



EARLY MODERN JAPAN

An Interdisciplinary Journal

Volume X Number 2	CONTENTS	Fall 2002
From the Editors' Desk 編集者から		2
	Articles 論文	
Early Modern Japanese Art History--An Overview of the State of the Field Patricia Graham		2
Early Modern Literature Haruo Shirane and Lawrence E. Marceau		22
Foreign Affairs And Frontiers in Early Modern Japan: A Historiographical Essay of the Field Brett L. Walker		44
	Book Reviews. 書評	
Timon Screech, <i>Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan 1700-1820</i> David Pollack		62
Cynthia Viallé & Leonard Blussé, eds., <i>The Deshima Dagregisters, Volume XI, 1641-1650</i> Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey		71
	EMJ Annual Meeting Discussion EMJ 大会討論	
Literati and Society in Early Modern Japan: An EMJ Panel Discussion		75
	Bibliographies 参考文献	
Early Modern Japanese Art History: A Bibliography of Publications, Primarily in English Patricia J Graham		78
Bibliography of Literature in Early Modern Japan Haruo Shirane with Lawrence Marceau		105
Foreign Affairs and Frontiers in Early Modern Japan: A Bibliography Brett L. Walker		124

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We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the East Asian Studies Program at the Ohio State University.

From the Editor**編集者のメッセージ**

In addition to our regular articles and reviews, this issue of EMJ introduces a new feature we hope to publish regularly: a summary of the round-table discussion held at our meeting in conjunction with the Association for Asian Studies Annual meeting. The theme of last spring's discussion was Literati and Society in Early Modern Japan "Literati and Society in Early Modern Japan." Our next discussion will focus on "Blood in Early Modern Japanese Culture." If readers would like to organize future panels, please contact Philip Brown at Department of History, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus OH 43210 or at brown.113@osu.edu.

Early Modern Japanese Art History--An Overview of the State of the Field¹

© Patricia J. Graham, University of Kansas

Chronological Parameters

In general, scholars from various disciplines

¹ ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: I am deeply beholden to innumerable colleagues worldwide, who assisted with preparation of this essay and bibliography, especially: Frank Chance (for commenting on an early version of the manuscript and supplying titles of dissertations), John Clark (who sent me his voluminous bibliography on Japanese art and culture), Pat Fister (who critiqued the essay and supplied important references, especially for English language publications in Japan), Maribeth Graybill (who shared copies of her copious course bibliographies with me), Lee Johnson (who offered indispensable advice and criticism of the text, and who supplied information on numerous European publications), Sandy Kita (whose list of journal articles forms the core of those citations in the bibliography, and who served as my co-presenter at the State of the Field Conference, preparation for which entailed extended discussion of the pertinent issues I present in this paper), Elizabeth Lillehoj (who contributed sources and critiqued the essay), Andrew Maske (who provided references to early books on ceramics), and Melanie Trede (who helped me locate European dissertations). Although I have attempted comprehensive treatment of this vast area, I know the essay and accompanying bibliography must still have omissions and errors, particularly in those areas less familiar to me. I beg the readers' forgiveness.

use the term "Early Modern" or *kinsei*, to refer to the period encompassed by the Momoyama and Edo political periods (1568-1868).² However, traditionally, art historians in the West have not considered the art of these periods together. Instead of attempting to identify broad, unifying artistic concerns for a wide variety of Early Modern arts, most scholars have constructed histories of particular types of Japanese arts, according to media, thematic cohesiveness (for example, the *chanoyu* tea ceremony), and/or artistic lineages. This methodology follows traditional approaches to the discipline of Japanese art history as practiced by art historians in Japan, where such separate studies of the art of their culture remain the norm. Thus, scholars tend to construct histories of their particular specializations, noting significant junctures at which the arts they study exhibit marked departures from creations of earlier times.³ Conveniently, for many arts, these points of departure took place nearly simultaneously—during the last decade of the 1690s and first decade of the 1700s. For example, in the field of architecture, during these two decades occurred the maturation of three significant type of architecture: castles, tea rooms, and *shoin* style residences. Similar junctures also occurred at this time in the fields of ceramics, with the spread of glazed, high-fired wares to urban commoners,⁴ and painting, with the maturation of ateliers for training students and perpetuating lineages. In printmaking, the year 1608 marked the first production of illustrated secular books (the *Sagabon* editions of classical literature). The above examples point out a consensus of sorts for date of the

² These dates encompass the period of time Conrad Totman emphasizes in his book, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). However, although Totman covers both the Momoyama and Edo periods in his book, he does not clearly articulate exactly when this "early modern" era begins, although he implies that it emerges after 1590, in a "largely nonviolent phase of political manipulation and management..." 29-30.

³ This issue was discussed at the *Expanding Edo Art* workshop sponsored by the Donald Keene Center at Columbia University, February 20, 1999. See the *Expanding Edo Art: Final Report* online at: <http://www.cc.columbia.edu/~hds2/expanding.htm>.

⁴ I am grateful to Richard Wilson for supplying this information.

inception of an "Early Modern" period in terms of art historical development.

Arguably, among the most important stimuli to these new directions in the arts were increased urbanization, which fostered commercial development, and the growth of regional communities, in other words, extrinsic economic and social developments (participants at the State of the Field Conference noted extrinsic factors influencing developments in other fields as well). These factors served as unifying themes for two recent broad surveys of Edo period art, one by Christine Guth,⁵ and another, a blockbuster exhibition catalogue, by Robert T. Singer and others.⁶ These publications also addressed a number of other significant influences to the arts during the Edo period, including changing patterns of artistic patronage—from the elites to the commoners, technological advances, and increased education, wealth and leisure activities.

Both Guth's and Singer's publications structure their studies around the convenient chronological boundaries of the Edo period. Yet, it can be disputed that though many of the artistic concerns they discuss are indeed characteristic of Edo period society, whether one considers that the inception of these trends occurred before or after the Edo period began depends upon two factors: how much credit is given to instigation of these artistic emphases during the Momoyama period under shogunal leaders Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the date considered as the official start of the Edo period. Dates commonly cited by historians are: 1600, when Tokugawa Ieyasu defeated a rival coalition of daimyo at the great battle of Sekigahara; 1603, when the emperor awarded Ieyasu the title *taishogun* after rival factions had pledged allegiance to his authority; and 1615, when Ieyasu finally crushed those loyal to the heirs of the prior shogun, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, at the siege of Osaka Castle (typical of most art historians, both Guth and Singer define the Edo period as commencing with 1615, though most historians, I think, would ar-

gue for one of the earlier dates). Because I believe that for a majority of art forms marked changes occurred between circa 1590 and 1610, I include publications devoted to Momoyama arts in this assessment of Early Modern Japanese art and in the accompanying bibliography.

When considering a terminus for Early Modern art, the break is not so clear. It does not necessarily coincide with politically-determined chronological boundaries nor occur for all art forms at the same time. The 1880s might be considered as a logical breaking point for many arts, for during that decade there was a definite split with older art traditions, with the formation of influential new types of art organizations. Still, many aspects of Edo period lifestyles, values, long-lived artists, and artistic patronage networks continued to thrive beyond that decade. Such continuation of traditions, especially in the arts of ukiyoe printmaking, some painting lineages, textile and folk craft production, and certain types of ceramics, requires a rethinking of the parameters and canon of Meiji period (1868-1912) art history, a topic beyond the scope of this study. Consequently, my survey of publications about Early Modern art concentrates on artists, whose most important contributions occurred prior to the Meiji Restoration in 1868, and artistic traditions that flourished especially during the period under consideration.

