramatic and bloody climax, an enraged Gonpachi (*Rippuku no Gonpachi* 立腹の権八) stands upright in the boat, strips off the upper part of his kimono and stabs himself with a sword.

Gonpachi is usually juxtaposed to the stations Shinagawa and Kawasaki, near Suzugamori, but Kunisada's first portrait of this character in the Tōkaidō series, seen in Fig. 74, is in connection to the Nihon Bridge. The portrait is in the *Spring of the Plum* series, accompanying the play *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi*, performed at the Ichimura Theater in the second month of 1835. Here he portrays Onoe Kikugorō III as Gonpachi, reading the letter from his lover Komurasaki. Though her *kamuro* who had just delivered it is not depicted, Gonpachi seems to look down at her. It is remarkable that, contrary to other images of Gonapchi, Kikugorō III wears not a plain kimono but a kimono with flower pattern. In more than two-hundred Gonpachi portraits viewed, this is the only one with such a pattern.

Both the *Suzugamori* scene as well as the *Gonjō* scene were woven into this play, however, Kunisada deliberately chose *Gonjō* over *Suzugamori* for the Nihon Bridge design, because Gonpachi was in Edo during his dream and a *Suzugamori* portrait would not have been an accurate motif for the Nihon Bridge. He wanted to start the series

385. For a photo of a contemporary performance, see Yoshida 1991, 190–91. The play continues with Chōbei almost sacrificing his son over a false accusation, cf. Leiter 1997, 41–42.

386. Cf. *Buyō meisaku jiten*, 58; Halford 1956, 62–64; Leiter 1997, 613. Actually this play was the end of *Hiyoku no chō haru no Soga giku* 比翼蝶春曽我菊 (*A Pair of Loving Butterflies and the Soga Chrysanthemum in Spring*).

with a portrait of the leading actor of the play, Kikugorō III, and what would have been more appropriate than depicting him in one of the most popular roles.

Kunisada continues with direct play connections in the only two images of Chōbei in his actor Tōkaidō series. Being part of double portraits, they depict Iwai Hanshirō V as Gonpachi and Matsumoto Kōshirō V as Chōbei in the *Suzugamori* scene. A pseudo-diptych in the *Chūban Actors* series shows Gonpachi connected to Shinagawa (see Fig. 76) and Chōbei to Kawasaki (see Fig. 75). Kunisada exchanged the motifs in the *Yakusha Mitate* series with Chōbei juxtaposed to Shinagawa (see Fig. 80) and Gonpachi to Kawasaki (see Fig. 79). Chōbei was obviously of secondary importance to Tōkaidō prints, and Kunisada therefore abandoned to portray him in following series.

Kōshirō V is the oldest and most established actor portrayed in the *Chūban Actors* series. His first performance as Chōbei was in the 1803 *Banzui Chōbei shōjin manaita* where *Suzugamori* premiered. Until his last performance in 1837, he played this role at least sixteen times in Edo and Osaka, and it became one of his parade roles.[387] Hanshirō V, a famous female-role specialist (*onnagata* 女形), was the perfect cast for the young and handsome Gonpachi, and they played together in the following seven performances:

- IV/1809 (Ichimura), *Reigen Soga no kamigaki* 霊験曽我籬
- X/1811 (Morita), *Edomurasaki sasuga otokogi* 江戸紫流石男気
- IX/1813 (Morita), *Otoko ippiki ikiji no yasu-uri* 男一疋達引安売
- III/1818 (Nakamura), *Banzui Chōbei shōjin manaita* 幡随長兵衛精進俎板
- IX/1821 (Asao Yosaburō, Osaka), *Tate hiki kotoba no Hanakawado* 侠詞花川戸
- III/1828 (Nakamura), *Kakenenashi Edokko ryōri* 不負江戸男俎板
- V/1833 (Nakamura), *Mitsu ichō gozonji no Edo-zome* 三銀杏御存地染

As the two actors performed so often together in these roles, it comes as no surprise that Kunisada chose to portray them here together. However, he refers not to a specific performance as the word *mitate* in the title of the series indicates, but to their cooperation in general. Furthermore, he wants to emphasize Kōshirō V's importance to the representation of Chōbei and his impressive interpretations, even at the age of 73, in *Soga moyō hiyoku no torikumi* 曽我蝶衒比翼結 (*Soga Style of a Love Bout*).

In the *Chūban Actors* series is Hanshirō V presented in the exact same pose as in an *ōban* diptych illustrated in Fig. 77, accompanying the play *Gohiiki tamuke no Hanakawado* 御摂手向花川戸 (*Your Favorite Play: Farewell Present at Hanakawado*), performed at the Ichimura Theater in the eighth month of 1838 (with Ichikawa Ebizō V as Chōbei). The fight with the robbers is over and he examines the blade of his drawn sword, striking a pose with his feet together (*soku mie* 束見得). He wears a blue kimono over a bright red undergarment and still has his teenager's forelock (*maegami* 前髪). On his right shoulder, we see the white family crest of Shirai Gonpachi, the character 'i 井' in a circle (*ma-*

387. Ronald Cavaye translated the script for a *Suzugamori* production in 1999 at Tokyo's Kabukiza. At one point, Chōbei says: "the man whose fame spreads as far as the midcountry is the Chōbei with the very long nose," which alludes to Kōshirō V (cf. Brandon et al. 2002c, 116).

ru ni Hirai zutsu 丸に平井筒). Fig. 75 shows how Kōshirō V as Chōbei assists Gonpachi examining the blade of his sword by holding a cylindrical folding paper lantern called Odawara-lantern (*Odawara-chōchin* 小田原提灯) inscribed with the name of the Tsurugaya Teahouse つるが屋 he travels to. Different from the usual performances of this scene, Chōbei clasps the string of the lantern with his mouth, and has his arms crossed behind his back, holding his kimono up.

The same constellation of characters as in the *Chūban Actors* was also subject of a diptych published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō on the occasion of Kōshirō V's death—he passed away on the tenth day of the fifth month 1838—and the second anniversary of Iwai Hanshirō VI's death. Kunisada designed a memorial double portrait, seen in Fig. 78, that depicts Kōshirō V as Chōbei on the right and Hanshirō VI as Gonpachi on the left.

More than ten years later, Kunisada reverts to these roles for the pseudo-diptych Shinagawa-Kawasaki in the *Yakusha Mitate* series. He, however, changed the order of appearance and we see Chōbei with the brown and white checked *haori* over his shoulder and a *tenugui* around his neck. His blue kimono is decorated with a pattern of four flowers (*yotsu hanabishi* 四つ花菱), the crest of the Matsumoto Kōshirō line of actors, of which only one is visible because of its large size.[388]

With this design, Kunisada continues his tradition of half-length portraits of Kōshirō V as Chōbei that climaxed in 1863 with an *ōgaoe* in the so-called *Kinshōdō Edition of Large Head Actor Portraits*.[389] It started in *c*.1815 with a portrait in his masterpiece series *Ōatari kyōgen no uchi* 大當狂言内 (*The Great Hits of the Stage*), probably referring to the play *Otoko ippiki ikiji no yasu-uri*, performed in the ninth month of 1813.[390] It was followed by a portrait in an untitled series, accompanying the play *Midori no hana haru tsuge Soga* 松梅鶯曽我 (*Soga and a Green Flower Announcing Spring*), staged at the Kawarazaki Theater in the second month of 1822 (see Fig. 81). Shindō 1993, 92, illustrates the portrait referring to the play *Mitsu ichō gozonji no Edo-zome* (*Well-known Edo-pattern of the Three Ginkgo Plants*) from the fifth month of 1833, this time set on a fan. The last of these half-length portraits before the *Yakusha Mitate* series, illustrated in Fig. 82, was issued in an untitled series, this time accompanying the play *Nagoya obi kumo ni inazuma* 名護屋帯雲稲妻 (*A Nagoya Sash and Lightning Bolts amidst Clouds*), Morita Theater, IX/1836.

