

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BIJIN-YE

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THE BEAUTIFUL WOMEN PRINTS  
OF  
EDO PERIOD JAPAN

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A B S T R A C T

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BIJIN-YE  
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OF EDO PERIOD JAPAN

NANCY SMITH

This is a study of the pictorial evolution, with social and historical background, of the Bijin-ye, 'Beautiful Women Prints', of Edo Period Japan, as seen through the work of the two great masters, Harunobu and Utamaro. There is a general historical background, analysis of each artist's work, and a conclusion which links the the major points of the analysis to the importance of these Ukiyo-e, 'Woodblock Prints', as well as to their impact on the French Impressionists of the 19th century.

"Drawing is not form, it is a way of seeing form."

- Edgar Degas

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INTRODUCTION

Ukiyo-e, literally 'pictures of the floating world', the woodblock prints of Edo Period Japan, 1615 - 1867, were a truly indigenous art form of Japan, the culmination of a long history of genre painting, calligraphy, and a refined pictorial sense. Previous art forms often were influenced by external forces, particularly Chinese culture and religion. These woodblock prints broke with a rigid tradition of 'official' or 'academic' court art to become a vitally responsive form of 'popular' art. In meeting the needs of an emerging middle class upon whom its technical evolutions were dependent, the Ukiyo-e mirrored the radical social changes which transformed an ancient feudal Japan into Japan of the 20th Century. Paradoxically, "the period that gave birth to Ukiyo-e was the period when the Japanese feudal system displayed its highest degree of organization yet at the same time was the period that saw its gradual collapse." <sup>1</sup>

Of all Far Eastern art, the art of the Japanese woodblock print has provoked the most 'living' influence on Western art of the 20th century through its great impact on the European Impressionists.

"In this dream-like, floating life  
how often are we happy?" - Li Po

"Life is like a spring dream  
which ends - and leaves no traces." - Shun-p'o <sup>2</sup>

Literally translated as 'pictures of the floating world', Ukiyo-e coming from a culture whose written verse is rich in paradox, hidden allusions, and double and triple meanings, is itself a term which can unfold in meaning.

Basically, its floating world differs from the traditional Buddhist floating world of illusion and fleeting temporal existence, as summarized in the above quotations, in its reflection of the new life view, of the floating world, or simply, life.

"Life is but a dream and who shall stay a hundred years? But a short way ahead lies darkness. What joy does the skeleton know? The only true pleasure is the pleasure of today." <sup>3</sup>

Still very much concerned with the temporality of life and the fleeting beauty of nature, as were the Japanese monks who first tempered Chinese Buddhist thought into what we call 'Zen', the floating world reflected in the prints is also very much about this secular attitude toward the "momentary intoxication which made life worthwhile." <sup>4</sup> The Chonin-do or 'way of the townspeople', (unlike the traditional Bushi-do or 'way of the warrior' of feudal times), came into real wealth and resultant social power in the Edo Period, although with no official political or social rank or recognition. <sup>5</sup>



This new class "engaged not in class struggle but pursuit of individual happiness - something for which little allowance had been made in the stern and unsparing life of the medieval fighting men." <sup>6</sup>

Not only symbolic of a 'worldly' world vision, the floating world was also, not unlogically, the name for the 'gay quarters', the demi-monde world of courtesans and geishas, as well as of Tea Houses and the Kabuki Theatre. A world unto itself, the gay quarters were situated in the Yoshiwara district on the West side of Edo. Edo, the capital city of Japan during the Edo Period, had by 1878 a population of 1,400,000. <sup>7</sup> Inhibited by an ancient and tightly ritualistic social structure which did not recognize them, the new classes of Edo exhibited their wealth and sought social freedom in what was their only social outlet, the gay quarters. With "nothing particularly to live for" except passing pleasure and as "habits of profligacy and extravagance spread to the petty bourgeoisie, the gay quarters were a prominent and nightless city for citizens who 'disdained to use money kept overnight'." <sup>8</sup>

The feudal lords who held traditional power had lost the balance of economic power with the development of trade, industry and city life. Living on fixed revenues, they were "unable to keep up an extravagant double life necessitated by the need to keep residences both in their fiefs and Edo, where a Shogunate jealous for the safety of its rule required they should spend part of their time." <sup>9</sup> In 1590,

80,000 feudal lords and retainers were not only compelled to spend part of the year in Edo, but they were also required to leave their families behind as political hostages, when they visited their provinces. <sup>10</sup> The result of these edicts was the tremendous growth of Edo as well as the longest period of civil peace and prosperity in the history of Japan.

Ironically these conditions, particularly the sustained peace, led to the transfer of economic power to the merchant class by as early as 1657. <sup>11</sup> Often in debt to this emerging middle class, the ruling class imposed many restrictions on the activity of the merchant class in order to attempt to curb its growth. The major social result was the emergence of an insular underworld with its own lifestyle and values, centered around the world of 'bought' pleasure within the gay quarters.

One of the major restrictions, in an attempt to discourage the expansion of industry, was a ban on foreign commerce which lasted for almost 200 years. <sup>12</sup> However this imposed isolation only turned the wealth of the country inward, leading to the development of local or 'cottage' industry and the resultant flowering of skilled craftsmen. Two very important industries to thus develop were the making and dyeing of fabrics and the woodblock prints themselves. Not only the natural outgrowth of economic conditions, these particular industries became art forms through which the middle classes, otherwise hampered by traditional class structures, could express their

own tastes and interests, their wealth and social standing.

Dress was a traditional way of showing wealth and tastes. The woodblock prints served as fashion plates detailing the newest fabrics, fashions and designs, mirroring the interests and vitality of the merchant world and the gay quarters, with much cross fertilization between the two industries (fabrics and woodblock prints). In terms of use of flat colour, pattern areas and design, the industries traded creative inspiration. Both industries were directly related to the patronage of the middle class, within a free market system, with their high technical quality and production a result of the emerging 'workshop' system.

The floating world of the Ukiyo-e was the world of these merchants who "finding themselves despised and slighted despite their wealth and actual power, used their wealth to vie with each other in displays of stylishness and extravagance." <sup>13</sup> Increasingly lavish, full of gaiety and beauty, its subject matter often erotic always fashion-conscious, the woodblock prints of Edo Period Japan mirrored the world of the gay quarters and the new spirit of the middle classes.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

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YAMATO - E

UKIYO - E

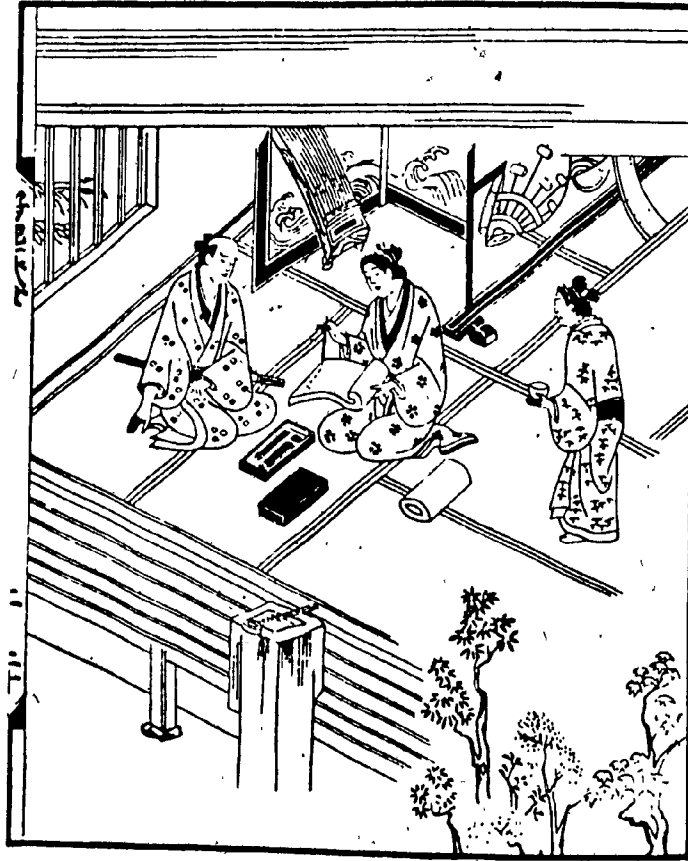


ILLS. 1 - EXAMPLE OF YAMATO-E

The pictorial heritage of the Ukiyo-e is to be found in a style of painting called Yamato-e, literally translated as 'Japanese Painting', dating from 999 and so-called because of its strongly indigenous character in terms of its expression of form, colour, subject matter and secular outlook in contrast to other styles, mostly landscape and religious art, which had its origins in Chinese art. <sup>14, 15</sup>

Usually in the form of scrolls, e-maki, or large screens for home interiors, these Japanese paintings took their subject matter from Japanese history, epic literature, poetry and popular narratives (Ills. 1). <sup>16</sup> Of a genre nature, they were also essentially Japanese in the way in which they "combined the narrative with the decorative ... qualities which throughout the centuries were to characterize the indigenous Japanese pictorial tradition." <sup>17</sup> Rather than being philosophical in intent like much Chinese and Chinese inspired art, Yamato-e emphasized strong design and decorative elements; for example, the use of pattern in overall compositional structure (Ills. 1). The narrative nature is also emphasized, and in fact some scrolls combined pictures with text, and were called monogatari-e, of which the Tale of Genji from the 12th century is a famous example. <sup>18</sup>

One important convention to be passed on from Yamato-e to Ukiyo-e was the pictorial device, Fukinuki Yatai, a type of oblique



ILLS. 2 - Example of:  
Fukinuki Yatai

perspective allowing the viewer admittance into the interior of 'roofless' houses (Ills. 2). 19

Another important characteristic, perhaps intrinsic to the development of an art of woodblock printing such as Ukiyo-e, was the Yamato-e conceptualization of form: flat areas delineated as form through the expressiveness of the contour line alone. The most primary characteristic of Yamato-e, this contour line was fluid yet consistently firm, with no broken starts or stops or overlaps. Expressive of volume, the line was not a free vehicle for expressive subjective statements by the artist, but was also not strictly a mimicry of solid three dimensional format. An unusual characteristic for a painting style, it is nonetheless typical of the decorative and linear nature of Japanese aesthetic feeling.