Theories, Methods, Materials

Participants at the State of the Field Conference marveled at the vast range of materials that encompass Early Modern art: decorative pictorial arts such as secular paintings in various formats, calligraphies, and woodblock prints; a host of other visually interesting, ornamented and well-designed materials for daily and ritual use (including, but not limited to, arms and armor, netsuke and inro, religious icons and ritual paraphernalia, clothing and other types of textiles, utensils for preparing and serving food and drink, and assorted household furnishings); and even gardens and buildings. Edo period people from all walks of life served as patrons for Early Modern art, which was made by a wide spectrum of individuals, from celebrated artists who signed their creations, to anonymous crafts makers working in communal workshops.

⁵ Christine Guth. *Art of Edo Japan: The Artist and the City 1615-1868* (New York: Abrams, Perspectives Series, 1996), 19.

⁶ Robert T. Singer, et al. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1998).

These arts have generally been studied according to media, a practical approach which closely links aesthetic studies to that of the technical production of particular materials. Standard categories for consideration include painting, sculpture, architecture, gardens, ceramics, metalwork, masks, basketry, arms and armor, textiles, lacquer, and printmaking, with many of these categories sub-divided into studies of individual artists, lineages (ateliers) or specific types of products. Some thematic categories, like the tea ceremony, arts of the samurai, and *mingei* (folk arts) have also been the focus of research, although most work in these areas has been undertaken by teams of scholars, whose members conduct separate analyses in their respective areas of specialization. In this study and accompanying bibliography I consider publications on Early Modern art according to most of these standard categories listed above, as these reflect the types of publications that exist, but I also highlight a growing interest in art historical studies that place greater emphasis on interdisciplinary and other conceptual concerns. Publications that encompass this latter group category especially reveal the ways art history as a discipline is changing and becoming more accessible and of interest to non-specialists.

Because of the vastness of the field, publications on Early Modern Japanese art in Western languages are extremely numerous. Thus, although ponderous and perhaps daunting to non-specialist readers, the bibliography that accompanies this essay is still not entirely comprehensive. Publications from this bibliography discussed within the body of this essay are those that I consider basic reference materials or groundbreaking studies on the various topics introduced and should be considered as particularly important sources for readers unfamiliar with the field.

Despite their high quality, abundance, and diversity, except for early Western studies on Ukiyoe, crafts (especially ceramics), and select types of architecture, few art historians in the West pursued research on Early Modern Japanese art prior to 1970. This omission of Early Modern Japan from art historical discourse had a great deal to do with perceptions about the canon of the whole of Japanese art according to both foreign and Japanese authorities. Early Modern, and especially Edo period art, was considered outside the

classical tradition of fine Japanese art. Far greater attention was allotted to arts of earlier eras associated with elite classes—*yamatoe* painting, the orthodox Buddhist arts of painting and sculpture of the Heian and Kamakura periods, and Muro-machi ink painting.⁷

Furthermore, when they did look at Early Modern art, the approach taken by these early scholars tended to be tied to studies on iconography (uncovering the symbolic meaning of represented imagery) and especially connoisseurship (judgments on authentication and aesthetic quality), the latter frequently the concerns of collectors — both private individuals and museums, whose quests have been to discern the great artists of the age, as well as to define and find "masterpieces" According to connoisseurs in the traditional sense, what distinguishes great art from the larger body of remaining Early Modern arts and crafts is, perhaps, an intrinsic aesthetic sensitivity that sets it apart from the ordinary, evident in a refinement of proportions, craftsmanship, visual design, and the like. As recent studies in the history of taste have revealed, all these factors are subjective qualities, dependent upon the connoisseur's judgment, which is shaped by personal preferences and prevailing fashions, as well as his/her understanding of Japanese culture, access to reference materials, and new discoveries. Thus, as will be discussed below, even for connoisseurship studies of art, the particular arts and artists accorded the most scholarly attention have tended to change over time.⁸

⁷ For an extended discussion about the creation of the traditional canon of Japanese art "treasures," see Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan. "Japanese Art History 2001: The State and Stakes of Research." *The Art Bulletin* 83.1 (March 2001): 111-117. See also Stefan Tanaka. "Discoveries: Japanese Art History as the Past of Japan and the West," in: International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural Property, ed. *The Present and the Discipline of Art History in Japan (Ima, Nihon no bijutsu shigaku o furikaeru: Bunkazai no hozon ni kansuru kokusai kenkyu shukai* (Tokyo: Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo), 50-60.

⁸ For a general discussion of connoisseurship and the history of taste within the context of present art historical methodologies, see Ivan Gaskell. "Visual History" in: Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001, second edition), 187-217.

Because of biases against anonymous products for the less privileged groups in society, art historians have often overlooked *mingei* or folk arts, as well as archaeological materials, relegating these to a separate category of material culture studies that have largely been the domain of anthropologists or historians. But this is gradually changing, especially among scholars working outside the art museum environment, both in the West and in Japan, where long-established institutional policies simply forbid the collecting and display of such materials.

Some Japanese art historians are also becoming influenced by a significant new methodology that has begun to permeate the field of Western art history: the study of a visual culture that "engenders, not just reflects, social, cultural, and political meaning."⁹ Visual culture is an emerging field that has the potential to offer insightful and critical discourses because it allows scholars of art history as well as those from other disciplines to examine a much wider range of objects from interesting new perspectives. However, as a new field of inquiry, its parameters and definition are sometimes vague, far from clarified in recent literature.¹⁰

⁹ Craig Clunas. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 9. To my knowledge, no Japanese art historians address the Western theoretical concepts of visual culture as eloquently as Clunas, whose book I cite because it deals with an East Asian culture which had profound connections with early modern Japan and many of his conceptualizations seem relevant for the study of early modern Japanese visual culture.

¹⁰ For example, one source defines visual culture as a "history of images" rather than a "history of art" interpreted in a "semiotic notion of representation." See: Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, ed. *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994): see the introduction, especially pp. xvi and xviii. In contrast, Nicholas Mirzoeff associates visual culture exclusively with modernity in his essay "What is Visual Culture?," chapter one of: Nicholas Mirzoeff, ed. *The Visual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998). He states: "Visual culture is concerned with visual events in which information, meaning or pleasure is sought by the consumer in an interface with visual technology. By visual technology I mean any form of apparatus designed either to be looked at or to enhance natural vision, from an oil painting to television and the Internet. Such

Despite the prevalence of new methodologies, as will be evident in this survey of the literature, an overwhelming number of art historians in the West who study Early Modern Japanese art continue to privilege the pictorial arts over the study of crafts and art for elites over that made for popular consumers. Distinctions that Japanese art historians make between high and low arts (for elite and popular consumers) and crafts and fine arts were appropriated from Western art history methodology by scholars and politicians in Japan as the nation first learned about the discipline of art history in the latter half of the 19th century. Pre-modern Japanese fine arts, then, during the Meiji period became an important cultural heritage, worthy of scholarly art historical inquiry, while crafts were deemed industrial and commercial commodities.¹¹ In actuality, however, this rigid scheme did not entirely fit the role of the arts and its makers in pre-modern Japanese society. Arts of all sorts that were made by secular professionals were considered crafts. Even professional painters and sculptors were thought of as artisans, although some, who were patronized by elite classes (court and samurai), did enjoy increased prestige and were awarded official titles. How to consider the products of amateur, or self-taught artists (such as many calligraphers, some potters and Nanga school painters, and many Zen painters) and those who specialized in religious imagery (only afterwards, from the Meiji period, did some of their icons come to be considered as art), is a bit more complicated.

Recognizing the existence of the various hierarchical categorizations of the arts, as well as the pitfalls of abiding by them, are especially important for understanding how scholars study the arts

criticism takes into account the importance of image making, the formal components of a given image, and the crucial completion of that work by its cultural reception" (p. 3). Elsewhere in the same essay he comments that "visual culture does not depend on pictures but on this modern tendency to picture or visualize existence" (p. 6). Still, some of Mirzoeff's observations seem relevant to the study of the visual materials from pre-modern and early modern times.