The motif of the Kawasaki design of the *Yakusha Mitate* series was chosen to match with that of the Shinagawa design. Hanshirō V is again portrayed as Gonpachi, similar to the *Chūban Actors* series, wearing a blue kimono over bright red undergarment.[391]

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388. In the deluxe version are glossy *toshidama* in the red cartouche. A *kyōgōzuri* of this design exists, illustrated in La Portantina 1981, fig. 2.

389. Kojima 1930, fig. 51.

390. Illustrated in Shindō 1993, 26; Izzard 1993, fig. 5/3; Berglund 1993, fig. 3; Katsuhara 2006, fig. 34.

391. In the deluxe edition is the black obi polished and mica was applied to the black sky. Glossy *toshidama* are in the red cartouche. A *kyōgōzuri* of this design exists.

The background of the two Shinagawa designs depict ships in the bay, and are in their composition not related to Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō* series like the Kawasaki designs, capturing the ferry on the Rokugō river crossing. Kunisada turned again to this crossing by establishing it as an intermediate locale in the *Yakusha Mitate* series.

By explicitly pointing to the location of Gonpachi's suicide as told in *Gonge*, he leaves the *Suzugamori* scene with Hanshirō V, and turns to Onoe Kikugorō III as enraged Gonpachi, covered in blood while committing suicide. This second Gonpachi portrait in the *Yakusha Mitate* series, illustrated in Fig. 83, alludes to the play *Onoe Kikugorō ichidai banashi* 尾上梅寿一代噺 (*Anecdotes from the Life of Onoe Kikugorō*), performed at the Ichimura Theater in the seventh month of 1847. *Onoe Kikugorō ichidai banashi* is a Tōkaidō play that was dedicated to the 63-year-old Kikugorō III, providing him an opportunity to once again perform in his parade roles. The bloody suicide on the ferry boat was the dramatic climax of the play. In the traditional way of *seppuku* 切腹, he grasped the blade where he wrapped a piece of paper around it and rammed it into his belly. After cutting his belly from the left to the right side, his hands and arms as well as the hilt of his sword are covered with blood. Twisted in pain, blood is also coming out of his mouth, while he strikes a pose with his eyes crossed (*nirami* 睨み). To intensify the expression of the dying Gonpachi, his pupils are polished. In the background is majestically the snow-covered Mt. Fuji.

As seen in Fig. 84, Kunisada revisited this scene in his *Collection of Titles Portraying Dances* (*Odori keiyō gedai zukushi* 踊形容外題尽), published by Minatoya Kohei from X/1856 until V/1858. The earliest corresponding image, however, seems to be an unsigned *shinie* of Kikugorō III, who had died on the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month 1849.[392]

The third Gonpachi portrait in the *Yakusha Mitate* series is the motif of the intermediate locale Honjō, see in Fig. 85. Kunisada decided in favor of Iwai Kumesaburō III and captured him in *Gonjō*, in the same situation as the *Spring of the Plum* portrait. He leans into the light of a lantern to read the letter he received from Komurasaki through her *kamuro*. Kumesaburō III played Gonpachi in *Kakitsubata tamuke no Hanakawado* 杜若手向花川戸 (*Offering Rabbit-ear Iris at Hanakawado*), performed at the Kawarazaki Theatre in the third month of 1850.[393]

In order to portray Gonpachi once more, Kunisada ingeniously created the intermediate local of the village of Honjō, between Nissaka and Kakegawa, because the village name is homophonic with the family name of Honjō Sukedayū, the uncle who Gonpachi had murdered. As nothing particularly exciting exists there, the background is indistinct, showing at the left a gate (*torii* 鳥居) and a stone lantern together with a large tree, set in front of a high mountain.

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392. Three examples of this *shinie* are in the Waseda University Theater Museum Collection, Tokyo, Acc. Nos. 012-1213, 100-8848, 101-2557.

393. Cf. *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 570.

Fig. 86 features a half-length portrait of Kumesaburō III as Gonpachi designed two years earlier, around the time of the staging of *Kakitsubata tamuke no Hanakawado*. It is part of the *Collection of Chivalrous Men Past and Present* (*Kokon otokodate zukushi* 古今男伊達尽), presenting ten such courteous men, and forms a pseudo-diptych with another image in this series, showing, like in the performance, Ichikawa Ebizō V as Chōbei. In both designs is Kumesaburō III dressed in a bright red undergarment and a black kimono, decorated with the family crest. The head faces to the right and his lips are slightly opened. Another, similar full-length figure, this time together with the *kamuro*, did Kunisada design for the series *Mitate sanjūrokkusen* 見立三十六句撰 (*Imaginary Thirty-Six Selected Poems*), published by Sakanaya Eikichi in the eleventh month of 1856.

In the *Two Brushes* series, Kunisada explored another representation of Gonpachi known as *Kago yaburi Gonpachi* 駕破り権八, Gonpachi escaping the prison sedan. Though the story is set outside Edo in different locations depending on the play, the pivotal moment remains the same.[394] Gonpachi was captured and is being transported along the Tōkaidō. At some point he receives a knife from an aid and manages to cut himself out of the prison palanquin. This particular moment is the motif of the Tsuchiyama design, seen in Fig. 87. We see Gonpachi with a knife between his teeth, cautiously stepping out of the sedan.

Kunisada carried on with the Shinagawa-Gonpachi pattern in other Tōkaidō series. The starting print of the *Double Portraits* series, seen in Fig. 88, portrays an unidentified actor as the foot soldier (*wakatō* 若党) Sahei 佐兵へ in connection to the Nihon Bridge, paired with Kumesaburō III as Gonpachi in connection to Shinagawa. It could not have been determined from which play the character Sahei is derived from, and the connection between the two is also unclear, but it is remarkable to note that Kunisada chose to depict neither Chōbei nor Komurasaki with Gonpachi here.[395]

The portrait of Kumesaburō III as Yaeume 八重梅, the daughter of Honjō Sukedayū who Gonpachi murdered, breaks with tradition. Kunisada captured Yaeume in the *Koban Actors* series, illustrated in Fig. 89, in juxtaposition with Shinagawa. While being in line with the pattern Shinagawa-Gonpachi, Kunisada drifted to a new motif, reinforcing his artistic creativeness and knowledge of kabuki. The choice for this rarely portrayed character underlines the uniqueness of this series, where he continued along these lines by preserving the theme though portraying uncommon characters.

A performance of Kumesaburō III in this role is not known. The character Yaeume underwent a change depending on the play. Plays where she is the daughter of Sukedayū are *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi* (played by Bandō Daikichi I), and *Hatsumotoyui Soga no kyōdai* 初元結曽我鏡台 (*Dressing Table for the First Do Up of the Soga*; played by

394. In *Hiyoku no chō haru no Soga giku* Gonpachi escapes at Hakone, in *Hanagatami gojūsan tsugi* 花摘篭五十三駅 at Sakanoshita, cf. *Kabuki saiken*, 856–57.

395. Sahei, holding a *keyari* 毛槍 (decorative lance), might be a variation of the spearman (*yarimochi* 槍持) Sadasuke, who appears with Gonpachi in narrations known as *Yarimochi Sadasuke* 槍持定助 or *Sadasuke-Gonpachi* 定助権八, cf. *Kabuki saiken*, 856–57.

Onoe Kikujirō II).[396] In *Hitori tabi gojūsan tsugi* she is given as the daughter of Heiemon (Sawamura Tōzō II).[397]

With her lips slightly opened Yaeume looks to the left. She is dressed in a kimono decorated with pink cherry blossoms and three white crests of a five-leaved clove blossom (*itsutsu chōji* 五つ丁字). A pattern is polished in the red collar and a flower bouquet attached to the left side of her red and yellow comb. As usually in Shinagawa images, displays the background ships in the bay.