Unlike Chinese inspired painting, which was of pale colour or monochrome ink wash, with much varied brush work, the forms delineated by the contour line were filled in with "bright, but harmonious colour".<sup>20</sup> This contrasts too with the organic build-up of form through colour, or the use of shadow in Western traditions. Grids and patterns, found, for example, in background indications of architecture or in the dress fabrics, are stated with equal directness and flatness, whether they span a background plane or drape volumes. (Ills. 1). Both open colour areas, and areas of distance and receding volume, as well as pattern areas have colour



applied in flat even tones.

In terms of formal properties it does not seem surprising that Yamato-e was revived and adapted to the woodblock medium of the Ukiyo-e of the Edo Period. Stylized facial features, fluid contour lines, as well as the tradition of colour applied to the initial drawing were characteristics easily adapted to wood engraving, especially in a culture whose history of writing was an art form in itself. Calligraphy already involved the transfer of highly fluid brush stroke characters to block engraving of books and religious texts.

Yamato-e as a style also represents a typically Japanese outlook. This outlook was to temper the adaption of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism into Japanese Zen Buddhism during the Kamakura Period, 1185 - 1333. This was also the time in which Yamato-e reached its creative height. Quite formal, it did retain the individualistic center of what was originally an essentially personal mediative experience. However, Japanese philosophy differed from the Chinese concept of the insignificant individual in an immense, impersonal universe. Rather it saw the universe on a human scale. (It can be noted that in Yamato-e the human figure dominates the landscape, whereas it is usually the opposite in Chinese and Chinese inspired painting.) This was done mostly through the emphasis of nature's changing qualities and beauty (the floating world), rather than of

her overwhelming mystery; a resignation to time and change; and through ritual, the formal incorporation of the above into life, particularly through the appreciation of nature's changing beauty, through such things as the Tea Ceremony and formal gardens.

Reflecting this national feeling toward the world, the Yamato-e pictorial tradition was one of an illustrative, or 'appreciative' nature rather than a subjective, emotional or religious art.

Nature was an important, yet beautiful and subtle element in the pictures. In being of an illustrative nature, Yamato-e, unlike Chinese inspired art, was not an introspective experience externalized on paper.

Yamato-e had consequently a strong tendency to genre scenes, whether of contemporary activity or taken from history. With people at the center of its work, it is characterized by its bold use of pattern and overall design, evoking a graphic rather than an elusive reality.

Supported by the upper classes, in an official manner, its secular subject matter was usually that of epic tales of great clans destroyed in battle or melancholy love stories, reflecting the feudal system and its strict code of behaviour, as well as a traditional poetic sense of the fleetingness of youth, beauty, and life itself. A vital creative force in its time, Yamato-e like Ukiyo-e was a popular rather than an academic or static

art form in its time, directly arising from the needs and life, (of the powerful or wealthy) of its era. Evolving to a high level of pictorial elegance during the Kamakura Period, the mood of Yamato-e is spoken of as being "sophistication tinged with melancholy." <sup>21</sup>

After 1333, with the renewal of foreign trade and a change-over in government, the art of Japan was again dominated by official support of Chinese inspired, or Buddhist, styles, with the effect that all the decorative arts suffered, Yamato-e itself went into a period of decline, becoming an official school with little real creative growth. <sup>22</sup>

With the new economic and social climate of Edo Period Japan, as well as the revived policy of foreign isolation, Yamato-e experienced a revival and took on a "life not found in its classical counterpart ... humour, wit and free interpretation of subject matter." <sup>23</sup> Finding influence in the attitude of the new middle classes, it re-stated itself within the new medium of woodblock printing. In fact all the decorative arts, but especially scrolls, screens and fabrics entered a new height of brilliance and creativity.

Ukiyo-e began as quick ink brush sketches, some daubed with colour, in an essentially Yamato-e style. These were souvenirs of city life, especially of the Ukiyo, social and pleasure world, literally translated as 'floating world', or better known as the gay quarters. By the late 17th century these 'entertaining' pictures became so popular that they developed into a vigorous art form of their own. Originally selling for a few coins, there was such a demand for an art which expressed and met the interests of the middle classes that it was only natural that such an industrious and commerce minded society would turn to a method of reproducing the pictures in order to meet the demand and keep prices low. Following the ancient tradition of printing by woodblock, as well as the easy adaption to engraving of the precise contour lines, and simple boldness of design, woodblock prints were provided to meet the demand. In fact the term Ukiyo-e first appeared in printed literature. Saikaku Ihara, the great chronicler of this lively period 'coined the phrase' in his book, The Women Who Loved Love, 1682. And in fact the first great Ukiyo-e artist was Moronobu, a famous illustrator of books. Because of the workshop system which had evolved to produce printed literature, and which was used successfully to produce Ukiyo-e, a highly efficient collaboration of engraver, printer and artist produced woodblock prints with high standards of workmanship as well as of vitality and creativity.

Therefore the first Ukiyo-e prints came out of the workshops of the jihon-tonya, or publishers of illustrated books. Unlike the

Edokoro, a court or official painter who was salaried and had high social standing, whose subject matter was birds, flowers, landscapes and ancient sagas, the Ukiyo-e artist was an artisan working out of a workshop, himself a member of the middle class. His subject matter catered to the middle class and was mostly taken from scenes of the gay quarters and the Kabuki Theatre.

The tradition of printed books and scrolls in woodblock form goes back to the 10th Century. By the 17th century there existed a great number of illustrated books, many being tales of the merchant class, and often erotic manuals concerning the Yoshiwara. There were also yehorr or picture books with little or no text.

In 1720 a ban on Western books was lifted and paintings and engravings from Holland found their way into Japan.<sup>24</sup> Ukiyo-e was influenced to some degree by these books, as well as Chinese woodcuts, "but by and large grew and flourished with no incursions by alien strains, developing its own Japanese type of beauty and techniques."<sup>25</sup>

Like Yamato-e, Ukiyo-e was not a form of social realism, but unlike Yamato-e it reflected the more frivolous aspects of the new city life. In fact the prevalent melancholy of Yamato-e gave way to a light-heartedness and new optimism. Freed as well from the Zen mysticism which had supplanted Yamato-e, it was a totally vital popular art executed in a bright, colourful and dynamic way.

... "It must forever astonish us that a class of the population which in any other country would have been satisfied with crude and gaudy productions, should have fostered and kept in eager and multifarious life for nearly two centuries, an art of design as distinguished for delicate and fastidious taste as it is rich in creative power." 26

SUZUKI HARUNOBU

1725 - 1770

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ILLS. 3 - HARUNOBU



With Harunobu woodblock printing became a truly creative art form, exploring the possibilities of its technical nature and expressive potential. On the one hand the first supremely lyrical Ukiyo-e artist, he was also a strong graphic designer, and it was the way in which he integrated his technical innovations that made him famous in his lifetime.

The first great master of the Ukiyo-e medium, Harunobu is best known historically for his central role in the development of the first multi-coloured prints. He is also famous for creating a new type of idealized or stylized feminine beauty other than that traditionally used by the illustrators of books or the Yamato-e artists. This creation by an artist of his own feminine ideal, in essence almost a personal signature identifying the work of different artists, was to become the standard which distinguished the masters from the copyists. Harunobu's delicate women were to dominate the prints of the 18th Century.

However there are other levels on which Harunobu's creative thinking can be appreciated. For, in fact, the impressiveness of his colour innovations and feminine stylizations resulted from the way in which he incorporated them into his strongly graphic and painterly designs (Ills. 3). He pushed graphic design and colour design as well as the traditional Japanese sense of plane, grid, pattern and perspective to subtle refinement (Ills. 3, 5, 9). In fact so much so, that the mood and lyrical atmosphere of his work results more from this



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ILLS. 4 - HARUNOBU

subtle integration of formal elements, and abbreviated references to natural environments, than it does from subject matter (Ills. 4). The new availability of colour certainly contributed, but as is evidenced from black and white reproductions, it was more the result of design and linear compositional dynamics.

Harunobu was the first Ukiyo-e artist to pay major attention to the concept of background and, not only background plane, but background as an indicator of mood, time, place and 'colour' (Ills. 4, 5, 6, 7). His figures inhabited real locales and specific times of day and season. They were not just 'fashion plates' or 'souvenirs' against a neutral ground. Because of this, and his highly successful grouping of interacting figures, (note that it is rare to find a print containing only one figure, and that the figures are always interacting with each other in either an activity, Ills. 4; an implied friendship, Ills. 5; or mutual participation in a scene, Ills. 15), achieved through postures and elements of design, not only did his figures seem to be of 'real persona', but one has the feeling of stepping into the world of the print rather than the sensation of simply confronting a two dimensional figure staring out.

This means that, in a true sense rather than an illusionistic one, Harunobu evoked the sensation of 'reality' through formal or non-objective elements. Although he was in no way pre-occupied with the problem of realism as such. His work is, especially to Western eyes, extremely stylized and is only objective primarily in the



ILLS. 5 - HARUNOBU

sense that it was not a subjective or personal artistic statement.

The fact that the figures in the prints are engaged in activity linked with the background, (Ills. 4, 5, 6, 9 ...), that is the figures are 'living' within the scene, rather than being presented as straight forward portraits, augmented the overall compositional structure. Indications of interiors or outside environments were created through indication, by way of specific chosen elements, which operated more as formal pictorial elements than detailed description of complete scenes. We get a limb of a tree, a window, a few pieces of furniture. That is, pictorial demands and aesthetics, refinement, was sought rather than 'photographic' or detailed mimicry of environment. Space itself is usually given to the print wholly through its design and use of linear elements, such as grids at right angles, (Ills. 7), or oblique horizontals which act as 'floors' (Ills. 5, 8). There are no vanishing points or a diminishing clarity of far away objects to the same extent as found in European art, although distances are achieved, particularly in the landscape scenes (Ills. 5, 15).