¹¹ Yiengpruksawan. "Japanese Art History 2001": 113. As noted by Yiengpruksawan, prints (and print designers), although now studied alongside other pictorial arts, were originally designated as "crafts."

of Japan. In light of the diversity of approaches now undertaken in the study of early modern Japanese art, an important goal of this essay and accompanying bibliography is simply to illuminate the multiplicity of canons which comprise the corpus of materials described as Early Modern Japanese art.

Publications and Their Audiences

Books on Japanese art are generally produced by three types of publishers: trade (commercial) publishers, art museums, and university presses. Scholars of Early Modern Japanese art also regularly contribute articles to diverse scholarly journals and edited, interdisciplinary volumes, usually published by university presses.

Art Book Publishing and the Art Market

Western language publications on Japanese art are undeniably tied to the interests of collectors. Because production of well illustrated art books is so expensive, trade publishers cater to this market, which they consider the primary Western audience for books on Japanese art. In the 1970s and 1980s, two Japanese publishers—Kodansha International and Weatherhill (a subsidiary of the large Japanese publisher, Tankosha)—became interested in producing books in English of a more specialized nature. Many of these were translations of books by noted Japanese authorities, but some were fine studies by American scholars.¹² By the early 1990s, these publishers had made a conscious effort to withdraw from this more limited market, citing insignificant sales and escalating costs of book production as the rationale. With few exceptions, absent from the new book lists of both Weatherhill and Kodansha International today are groundbreaking studies on Japanese art. But they, and other trade publishers, continue to publish in popular areas, like Ukiyoe prints.

Dissertations

As many dissertations eventually get published as monographs or substantial articles, they reveal

trends and emphases in graduate school training and the subsequent scholarly interests of the graduates. Between the years 1960 and 2002, I have located seventy-one PhD dissertations from universities in the United States, Canada, and Europe about Early Modern Japanese art and architecture. Fifty-seven were granted by North American universities; thirteen by European schools. Fourteen were completed before 1980, twenty-three in the 1980s, and thirty-one from 1990 through January 2002. These increasing numbers represent a burgeoning interest in the field and the expansion of the numbers of graduate programs offering courses in this area, despite the lack of continuity in PhD supervisors at many American institutions during the past decade.

Among these dissertations, fifty-two were studies on various aspects of the pictorial arts—painting, calligraphy, printmaking, and painting theory. Within this group, studies on individual artists, a single aspect of a particular artist or two related artists numbered thirty-two; two studies focused on the calligraphy; three presented an overview of the oeuvre of a painter/calligrapher; seven focused on ukiyoe printmakers; and broader thematic or theoretical studies numbered sixteen. Among the remaining dissertations, seven examined ceramics (or an artist, Ogata Kenzan, who was primarily a potter though he also painted); there were two each for religious sites and the influence of Japanese prints on Western artists; and one each emphasizing architecture, lacquer, textiles, metal arts (a technical study of metal alloys), art collecting, and popular religious art (*sendafusa* or votive tablets).

The overwhelming emphasis on the fine art of painting and identification of “masters” in these dissertations, especially those through the early 1990s, reflects prevailing attitudes towards the study of art history in universities, especially as taught in the United States, where connoisseurship studies predominated. Many of the more recent dissertations take a somewhat different tack from earlier counterparts, however, focusing on broader thematic issues, or framing their topic so it tackles the intertwining of art with political, economic and other cultural concerns, or addresses multiple artistic media at particular sites. These more recent dissertations show clearly the impact of newer methodologies in the field of art

¹² For example: Louise Cort's *Shigaraki, Potters' Valley* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979; reprinted in 2001 by Weatherhill) and Richard Wilson's *The Art of Ogata Kenzan* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991).

history, and reveal the willingness of younger scholars in art history to frame their topics in ways that make them more accessible to scholars outside their own field.

The Importance of Museum Publications

Many publications on Early Modern Japanese art are produced either as exhibition catalogues (of materials from Western and/or Japanese collections) or as catalogues of museum collections. More frequently in recent years, these exhibition catalogues have been co-published by the organizing museum and an outside publisher. Trade publishers (such as Weatherhill, Hudson Hills, and Abrams) regularly collaborate with museums to distribute and publicize these catalogues. Usually though, they have distribution rights for the hardcover editions only, with paperback copies sold exclusively at the museums. Still, for publishers, catalogues automatically help to create large audiences for a book. Even university presses are moving into this market, with presses at the University of Hawaii, Yale University, and the University of Washington the most active at this time.

Although these catalogues are not juried (peer-reviewed) publications, many are authored by the finest scholars in the field and make important scholarly contributions to the discipline. While this has been an important stimulus to research and a boon in making visual materials accessible, the requirements of writing for a general audience can also be limiting. Most of these catalogues adhere to standardized formats, including historical and cultural background, overviews of artistic lineages and artistic production in different media, biographical information on artists, and description of objects (in the form of lengthy catalogue entries). Still, these catalogues do include information of interest to specialists in the fields of Japanese art and cultural studies, and many include detailed indexes, thus facilitating use by scholars.

Recently, though the introductory cultural background continues to be present, it often represents a new slant on the subject, either as an original conception or as a reflection of new trends in scholarship. Many recent catalogues are also breaking away from the traditional format. Some authors of exhibition and museum cata-

logues have begun organizing their exhibition catalogues — sometimes the only means of publishing on a specialized subject — like books. What this means is that instead of a short introduction followed by longer catalogue entries on individual artworks included in the exhibition, the catalogue reads like chapters in a book, with discussion of objects integrated into chapter essays. Among the many successful adoptions of this format are Sarah Thompson's and H.D. Harotoonian's *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints*¹³ and Dale Gluckman's and Sharon Sadako Takeda's *When Art Became Fashion, Kosode in Edo-period Japan*.¹⁴ Both these volumes include short checklists of the objects after lengthy essays, which explore their topics from a variety of perspectives. With Stephen Addiss's, *The Art of Zen: Paintings and Calligraphy by Japanese Monks 1600-1925*,¹⁵ one must read the title page closely to discern the book's true identity as an exhibition catalogue.

Another new direction for exhibition catalogues on Japanese art is the inclusion of essays by scholars from other fields. Perhaps the first publication to include such essays was William Watson's 1980 catalogue for a British Museum exhibition of Edo art,¹⁶ which featured historical essays by W.G. Beasley and Bito Masahide.¹⁷ These essays were designed to put the art of the period into a historical perspective, but left discussion of the actual artworks to specialists in the field. Henry Smith and J. Thomas Rimer are two scholars, a historian and literature specialist respectively, whose contributions have been integral to, and indeed form the basis of, some impor-

¹³ Sarah Thompson and H.D. Harotoonian. *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints* (New York: Asia Society, 1991).

¹⁴ Dale Gluckman, Sharon Sadako Takeda, et al. *When Art Became Fashion, Kosode in Edo-period Japan* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992).

¹⁵ Stephen Addiss. *The Art of Zen: Paintings and Calligraphy by Japanese Monks 1600-1925* (New York: Abrams 1989).

¹⁶ William Watson, ed. *The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period 1600-1868* (London: The British Museum, 1980).