That the pattern Shinagawa-Gonpachi was also employed by other designers apart from Kunisada proofs Kuniyoshi's design in the *Fifty-three Pairs* series, illustrated in Rappard-Boon et al. 1991, fig. 406, and a portrait by the Osaka designer Utagawa Hirosada 歌川広貞 (d. 1865) in his series *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsui* 東海道五十三對 (*Fifty-three Pairs of the Tōkaidō*), seen in Fig. 90.

6.2 Fujisawa: Oguri Hangan and Princess Terute

In Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series, Oguri Hangan 小栗判官 (1398–1464) and his betrothed Princess Terute (Terute-hime 照手姫) are frequently connected with the sixth station Fujisawa because of their gravesite in the Fujisawa temple. Their story is narrated in the military chronicle *Kamakura ōzōshi* 鎌倉大草紙 (*Great Storybook of Kamakura*), describing historical events in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the Edo period, other interpretations followed like the *Oguri Hangan ichidaiki* 小栗判官一代記 (*Biography of Oguri Hangan*), translated by De Benneville in 1915.

Hangan was the son of the lord of Oguri, Hitachi Province, who had been expropriated by the Ashikaga. He is famous for his exceptional adventurous life, and especially his horsemanship, supposedly able to make a horse stand with all four hooves on a *go* board. In 1426, for example, thieves tried to poison him with sake but Terute revealed the plot, and he was able to escape on a wild horse to Fujisawa. Another story tells that he contracted leprosy and Terute drove him in a little cart to healing hot springs. Since the 1660s, a number of puppet and kabuki plays collectively known as *Oguri Hangan mono* 小栗判官物 (Oguri Hangan plays), deal with these stories.[398]

Six Tōkaidō prints portray Oguri Hangan and/or Princess Terute. Kunisada depicted either the healthy or the sick Hangan.[399] The earliest of this kind is a pseudo-diptych in the *Chūban Actors* series, capturing Onoe Eizaburō III as Terute (Fig. 91) juxtaposed to Totsuka, and Bandō Hikosaburō IV as Hangan juxtaposed to Fujisawa (Fig.

396. For *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi*, see *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 298. For *Hatsumotoyui Soga no kyōdai*, see *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 519–20.

397. Cf. *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 160.

398. Cf. *Kabuki saiken*, 826–30; Leiter 1997, 488.

399. In the *Fifty-three Pairs* series from *c*.1845–46, Kuniyoshi's Fujisawa design shows also Oguri Hangan and Princess Terute, illustrated in Rappard-Boon et al. 1991, fig. 410.

92). The two *mitate* show them in the early stage of the narrative, when Hangan is still a strong man.

In the composition of the pseudo-diptych, Kunisada changed the traditional order of Tōkaidō stations. Fujisawa comes after Totsuka and Hangan should therefore be positioned left of Terute, but as Kunisada composed them looking at each other, the designs must be rotated for proper viewing.

Terute sits on the ground, dressed in a luxurious, lavishly designed kimono with flower pattern, of which the white collars are decorated with a swastika pattern (*manji* 卍). Hangan is a strong and healthy man, without any signs of leprosy. He stands upright, carries the swords of a samurai, and holds a folded fan in his right hand. His *haori* is decorated with cranes in circles (*tsuru no maru* 鶴の丸), the crest of the Bandō Hikosaburō line of actors. The background scenery of both designs closely resembles Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* images.

Fig. 93 is another design of the vigorous Hangan in juxtaposition to Fujisawa, the portrait of Ichimura Takenojō V in the *Famous Pictures* series issued in the ninth month of 1864. We see him before a light blue background, looking to his left, while holding the reins of a horse with his right hand. Hangan was famous for his horsemanship thus Kunisada shows him here with a hard to control horse that bares its teeth. It might be the man-eating horse Onikage 鬼鹿毛 (lit. 'demon hair') that was presented to the shogun Yoshimitsu. Yoshimitsu commanded Hangan to tame it. He succeeds and leaves on the horse searching for a precious stolen sword.

Contrary to the other presentations of Hangan, Kunisada doesn't depict him here together with his lover Terute. Hangan wears a grey kimono decorated with three unidentified crests. The white part of the kimono is embossed. In the upper frame, Yoshimori captured the sea at Hiratsuka. Prominently placed in the middle of the scene is a red banner, fluttering in the wind. The banner is carried by the troops of the shogun's procession, of which only the yellow helmets and grey rifles with bayonets are seen.

The design of the two stations Fujisawa and Hiratsuka in the *Double Portraits* series from 1857, seen in Fig. 94, features Nakamura Fukusuke I as ailing Hangan together with Iwai Kumesaburō III as Terute. We see the couple at a time, when Hangan got poisoned and Terute tries to transport him to the curing Kumano Spring. Because of his leprosy Hangan cannot walk and Terute must pull him with a cart. The cart itself is not depicted here but the rope in Terute's hand refers to it.

The wigs in this case differ from previous images. The hair is loose, indicating their lower status, that is, especially in the case of Hangan, even more apparent in the patchwork kimono.

Fig. 95 is the station Fujisawa from the *Two Brushes* series. Although Hangan is not shown here, Terute is captured taking care of him. She holds the rope in her hands, with which she pulls his cart that seems to slowly come in the picture. A spotted dog strays next to the cart.

Kunisada's procedure of using motifs for Fujisawa from the narrative about Hangan and Terute was not restricted to these two characters. In two other Tōkaidō series, he presents fairly rare characters for the Fujisawa-Hangan/Terute pattern. In the *Yaku-*

sha Mitate series, he employed three portraits from a play about Hangan that was staged one year ago, *Sekai no hana Oguri gaiden* 世界花小栗外傳 (*Worldly Flowers, an Oguri Anecdote*), performed at the Nakamura Theater in the fourth month of 1851.[400] Though the three designs were not issued at the same time, they are composed to form a pseudo-triptych.

Fig. 96, released in the third month of 1852, shows Bandō Takesaburō I portraying Hangan, who is, as usually, juxtaposed to Fujisawa. The design for the succeeding station Hiratsuka was published in the same month, showing Iwai Kumesaburō III as Okoma, seen in Fig. 97. In the play, Hangan went to the antique shop of Manchō, searching for the shogun's stolen sword. He rescues Manchō's daughter Okoma, who immediately falls in love with him. Unable to marry her, she is killed by her own mother, the former nurse of Princess Terute. Seeking vengeance, Okoma's cut-off head curses Hangan leaving him deformed and helpless.

Fig. 98, the third portrait in this series, is the Hiratsuka design in the 'additional set,' published five months later. It completes the pseudo-triptych depicting Nakayama Ichizō as Ariwaraya Narihira, alluded to the poet Ariwara no Narihira.[401]

As the depicted scene emanates such calmness it seems to be related to the beginning when Okoma and Hangan got to know each other. Hangan is dressed in a flower patterned kimono, and he holds a fan in his right hand. The red title cartouche of this image is decorated with a saddle and stirrups, again referring to Hangan's horsemanship. Okoma is dressed in a purple kimono with flower decoration. Both her undergarment and obi are in red, overall creating an overweight of red tones. Narihira's *haori* is also decorated with a flower pattern. The backgrounds of the earlier produced two designs are again based on Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series. The background of the middle design fits to the left by completing a resting lodge.

As a matter of fact, the composition employed in the pseudo-triptych draws from a horizontal *ōban* from an untitled series that Kunisada designed at the time of the performance of the play. Fig. 99 shows the trio in the same order, dressed identical, and with equal countenance.[402] Kunisada must have had this design in mind when he created the three half-length portraits. It is therefore not surprising, that he later decided to add the portrait of Narihira.