The figures are portrayed full-length in postures of activity, such as walking and talking (Ills. 6). This contributes dramatically to the sense of a real everyday world. The figures are animated in turn by or through use of design, (the contrast between the fabric pattern of the sashes of the figures in Ills. 6, as well as the parallelism of the legs of the two main figures, in contrast to the opposing direction of their heads), colour, and the subtle narrative



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or symbolic indications, such as a lamp lit indoors, or a spring flowering tree outside a window. In Ills. 6, it is falling rain symbolized by straight bold lines, references to the street curb, and a building or gate set in the background and indicated by means of a grid; as well as the inclusion of some lightly drawn cats which contribute to the feeling of a passing, contemporary scene taking place before our very eyes. Thus it was not just his graceful delineation of a 'feminine form' which gave his work its characteristic lyrical and charming quality, but small touches, such as including the cats and the rain, as well as an overall and consistent attention to qualities of light, times of day and season. As well the almost abstract, essentially Japanese in their sparseness, references to the real world, in the form of allusions rather than detailed description, to interiors of houses and to landscapes, not only set the mood, but gave a wonderful pictorial life and charm to his work.

This lyric, rather than strictly narrative quality set Harunobu's work apart from his previous predecessors, whose work in contrast seems rather wooden, formal and lifeless. It all but makes up for a certain lack of sophistication in his figures when compared to those who followed him. Harunobu's prints, graceful, lyrical, and imbued with mood and feeling, set the tone for future Ukiyo-e, which grew still more wonderful in the range of expression and mood they could cast around the seemingly simple figures, as

well as in the qualities of atmosphere and light they were able to capture, always through use of primarily graphic structure and flat colour.

Harunobu's work literally 'took off' with his involvement in the initial development of multi-colour printing. The possibilities now available as well as the novelty of five or more colours provided a greater variety of effects, wider range of harmonies and tonal contrasts, enhancing his designs, as well as the creation of atmosphere within the print. Patronage and popular interest was widely aroused. Thus at the age of 40, during the last five years of his life, he produced the volume of work for which he is now famous, over 600 prints of superb quality, following his first 5 colour prints in the spring of 1765. Prior to this date he was chiefly an illustrator of books and his early work, 40 prints done over a twelve year period, had little to distinguish them. In 1765 he "discarded the rather formalistic style of his earlier prints and produced fresh portraits of beautiful women in their actual surroundings working and living their active lives ..."<sup>27</sup>

Single sheet prints were already in existence for a century when Harunobu collaborated with a group of wealthy amateur poets in Edo to produce the first multi-coloured print. These rich dilettantes striving to outdo each other in the exchange of elaborate picture





ILL. 7 - HARUNOBU

calendars at the New Year, provided the financing. Therefore these early polychrome works, unlike early Ukiyo-e, were not produced for a mass market. Commissioned privately, or published in set editions, they were of high quality and excellent workmanship.

After its century long evolution, the production of the prints had reached a state of technical perfection. With the cooperation of skilled engravers and printers, a device was discovered, a right angle alignment, which gave accuracy of register to impressions made from the increased number of colour printing blocks.<sup>28</sup> The importance of this achievement, as well as the skilled block cutting which was essential for perfect register, was recognized. The block engravers and printers, previously anonymous, now had their names printed along with that of the artist on the face of the print. (In the next year however, the feudal class structure prevailed and the craftsmans' name vanished again.)

With their rich brilliant colour and detail these prints were called nishiki-i, brocade pictures, after the richly lavish silk fabric popular at the time. In their rich colour use, pictorial brilliance and design, as well as the "romantic idealism of Harunobu, they attained at the very outset a high degree of artistic achievement."<sup>29</sup>

Harunobu made use of a wide range of delicate as well as brill-

ant colour, sometimes also using soft, opaque hues. The fact that these prints were commissioned and had for their production, for the first time, the highest quality paper available in Japan, previously only used for official documents, allowed for an even greater brilliance of colour and design.<sup>30</sup> Though later produced for a wider market, the nishiki-e, never lost their quality until much later, due mostly to political restrictions placed upon their production. Often as many as ten colours were used to make one print. Two or more colours were sometimes superimposed to achieve various shades of intermediate tones.

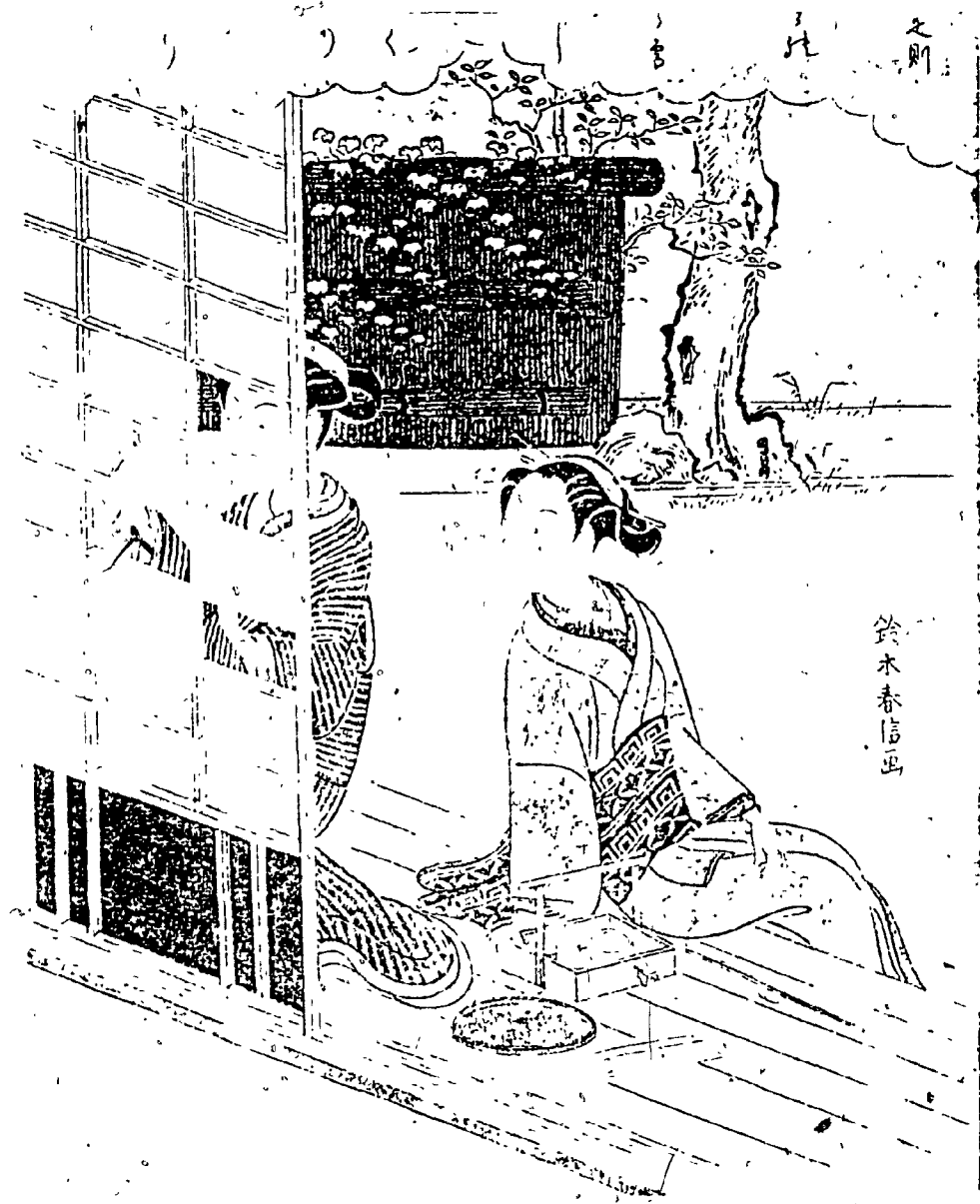


ILLS. 8 - HARUNOBU

Harunobu was one of the first Ukiyo-e artists to find and depict fresh beauty in the commonplace scenes and everyday activity of ordinary Edo women, instead of dealing mostly with the Yoshiwara. This was an important step, the prints being brought into contact with everyday life, the wives and daughters of the middle classes as subjects. These prints probably represent more than one half of his output. He also produced prints of the gay quarter, as well as erotic and 'highly obscene' sets.

Although his themes were drawn from the contemporary life around him, Harunobu consistently portrayed this world as an idealized light-hearted realm inhabited by youth and beauty, untouched and untroubled by reality or too much emotion. Possibly the public, and the wealthy patrons, demanded that Ukiyo-e remain 'entertaining' pictures: glamorized depictions of their lives and the lives of the famous beauties of the day - rather than containing any hint of hardship or at least the nature or sense of emotions beneath the surface. Maybe it was his artistic vision. At any rate Harunobu was an exception at that time in that he did portray beauty in ordinary women.

Harunobu's work is unified throughout by this idealized perspective, regardless of the age or class of the woman he was depicting. Whether courtesans, young girls, or middle class matrons, all are shown in a fresh almost ageless, fragile manner, pursuing with all



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ILLS. 9 - HARUNOBU

innocence and charm everyday activities in an endless variety of settings. It is in fact a pictorial style, perhaps linked to the actual Japanese manner or countenance. His figures, however, are not remote, they do belong to the familiar world and some sense of human feeling and affection among the figures is captured (Ills. 7, 8, 9, 10). This latter feeling is particularly expressed through the postures and tilt of the head in the grouping of figures.

As can be seen particularly in Ills. 10, compositionally these figures are usually a united organic focal point against what is usually a background, dominated by geometric elements, grid patterns and linear superstructure, angles made by diagonals, and horizontal and vertical stresses. This creates a counterpoint between animated form and static environment. Usually depicted in pairs, engaged in interacting motions, the women seem always to be intimately sharing the same 'inner thoughts' (Ills. 9). However, each figure is also independently a strong graphic and figurative unit in itself, closely integrated or locked onto the picture plane through vertical and horizontal points in the overall scheme of the print. Again this can be easily seen in Ills. 9, where each figure is aligned and locked into the main structural forces, such as the horizon line which runs at the  $3/4$  mark above their heads. The figure on the left closely relates to the grid pattern in front of her, the figure on the right is aligned to the



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ILLS. 10 - HARUNOBU



implied central vertical stress and strongly 'held' in place by the tree just behind her.