¹⁷ Thompson and Harotoonian. *Undercurrents in the Floating World* and Gluckman et al. *When Art Became Fashion*, both also included historical essays.

tant recent catalogues.¹⁸

Exhibition catalogues on art from Japanese collections comprise a major group of museum publications in English. These have increasingly become multi-authored compilations, often including the writings of both Western and Japanese scholars. While it is still fairly uncommon for a major loan exhibition from Japan also to include materials from American collections, two exhibitions produced by Los Angeles County Museum of Art and two organized by the Cleveland Museum of Art included some important art works in American collections.¹⁹ Most of the high-profile loan exhibitions from Japan are organized by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (*Bunkacho*) or the Japan Foundation, which maintain close control over the selection of both authors and the objects, as a means of protecting and manipulating foreign impressions of Japan.²⁰ Because of the difficulties of gaining publication permissions and photos from Japanese collections, many Western authors also consider their invitation to participate in otherwise restrictive loan exhibitions from Japan as an opportunity to publish works they, as private individuals, could not obtain permission to reproduce. Such exhibitions include the National Gallery's grand exhibition of Edo period art and the Saint Louis Art Museum's Nihonga exhibition.²¹

Museum publications also make an important

contribution to the field by publishing materials on crafts, an important category of Early Modern art that is seriously neglected in the study of Japanese art history at many universities, especially those in the United States. Many museum exhibitions and their catalogues include crafts, as these materials have been avidly collected in the West and museum audiences like them. In recent years, some scholars whose PhD theses focused on fine arts, like myself, have begun to look at other types of artistic production and linkages between painting and other arts, though many of us were not trained in these areas in graduate school. Most often, expansion of our fields of expertise comes about with exposure to the wide variety of materials held in museum and private collections. For this reason, the exhibitions and accompanying publications of museum curators, including many of whom attended Japanese art history graduate programs but did not complete their Ph.D. degrees, should not be overlooked. Particularly important are the contributions of Louise Cort and Ann Yonemura, both curators at Smithsonian Institution's Freer Gallery/Sackler Museum, on ceramics and lacquers respectively;²² former Brooklyn Museum curator Robert Moes, on *mingei*;²³ former Seattle Art Museum curator William Rathbun on folk textiles and ceramics;²⁴ and Robert Singer, Hollis Goodall-Cristante, Dale Gluckman, and Sharon Sadako Takeda, all curators at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, who have ceramics and textiles.

The Impact of University Presses

Apart from museum-published catalogues, the

¹⁸ Henry Smith. *Kiyochika: Artist of Meiji Japan* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1988) and J. Thomas Rimer's essay in: Sebastian Izzard et al. *Kunisada's World* (New York: Japan Society, 1993).

¹⁹ The Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibitions' catalogues are Gluckman et al. *When Art Became Fashion* and Singer, et al. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*. The Cleveland exhibitions' catalogues are Sherman: Lee, ed. *Reflections of Reality in Japanese Art*. (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1983) and Michael Cunningham, ed. *The Triumph of Japanese Style: 16th-Century Art in Japan* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991).

²⁰ For more on this issue, see Yoshiaki Shimizu. "Japan in American Museums – But Which Japan?" *The Art Bulletin* 83.1 (March 2001): 123-134 and the *Expanding Edo Art: Final Report*.

²¹ Singer, et al. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868* and Ellen P. Conant, et al. et al. *Nihonga Transcending the Past: Japanese-style Painting, 1868-1968* (Saint Louis: The Saint Louis Art Museum, 1995).

²² Louise Cort. *Shigaraki, Potters' Valley* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979) and Ann Yonemura. *Japanese Lacquer* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1979).

²³ Robert Moes. *Mingei, Japanese Folk Art* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1985) and Robert Moes, et al. *Mingei: Japanese Folk Art from the Montgomery Collection* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1995).

²⁴ Seattle Art Museum, ed. *Ceramic Art of Japan* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1972), William Rathbun and Michael Knight. *Yo no bi: The Beauty of Japanese Folk Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983) and William Jay Rathbun, ed. *Beyond the Tanabata Bridge, Traditional Japanese Textiles* (Thames and Hudson in association with the Seattle Art Museum, 1995).

main producers of books on Japanese art have traditionally been trade publishers. Since the early 1990s, however, scholarship has been furthered by the appearance of many well-researched books, not tied to exhibitions, published by university presses.²⁵ When not co-publishing exhibition catalogues, these publishers have different requirements for their authors than do art museum catalogue and trade book editors. They frequently seek to reach out to a different, more scholarly audience of interdisciplinary Japanese studies specialists in addition to art historians of Japan. The University of Hawaii Press has emerged as an especially strong presence for the publishing of books on Early Modern Japanese art, which address broader cultural or interdisciplinary concerns.²⁶ These books complement its list's strength in other areas of Early

Modern Japanese studies and Japanese studies in general. Perhaps partially as a result of the vision of these university press editors, such as Hawaii's Patricia Crosby, new ways of thinking about the field of Early Modern Japanese art history are emerging. Still, the problem of high costs for photographs limits both the number (especially color plates) and size of the visuals. Unfortunately, many authors' arguments revolve around analysis of the illustrations, so if the photographs are inadequate or few in number, the book's appeal is limited and its points remain obscure unless the reader is already familiar with these materials. Fortunately, university presses at present seem willing to continue to publish books with these technical problems, but it remains a contentious issue for both publishers and authors.

Use of Photographs in Art Publications

Although many of the new art historical discourses de-emphasize the importance of the art work in favor of theoretical approaches, inevitably, most authors of publications about art still take art works as their starting points. Thus, inclusion of photographs is necessary to completion of their books. Photos are often expensive²⁷ and difficult to acquire, especially if one wishes to use materials from Japanese collections. It is not uncommon for a completed manuscript to languish at a publisher's editorial office (some, for years) waiting for procurement of photos. Some of the large Japanese trade publishers have amassed a huge quantity of photos that they regularly re-use (such as in their series of translated books) in order to save money. These same Japanese publishers also favor production of books that include photos by their own staff photographers, for both convenience and quality control, eschewing publication of books, such as the art holdings of major American museums, whose institutions demand high copyright fees and use of their own in-house photographs.

²⁵ As far as I can discern, Walter Gropius's *Katsura* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960) may be the first university press-published book about Early Modern Japanese art (though its technically on architecture, and written by an architect, and thus more of interest to an architectural readership). The few other, more mainstream, art books published by university presses prior to 1990 are: Beatrix von Rague. *A History of Japanese Lacquerwork* (Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), Jack. Hillier. *The Art of Hokusai in Book Illustration* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet; Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1980), Stephen Addiss. *Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters, the Art of Uragami Gyokudo* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), and Roger Keyes. *The Male Journey in Japanese Prints*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

²⁶ Recent titles include: Addiss. *Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters, the Art of Uragami Gyokudo*; Joshua S. Mostow. *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 1996; Kendall H Brown. *The Politics of Reclusion: Painting and Power in Momoyama Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997); Patricia J. Graham. *Tea of the Sages: the Art of Sencha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998); Karen M. Gerhart. *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); Sandy Kita. *The Last Tosa: Iwasa Katsumochi Matabei, Bridge to Ukiyo-e* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 1999; Timon Screech. *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700-1820* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999; originally published by Reaktion Press, London); and Peter F. Kornicki. *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History From the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000; originally published in 1998 by Brill).

²⁷ One hundred dollars is not an uncommon fee to be charged by American museums for existing photography, but the price increases dramatically if a photographer must be engaged. In Japan, exorbitant prices for color photos of well over 20,000 yen are charged by major (wealthy) temples and book publishers.