A fourth character from the same play is depicted in the *Koban Actor* series, illustrated in Fig. 100. Published in the tenth month of 1852, shortly after the pseudo-triptych, Ichikawa Kodanji IV is portrayed as the fisherman Namishichi 浪七. He typically wears a *mizuiri* wig 水入り and a padded dark blue garment with a pattern of

400. Cf. *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 549.

401. This role is not listed in the *Kabuki nenpyō*, but in the *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 599.

402. In the fourth month of 1852, the Mino design of Kunisada's *chūban* series *Kuni zukushi Yamato meiyo*, was released, featuring Kumesaburō III as Okoma in this particular pose, together with an alike image of Oguri by Kunisada's disciple Utagawa Kunitoku 歌川国得, placed in an inset frame.

blue-yellow (*moegi* 萌葱) dots arranged in stripes called *tako shibori* 蛸絞り (lit. octopus dapples).[403]

Namishichi is in reality Mito no Kojirō 美戸小次郎, a former retainer of the Oguri clan. He was expelled and is now living as a fisherman. At a time when Terute is on the run, he hides her in his house, but the cover doesn't last long and she is soon captured and taken away on Lake Biwa. To help her flee again, Namishichi sacrifices himself to the dragon god. Standing on a hilltop, he stabs himself and, indicated through his arms raised in front of him, throws his intestines into the air. This causes the wind direction to reverse and the boat turns around so that he can kill her kidnapper.

Once again, Kunisada extracted the portrait directly from an earlier untitled horizontal *ōban* that was issued at the time of the performance. Fig. 101 features the entire scene of Terute's kidnapping and Namishichi's sacrifice. Kunisada captured the exact same pose of Namishichi in the *Koban Actors* series and gave particular attention to details of the actors' expression of desperation.

Like the implementation of uncommon characters from the Gonpachi-Chōbei theme as motifs for Shinagawa, Kunisada juxtaposed also uncommon characters from the Hangan-Terute theme to Fujisawa and created another long-lasting motif pattern.

6.3 Hakone

Kunisada juxtaposed the tenth station Hakone in his Tōkaidō series with two different narratives. The first is the story of the two Soga brothers taking revenge on the murderer of their father, Kudō Saemon Suketsune. The second relates to the play *Hakone reigen izari no adauchi* 箱根霊験躄仇討 (*The Revenge of Crawling to the Hakone Miracle*).

6.3.1 Soga Hakoōmaru and Kudō Saemon Suketsune

The revenge of the Soga brothers Jūrō Sukenari and Gorō Tokimune on Kudō Saemon Suketsune for murdering their father is the most popular theme in kabuki. Based on an actual vendetta in 1193, hundreds of plays on this theme exist, the most famous being *Kotobuki Soga no taimen* 寿曽我対面 (*The Felicitous Soga Encounter*).[404]

In the Tōkaidō series are three motif patterns drawn from the Soga plays, one is the here presented *First Encounter* (*taimen* 対面) of Gorō with Suketsune at Hakone. The most often employed pattern is the couple Jūrō and Tora, intrinsically tied to the eighth station Ōiso. Jūrō, the older of the two brothers, had a calm character, and the courtesan Tora, who worked in an inn in Ōiso, was his lover. The third pattern features Gorō dis-

403. Namishichi's costume is very similar to that of Higuchi Jirō Kanemitsu, also portrayed in the *Koban Actors* series (S0454-030). For an image of this wig, see Matsuda 1998, 88.

404. For a general overview on the Soga story and a translation of this play by Laurence Kominz, see Brandon et al. 2002a, 26–40. For an overview of plays about the Soga theme, see Leiter 1997, 608–10.

guised as the medicine peddler (*uirō-uri* 外郎売) Toraya Tōemon 虎屋藤右衛門 from the Rankan Bridge (Rankanbashi 欄干橋), selling a type of medicine that was traditionally produced in Odawara.[405]

The *First Encounter* of a Soga brother with the murderer of their father happens at the Hakone Gongen 箱根権現 shrine-temple complex, where Gorō, called Hakoōmaru in his youth, was sent by his mother to study and pray for his dead father. When the shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo arrived there for a visit, Hakoōmaru happens to meet Suketsune, Yoritomo's retainer. Hot tempered as Hakoōmaru was, he immediately wanted to take revenge but was held back.[406]

Kunisada refers to this first encounter of Hakoōmaru and Suketsune in his designs of Hakone or the succeeding station Mishima. Fig. 102 is Hakone from the *Spring of the Plum* series, depicting an image of Gorō, played by Ichimura Uzaemon XII. However, because he does not appear with a child top knot (*chigo mage* 稚児髷) like Hakōmaru usually does as the next portraits verify, this design captures Gorō at an older age and seems not to allude the *First Encounter*. Typical for this role, his *namijime* 生締 wig features 'box sidelocks' (*hako bin* 箱鬢) and a pomaded forelock (*maegami* 前髪), and he is shown with *mukimiguma* むきみ隈 make-up.[407] His arms are crossed in front of him and his legs are spread apart. After stripping off the upper part of his kimono (*hadanugi* 肌脱ぎ), his red undergarment is revealed. The kimono below his waist is decorated with large butterflies, the symbol of the Soga family, and he carries a short sword (*wakizashi* 脇差). The inset image is clearly derived from Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series, with the distinguishable mountain of Hakone on the right and Lake Ashinoko 芦之湖 and the snow-covered Mt. Fuji on the left.

The Hakone-Hakoōmaru pattern is enhanced in the *Chūban Actors* series by a portrait of Suketsune as motif of the following station Mishima. The right design of this pseudo-diptych, seen in Fig. 104, is a portrait of Matsumoto Kōshirō V as Hakoōmaru, in a similar pose compared with the previous image. Again with *mukimiguma* and *hadanugi*, this time, he rolls up his sleeves to have a better grip on the short sword. The blue kimono below his waist is decorated with deer, autumn foliage, and white crests of a quince under a stylized mountain (*yamagata-mokko* 山形木瓜). The same scenic elements as before are repeated in the background; Hiroshige's exaggerated Hakone Mountain, Lake Ashinoko and the snow-covered Mt. Fuji.

Fig. 103, the left design of this pseudo-diptych, shows Ichikawa Danzō V portrayed in the role of Suketsune. An imposing figure, his huge *daimon* 大紋 costume with trailing trousers (*nagabakama* 長袴) covers almost the entire picture. On the sleeves and on his shoulders is the Kudō family's crest *iori-mokko* 庵木瓜, a quince in a hut. He wears

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405. For a detailed description and translation of the medicine peddler narrative, see Brandon et al. 2002a, 96–110, and Leiter 1997, 674. For a general discussion of this pattern, see Bandō 1972, 33–35; and Kodama 2001, 45–47.

406. Cf. Kodama 2001, 50–51.

407. For an illustration of this wig, see Matsuda 1998, 8.

the two swords of a samurai and a black *hikitate eboshi* 引立烏帽子, a high-crowned hat that is fastened with white ties. In the background is perhaps the Daimyōjin Shrine 大明神 or Mishima Taisha 三嶋大社, founded in the early eighth century. Yoritomo, whose retainer Suketsune was, visited this shrine often to pray for good luck in the war against the Taira.[408]

Kōshirō V played Hakoōmaru at the beginning of his long career, e.g. in the third month of 1783 when he, nineteen years old, performed under the stage name of Ichikawa Komazō III.[409] Kunisada refers with Danzō V's portrait to a recent play where he performed that role, *Kabuki no hana kongen Soga* 戯場花根元曽我 (*The Soga and the Origin of a Kabuki Flower*), staged at the Ichimura Theater in the first month of 1837. The *First Encounter* is captured in a comparable style of composition in a triptych that seems to be related to the play *Fudehajime mazebari Soga* 筆手始交張曽我 (*Soga tied to the New Year*), performed at the Kawarazaki Theater in the first month of 1838 (see Fig. 105).[410] Though the position of Suketsune and Hakoōmaru are exchanged, they appear in the same type of costumes and face each other with equally grim expressions.