This 'locking' of the figure into the graphic and implied horizontals and verticals keeps the figures independent graphically. That is, to imagine one of the figures deleted does not dramatically upset the pictorial balance. (This can be seen by placing a hand over either figure in Ills. 9; it is a little more difficult to realize in Ills. 10 because the narrative 'meaning' of the pose is disturbed.) It is in fact a curious quality of Harunobu's prints, perhaps deriving from the multi-colour printing process, that in analysis one easily perceives separate interlocking graphic 'pieces', each filled with its own pattern: figure with fabric pattern, grids of houses and interior areas, landscapes seen through windows, Ills. 10 is a good example, - any of which could be deleted, or have their individual pattern or detail changed, with endless variety, without upsetting the basic nature and structure of the print.

Besides expressing animation between two figures, the figures are usually grouped so as to carve an interior space or volume into the heart of the print, usually in the form of an S-curve or a diagonal. Ills. 5 is an example of one figure setting up an interior diagonal to the horizontal of the figure on the right.

Ills. 6 is a good example of a broad interior S-curve starting at the feet of the small figure on the left, on through the feet of the figure on the right, then back through the bottoms of the kimono sashes of these figures to the hand of the small figure (this stress emphasized by the 45 degree of the angle going off to the left of her umbrella), then turned around by her head back towards the direction of the other figures, caught in a sense by the tilt of the first figure on the right (by the tilt of her head downwards towards the smaller figure), and then carried on to the right by the opposing tilt of the last figure's head tilting right (this stress completed and emphasized by the position of their shared umbrella). Ills. 10 is an example of a smaller S-curve carved in the heart of the print by the two interlocking figures, which is initially set off by the slight diagonal they sit on. That is, the figure on the right is slightly forward on the ground and is emphasized by the position of their hands and the flowing of the kimonos. Thus the figures create against a linear background their own volumetric space. The figures are usually helped to create this sense of space by being placed on some kind of diagonal working as a 'floor' (Ills. 5, 6, 7; 8, 9, 10). Ills. 4 is an example of an implied diagonal which can be perceived to run from the large figure on the right (her sandal), through to the child's foot and then onto the bird.

If one examines the prints, it becomes clear that it is not so much the domestic settings themselves which imbue the figures with



ILLS. 11 - HARUNOBU

what would be a narrative form of animation, as the quality of the drawing of the figures itself. Taking advantage of long kimonos, with their fluid lines of drapery and endless pattern, elements with which to position lines and points of volume, as well as the S-curve many of the figures assume as they bend to an activity, a wonderful sense of living form beneath the cloth is expressed. Ironically it is in his semi-clad figures that Harunobu's stylization of limbs falls short of human form. Compare even the slightly unclothed figure of Ills. 10 to the figure fully draped in Ills. 12. The figure of Ills. 12 although perfectly still and completely covered, has a more convincing presence, and the animating effect of the wonderfully fluid and rhythmical handling of the kimono is clearly apparent.

Much emphasis is placed on the position and expressiveness of hands in motion (Ills. 4, 7, 8, 11, 14 and 15). Animating the figures, they create points of movement amongst predominantly static areas or ordered areas of interiors or landscapes, or even against ordered pattern of fabrics, setting up a beautiful contrast between the flight of hands, with their irregular, organic, expressive shape, against the more intricate movement of the design on the fabrics, and then again against the larger patterns of the background (Ills. 11). In fact the hands, rather thin and oddly shaped, are quite deftly worked into the overall composition, especially considering their irregular form against a context which is dominated by more formal non-organic design elements.

The faces are quite uniform in detail, although expressions still manage to shift subtly. Usually tilted down (a gesture of feminine beauty, - docility and 'modesty'?), the heads are shown in 3/4 profile. The placing of the mouth becomes an essential mark in determining the facial plane; in contrast to the strong unbroken contour line running from forehead to neck. (This is clear in any of the prints.) Never shown in full face, Harunobu's women seem always to be unaware of 'us', never distracted from their world, into which we look. Pre-occupied with their errands or love-letters, or simply dreaming, they convey a subdued air. Child-like and delicate, even the courtesans are 'innocent', never bold or worldly, with either an air of melancholy or liveliness. Innocence here is a relative term, Ukiyo-e being a "product of an introverted decadent society adept at innuendo ... certain features of domestic scenes such as the prevalence of ... young attractive matrons in various states of undress remind one that in Ukiyo-e of all genres, 'innocence' is not always to be taken at face value." 31

Although often mysterious in their 'inward-looking' aspects, Harunobu's women do not have the intrigue, sophistication or sensual presence of the later artists, especially Utamaro. And, although certain works are actual portraits of specific popular beauties, there is little individuality of feature. Seen in context Harunobu's pictorial stylization is expressive. The overall sense of inner character, charm and grace, represents the first great stylistic change in the



ILLS. 12 - HARUNOBU

traditional handling of figures. They had for centuries generally been slightly fat-cheeked with little sense of inner 'womanliness' as given by Harunobu. Furthermore his figures occupy his settings with revealing posture and gentle mannerisms, as if their beauty and seeming innocence had actually cast a charm on their existence. The delicately stylized features do not so much reveal a sensuous nature, as they do a kind of stillness, which somewhat links them to the 'less vulgar' or more poetic feeling of feudal Japan.

Harunobu's backgrounds, to the 20th century artist, are often more interesting than his figures, for example Ills. 12 and 13. Background and total design of composition became a major artistic and pictorial, or formal, concern. Lines, grids and workings of larger areas of pattern are almost non-objective in their functioning. The first Ukiyo-e artist to fully develop the picture plane, he explored various ways of creating spatial depth and intervals, while at the same time maintaining a strong frontal plane, which can easily be marked off by implied horizontal and vertical superstructure.

His compositions are bold, balancing blank and patterned areas. Rhythm was established as a pictorial component in the crisscrossing lines of various widths and their systems of varying intervals, for example Ills. 12. These backgrounds also provided strongly lyrical



鈴木春信画

ILLS. 13 - HARUNOBU



and poetic settings. That is, even though they are full of formal and geometric elements, they provided atmospheres which were never too blunt or too overpoweringly rigid or patterned.

Although Harunobu made use of an endless variety of settings, open rooms (Ills. 10), gardens (Ills. 4), streets (Ills. 6) and landscapes (Ills. 5), he was never dominated by descriptive detail and in that sense to actual 'realism'. Instead 'scenic' elements were reduced to their essentials, and used in a decorative and compositional sense as much as in a descriptive or narrative sense. Especially striking are the various grids and intercrossed lines used to depict vistas of open rooms and verandas (Ills. 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13). Expressing the light nature of the wooden Japanese architecture of that period, particular attention is paid to the open access of interiors to gardens (Ills. 7) and the prevalence of natural light. Whether an interior decor or a corner of a garden, the setting is reduced to barest essentials without losing its warmth or evocative atmosphere. With their easily recognized and yet simple indications of season, time of day, and locale, they often recall the incredibly minimal and inventive, and at the same time immensely effective and dramatic settings found in Kabuki Theatre.

These symbols of place and time are integrated into the composition with boldness, constantly asserting the basic plane. Particularly interesting are the contrasts and relationships of



ILLS. 14 - HARUNOBU

of the various grid intervals, empty areas, and areas of pattern, within the same print; and then again the contrast of these and their spatial intervals, to the plastic qualities of the ever present diagonals of the overall composition and the S-curves of the figures (Ills. 12). The contrast of these areas of compositional 'pattern' within themselves often set up striking contrast to the detailed and intricate design of the fabrics. There is also the pictorial contrast between the way in which the elaborate fabric designs follow and adapt to the organic nature of the figure, and its 'enclosed' volume; against the regular, flat geometric 'pattern' of the background (Ills. 14).

Harunobu was in fact returning somewhat to the style of Yamato-e in terms of creating an overall background of "fine contours and colouring that was both dense and restrained, frequently covering the whole page" yet not losing any elegance to the profusion of design elements, nor getting lost to detailed description.<sup>32</sup> This being accomplished in a 9 inch by 11 inch format.

Harunobu makes little use of Western perspective. He does use smaller figures and details in receding distance (Ills. 15). The backgrounds do not exist solely as negative space, but convey distances, floors, and spatial progression. The interior scenes do in fact contain a 'cubic' or graphic space in which the figures sit or move (Ills. 15). It is also interesting to note that the sky



春信画

ILLS. 15 - HARUNOBU

was never depicted as more than a flat tint of blue and yet is suggestive of the "ambience of sunlit air" rather than merely remaining visual ground. <sup>33</sup>

An attempt to express atmosphere rather than the depiction of illusionistic reality brought the 'experience' of time and mood to the print. This indigenous sensitivity to atmosphere rather than to literalism, as well as the related sense of refinement and design, called 'stylization' by us, kept the Ukiyo-e artist from a desire for literal or detailed rendering.

"... the Japanese artist was not led astray by the dull desire for naturalism but pursued their instinct for stirring design and emotion." <sup>34</sup> This is apparent in Harunobu's work with the "subtle changes that surrounded the beauties of his prints ... fresh early morning scenes, bright midday scenes and dark cold nights." <sup>35</sup>

This is a very important aspect of Harunobu's work and is a part of all the prints under study. This quality of light, atmosphere, and their changing effects were to have considerable impact on the European Impressionists.

Harunobu also made use of several new techniques. Kara-oshi, or empty print, used a block without any ink to emboss uncoloured patterns into the paper, as a three dimensional effect depicting



ILLS. 16 - HARUNOBU

snow or waves. <sup>36</sup> Kimekomi, or impress, was used to give three dimensional effects to the kimono. It was a method of "making the paper bulge out to give a strong sense of volume. The contour lines are impressed into the paper from the front while the areas inbetween the lines are pressed out from the back of the print so that they bulge out from the surface." <sup>37</sup>

One form which should be mentioned before concluding is Harunobu's use of mitate-i prints, that is prints showing 'classical themes brought up to date' (Ills. 17). Usually parodies of sacred writings or witty puns or interpretations of ancient poems, they often have the poem or saying written across the top of the print, often in a space left blank and bordered by a wavy 'cloud' line. These classical allusions seemingly expressed a patron's familiarity with classical literature, or were sometimes satires on the Confucianist learning imposed by the ruling class.