Birth of a Field: Western Studies of Early Modern Japanese Art, 1854 - 1970

Western interest in the art of Japan's Early Modern period dates back to the beginnings of contacts between Japan and the West, as maritime traders brought back lacquers and porcelains to Europe in the 16th and 17th century. Holland continued to amass collections of Japanese arts throughout the Edo period, but the first dedicated collectors date from circa 1800, with more widespread interest, and the earliest writings about the art, dating to mid century.²⁸ These early collectors focused on art of their own time, that is, the Edo and Meiji periods. They had access to various types of art including Ukiyoe prints, tea bowls, tea caddies, paintings (in various formats), netsuke, inro, sword fittings and armor, cloisonné, metalwork, textiles, furniture, and lacquers. Many of these categories of arts are now considered "collectables," rather than fine art. The first positive appraisal of Japanese art by an American was an editorial of December 1, 1854 in the *New York Times* by a member of Commodore Perry's delegation, who offered high praise on Japanese lacquer, textiles, and porcelains.²⁹ The American painter, John La Farge, is credited with authorship of the first critical essay on Japanese art in English, which emphasized Ukiyoe prints and lacquers.³⁰

Through the early post-war period, collectors and scholars in both the USA and Europe had

mutual interests in Ukiyoe, crafts, and Japanese domestic architecture and gardens. After then, somewhat separate subject emphases for scholarship and art collecting emerged. Until quite recently, with the growth of graduate programs at the Universities of London, Leiden, Zurich, and Heidelberg, European interests, on the part of both scholars and collectors, remained strongest in decorative arts — ceramics, metalwork, inro, netsuke, samurai arts, and cloisonné³¹ --while American scholars focused more on paintings. Many Americans' interests coincided with that of serious American collectors, whose holdings have often served as the focus of scholarly research.³²

The area of crafts that held the greatest interest to early scholars was ceramics, especially wares of the Edo and Meiji period.³³ These interests coincided with the types of art being promoted as ex-

³¹ Though admittedly, some early British writings on Japanese painting are indeed significant, i.e. Arthur Morrison. *The Painters of Japan*. 2 vols. (London and Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1911).

³² Among the many American collectors of Japanese art, those whose collection is especially strong in, or focuses exclusively on, Edo period paintings are: Stephen Addiss, Mary Burke, Willard Clark, Robert and Betsy Feinberg, Kurt Gitter and Alice Yelen, Kimiko and John Powers, Etsuko and Joe Price, and Alan Strassman. Miyeko Murase, now emeritus professor at Columbia University has authored a number of works on the Burke collection, the most recent being *Bridge of Dreams: The Mary Griggs Burke Collection of Japanese Art*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000. The Gitter-Yelen collection has also been published in a number of catalogues, including: Stephen Addiss et al. *A Myriad of Autumn Leaves, Japanese Art from the Kurt and Millie Gitter Collection* (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1983), and Lisa McCord, ed. *An Enduring Vision: 17th to 20th -century Japanese Painting from the Manyo'an Collection* (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 2002). John Rosenfield, now emeritus professor of Harvard University has published extensively on the Powers collection, most recently, *Extraordinary Persons: Works by Eccentric, Nonconformist Japanese Artists of the Early Modern Era (1580-1868) in the Collection of Kimiko and John Powers*. three vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 1999). A large part of Alan Strassman's collection was recently sold to the Indianapolis Museum of art, which published a small catalogue on it: Money L Hickman. *Painters of Edo Japan: 1615/1868* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 2000).

³³ See the ceramics bibliography (section 3A) for titles of these early works.

²⁸ See: Watanabe Toshio. "The Western Image of Japanese Art in the Late Edo Period." *Modern Asian Studies* 18.4: 667-684; Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere. "The Accessioning of Japanese Art in Early Nineteenth-century America: Ukiyo-e Prints in the Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem." *Apollo* 145.421 (new series, March 1997): 23-29; and Edo-Tokyo Museum, Tokyo and the Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem, ed. *Worlds Revealed: The Dawn of Japanese and American Exchange* (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Museum, 1999).

²⁹ Warren I. Cohen. *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press), 15.

³⁰ This assessment was included as a chapter in Raphael Pumpelly's, *Across America and Asia, Notes of a Five Years' Journey Around the World, and of Residence in Arizona, Japan, and China* (New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 1870), 195-202. For discussion of this essay, see: Henry Adams. "John La Farge's Discovery of Japanese Art: New Perspectives on the Origins of Japonisme." *Art Bulletin* 67.3 (1985): 449-485.

port products by the Japanese government at the many 19th century International Expositions. Some of the early writers about crafts, traveled to Japan and became enamored with the architecture and gardens as well. Their publications begat this sub-field, which has remained somewhat separate from art historical discourse up to the present. The first great promoter of Japanese architecture in the West was Edward Morse, who wrote about domestic architecture, much of it constructed during the Edo period, that he saw when he first visited Japan in 1877.³⁴ From the 1930s, practicing architects in the West had become infatuated with traditional Japanese architecture as embodied in the imperial villa at Katsura. This monument was said to have been “discovered” by the German architect, Bruno Taut (1880-1938). He traveled to Japan in 1933 to escape the Nazis and subsequently published several books on Japanese domestic architecture, praising those aspects of it which shared aesthetic similarities to Western architectural modernism.³⁵ Architect Walter Gropius’s influential 1960 book on the Katsura assured that this interest carried over to the post-war period.

Ukiyoe prints were the first category of Early Modern Japanese art to be studied seriously and exhibited widely. In fact, Ukiyoe was the subject of the earliest exhibition of Japanese art in the United States that was accompanied by a catalogue. This exhibition on Hokusai and his school was organized in 1893 by Ernest Fenollosa for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Ukiyoe studies have remained strong to the present. Books and exhibitions on Ukiyoe through the 1960s tended to focus on artists who were identified as major masters of the genre from the late 17th through the early 19th century. Scholarly emphasis lay in determining the chronology of artists’ oeuvre, dating of prints, assessing the quality of the images, and describing the subjects portrayed. These types of studies are of greatest interest to collec-

tors and students of traditional art historical methodologies.

The earliest publication to survey the art of the Early Modern period as a whole was an exhibition catalogue, *Japanese Art of the Edo Period, 1615-1867*, organized surprisingly, by the eminent Chinese art historian, Laurence Sickman. Held in 1958 at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City and at the Saint Louis Art Museum, Sickman’s exhibition took place one year after he returned from his first postwar trip to Japan, during which he purchased some of the museum’s now-renowned 16th and 17th century screens (his first-ever purchases of Japanese materials). Sickman had a lot of fine materials at his disposal, for many examples of a wide range of Early Modern Japanese arts had been collected for the Nelson by Harvard University’s Fogg Art Museum curator, Langdon Warner, in the early 1930s. Warner’s interests were both ethnographic and aesthetic, somewhat different from that of later scholars and museum curators (for example, he collected much folk art, especially sake bottles, and a wide variety of theatrical and ceremonial costumes in addition to a large number of tea ceramics, Buddhist paintings and sculpture, and Ukiyoe prints and paintings). Though Sickman was Warner’s disciple, many of his interests coincided more with those of postwar collectors, so he omitted Ukiyoe prints and folk arts from his exhibition entirely. In addition to a core of materials from the Nelson (which did include some No robes, *kosode*, tea wares, and armor purchased by Warner) and Saint Louis Art Museum collections, this exhibition also drew from other major American museums and private collections, as well as from the Tokyo National Museum. It included 161 objects organized according to media--painting, ceramics, lacquer (encompassing inro and netsuke), textiles, Noh and Kyogen masks, arms and armor.

An Age of Diversification -- Publications in the West During the 1970s

English Translations of Japanese Scholarship

Western knowledge of a wide range of Japanese art, including that of the Early Modern era, was significantly broadened during the 1970s by

³⁴ Edward Morse. *Japanese Homes and Their Surrounding* (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886; reprinted on numerous occasions through the 1980s).