Kunisada moved the two adversaries close together in the *Double Portraits* series. Issued in the first month of 1857, Fig. 106 shows Iwai Kumesaburō III as Hakoōmaru and Sawamura Sōjūrō V as Suketsune in juxtaposition with Hakone and Mishima respectively. Prior to this design, both actors played these roles but a joint performance is not known. Kumesaburō III played Gorō at age twenty-two in the first month of 1851 at the Nakamura Theater's *Konoshita Soga megumi no masagoji* 木下曽我恵砂路 (*A Shade of the Soga on a Glorious Sand Path*). Sōjūrō V performed at least five times as Suketsune, the last time in *Satomi hakkenden* 里見八犬伝 (*Satomi and the Legend of the Eight Dog Warriors*), in the first month of 1853 at the Ichimura Theater.[411]

Suketsune is captured in the same pose as in the *Chūban Actors* series. He dominates the scene, wearing a *daimon* costume that is in some impressions bluish grey, in

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408. In the here illustrated copy of Suketsune from the Art Institute of Chicago are the center of the large *iori-mokko* crests on the sleeves emphasized against the costume with an intense brown color. The copy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, Acc. No. 11.22287), shows a different impression where the upper part of the custom is dark green and the part below the crest is brown.

409. The play is titled *Kotobuki banzei Soga* 寿万歳曽我, Ichimura Theater (*Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 5, 500–01).

410. The database of the Waseda University Theater Museum Collection, Tokyo, states, that this triptych accompanied the play *Sugawara ryū kanagaki Soga* 菅原流国字曽我, Morita Theater, III/1836. However, according to *Kabuki nenpyō* (vol. 6, 326) and *Zoku kabuki nendaiki* (287–88), played Ichikawa Kuzō II the role of Sukenari and Bandō Mitsugorō IV played Suketsune, which is in conflict with the inscribed actors Ichikawa Komazō V as Sukenari, and Ichikawa Ebizō V as Suketsune. A relation to *Fudehajime mazebari Soga* seems more likely as all three actors portrayed here took part in this performance. Ebizō V, however, did not perform as Suketsune (*Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 367–68; *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 325–26).

411. Cf. *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 631–32.

others green, and a *hikitate eboshi* that reaches up to the top of the image. Suketsune looks down at Hakoōmaru who also appears like before. Only the pose is slightly different, as he only stripped off the overgarment from his right shoulder to reveal the red undergarment (*katanugi* 肩脱ぎ), an expression frequently applied in the kabuki theatre. A distinctive element of Kunisada's Hakoōmaru portraits is that he stretches one arm and mostly pulls the sleeve back with the other hand. Compared to Fig. 107, a design that was released in the month before, and compared to the *Chūban Actors* portrait, Kunisada seems to have switched the stretched arm from left to right in the *Double Portraits* design in order to be able to fit the *wakizashi* into the image.

Fig. 107 captures as well Kumesaburō III as Hakoōmaru and is part of a set of three prints, titled *Taimen mitsugumi sakazuki* (*Three Sake Cups of the First Encounter*), featuring actors who performed in the plays of the first month of 1857. This print alludes to the play *Toshitoku Soga matsu no shimadai* 歳徳曽我松島台 (*Matured Soga and a Pine Ornament from the Isle of Youth*), at the Nakamura Theater, in which Kataoka Gadō II (aka Kataoka Nizaemon VIII) played Suketsune, and Kumesaburō III did take part, however not as Gorō.[412] Each one of the three designs of this series captures Suketsune and his adversary Gorō/Hakoōmaru.

The last example of the Hakone-Hakoōmaru pattern is in the additional set of the *Yakusha Mitate* series, featuring Suketsune in juxtaposition to an intermediate locale near Hakone. For a portrait of Matsumoto Kōshirō V as Suketsune, Kunisada created a new intermediate locale, the village Hatajuku between Odawara and Hakone, near the presumed grave of the Soga brothers. Published in the ninth month of 1852, Fig. 108 shows Kōshirō V in dramatic profile.[413] Until his performance in *Ōgi ōgi akebono Soga* 扇仝曙曽我 (*The Soga and Folding Fans at Dawn*) at the Nakamura Theatre in the first month of 1838, he played this role at least twelve times.[414]

Kunisada depicted Kōshirō V in an impressive side view, sternly looking to the left, underlining his distinctive facial features, the piercing eyes, the prominent chin and the hooknose, which gave him the name Hanataka Kōshirō 鼻高幸四郎 ('High Nose Kōshirō').[415] This appearance made him not only the perfect choice for villainous characters such as Suketsune or Nikki Danjō, but suggested also to depict him in dramatic profile, a style of composition that is rarely found in other actors' portraits.

Kunisada as well as his master Toyokuni perpetuated this distinctiveness in numerous full-length and half-length images. It might have been Kunisada's achievement

412. Cf. *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 704–05.

413. This print is part of a pseudo-diptych of two characters from the Soga plays. The other design displays Fujikawa Tomokichi III as the courtesan Shōshō, the lover of Soga Gorō, juxtaposed to another tailor-made intermediate locale, the Soga hamlet between Hiratsuka and Ōiso (see S0525-008C).

414. Cf. *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 365–66.

415. For a similar image in the *Koban Actors* series, see S0454-041.

in a triptych from 1812 to have started with this conception.[416] The *Yakusha Mitate* portrait, however, originates not from Kunisada but draws on a design by Toyokuni, illustrated in Fig. 109. Toyokuni's portrait shows Kōshirō V in full-length, standing on his ship. It is likely to be part of a diptych or triptych that accompanies a performance from the early 1810s.[417] Exactly like in Kunisada's portrait, strikes Kōshirō V a pose with a half opened fan in his right hand that he holds in front of him.

Other designers also forfeited the juxtaposition Hakoōmaru-Hakone, e.g. Kuniyoshi in a print of the *Fifty-three Pairs* series from 1845 (S0457-011B). He captured a strong young boy who holds two pieces of lumber under his arm and has covered his head with a white *tenugui*.

6.3.2 Hakone reigen izari no adauchi

The second set of motifs for Hakone derives from the play *Hakone reigen izari no adauchi* 箱根霊験躄仇討 (*The Revenge of Crawling to the Hakone Miracle*), also describing a revenge, but this time on the murderer of a brother.[418] The real vendetta was carried out in 1590 by Iinuma Hatsugorō 飯沼初五郎.[419] In kabuki, the main characters are Iinuma Katsugorō and his wife Hatsuhana, together with her brother Fudesuke 筆助.

During a quarrel at Fushimi 伏見 castle, Satō Gōzuke 佐藤剛助 murders Iinuma Mihira 飯沼三平, the brother of Iinuma Katsugorō. He escapes to Hakone, calling himself Takiguchi Kōzuke 滝口上野 now, and Katsugorō follows his track. During his search, Katsugorō marries Hatsuhana, and they proceed with their hunt, joined by Hatsuhana's brother Fudesuke; however, their hunt slows down because Katsugorō is crippled by an illness. Prevented from walking, he sits on a cart that is being pulled by Hatsuhana, analogous to the story of Oguri Hangan and Princess Terute (see 6.2). They encounter Gōzuke in Hakone but he escapes again, forcing Hatsuhana to go with him. Somehow, she manages to return and prays at the waterfall for Katsugorō, who soon recovers; however, Katsugorō's joy ends when Fudesuke suddenly appears carrying Hatsuhana's head. She was killed by Gōzuke and it was her ghost, who returns and prays. Katsugorō and Fudesuke proceed with the hunt and succeed in killing Gōsuke.

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416. This triptych accompanies the play *Yukimo Yoshino kigoto no kaomise* 雪芳野来入顔鏡, Morita Theater, XI/1812. An impression is in the Waseda University Theater Museum Collection, Tokyo (100-5304/5305/5306).