Harunobu died at the age of 46 at the height of his artistic achievement. His innovations and lyricism took printmaking from the previous 'wooden' linear illustrations and quick souvenir sketches to the 'heights of painting'. He had a dominating influence on other Ukiyo-e artists during his lifetime. With his death, the more personal styles of other artists were to emerge, leading towards realistic figures lacking Harunobu's poetic



ILLS. 17. - HARUNOBU



overtones. There was also a return to neutral backgrounds against which were placed more sensuous, graceful figures with greater detail paid to costume. Harunobu was a forceful innovator without actually achieving the daring of Utamaro, who was to succeed him in popularity, in time, and who imbued his figures with a great sense of persona as well as charm. Harunobu's work with composition and the effects of light and atmosphere were to find revival in the work of Hiroshige, the last great Ukiyo-e artist, who dealt mostly with landscape.

KITAGAWA UTAMARO

1753 - 1806

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11. *Woman Smoking*, from "Ten Yennin Facial Types" ♦ *Shan*, published by Tsutaya & Tokyo National Museum. This series pre-

ceded that shown in Plate 10. The "no-nonsense" air of the woman suggests that she was, perhaps, a teahouse girl.

Utamaro was the greatest of the Bijin-ye, beautiful women print artists, bringing this genre to its height. A superb draftsman and daring designer, he remains the undisputed master. Only one year younger than Kiyonaga, whom he was to succeed in popularity and ultimately excell, Utamaro was so gradual in developing his style that he is usually thought of as being 'next generation'. And "despite popular reputation as a youthful eulogizer of a rather decadent type of feminine beauty he was already 34 when in 1788 he produced a series of 12 ōban (10 inch by 15 inch format) colour prints known as 'The Poem Pillow Picture Book', perhaps the greatest of all erotic Ukiyo-e." <sup>38</sup> The term decadent is as relative as the term innocent when it was applied to Harunobu's work. It could just be a matter of the pictorial evolution of the print, as well as Utamaro's superior drawing ability with greater attention to true proportions of limbs and his ability to capture sensuous volume with the few lines of contour allowed within the traditional Japanese framework. In fact there is a real freshness in the wide open and innovative quality of Utamaro's compositions and 'direct' women.

Certainly of all Ukiyo-e artists, Utamaro's women are openly sensuous and worldly; sophisticated and complex, rather than child-like and innocent. Less stylized than Harunobu's figures and less realistic in terms of countenance (Ills. 18) and natural setting, as well as attention paid to detail, as those of his immediate predecessor, Kiyonaga (Ills. 20); Utamaro relied on a masterly drawing ability

婦人相學十態  
浮氣之相  
相見 歌麿画



ILLS. 19 - UTAMARO

which enabled him to express sensuous volumes, as well as a much greater individuality of mood and countenance. Other Ukiyo-e artists, including Kiyonaga, settled more or less for one way of stylizing and portraying their women, giving their work a thin dimension when compared with Utamaro's range. In fact this is Utamaro's major distinguishing aspect, apart from his bold designs, the ability to create varied 'types' expressing individual personalities and moods (Ills. 18, 19).

Furthermore, Utamaro's figures were integrated into a consistently bold design, used as structures of the composition, dominant pictorial factors, without losing any of their psychological impact. Although reminiscent of Harunobu's sense of design over realism, Utamaro's figures were not always shown in natural settings, but were often the only pictorial 'dynamic' in the picture altogether, (in terms of large structural or primary compositional component against the plane). This is particularly evident in the way in which Utamaro 'cropped' his figures, and the way in which, importantly, for the first time in the history of Ukiyo-e, the figure totally dominated the plane and often actually occupied the total plane of the print (Ills. 19). It is also seen in the way in which he offset the fluidity of the costumes, particularly the line around the neck to the shoulders, usually one strong fluid curve against the right angled dimensions of the print itself (Ills. 23).

In this sense and because of their beauty, even if unconventionally 'forward', rather than innocent, one can consider these prints to be as pictorially idealized as those of Harunobu. That is, they exist as stylized expressive pictorial elements, rather than as figures solely bound into the framework of description or narration.

Thus, the enduring fascination with Utamaro's work lies as much in his innovative artistic thinking, on a plastic level, as with his fine draftsmanship. It is not just a matter of the exotic nature of his prints. It is this combination of sensuality of flesh and persona with a distinct boldness of pictorial invention and design. Despite the boldness of design, the prints evoke a poetic atmosphere full of mood and feeling, which less and less depended on setting and colour as it did on the actual capture through draftsmanship of character.

Achieving fullness of form without modelling as we know it, Utamaro strove to depict the realism of the 'persona' of different types of women, the inner psychology. He was the first Ukiyo-e artist to be interested in depicting individuality. Unlike Harunobu who supplemented the 'reality' of his figures with a kind of literary association, that is with interacting figures and domestic settings, Utamaro began to go right for the face, this in itself a daring innovation (Illa: 18, 19, 23, 24). As his work developed, the face often came to occupy the dominant area of the



ILL.S. 20 - KIYONAGA



print. He then offset the changes in expression and features, usually caught through the cast of the eyes and mouth, against the tilt of the head, posture of the shoulders and movements of the hands (Ills. 24).

Unlike the women in Harunobu's prints, Utamaro's women seem less involved with mundane activity than with themselves - offering themselves (Ills. 28), adjusting their appearance (Ills. 22), viewing themselves (Ills. 23), or pre-occupied with inner thoughts (Ills. 18, 24). Harunobu's subjects are engaged with activity in groups (Ills. 4), within the home (Ills. 9), viewing nature (Ills. 16), or writing letters (Ills. 7). However, as in Harunobu, and unlike Western traditions of portraiture, there are no full face frontal portraits.

It is possible that the popularity of Kiyonaga forced Utamaro to develop a strong new vision of his own as Kiyonaga was "the most popular and dominant artist of the decade, few artists being able to avoid near approximation of his type if they were to win favour with the public." <sup>39</sup> Kiyonaga was a realist, a startling departure from the Yamato-e roots of Ukiyo-e and Japanese art in general (Ills. 20). Ironically this also makes him less interesting or compelling to Western eyes. In giving his figures dignity and a relative naturalness of demeanor, he broke with the child-like proto-types of Harunobu, however he was not a very powerful or



ILLS. 21 - UTAMARO

inventive designer. In a sense he was limited by his attempts at realism.

Utamaro was to overtake Kiyonaga not only through his draftsmanship and fresh interpretation of Kiyonaga's classical figures, but through his ability to animate his figures and his ability to create forceful 'plastic' compositions. (Compare Ills. 20 and Ills. 21). Instead of paying attention to pictorial renderings of detail and setting, Utamaro returned to the artistic priorities of Yamato-e:

- 1) bold design of large structural/compositional elements, that is the sweep of the contour line of the figure against the plane of the background,
- 2) striking composition of essentialized or 'abstracted' details of settings and environment; and their integration as visual dynamics, not just as lyrical or narrative information,
- 3) various rhythms set up between different fields of blank and patterned areas.

This can be seen immediately in the way in which Utamaro's figures are used as primary structural elements, even in those prints employing scenery or group compositions (Ills. 21). As such they effectively set up a rhythm of positive/negative design, as well as a rhythm of line and counterpoint against the

娘日時計 巳刻



ILLS. 22 - UTAMARO

geometry of the rectangular print format itself.

Utamaro's cropping of his figures, as well as their dominant organic structural force was a major innovation, allowing for bolder designs. This is clear when contrasted to the work of both Kiyonaga and Harunobu, whose figures are almost always full-length and usually have elaborate 'stages' built up for them to exist within. In Harunobu these stages tend to be pictorial horizontal/vertical structures. In Kiyonaga they are more realistic, yet with strong horizontal/vertical superstructures (Ills. 20). Rather than depending upon horizontal/vertical stresses, Utamaro's work has a "swing of undulating line, a rhythmic flow in design and a boldness of contour admirably fitted to the woodcut line."<sup>40</sup> (Ills. 19, 22, 23).

Apart from this compositional role, the line "fully expresses the curves and weight of the flesh."<sup>41</sup> In fact, more than any other Ukiyo-e artist, Utamaro's drawing ability can be seen in the well-formed, and graceful handling of hands and arms, and as well in his semi-nude figures, which retain their sensuous volume without aid of flowing drapery - some of Utamaro's finest drawings being his Shunga, 'spring pictures', erotic prints (Ills. 28).

Utamaro also experimented with prints in which he omitted the black contour line of the face, (Ills. 22), but these do not seem very successful, tending to flatten out at the undefined contour.



ILLS. 23 - UTAMARO

Besides expressing volume, Utamaro's work derives much of its visual impact and rhythm from different elements of line, rather than the more traditional set-off of patterned areas. This is seen in Ills. 23, where even in the handling of fabrics, the motifs are of a very linear nature, in contrast to the more customary flowers or checks. Coiffures and hair combs are also delineated in a finely linear fashion and used strikingly (Ills. 23, 24). The falling drapery of the kimonos is expressed in a few and simple lines, yet often with a graphic emphasis due to the varying thickness of contour line, again unusual in Ukiyo-e, representing a major break in conventions dating from Yamato-e (Ills. 23).

The total effect is one of fluidity and rhythm and unlike Harunobu's prints there is no sense of geometric parts which could be omitted or filled in with superficially changing elements of pattern or scenery. This is an important development and Utamaro's work is marked by its total structural integration and synthesis, and the uniqueness of the rhythm which therefore evolved, primarily from the structural use of line (Ills. 23). Thus, line rather than simply defining form, took on a greater aspect of overall compositional force which created the major rhythms, and tonal contrasts (the arc of the mirror, the thin lines of the dress against the thicker contour lines, Ills. 23).