³⁵ See: Bruno Taut. *Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai [The Society for International Cultural Relations], 1936) and his *Houses and People of Japan* (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1937). Second edition published in 1958.

translations into English of the work of Japanese scholars. This was done under the auspices of several major Japanese publishers, who produced three influential series with individual volumes on major painting movements, prominent painters, various types of architecture, woodblock prints, folk arts, and ceramics. Weatherhill and Heibonsha co-published the thirty volume "Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art" (between 1972 and 1979, with vol. 31, an index for the set, published in 1980). Among these volumes, at least ten focused exclusively on Early Modern arts, and several others included art of this period in broader surveys of specific types of art. Weatherhill and Shibundo together published the series "Arts of Japan" in eight volumes (1973-1974), although none of these introduced aspects of Early Modern art. Kodansha International and Shibundo co-published in 15 volumes the "Japanese Arts Library" (between 1977 and 1987). Most of the volumes in this last series were devoted to Buddhist arts and architecture of periods prior to the Early Modern era.

Although editorial direction for the "Japanese Arts Library" and the "Arts of Japan" was provided by American scholars who oversaw adaptation of these texts for a foreign audience, these series generally presented Japanese art from the viewpoint of the Japanese scholars who studied it. This approach provided readers with a factual and aesthetic orientation to the material, organized according to either media and artistic lineage or (less frequently) thematic category (such as folk or Esoteric Buddhist arts). Kodansha also published two more specialized series: the twelve volume "Famous Ceramics of Japan," (1981) with a number of the volumes on Early Modern ceramics, and the eleven volume "Masterworks of Ukiyo-e" (1968-1970), which was entirely about Early Modern art. Although exhibition catalogues and books by Westerners have since proliferated and supplemented these sets, many remain today the basic introductions in English to a wide variety of Japanese arts. As such they continue to influence students' perceptions what categories of Japanese art are worthy of study as well as methodologically how it should be considered.

Publications by Western Authors

With the awarding of the first PhD degrees from American universities in Early Modern art in the 1960s, and the concurrent establishment of graduate programs in Japanese art history, the 1970s can be considered a true turning point for studies of Early Modern arts, especially painting. A large percentage of these publications were exhibition catalogues authored by museum curators or university faculty. Foreshadowing this interest was a small, but stimulating, exhibition held in 1967 at the University of Kansas Art Museum, the collection of a hitherto unknown collector from Bartlesville, Oklahoma, Joe D. Price, whom University of Kansas Chinese art professor, Chu-tsing Li had met the previous year. This collection is now regarded as perhaps the premier collection of Edo period painting in the West. Authored by then University of Kansas graduate student Yoshiaki Shimizu (now a distinguished professor of Japanese art history at Princeton), the exhibition catalogue introduced some startlingly original paintings of the finest quality.³⁶ Included were artists of well-known Ukiyoe, Kano, Rinpa, and Tosa schools, and also less studied, so-called "realist" and "eccentric" masters of the 18th and 19th centuries. Most of the other numerous publications of the 1970s examined either schools of painting or individual painters, and introduced a host of traditions new to American audiences, including Rinpa,³⁷ Zenga (Zen painting)³⁸, Nanga (literati painting of the Edo period)³⁹, Maruyama-Shijo (realist school),⁴⁰

³⁶ Yoshiaki Shimizu. *Japanese Paintings: From the Collection of Joe D. Price* (Lawrence, KS: Museum of Art, the University of Kansas, 1967).

³⁷ Harold Stern. *Rimpa* (New York: Japan Society, 1971).

³⁸ Yasuichi Awakawa. *Zen Painting* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1970) and Stephen Addiss. *Obaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy* (Lawrence, KS: Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1978).

³⁹ James Cahill. *Scholar-Painters of Japan: The Nanga School* (New York: The Asia Society, 1972) and Calvin L. French, et al. *The Poet-Painters: Buson and His Followers* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1974).

⁴⁰ Jack Hillier. *The Uninhibited Brush: Japanese Art in the Shijo Style* (London: Hugh M. Moss, 1974).

and Western style (Rangaku) paintings.⁴¹ A few publications of this decade also examined crafts,⁴² Ukiyoe printmakers of Osaka,⁴³ and broader themes.⁴⁴

Also, not until 1975 did an exhibition attempt a comprehensive survey of art of a large block of time – the Momoyama period --within the Early Modern era. Held only at the Metropolitan Museum of Art,⁴⁵ in the catalogue's preface, then director Thomas Hoving described it as the first "major loan exhibition from Japan [that] has attempted to present a complete view of the arts of a single period," and he described the era as a time of growth of modern urban centers, strong leaders, and art that was "predominantly secular with an immediate visual appeal."⁴⁶

An Age of Fluorescence – Scholarship and Publications Since 1980

Surveys of Early Modern Japanese Art

Examining the changing representation of

⁴¹ Calvin L. French. *Shiba Kokan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1974) and Calvin L. French, et al. *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639-1853* (Rochester, MI: Oakland University, Meadow Brook Art Gallery, 1977).

⁴² Especially noteworthy exhibition catalogues include: Richard Cleveland. *200 Years of Japanese Porcelain* (Kansas City and St. Louis: City Art Museum, St. Louis, 1970); Victor and Takako Hauge. *Folk Traditions in Japanese Art* (New York: Japan Society, 1978); Louise Cort. *Shigaraki, Potters' Valley* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979; reprinted in 2001 by Weatherhill); and Ann Yonemura. *Japanese Lacquer* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1979).

⁴³ Roger Keyes and Keiko Mizushima. *The Theatrical World of Osaka Prints* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1973). The book, the first to look at Osaka printmakers, focuses on the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

⁴⁴ Harold Stern. *Birds, Beasts, Blossoms, and Bugs--The Nature of Japan* (New York and Los Angeles: Harry N. Abrams in association with the UCLA Art Council and the Frederick S. Wight Gallery, 1976).

⁴⁵ Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Momoyama: Japanese Art in the Age of Grandeur* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art in collaboration with the Agency for Cultural Affairs of the Japanese Government, 1975). The dates allotted to this period in the catalogue are 1568-1615.

⁴⁶ Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Momoyama: Japanese Art in the Age of Grandeur*, ix.

Early Modern Japanese art in survey textbooks reveals its growing importance in recent years within the broader scope of Japanese art history. In 1955, Robert Treat Paine and Alexander Soper published a textbook that became the standard text for the field, for nearly thirty years.⁴⁷ Although this text is now considered somewhat dated (it emphasizes traditional art historical methodology--questions of style, dating, technique, artist biography, and iconography), it still provides detailed factual information on what was, in 1955, the accepted canon of Japanese "fine arts" of painting, printmaking, sculpture and architecture. It contains no mention of art after the Edo period, and no calligraphy, folk arts, or crafts, but does include a comprehensive bibliography to the arts it surveys. Early Modern art is represented by chapters on painting of various artistic lineages, Ukiyoe paintings and prints (concluding with discussion of Hiroshige), and secular and religious architecture.

Not until the appearance of Penelope Mason's new survey text in 1993,⁴⁸ was there a book that could compete with Paine and Soper. Mason was obviously aware of the concerns of revisionist art historians, who incorporated into their studies various non-traditional topics of inquiry—among these are issues of gender, audience, patronage, economics, function, and distinctions and between craft and art. Yet, like her predecessors, she generally focuses on traditional methodological issues, but does point out results of new researches, reappraises well-known works (primarily regarding reconsiderations of dating and iconographic interpretation), and includes previously ignored artists and art works, thereby reinterpreting the accepted canon of Japanese art. Just as Paine and Soper did, Mason emphasizes architecture, pictorial arts (painting and Ukiyoe prints), and sculpture, which she discusses separately, but she also includes some mention of ceramics. Among the arts discussed, she places greatest emphasis on painting, which is represented with the largest number of illustrations.