417. It probably relates to the same performance that a single-sheet *ōban* and an *ōban* diptych by Kunisada illustrate, showing Kōshirō V standing on a ship, facing Danjūrō VII as Gorō who approaches from the left in another vessel. It relates to the play *Shikisemono Soga no datezome* 例服曽我伊達染, Morita Theater in I/1813 (*Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 5, 511–12). The single-sheet composition is illustrated in Honcoopová 2005, 28; a copy of the diptych is in the Waseda University Theater Museum Collection, Tokyo (002-1320/1321).

418. Mentioned in Bandō 1972, 53–54. For the complete text, see *Meisaku kabuki zenshū*, vol. 6, 319–39.

419. For a more detailed description, see Leiter 1997, 146–47, and *Kabuki jiten*, 325.

Kunisada illustrated the different stages within the play in portraits of three actor Tōkaidō series. The *Yakusha Mitate* series provides portraits of the main characters Katsugorō, Hatsuhana, and Fudesuke. Morita Kan'ya XI as the crippled Iinuma Katsugorō is juxtaposed to Odawara (IV/1852, S0525-010) from where they came along the Tōkaidō on their way to Hakone. Iwai Hanshirō VI is portrayed as Hatsuhana, actually her ghost, standing in the waterfall of Hakone, praying for the recovery of Katsugorō (III/1852, S0525-011). In the design for Hakone from the 'additional set,' composed as pseudo-diptych with the preceding portrait of Hatsuhana, Nakamura Utaemon IV is shown as Fudesuke, returning from Odawara with her head wrapped in a piece of cloth under his arm (IX/1852, S0525-011A).

The motif for Hakone from the series *Sōhitsu gojūsan tsugi*, designed two years later than the above mentioned portraits, depicts the couple Katsugorō and Hatsuhana on their way to Hakone (VIII/1854, S0432-011, see Fig. 110). The crippled Katsugorō sits in a cart that the beautiful Hatsuhana tries to push. Though Katsugorō is dressed in a simple kimono, his appearance is not that of a broken down and suffering man as we have seen it in Morita Kan'ya XI's portrait.

Ten years later, in Kunisada's last actor Tōkaidō series the *Famous Pictures* series, he again refers to this story for Hakone, portraying Nakamura Shikan IV as Fudesuke in a fight with two men (V/1864, S0455-006).

In general, portraits of characters from Katsugorō's revenge are quite rare, probably due to the few performances of plays based on this narrative. Kunisada's choice to juxtapose it with Hakone demonstrates his vast knowledge of the kabuki theater.

6.4 Okabe: Rokuyata and the battle at Ichinotani

The typical motif for the twenty-first station Okabe is the warrior Okabe no Rokuyata Tadasumi 岡部六弥太忠澄 (Rokuyata Tadasumi from Okabe), a distinctive though secondary role from the play *Ichinotani futaba gunki* 一谷嫩軍記 (*Battle Chronicle of Two Young Leaves at Ichinotani*).[420] This play is based on episodes from *The Tale of the Heike*, describing the battle at Ichinotani in 1184 between the Heike/Taira clan and the Genji/Minamoto clan. The actual battleground at Ichinotani is located southeast of Kyoto, far away from the Tōkaidō. Neither from *The Tale of the Heike*, nor from its theatrical adaptation, do we learn a lot about Rokuyata. We can only assume from his name that he originally might be from the town of Okabe along the Tōkaidō. Be that as it may, Kunisada juxtapose him with Okabe in four Tōkaidō series because of this homophone connection. Furthermore, he frequently portrayed other characters from *Ichinotani futaba gunki* in juxtaposition to the previous station Mariko and the subsequent station Fujieda.

420. Cf. Bandō 1972, 83-84; Herwig 2004, 202–09; Halford 1956, 84–92; Leiter 1997, 206–07; *Kabuki saiken*, 134–36; *Meisaku kabuki zenshū*, vol. 4, 53–86.

Rokuyata appears in the scene *Ubara no sato* 菟原の里 (*The Hamlet at Ubara*) together with his adversary Tadanori, the Governor of Satsuma (Satsuma no Kami Tadanori 薩摩守忠度). The poet and swordsman Taira Tadanori (1144–1184) was the younger brother of Taira Kiyomori. Book nine of *The Tale of the Heike* reports how Tadanori tried to escape and made an attempt to deceive Rokuyata by calling him a friend; however, his blackened teeth told the truth about his connection to the court, and in the following fight, Rokuyata beheaded Tadanori.[421] Until Rokuyata had killed Tadanori, he did not know who he was, but afterwards, Rokuyata found a strip of paper attached to Tadanori's quiver with a poem reading: "Caught by the nightfall, should I lodge beneath the shade of these sheltering trees, then throughout this night my host would be the cherry flowers" (*Yukikurete ko no shita kage o yado to seba hana ya koyoi no aruji naramashi.* 行き暮れてこの木の下かげを宿とせば花やこよひのあるじならまし).[422]

Zeami Motokiyo 世阿弥元清 (1363–1443) based his No play *Tadanori* 忠度 on this episode and on the episode about Tadanori's departure from Kyoto and his last visit to his poetic teacher Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204), told in book eight of *The Tale of the Heike*.[423] Tadanori presents a collection of poems to Shunzei of which he chose a poem for the Imperial Collection. The poem was: "The sight of Shiga, the capital on the lake, is now desolate. Only cherry blossoms are as beautiful as before" (*Sasanami ya Shiga no miyako wa arenishi o mukashi nagara no yamazakura kana.* さざ波や志賀の都はあれにしを昔ながらの山桜かな).[424]

Both in Zeami's *Tadanori* as well as in the kabuki play *Ichinotani futaba gunki* only the first of these two poems is cited. It is written on a poem slip (*tanzaku* 短冊) that in the No play is fastened to Tadanori's quiver, in the kabuki version attached to a cherry blossom twig.

In kabuki, Rokuyata became the center of attention as leading role of the play *Ichinotani mushae no iezuto* 一谷武者画土産 (*Ichinotani Warrior Picture Souvenir*), a variation of *Ichinotani futaba gunki*, staged at the Kawarazaki Theater in the eighth month of 1849. Rokuyata was played by Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII, who returned after six months to the Edo stage with this performance (*Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 558–60). Some of the motifs in the Tōkaidō series that Kunisada designed in the 1850s were inspired by this play. The earliest Rokuyata portrait in his Tōkaidō series is already in the *Chūban Actors* series, a pseudo-diptych of Rokuyata in juxtaposition to the station Okabe (Fig. 111) and Tadanori in juxtaposition to Mariko (Fig. 112). Both portraits are set in front of landscapes after Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series.

Fig. 111 shows a portrait of Mimasu Gennosuke I (*haimyō* Kikaku) as Rokuyata. He performed this role in *Ichinotani futaba gunki*, staged at the Kawarazaki Theater in the

421. Cf. Kitagawa 1975, 558.

422. Translation from Yasuda 1989, 262.

423. On *Tadanori*, see Nishino 1999, 95–96.

424. The poem is cited in *Nihon gikyoku zenshū*, vol. 28, 22. Trans. from Kitagawa 1975, 439.

ninth month of 1829.[425] In his right hand, he holds a cherry blossom twig with a poem slip attached. He wears a *suō* 素襖 costume in *ryūjin-maki* 龍神巻 style with a stiff-standing right sleeve and the left sleeve appearing as a square shield, together with trailing trousers (*naga-bakama* 長袴). The costume is decorated with the typical pattern for this role called *Rokuyata-gōshi* 六弥太格子 (Rokuyata lattice). Also, prominently decorated with a huge circular crane (*tsuru no maru* 鶴の丸), the crest of actors from the Mimasu family. He wears a ceremonial headgear for samurai called *samurai eboshi* 侍鳥帽子.