In a very unusual way the organic quality of Utamaro's prints,



ILLS. 24 - UTAMARO



in contrast to the basic cubic superstructure of previous print-makers, which created dominant horizontal/vertical stresses against an essentially flat picture plane, is underscored by the unbroken line which follows the figure's silhouette from one side and up over and down the other against an uncomplicated ground, (Ills. 22, 24, 25). This contour does not prevent the figure from being integrated with the background, while providing the very substance of the three dimensional volume-or 'reality' of the form. In the function of the line, whether as a pictorial or figurative element there is a "subtlety, complexity ... made to look simple, natural and spontaneous." <sup>42</sup>

The organic rhythm of Ills. 24 comes directly from the use of line and the dominant, cropped figure. It is interesting to note how Utamaro takes details, such as the coiffure and fabric design, and places them into the overall composition by dramatically altering their scale to the scale of the print format itself. Thus the exaggerated line markings of the coiffure work against the graphic handling of the sleeve, as well as setting off the rhythm of the two bold black areas, again of the coiffure and the sleeve of the kimono. It is interesting to note as well how the comb emphasizes the tilt of the spatial plane into 'space' and the relation of the brush and the hand holding it to the angle of the head, each with their own 'push' into space. With Utamaro's use of large, cropped single figures dominating the print, against basically neutral backgrounds,



ILL. 25 - UTAKAWO

there is a shift in emphasis from the spatial intervals of the figures against the setting and the setting 'perspectives' themselves, as in Harunobu, to the interior spatial intervals of the body (the hand and the chest and the head, Ills. 24) and to the body against the workings of the fabric design (Ills. 18, 24).

One interesting aspect of Utamaro's work is the great attention paid to the intricate shape and detail of the hair coiffures - the beautiful and often eccentric shapes into which it was forced. This becomes particularly true in the prints which have  $3/4$  of the plane dominated by the figure with the resulting large area given over to the coiffure. With its solid black and wonderfully shaped form (compare Ills. 10 to Ills. 19 or 23) it presents a curious visual contrast to the more fluid form of the figure and the geometry of the remainder of the print, the kimono pattern (Ills. 22, 23, 24, 25, 29). It also derives strong contrast because of its 'position' atop the relatively simple and 'blank' face ('blank' in terms of actual markings) (Ills. 18, 19, 23, 25). In a pictorial sense the shape of the coiffure does in fact augment the three dimensional volume of the figure and the head, in the way its shape and pictorial 'direction' (Ills. 23, 24, 25, 29) throw certain stresses into the background, through the direction and angle of the knot of hair, combs and markings. Often accentuated by fine detail, shown by white lines (Ills. 24, 25), against its black mass, it also operates as an interesting form against the more regular and

ordered fabric design occupying the larger area below the head. Therefore an asymmetrical balance or tension is set up between the small yet intensely shaped and detailed area of coiffure and the larger more fluid and patterned shape of the garment. Between these two poles exists the focus of the picture, the finely featured and expressive face. The very black colouring of the coiffure, taking an added intensity from its 'directed' shape, is forceful in drawing attention from the wider bulk of the base of the print (that is the figure which usually begins at the very baseline), to the expression of the face (Ills. 19, 22). At the same time it manages to draw the entire figure back into space (the bulk of the figure tending to have its bulk on the frontal plane, and bottom line of the picture) the figure's volume moves upward and slowly backward into space, its dimensional quality unfolding as the top of the figure, the head, is articulated, Ills. 19). A symbolic 'nail in the head', the coiffure is the final assertion that the form underneath it has a volume moving into space and into the picture plane. The coiffure itself somehow recedes into the picture plane despite its dynamic shape, or rather does so because its shape is dramatically directed 'backwards'. This can be seen for example in the 'top-knot' of hair which is always placed leaning to the side and backwards at the very top and near back of the head (Ills. 19, 21, 22, 24, 26). Thus it is because of its pictorial direction, as well as its narrative function as the top of a round head, that the coiffure functions so effectively as a volumetric device, belying what at first glance seems only a simple gesture of description. Sometimes the effect and mysterious shape is exaggerated



婦人白紫拾三

ILLS. 26 - UTAMARO

or offset by its reflection in hand mirrors, thereby providing us with both a front and a back view (Ills. 23, 25).

Colour was used primarily to supplement the warmth of the sensuous line, never to itself dominate the composition. Usually the opposite of gaudy or bold, Utamaro's most interesting effect is the use of black as a colour, particularly in the varying thickness of contour lines, drapery and in the coiffures and mirrors (Ills. 23). His early work on the whole was more colourful, the later work is mostly low-key with tasteful rather than striking harmony, leaning towards neutral tones rather than primary colours.

In pushing the creative potential of design within the restricted print format, Utamaro brought back a sense of atmosphere and lyricism to the print. With a new dynamicism, "his genius for design, for relating figures, excelled all predecessors and successors with a buoyancy, a playfulness ... as hardly appeared since Harunobu." <sup>43</sup>

In other words Harunobu and Utamaro, the two great masters, early and late, of the Bijin-ye, because of their creative rendering of form and environment, a dominance of style and design over literalism, imbued their prints with a real animation, a life of their own, sparked by 'plastic' thinking and resulting in a real quality of movement, inner character, lyricism and atmosphere. It must be remembered that this animation took place in a most 'indirect' medium, print-making, as opposed to the more direct mediums of painting and drawing.



ILLS. 27 -- UTAMARO

"The fact remains ... that for all the greater sense of closeness to the artist and the greater realism, it was the interaction of Utamaro's work with the restrictions imposed upon it and the possibilities offered by the techniques of engraving and printing that gave his best work its peculiar distinction." 44

That Utamaro was to return Ukiyo-e to the priorities of design is seen clearly in the evolution of his work. The early work (Ills. 21) is full of intricate detail and often too busy for the scale of the composition, with detailed rendering of fabric and scenery, composed around densely grouped figures which are uniform and reminiscent of his predecessors. His later work (Ills. 27) substitutes artistic decision and 'plastic' functioning for representational detail.

Fabric designs function as pictorial elements within the total plane, with the design of the fabric scaled to the overall composition rather than the reality of the costume itself (Ills. 23, 27). The pattern, thus working within the format and rhythm of the composition rather than simply being a narrative detail, is used as a bold decorative and simplified rhythmic unit, which usually follows the volume of the figure in a graphic rather than a naturalistic sense. It is also sometimes freed to become a totally expressive gesture (Ills. 27).

Scenery is often eliminated (Ills. 26, 27, 28). In particular the horizon line is gone, (some sort of horizon line or implication





ILLS. 28 -- UTAMARO

is usually found in all of Harunobu's work), though often the 'floor' is implied by the endings, or feet, of figures or furniture (Ills. 25). Colour alone, as well as sometimes activity, implies the time of day - Harunobu's lyrical, although literary symbols of season are gone for the most part. In fact, in great contrast to tradition, the figure is often ~~as~~ stated the sole occupant of the print (Ills. 18, 19, 24, 26), though sometimes specific elements of interiors are included (Ills. 25). Objects such as mirrors will be used, but for psychological factors as well as for design potential.

By 1790 Utamaro was to emerge as a Ukiyo-e artist in his own right, finding public acclaim and success with the publication of his Okubi-e, large faced pictures. A totally new concept in Japanese art it was the first use of close-up (Ills. 27, 28). Dominating the actual physical area of the print, attention was focused on the face, its expression and character. Individuality became a central concern (Ills. 18, 19, 24, 28, 29, 30). The figure also had to function in a strong pictorial sense being the sole element of the print. "Heads and shoulders of the women strike us as being unique, drawn with a superb monumentality and a feeling for masses that has not been surpassed ... " 45 The titles of these series, "Ten Studies in Female Physiognomy" and "Ten Feminine Facial Types", show Utamaro's serious intention in expressing inner character and not just fashion plates or



69. *The Tippler*, from "Warnings to Watchful Parents" (*ōhan*), published by Tsuruya Senchirō Takishashi collection. This series, which consists of ten prints, is one of the better works produced by Utamarō during the first few years of the nineteenth century. The vari-

ous undesirable types of character that he sets out to portray are conveyed quite effectively, though one cannot help sensing a decline in the artist's powers. Each print carries a short text describing, in somewhat moralizing terms, the character portrayed.

pleasing scenes. Abandoning other forms for a while, and by now famous, Utamaro was inspired by this new format and did much of what is still considered his best work. <sup>46</sup>

Whether full face portraits or full length studies, women dominated Utamaro's work. Courtesans, tea house girls, or middle class matrons, they are shown to be considerably more complex individuals than at any other time in Japanese history. There is still never a full frontal face confronting the viewer, perhaps more indicative of Japanese cultural conventions than anything else. But even here, unlike Harunobu, it does not seem so much a sign of modesty. In fact the posture of some of the subjects seems to suggest their being on the verge of noticing us, which gives not only a distinct edge to their sensuality, but to the realism of a scene which seems to 'include' our arrival (Ills. 19, 31). And unlike Harunobu's women who if we were to enter their 'world' look as if they would become extremely self-conscious, Utamaro's women seem to suggest that they would look us up and down and go back to their thoughts (Ills. 18, 31).

Utilizing changes in eyes and mouth, as well as specific colour harmonies, the expressiveness of character and mood is greatly enhanced by the movement and gesture of the arms and hands which are drawn with so much more grace and momentum than found in Harunobu (Ills. 29, 30, 31). Although emphasis is on portraiture,



32 *Kashi*, from "Five shades of Black in the Yoshiwara" *shiban* published by Isomago Kinoshige Hirose collection. The name of this series obviously refers to the five grades of

low-class prostitute, and entertainers in the Yoshiwara, a subject that allowed Utamaro to probe beyond the brilliant exterior and portray human nature with a new insight.

even in prints which consist solely of the figure, Utamaro's women move through tactile atmospheres, full of suggestion (Ills. 31). Very much animated, the figures live in "an exclusively feminine world ... a world where women sit on their heels on tatami mats viewing themselves in mirrors supported by lacquer stands, a world of kimono patterns, elaborate combs of wood and tortoise shell ... " 47

In prints with scenes these were often intimate, 'behind-the-scene' views of Yoshiwara life and have a much more suggestive sense of secret admittance to a private world than Harunobu's similiar work.