⁴⁷ Robert Treat Paine and Alexander Soper. *The Art and Architecture of Japan* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955; the third edition of 1981 was last reprinted in 1992).

⁴⁸ Penelope Mason. *History of Japanese Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams and Prentice Hall, 1993).

Together, her two chapters on Momoyama and Edo period arts, are among the lengthiest in the book. Standard architectural monuments are represented — castles, Nikko Toshogu, Katsura — as well as previously overlooked architecture of Confucian and Obaku Zen sect temples, but entirely absent is mention of the architecture of commoners (*minka*, *machiya*), architecture of the pleasure quarters, and tea houses. Unlike Paine and Soper, Mason includes a small section on Edo period sculpture, in which she introduces Buddhist works but not netsuke, Japan's first secular (and miniature) sculpture. Predictably, pictorial arts dominate the Early Modern sections. Mason surveys these with unprecedented breadth, reflecting new directions in scholarship since the 1970s. Yet, they are represented with an uneven depth that reveals her personal interests. As it has become the most widely adopted survey textbook, the significant presence of Early Modern arts in Mason's volume will undoubtedly influence a new generation of students of Japanese art.

While most publications about Early Modern Japanese art have delved deeply into a narrow topic or theme, only three recent significant publications have sought to survey the artistic achievements of the bulk of this historical period, through a focus on Edo period arts. One of these is Christine Guth's paperback volume for Abrams' Perspectives series,⁴⁹ the other two are exhibition catalogues. A growing movement towards interdisciplinary and thematic approaches to the study of Early Modern Japan art over the past twenty years is nowhere more evident than when comparing these two exhibition catalogues, both featuring treasures from Japanese collections. William Watson's British Museum catalogue of 1980⁵⁰ opens with two historical essays then proceeds with a traditional media by media progression of the arts hierarchically, beginning with those of greater importance to the traditional canon: painting, calligraphy, wood-block prints, lacquer, ceramics, armor, sword blades, sword mounts, sculpture, netsuke, textiles.

In contrast, Robert Singer's 1999 catalogue for

a National Gallery exhibition⁵¹ also includes an essay by an historian, in this case, Herman Ooms. Oom's introduction is actually integral to the book's conception, for he discusses the art in the context of the society in which it was produced. In subsequent chapters, the authors have abandoned the more traditional scheme of surveying the artistic achievements of the art by media for a more contextual approach. To the organizers of this exhibition, Edo art is a product of a largely urban society and is characterized by its variety, sophistication, and high technical quality. Art is viewed as a status-conferring commodity. Chapters are given provocative, but sometimes baffling, titles: "Ornamental Culture: Style and Meaning in Edo Japan," "Arms: the Balance of Peace," "Workers of Edo: Ambiance, Archetype, or Individual," "Old Worlds, New Visions: Religion and Art in Edo Japan," "City, Country, Travel, and Vision in Edo Cultural Landscapes," and "The Human Figure in the Playground of Edo Artistic Imagination."

Despite its limitations, this latter exhibition helped to re-map understanding of the art of the period simply by its physical organization. Yet because the objects were indeed stunning "masterpieces" in a very traditional sense, they reinforced preconceived notions that most arts were made as luxury goods for the wealthy of society. Left out was the vast body of artistic production of art by and for the lower classes (except for the inclusion of several firemen's coats), or by groups of people on the fringes of Edo society (the Ainu and Ryukyuan).⁵² Nor did the exhibition and catalogue as a whole provide insight into how Japan perceived the outside world or responded to artistic influences from abroad (though this information was embedded in some essays and individual catalogue entries).

While recent broad studies, such as Guth's *The Art of Edo Japan* and Singer's National Gallery of Art catalogue provide a solid framework for understanding the artistic achievements of the Edo period, their very general nature prevents them

⁴⁹ Guth. *Art of Edo Japan*.

⁵⁰ William Watson, ed. *The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period 1600-1868* (London: The British Museum, 1980).

⁵¹ Singer, et al. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*.

⁵² Art by these groups was suggested by Yoshiaki Shimizu for inclusion in an "Edo Show that Never Was." For discussion of this concept, see: *Expanding Edo Art: Final Report*.

from clearly conveying how the arts and their patrons changed over the long span of the Early Modern period. General publications on Momoyama arts do give some sense of that particular period,⁵³ but for further periodization of Edo period arts in relation to larger economic, political, and social concerns over the course of the two and a half centuries of Tokugawa rule, one must look to more specialized studies on various art forms and artists associated with diverse artistic traditions. In accordance with the expertise of a majority of scholars, painting and printmaking studies have explored the question of periodization more closely than explorations in other art forms.⁵⁴

Architecture and Gardens

Architectural and garden remains are plentiful, diverse, and of very high quality. Yet, apart from translations by Japanese authorities in the Japanese Arts Library series in the 1980s, which are based on much older Japanese scholarship, picture books on gardens published by Japanese publishers such as Mitsumura Suiko Shoin and Kodansha, and studies by practicing Western architects in earlier decades, this field had, until quite recently, received little scholarly attention from mainstream art historians. William Coaldrake has produced a fine study of architecture associated with elites that includes some

Early Modern monuments, as well as several other more specialized studies of Early Modern architecture.⁵⁵ The recent work of several other scholars reveals interest in providing more integrated assessments of buildings within broader thematic contexts.⁵⁶

Crafts and Folk Arts

As with earlier studies, most publications in these areas take the form of museum exhibition catalogues, and have focused on aesthetics and techniques. Some of these publications also address their subjects in new ways, adding commentary on the social and economic circumstances of production, influenced by the perspectives of material or visual culture studies. The study of ceramics, because of its importance to the Japanese tea ceremony, and as a major export product to Europe, has received more attention than most other decorative arts. Many ceramics studies have incorporated archaeological evidence, making this the most active field of Early Modern studies to make use of such materials. With the exception of a few more general exhibition catalogues, publications have focused on the history of particular types of wares, especially those at Arita, Echizen, Hirado, Kyoto, and Seto and Mino⁵⁷.

⁵³ See: Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Momoyama: Japanese Art in the Age of Grandeur* and Money Hickman et al. *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). Michael Cunningham's catalogue for an exhibition at the Cleveland Museum is notable also in its exploration of the emergence of the art of the Early Modern era through its assertion of the importance of native aesthetic traditions (*yamatoe*) in the 16th century. See: Cunningham, ed. *The Triumph of Japanese Style*.

⁵⁴ For a look at several different artistic sub-cultures during the 17th century, see: Brown. *The Politics of Reclusion: Painting and Power in Momoyama Japan* and Kita. *The Last Tosa*. On various 18th century to early 19th century developments, see: Melinda Takeuchi. *Taiga's True Views, the Language of Landscape Painting in Eighteenth Century Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992); Donald Jenkins, ed. *The Floating World Revisited* (Portland, OR: Portland Art Museum, 1993); and Graham. *Tea of the Sages*. On one aspect of urban culture of early 19th century, see: Sebastian Izzard, et al. *Kunisada's World* (New York: Japan Society, 1993).

⁵⁵ William H. Coaldrake. *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), "Unno: Edo Period Post-town of the Central Japan Alps," *Asian Art and Culture* 5.2 (spring 1992): 9-30 and "Edo Architecture and Tokugawa Law," *Monumenta Nipponica* 34.3 (1981): 235-242.

⁵⁶ Graham. *Tea of the Sages*; Andrew Watsky. "Floral Motifs and Mortality: Restoring Numinous Meaning to a Momoyama Building," *Archives of Asian Art* 50 (1997-98): 62-90 (an expanded version of this study is now being prepared as a book to be published by the University of Washington Press); and Gerhart. *The Eyes of Power*.