As seen in Fig. 113, Kunisada repeated Mimasu Gennosuke I's portrait as Rokuyata in the *Anthology of Actor Likenesses Past and Present* (*Kokon yakusha nigao daizen* 古今俳優似顔大全), published in the tenth month of 1863.[426]

Ichimura Uzaemon XII (*haimyō* Kakitsu) is shown in Fig. 112 as Tadanori who is confronted by Rokuyata. In this pose, his open hair falls on his shoulder and he has stripped off the upper part of his kimono to reveal a white undergarment that has a brown or blue *sayagata* pattern 紗綾形 (lit. silk damask pattern) made of connected swastika (*manji* 卍).

Kunisada repeated the pseudo-diptych Rokuyata-Tadanori in the *Yakusha Mitate* series, this time not in the form of two succeeding stations, but through a second design for Okabe. Arashi Kichisaburō III is portrayed as Rokuyata in Okabe of the 'traditional set' (Fig. 114), and five months later the second design of Okabe from the 'additional set' is released, showing Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII as Tadanori (Fig. 115).

Fig. 114 shows the imaginary portrait of Kichisaburō III as Rokuyata. He wears the same *suō* costume in *ryūjin-maki* style with *samurai eboshi* as in the previous portraits. Parts of the stiff-standing right sleeve are seen behind his right shoulder. The white Rokuyata lattice is embossed. The undergarment is beautifully decorated with golden waves and the violet part has a polished pattern. As the half-length portrait composition leaves no space to show him holding the cherry blossom twig with attached poem slip, Kunisada draped the cherry blossoms and the poem slip around the title cartouche. In the deluxe edition is mica applied to the dark mountain on the right side and the mountain peak in the far back. Similar to the *Chūban Actors* series, the background scenery refers to Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series.

Danjūrō VIII, seen in Fig. 115, has not yet reached the position and pose captured in the *Chūban Actors* series, as he is in the process of stripping off the upper part of his costume. He appears again with open hair, revealing a white undergarment with embossed *sayagata* pattern. This portrait was not only composed to match with the first Okabe design of this series, but also to accompany a present-day performance of Danjūrō VIII as Tadanori at the Kawarazaki Theater, in the same month as this print was released.

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425. Cf. *Kabuki nenpyō*, vol. 6, 221-22, and *Zoku kabuki nendaiki*, 182.

426. Cf. Engeki Hakubutsukan Yakushae Kenkyūkai, ed. 1998.

Like Tadanori became the motif for Okabe's preceding station Mariko in the *Chūban Actors* series, Kunisada presented another character from Rokuyata's sphere as motif for Mariko in the traditional set of the *Yakusha Mitate* series (Fig. 116). He portrayed Kataoka Ichizō I as the footman Tagohei from Ubara (Ubara no Tagohei 菟原の田五平), a minor villainous character, as it is indicated by the red make-up. This design was issued in the month after the Rokuyata portrait. Tagohei is the son of the wet nurse of Tadanori's wife Kiku-no-mae and, revealed in the fourth act of the play, he is the brother of Rokuyata's wife Sugawara 菅原. A distinctive feature of this role is the *hōroku zukin* 焙烙頭巾 called hood (lit. earthenware pan hood). Kunisada's portrait of Tagohei was inspired by the 1849 play *Ichinotani mushae no iezuto* where he became a more prominent character (see Fig. 117).

The third design of the Okabe-Rokuyata motif pattern is in the *Two Brushes* series, seen in Fig. 118. Published in the twelfth month of 1854, Rokuyata is set against a landscape frame by Hiroshige. He holds the cherry blossom twig as well in his hand; however, his appearance is significantly modified, alluding to the legend and not to the theater. He wears a large green armor (*ōyoroi* 大鎧) with big shoulder protectors (*ōsode* 大袖) and tassets (*kusazuri* 草摺). Though Kunisada portrayed him this time not in the usual costume, he still included Rokuyata's trademark, the Rokuyata lattice, as a pattern for the long red coat.

In the landscape frame, Hiroshige captured the Narrow Ivy Road at Utsunoya during winter. The road is a narrow and dark pass, overgrown with ivy about which Ariwara no Narihira wrote a poem, cited in the *Tales of Ise*: "Beside Mount Utsu in Suruga, I can see you neither waking nor, alas, even in my dreams" (*Suruga naru Utsu no yamabe no utsutsu ni mo yume ni mo hito ni awanu narikeri* 駿河なる宇津の山辺のうつつにも夢にも人にあわぬなりけり).[427]

The last example of this station-character motif pattern is in the *Double Portraits* series, published in the second month of 1857 (S0453-011). Instead of presenting the confrontation Rokuyata-Tadanori once again, Kunisada exchanged Tadanori with Kiku-no-mae, Tadanori's wife. Fig. 119 shows on the right Sawamura Tanosuke III portrayed as Kiku-no-mae in juxtaposition to the station Mariko and on the left Bandō Hikosaburō IV as Rokuyata in juxtaposition to Okabe. Performances of the two actors in these roles are not known.

Rokuyata wears the usual *suō* costume in *ryūjin-maki* style with embossed Rokuyata lattice. He holds the cherry blossom twig in his right hand, raised above his head, and looks up at his counterpart Kiku-no-mae. She is dressed in a red kimono with flower decoration and wears a luxurious broad flower comb (*hanagushi* 花櫛) in her hair.

Apart from the Okabe-Rokuyata motif pattern that includes the above mentioned supporting characters Tadanori, Tagohei and Kiku-no-mae, Kunisada and Kuniyoshi perpetuated in several Tōkaidō series another motif pattern related to the play *Ichinotani futaba gunki*: Kumagai Jirō Naozane 熊谷次郎直実, the main character of the play, and

427. Trans. from McCullough 1968, 75.

other characters from the same context, in juxtaposition to the station Fujieda.[428] This motif pattern is based on the legend that Naozane, after becoming the priest Renshōbō 蓮生法, once stopped at Fujieda and borrowed some money. He repeated a prayer of blessing ten times and ten lotus flowers appeared in the pond. On his way back to Kyoto he returned the money and the lotus flowers died. As a result of this he founded here the temple Yūkokuji 熊谷寺.[429] Designs with this motif pattern are:

- Naozane in juxtaposition to Fujieda from the *Yakusha Mitate* series (Bandō Mitsugorō III, V/1852, S0525-023).
- Sagami, the wife of Naozane, as motif for the first design of Fujieda from the 'additional set' of the *Yakusha Mitate* series (Segawa Kikunojō V, VIII/1852, S0525-023A).
- Minamoto no Yoshitsune, the leading general of the Genji clan, as motif for the second design of Fujieda from the 'additional set' of the *Yakusha Mitate* series (Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII, X/1852, S0525-023B).
- Princess Tamaori, the young bride of Taira Atsumori 平敦盛 in juxtaposition to Fujieda from the *Koban Actors* series (Iwai Kumesaburō III, XII/1852, S0454-023).

With Rokuyata's juxtaposition to Okabe and the juxtaposition of Naozane to Fujieda did Kunisada establish a basis for integrating motifs from the play *Ichinotani futaba gunki* into the Tōkaidō series that was later, for example, revived by Kunichika with his portrait of Naozane in juxtaposition to Fujieda in the series *Tōkaidō hitome senryō*, published in the third month of 1867 (see Fig. 120).

428. Kuniyoshi portrayed Naozane as priest Renshōbō in Fujieda of the *Fifty-three Pairs* series (*C*.1845–46, S0457-023). Two designs by Kunisada of the forty-fifth station Ishiyakushi relate also to *Ichinotani futaba gunki*: in the *Koban Actors* series, Arashi Isaburō II as the stone mason Byakugō no Midaroku, who is in fact the Heike warrior Yaheibyōe Munekiyo 弥平兵衛宗清 (XII/1852, S0454-045), and in the *Famous Pictures* series, Ichikawa Ebizō V as the priest Renshōbō, formerly Naozane (VI/1864, S0455-023).