"The same public curiosity about the domestic lives of their idols, applied in this case to the behind-the-scenes life of the gay quarters, gave rise to one of Utamaro's great masterpieces, "The Twelve Hours in the Gay Quarters", a series of twelve prints which depicts the daily round in the gay quarters from midnight until ten o'clock the following evening. Setting out to show what life was like behind the scenes, where the ordinary visitor to the gay quarters was not admitted, they provide many interesting contrasts. On the one hand, there is the weary, languid posture of the woman in the "Hour of the Ox", trying to right an overturned slipper with her foot as she leaves the room to go to the toilet, or the relaxed informal atmosphere of the women alone together in the "Hour of the Horse"; and on the other hand, the professional expressions the same women show in the "Hour of the Monkey". Particularly skillful is "The Hour of the Boar" in which Utamaro succeeds in capturing the professional poise of a courtesan who remains cool and imperturbable in dealing with patrons at a sake party while her inexperienced young girl attendant is already nodding drowsily. Stylistically, the noteworthy thing about this set is the treatment of the female figures, which are impossibly tall and slender with long, oval faces, and delicate figures. " 48 (Ills. 32)

Thus rather than providing the lyrical atmospheres, full of references to the seasons, as in Haruobu, Utamaro's atmospheres



46. *Takigawa of the Ogiya*, from "The Seven Komachi of the Gay Quarters" (Shan o published by Izumisa / Seichū Takahashi collection / "Seven Komachi" occurs frequently in the titles of ukiyo-e works. "Komachi" refers to Gao no Komachi, the celebrated Heian era poet, while "Seven" indicates with her. The ukiyo-e series is intended to provide "later-day versions" of these episodes, but the connections are often tenuous, while sometimes, as here, the title is the mere pretext for a series of seven works. The signature "the genuine Utamaro" indicates how Utamaro's mounting fame refers to seven well known episodes, also had increased the number of his imitators.

are usually interior and intimate," ... a towel held by a woman fresh from a bath, a summer kimono carelessly worn, an exposed nape of neck, a posture ... create an atmosphere as sensuous in its implications as much more explicit pictures." 49  
 (Ills. 31, 32)

In later work, going beyond the study of types, his interest in psychology is further evidenced by his series "Love Poems", sometimes translated "Selected Poems: On Love", in which he tried to express the wide range of emotions associated with the terms: melancholy, undisclosed, and so forth (Ills. 24).

All of the above is quite revolutionary when one considers the ancient and very conventionalized tradition from which Ukiyo-e sprang. Sophisticated beyond its time, it is ironic to sometimes read accounts of how Japanese art, especially the the woodblock prints of Ukiyo-e, is simply decorative. Utamaro's interest in psychology was ahead of its time, and his portrayal of intimate emotions, the natural drama of life, achieved a great realism without sacrificing pictorial freedom to representationalism of a more literal nature.





50. *The Hour of the Snake*, from "The Twelve Hours in the City Quarters" • *Shin* • published by Tsutaya • Senchūō Takahashi collection • The standing woman appears to have just emerged from the bath, and the young attendant has brought her a cup of tea.

The elongation of the female figure that characterizes Utamaro's prints reached its most extreme form in this series, coinciding with the extreme delicacy of form, color, and feeling that sets it at the artistic peak of his entire career.

In fact the Europeans, previous to their contact with Japanese prints, were not quite sure how to free their art from the limits of representationalism. And while contact with Ukiyo-e had an enormous creative impact on European art, the reverse, to say the least, is hardly true. Therefore "the Westerner loses a great deal if he makes no attempt to see any more in Utamaro's prints than patterns and colours and a remote, impersonal, abstracted Oriental setting ... " 50

In 1797, in an attempt to further restrict the growth and expression of the middle classes, the Shogunate passed laws against the "growing corruption and love of extravagance". 51 These edicts in turn restricted the subject matter and technical lavishness that went into the production of Utamaro's work. In 1806, at the age of 53, Utamaro was put into jail and had his hands bound for 30 days for depicting a member of the ruling class, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and his five mistresses. The ruling class was naturally sensitive about having its own corruption and hypocrisy exposed. Utamaro, restricted and broken, died soon afterwards. 52

From then on the Bijin-ya went downhill, finally becoming a coarsened form. Utamaro's death coincided with the end of wood-block prints portraying the lifestyle and vitality of the merchant class, using exquisite women and sensuous pleasure as the symbols of their own emerging status and philosophy. Totally repressed,



9 *Udon Maiden*, from "A Set of Contemporary Dancers" + *oban* + published by Tsutaya + private collection + This is one of a series of prints that shows girls performing dances based on various popular legends. Such themes were favorites of *ukiyo-e* artists, but Utamaro was the first to

concentrate on the faces rather than the trappings of the dancers. The work, which is believed to date from somewhat before the *kuisei* era (c. 1800-1804), retains a certain fresh, naive quality while hinting at the full maturity of the artist that was only a few years away.

Ukiyo-e artists were forced to turn to landscape as their subject matter. Although these landscape prints were to find a height of their own, under Hokusai and Hiroshige, they never possessed the excitement and daring of the Bijin-ye, which had flourished at the particular point when powerful economic and social changes were coming about in what had been for centuries an ancient traditional culture.

The powerful phenomena of the Bijin-ye period was finally reflected in the forceful 'plastic' life and thinking of Utamaro's work. He expressed a very direct sense of the individual thinking artist in the very originality of his insight into his subject matter, as well, as his compositional innovations and bold designs. A rare phenomena in Oriental art and philosophy, this expression of individual artistic impulse was a sign of the radical changes taking place as Japan underwent the transformation from feudal to modern times. It began with Harunobu, whose innovations altered the pictorial conventions that had existed for centuries. It was also to exist in the work of the great landscape print artists, who, for all their return to more conventional themes, were still innovative and individualistic. Separate personal character and insight, as well as artistic expression, are easily distinguished. Hokusai was more bold and humorous, with an immensely varied and vital output. Hiroshige, the last of the great Ukiyo-e masters, made the full

circle back to more traditional values and production. Serene and refined, he was still a great composer and adventurer in terms of discovering qualities of light and atmosphere, and in exploiting the potential compositions of the same view in series done from different angles and times of season and day of the same subject.

What makes Ukiyo-e so interesting historically is the way in which it so closely and clearly mirrored social changes. What makes the *bijin-ye* so particularly interesting within this context is the unique time and burst of social energy and optimism it reflected, as well as its exotic content and daring formal innovations. Beyond its immediate decorative appeal, the most important aspect of the woodblock print is its "style ... found to be an exposition of the highest ideals of the art of painting, vying in its own idiom with the greatest painting of Italy and France and anticipating by hundreds of years and enjoying by right the freedom from the 'tyranny of nature' so hardly won by modern Europeans since Cezanne." 53

The Japanese artists, as can be seen from the early Yamato-e scrolls, were always essentially more interested in the narrative and decorative rather than in realism (in a strict sense), allegory or subjectivism; and in a linear rather than a modelled format. These tendencies can also be seen in the fabric design, folk art, and architecture. Observations made from reality, and requirements

of narrative, based on day-to-day situations, though an important element of the work, are bound in the framework of pictorial design. The true animation of the people and scenes depicted resulted from creative thinking as it took place across the plane of the picture, basically through stresses in the composition; rhythm, contrast, and repetition of lines and patterns placed upon it. The representation of people and objects being "a means to an end, not an end in itself." 54

CONCLUSION

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Although Ukiyo-e had its roots in Yamato-e and did derive some of its pictorial principles from the two traditional schools of painting, its main distinguishing factor, which established its expressive outlook as well as its technical development, was the fact that Ukiyo-e developed as a result of the emergence of a middle class and found its patronage on a free market basis rather than through official patronage.

Essentially all art forms derive their inspiration, media form, and conventions, in part from the existing social and economic conditions. Ukiyo-e, being an art form which was closely intertwined with great changes in the social and economic structure of Japan, not only expressed a new vitality, but initiated several developments. Its printed form, popular subject matter, and striving for novelty of composition and design are in great contrast to previous thinking behind Japanese art.

The significance of the above can be seen in the new role accorded to the Ukiyo-e artists. Although not 'official' painters within the formal class structure of Edo Japan, the Ukiyo-e artists acquired individual recognition and popular followings. Recognition initially stemmed from appreciation of an individual's fresh outlook or new style of figure and/or design, factors which furthered the impetus of fresh creative expression in an individual rather than



an academic approach.

This was a radical departure from the Chinese philosophy of suppression of individual self which had dominated Japanese art, as well as being contrary to the long established apprenticeship system. Until Ukiyo-e, this system had tended to maintain the status quo. In fact the very first Ukiyo-e artist, Moronobu, the man who produced the first single sheet prints of popular subject matter, in a "clearly expressed desire to create a purely Japanese painting reflecting the life and spirit of the time and breaking with conventional schools imbued with Chinese tradition ... signed his name in defiance of traditional anonymity of previous illustrators."<sup>55</sup> This new concept of the individual artist contributed greatly not only to the wealth of innovation in the prints, but to the boldness of design and search for fresh expression for the Ukiyo-e themes, as each artist strove to distinguish himself from his predecessors.

This sense of the individual artist with his own particular insight, as well as the drive towards innovation within the medium, as well as within the formal context, are striking features of the prints, especially when one considers all the variations which were created around essentially one theme, the portrayal of beautiful women. The same holds true for the later landscape prints, for example, "The Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji", by Hokusai, which

showed Mt. Fuji in thirty six different ways. The expressiveness of the woodblock prints, especially in terms of formal plastic thinking is outstanding when seen in historical context, and in contrast to European art of the time.

Many of the innovations of the Ukiyo-e artists were due to deeply rooted indigenous attitudes, a traditional way of seeing pictorial realism that was not bound to conventions of an illusionistic nature. "Founded in a tradition of painting that had never adopted mere representationalism as one of its tenets and aided by a medium that inhibited any tendency to elaborate beyond firm outline and flat tones of colour ..." their first artistic impulse was towards reality re-created through plastic language, rather than in imitation of the laws of nature.<sup>56</sup>

The formal qualities of their work, line, colour, composition, and so on, were not limited to faithfulness to detail, texture, volume or perspective. Unlike the Western world whose art was bound more strongly to 'objectivity' and a pictorial comprehension based on 'scientific' rendering of reality - "from the very first the Japanese genius was for the expressive line, for pattern and design ... " <sup>57</sup>

In simply considering the fact that the Ukiyo-e artists were not obliged to use shadow or indicate light source, it becomes

obvious how much freer they would then be in terms of purely formal structure and design, and in turn how these elements, such as composition, line, and areas of contrast, would be freed to assume a more subjective or evocative nature rather than a strictly literal one, as well as a more purely pictorial life.

Another factor lending itself towards this thinking was the traditional attitude towards the written language, or calligraphy, in Japan. "The work of the Japanese painter, unhampered by the external considerations that pressed upon the Europeans, was valued for the 'beauty and significance of touch' of the actual brushstroke, the arabesque of their line ... " <sup>58</sup> "Each stroke of the character is meticulously placed and must be drawn so as to reflect the beauty of a thought or a stanza of poetry." <sup>59</sup>

The Ukiyo-e artist worked his sketch first with a brush on paper. This was later transferred to the block by the engraver. Not only the spontaneous quality of the original quick but sure line remained, but, unlike painting, particularly European painting at this time, and other forms of printing, this quality of draftsmanship and the first sketch, remained the dominant force of the work. The vitality of the lines, the spontaneous and immediate capture of subject matter subordinated all other aspects of the work, giving a fresh sense of animation and a directness to the work. Colour, rather than building up form, or covering opaquely this sense

of direct mark and spontaneous gesture, was used mostly to fill in areas bounded by the lines, and to add atmospheric 'colour' and emotional tone. The lines of the prints, whether major contour lines, grids of background environments, or patterns on kimonos, were never simply 'boundaries' for colour, but were respected in their function as pictorial elements which defined form and created pattern and spatial interval.

Because of this attitude towards draftsmanship and spontaneous gesture, it is easy to see why the Japanese woodblock prints were not only highly innovative in terms of their own context, but why they were to have the impact they did on 19th century French artists. It suggested a spontaneous line, a synthesis of form and line, a bold design, a colour sense freed from objectivity, and a pictorial synthesis of subject and composition. This allowance of direct access to the thinking and expressiveness of the artist, particularly through the immediacy thus allowed to line and gesture, freedom from objectivity, and the sense of placement of 'mark' or gesture in pictorial space, still operates as a force in 20th century art. In the later prints, such as Utamaro's, the overwhelming sense is just these "inexpressible overtones that make a good drawing."<sup>60</sup>

The Ukiyo-e artists' "genius for synthesis" is seen particularly in the handling of the female form, the dominant subject of the prints

in study. <sup>61</sup> The arabesque of line, usually contour, but also moving internally in the drapery, is a gesture which at the same time indicates form, volume, movement (of the figure, as well as in a plastic sense as a dynamic line against the background plane and incorporated into the overall design), and is expressive of the mood of the particular woman, as well as the specific insight of form of the artist.

Even after trade with Europe had exposed Western pictorial concepts to Japan, "chiaroscuro and linear perspective, used by Western artists to give verisimilitude of solidity in natural objects and their recession in space, were ignored although not unknown."<sup>62</sup> Instead the prints furthered traditional conventions and "display an economy of line through which meaning and overall design take priority over mere virtuosity of figure drawing."<sup>63</sup> In fact to the Western eye some of the 'other worldly' charm of the prints comes from this elimination of shadow which "gave a certain ideality - a remove from actuality, a certain formal grace."<sup>64</sup>

Therefore, with their sacrifice of detail, relying instead on the bold synthesis of figure and environment, another main achievement of the Ukiyo-e artists was in the realm of composition. "Natural forms of which the human head is one, were introduced into a picture with only as much realism as was compatible with the painters' objective and so the face as an element in the design

received no more and no less attention than the other components in that design." <sup>65</sup> "In the figure drawing there is the same reduction to essentially the same insistence on pattern." <sup>66</sup>

Furthermore "the relation of figure to figure may seem accidental, the pose of each naturalistic, but in reality the arrangements are quite artificial, as bent to the artist's will ... " as the other formal components. <sup>67</sup> All of the above, particularly the understanding of two dimensional gesture, that is, line, contributed to a sense of 'mise-en-page', which animated the prints with expression, emotion and atmosphere, as well as with a freshness of creative improvisation.

This is not to say the work of the Ukiyo-e artists was not of a naturalistic nature, the very character of Ukiyo-e being its 'lively near naturalism' versus the stiff and ritualistic manner of previous Japanese art, including Yamato-e. It was in fact most specifically this quality of reality achieved through observation combined with the freeing of pictorial elements from objectivity which gave the prints their sense of life, and which so struck the Impressionists.

Their "impact on 19th century European art cannot be over-estimated." <sup>68</sup>

"The reader will excuse us if we tell the story of another experience ... at the Ecole du Louvre. During a lecture (of Japanese prints) devoted to Shunsho and Kiyonaga, we projected originals, not reproductions, of good etchings by Moreau the Younger, Eisen and Gravelot, contemporaries of the two Japanese artists. The European paintings seemed conventional and dishonest in comparison to the Japanese, particularly of course, in the outdoor scenes. At that time some of our painters were incapable of observation the moment they left their studios. The Japanese, who lived in brighter interiors (and closer to nature) were much more familiar with the effects of changing light." <sup>69</sup>

Other minor characteristics of the prints to affect the Europeans were: the variety of surprising viewpoints used in the compositions, use of 'abstracted' or reduced background references, such as beams and floors of architecture, and these used as primary structural elements, and the concept of work done in series, in order to study changing emotions of subjects or to study the changing effects of light, as well as "the utmost ingenuity and invention brought to bear in composition."<sup>70</sup>

Besides this quality of observation and innovation, the Japanese were portraying not only their contemporary world, but capturing the essence of change and temporality within that world. This was to coincide with and stimulate a radical change in outlook in Europe. "We must accept our own times and paint what we see" - Manet. <sup>71</sup> "Everywhere he (Manet) has sought the transitory, the fleeting beauty of contemporary life." - Baudelaire. <sup>72</sup>

Ukiyo-e, particularly the Bijin-ye, presented intimate scenes, intimate atmospheres and intimate insights. What was to strike the European painters was the reality of "poses gestures (that) are the inevitable movements of people doing ordinary things ... part of a continuum rather than fixed in crucial or allegorical movements", which came from observation but were tempered by artistic selection, (from the information offered by the figure and the environment), for compositional use. <sup>73</sup>

Although the choice of imagery in the Bijin-ye "seems narrow, the interpretation and expression - the pictorial results - vary the way human feeling itself varies under the slow yet great pressures of life."<sup>74</sup> This emphasis on the "transient nature of experience in an atmosphere that was hauntingly enigmatic" came naturally out of the indigenous understanding of 'understatement', as well as the cultural-religious roots of the Japanese world view. <sup>75</sup>

There was also the sense of the individual artist, his treatment of theme having his own personal insight. "Which of the creative draftsmen of the Ukiyo-e had ever treated the feminine form as mere matter for representation?" <sup>76</sup>



"Each great artist, beginning as an imitator of his master, developed an individuality in drawing and treatment of subject. The small, compactly drawn figures of Moronobu, are given imposing build and monumental pose in the massive lines of Kiyonobu. Masanobu infuses a new sweetness, a graciousness of mien and movement absent previously, Harunobu reduces them to captivating child-women of flower-like fragility; Koryisai and Kitao Masanobu gradually with an increase in naturalism give the figures nobler lines again, culminating in the queenly forms of Kiyonaga while with Chōki and Utamaro new disturbing characteristics arise - the allure of langor and sophistication." 77

Furthermore life is lived among them, "illuminated by daylight filtered through sliding screens or by paper lanterns and candles ... it smells of burning charcoal on cold winter mornings, of steam from a wood bath." 78 "They have a genius for isolating the familiar, trivial or routine aspects of existence and by frequent presentation elevating them into easily recognizable symbols of what one might call the external values ... the result being an art of association and suggestion." 79 " ... and the changes wrought in these familiar things by the seasons are easily recognized and organized into a well-known pattern that in itself gives much meaning to life ... " 80

Although the influence of the Japanese prints was felt previous to the large exhibition held at Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1890, it was this gathering of hundreds of Ukiyo-e prints which "amazed Paris artists by its novelty, its originality and its completely different use of basic art concepts." 81

"True since Ruskin and the invention of photography, there had been a growing realization that the art of painting should reside in something more than the simple art of imitation ... (contact with) the art of the East from the 19th century onwards almost certainly speeded that realization, but until then European art was descriptive or objective." 82

"The growth during the century among European artists of the conception of an art based on, rather than tied to nature, was due to the East ... Europeans directly influenced by their design and their manner of employing human form and landscape as elements of a pictorial pattern." 83

"Today we are less disposed to dismiss their work as merely decorative and now that many of the assumptions that have impelled Western art are in question, our estimate of it may well be more favorable than at any other time since Harunobu first became known in the last century." 84

FOOTNOTES

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2. Shen Fu, Six Chapters From a Floating Life, (Tokyo, Japan), n.p.
3. Takahashi, 15.
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5. Saikaku Ihara, Five Women Who Loved Love, (Rutland, Vt., 1964), 14.
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11. Akiyama Terukazu, Treasures of Asia, Japanese Painting, (Switzerland, 1961), 164.
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29. Muneshige Narazaki & Sadao Kikuchi, Masterworks of Ukiyo-e, Utamaro, (Tokyo, Japan, 1968), 12.
30. Takahashi, 23.
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33. Kondo, n.p.
34. Binyon & Sexton, 62.
35. Terukazu, 167.
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41. Buhot, 286.
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43. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 18.
44. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 18.
45. Buhot, 285.
46. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 15.
47. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 8.
48. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 15-16.
49. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 8.
50. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 7.
51. Narazaki & Kikuchi, 16.
52. Buhot, 286.
53. Hillier, 'Japanese Masters', 3.
54. Hillier, 'Japanese Masters', 5.
55. Terukazu, 165.
56. Hillier, 'Japanese Masters', 27.
57. Hillier, 'Japanese Masters', 8.
58. Hillier, 'Japanese Masters', 6.
59. Boger, 31.
60. Hillier, 'Hokusai', 2.
61. Hillier, 'Japanese Masters', 27.
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