429. The first two characters are the same as for Kumagai, the last character means temple. This story is also reported in Strange 1983, 159, and Bandō 1972, 85. For further details on Naozane, see *Nihon denki densetsu daijiten*, 326.

7 CONCLUSION

The Tōkaidō, Japan's main arterial road, became the subject in Edo period literature and art, and Japanese woodblock print series on the Tōkaidō, influenced by the travel boom, became popular from the early nineteenth century on. Tōkaidō print series, usually consisting of 55 designs, initially focused on life and geography along the road and documented a journey that many undertook, and many more dreamt of. The Tōkaidō theme became quickly established as a serialization device within the framework of Japanese woodblock prints, and until 1890, eighty-four series with more than 3,200 designs were created.

At present, two artists are mainly identified with this subject, Hokusai and Hiroshige. Hokusai designed the first Tōkaidō series that focus on genre scenes. Hiroshige's achievement is the establishment of Tōkaidō landscape series, a subject which he repeatedly turned to; initiated by the success of the *Hōeidō* series that he designed after illustrations taken from the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* and other guidebooks. This series was not only the breakthrough in his career, but its impact lasts until today as an icon of nineteenth century Japanese art.

In his lifetime, however, Hiroshige was never as successful and well-known as Kunisada, whose fame was based on his talent to vividly portray actors from the popular kabuki theater. Kunisada first dealt with the Tōkaidō in a small *bijin* series, many years before Hiroshige, and later returned to the theme to support Hiroshige's *Hōeidō* series by designing the *Chūban Bijin* series. Initially, Kunisada employed the Hōeidō landscapes as backgrounds, but because he was faster with his compositions both designers divided the source images between them and finalized their series independently. Though very successful and many times reissued, Kunisada's *Chūban Bijin* series is not his greatest contribution to this theme, but his creation of a new type of print by establishing the Tōkaidō as serial device for assorted actor portraits.

In the fast developing market of *ukiyoe*, a designer was under pressure to meet the markets' expectations if he wanted to be successful. Kunisada was specialized on actor prints and therefore commissioned to serve the high demand in performance unrelated, imaginary actor portraits that emerged in the nineteenth century and the advantages of serializing such designs were quickly apparent. Kunisada became a master in conceiving series and constantly proved his genius by adding new features to his portraits, successfully circumventing censor regulations.

In the mid 1830s he discovered the Tōkaidō as serial device and created a new type of bipolar print that was primarily aimed at kabuki connoisseurs and collectors of landscape prints. But instead of randomly juxtaposing characters to Tōkaidō stations, Kunisada gives meaning to a landscape through kabuki. He devised station-character motif patterns and developed over the years kabuki brain puzzles that challenged the viewers. This eventually led to an oft repeated pictorial canon of station-character motif patterns that he and other designers employed. But these motif patterns are not as easy as one might expect. So was a seemingly obvious connection like *Seki no to* and the station Seki not employed.

The station-character motif patterns were not simply derived from one play, but

Kunisada incorporated roles of several plays and narratives through different methods. The majority of the juxtapositions are based on a direct connection between station and character as told in plays where locales along the renowned Tōkaidō were chosen as setting. A number of motif patterns follow legends or literary works that are in some way related to the Tōkaidō and might be reported of in guidebooks such as the *Tōkaidō meisho zue*. The other methods of juxtaposing characters to a station are through a homophone or through paronomasia, relying on the name of the portrayed character, a related character, or the name of a related place. All applied methods are proof of Kunisada's deep familiarity with the kabuki world, and his profound knowledge of legends and mythology.

The methods discussed are applied in the twelve series related to the kabuki theatre that have been identified and put in their historical context. *Spring of the Plum*, Kunisada's first series that juxtaposes actors with Tōkaidō stations, accompanied the 1835 play *Ume no haru gojūsan tsugi*. The *Chūban Actors* series, his first actor Tōkaidō series with motifs from a wide range of plays, is composed like the *Chūban Bijin* series, and can be dated to 1837/38 through an advertisement of the set in another publication by this series' publisher. This rather unknown series of which 31 designs were found, builds the foundation for the fifteen years later conceived *Yakusha Mitate* series, the most successful series of his career, that was many times reprinted and caused a wave of similar series in 1852. However, contrary to the triumph of its successor did the *Chūban Actors* series not flourish, as the few remaining designs attest, and it can be questioned, if Kunisada abandoned this series because the publisher decided for an early retreat. Possible explanations for this failure are the *chūban*-size print format which is highly unusual for actor prints of that time and the different way of viewing implied in these designs.

Along with the Tenpō reforms came a change in the present way of viewing, leading to the recognition of actor prints though actor's names were no longer inscribed. The market adopted a different view of actor prints, an interest in combinations with scenery, seen in the success of the *Yakusha Mitate* series from 1852/53. Here, Kunisada repeated models taken from the 1830s but this time he modified them to *ōban*-size half-length portraits. The audience reacted enthusiastically to this type of design and a wave of similar compositions followed.

The majority of the *Chūban Actors* designs are composed as pseudo-diptychs, a style that Kunisada revived in the *Yakusha Mitate* series and extended through the creation of pseudo-triptychs and even a pseudo-tetraptych of which the separate designs were usually not created at the same time but were issued with many months in-between. The quick and overwhelming success of the *Yakusha Mitate* series soon resulted in the creation of additional designs to the traditional 55 set and, furthermore, to the invention of unique intermediate stations. In the end, the entire set counts 139 designs of which numerous allude to plays that were performed in the late 1840s and early 1850s, illustrated by Kunisada in several horizontal *ōban* series.

Simultaneously to the publication of supplementary stations was a miniature version, here called *Actor Cards*, as well as a *sugoroku* game board published. Both repeat the portraits from the traditional 55 set. Furthermore, Kunisada designed a *koban* series

with new motifs in the same style. With this *koban* series he leaves portraying the principle characters of selected scenes and moves to minor characters mainly within the context of the established station-character motif patterns.

Kunisada usually presented one actor per design in full- or half-length, either set next to a landscape cartouche or against a landscape separated by a cloud device. The *Loyal Retainers* series that accompanied in 1850 the play *Chūshingura gojūsan tsugi*, a variation of *Kanadehon Chūshingura* set along the Tōkaidō, is the first actor Tōkaidō series where he abandoned the scenic element completely and combined two actors on one design. The highlight of this style is the *Double Portraits* series from 1857 with twenty-eight actor pairs from different plays without scenic element. Instead of designing once again a series with pseudo-polyptych combinations he united familiar related motifs directly in one design, and was convinced that a scenic element is no longer needed to underline the Tōkaidō connection.

Since the mid 1840s, Kunisada was also engaged with other designers in collaborative Tōkaidō series. He either contributed to such series like the *Fifty-three Pairs* or the *Processional Tōkaidō* complete designs or the main figures of the entire series. To a large extent concentrate his contributions again on the established station-character motif patterns. His last and incomplete Tōkaidō series *Famous Pictures*, jointly executed with the Kuniyoshi students Kawanabe Kyōsai and Utagawa Yoshimori, was issued a few months before his death, and combines canonized station-character motif patterns with new-found popular characters.

Kunisada's actor Tōkaidō series are proof of his artistic genius, his acumen of the market's demand and its rapid change. They document the likes and dislikes of the consumers and demonstrate the printing refinement and technical possibilities in nineteenth century Japan. The concept of actor Tōkaidō series is an example for a new type of bipolar print that combines two aspects, actors and Tōkaidō stations, and therefore addresses at the same time two established markets. Such series presuppose a wide acquaintance on the receptor's part with kabuki narratives and the Japanese classics. It remains to be seen if and how other motif patterns developed within specific subjects of Japanese prints, such as *Inaka Genji* prints or *bijin* triptychs; motif patterns that are maybe not on first-sight decipherable for present-day receptors.