⁵⁷ Among the many recent publications on ceramics, the following are particularly significant: Japan Society, ed. *The Burghley Porcelains* (New York: Japan Society, 1986); John Ayers et al. *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan, 1650-1750* (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, distributed by P. Wilson Publishers, 1990); Louise Cort. *Seto and Mino Ceramics, Japanese Collections in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1992); Donald A. Wood et al. *Echizen: Eight Hundred Years of Japanese Stoneware* (Birmingham, AL: Birmingham Museum of Art in Association with the University of Washington

Similarly, exhibition catalogues and other publications about Early Modern textiles, have tended to emphasize the three dominant types associated with Early Modern art: costumes for the Noh theater, *kosode* (the forerunner of the modern kimono), and folk textiles. The Los Angeles County's 1992 exhibition on *kosode* was especially enlightening to many scholars in the field of Early Modern Japanese art in general, and painting in particular, as its essays and illustrated materials masterfully argued for consideration of *kosode* as an important pictorial art form alongside the more dominant fields of paintings and printmaking.⁵⁸

Most of the many publications about netsuke and inro have been geared to the multitude of Western collectors, who are fascinated by the exquisite craftsmanship, as well as the imagery depicted, as this affords a glimpse into Japan's exotic, foreign culture. Perhaps because of their extreme popularity and the fact that they were not a monumental art form for the social elite, netsuke and inro have been accorded precious little attention by scholars. Why netsuke have not been more carefully scrutinized by scholars of visual culture and why they should be, is the subject of a provocative essay by Kendall Brown.⁵⁹

Mingei, or folk arts, is another category of Early Modern art, generally discussed within the rubric of crafts. Its study has generally remained separate from mainstream scholarship on Early Modern Japanese art, following the dictum of the *mingei* movement's founder, Yanagi Soetsu (1889-1961), that *mingei* was superior to other arts. Yet, as a few scholars have shown, this peculiar distinction is problematic for two reasons. First, it ostracizes *mingei* from consideration as a major artistic achievement of the period, which it

undoubtedly was. The vast quantities and high quality craftsmanship, and aesthetic charm of *mingei* arts belie the widespread notion that Early Modern art was produced mainly in urban environments for rich and sophisticated consumers.⁶⁰ Second, Yanagi and his followers perpetuate the myth that *mingei* arts were all made and used by the common people. This is patently untrue, for archaeological remains have shown, similar types of Seto ware oil plates were used by samurai, as well as commoner households, and some types of textiles were actually made for elite classes or as commercial products for trade.⁶¹ A recent exhibition catalogue about Otsue (a type of devotional folk painting made in Otsu) addresses similar issues through its inclusion of mainstream artists who appropriated its subjects and styles.⁶²

Painting and Calligraphy

As already noted, research on painting of the Early Modern era was scant prior to the 1970s. Since 1980, scholars have continued to expand our knowledge about painting, at first, through traditional approaches to the medium, which have separately examined the various painting schools or lineages and individual artists therein, and more recently, by a wide variety of thematic and conceptual approaches. American museum audiences were first introduced to some of the finest monuments of Maruyama-Shijo school painting in a 1980 exhibition of masterpieces from Japanese collections, held at the Saint Louis Art Museum.⁶³ Other exhibitions on related materials soon followed. Japanese masterpieces of the

⁶⁰ As stated previously, *mingei* was largely omitted from the National Gallery's 1999 Edo art exhibition.

⁶¹ For discussion of the distribution of Seto ware oil plates see, Richard Wilson. "Ezara: Pictorial Plates from Seto." *Orientalism* 25.9 (September 1994): 40-46. On the problems with identifying certain types of textiles as *mingei*, see Amanda Mayer Stinchecum's essay, "Japanese Textiles and the Mingei Aesthetic," in: Moes et al. *Mingei: Japanese Folk Art from the Montgomery Collection*, 45-55 and her article, "The Mingei Aesthetic." *Orientalism* 29.3 (March 1998): 90-96.

⁶² Meher McArthur. *Gods and Goblins: Japanese Folk Paintings from Otsu* (Pasadena, CA: Pacific Asia Museum, 1999).

⁶³ Sasaki, Johei. *Okyo and the Maruyama-Shijo School of Japanese Painting* (Saint Louis: The Saint Louis Art Museum, 1980).

Press, 1994); Oliver Impey. *The Early Porcelain Kilns of Japan: Arita in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Louis Lawrence. *Hirado: Prince of Porcelains* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 1997.); and Richard Wilson. *The Potter's Brush: The Kenzan Style in Japanese Ceramics* (Washington, DC: Freer and Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, in cooperation with Merrell Publisher, 2001).

⁵⁸ Gluckman et al. *When Art Became Fashion*.

⁵⁹ Kendall Brown. "Why Art Historians Don't Study Netsuke and Why they Should." *International Netsuke Society Journal* 17.1 (Spring 1997): 8-24.

Rimpa school have also been the focus of two major loan exhibitions from Japan.⁶⁴ Studies of other traditions, especially Nanga and Zen painting have also thrived. Yet above all, studies of Ukiyoe have proliferated the most (these will be discussed at greater length below).

Yet one pictorial art form, calligraphy, which is closely related to painting and often excelled at by painters, is still grossly understudied, considering its importance within the realm of Japanese artistic traditions. Few Western studies of calligraphy have been undertaken, perhaps because it is the most difficult Japanese art for audiences not familiar with Japanese language or scripts to appreciate. Yoshiaki Shimizu and John Rosenfield's landmark exhibition on pre-modern Japanese calligraphy of 1985 introduced a wide variety of Early Modern materials,⁶⁵ but no one has done more to promote the art than Stephen Addiss, who has consistently addressed the aesthetics of calligraphy in his many writings on Zenga and Nanga. That American audiences are now capable of appreciating the art is evident from the great popularity and critical acclaim for Felice Fischer's recent exhibition on the art of Hon'ami Koetsu in Philadelphia.⁶⁶

One important traditional method of art historical study, especially popular among Western art historians, is the monograph about an individual artist. As already noted, many dissertations about Early Modern artists, especially painters, have taken this approach. Nevertheless, few of these dissertations have been turned into books. Why this is so remains unclear, but perhaps it is because of the reluctance of publishers, fearing insignificant sales on books about artists completely unknown to Western readers. So far, only a few of the many great and influential Early Modern artists have received such close attention,

although, many more have been the subject of more limited journal articles. With the exception of a few exhibition catalogues,⁶⁷ all published books about individual Early Modern artists are painters, or artists who worked in other media but also painted. With only two exceptions, and apart from publications on Ukiyoe artists, these studies all date to the last twenty years.⁶⁸ Except for a few exhibition catalogues, most of these publications are re-worked doctoral dissertations. Though they focus upon a single artist, they all approach their subject in ways that illuminate not only the artist's personal artistic style, but also the place of that artist within a broader social context.⁶⁹

Ukiyoe Studies

Ukiyoe has remained the most published area within Early Modern Japanese art studies, but treatment of this subject by authors has undergone much transformation over the past twenty years. Perhaps the first Ukiyoe study to reconceive the material was an exhibition catalogue of 1980, edited by Stephen Addiss.⁷⁰ This catalogue accompanied an exhibition of Hiroshige's Tokaido series prints. As I recall (as one of the members of the graduate student seminar that conceived and wrote the catalogue), it was intentionally designed to present the material in a fresh, interdisciplinary manner, with prints organized

⁶⁴ Howard A. Link. *Exquisite Visions: Rimpa Paintings from Japan* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1980) and Yamane Yuzo, et. al. *Rimpa Art from the Idemitsu Collection, Tokyo* (London: British Museum, 1998).

⁶⁵ Yoshiaki Shimizu and John Rosenfield. *Masters of Japanese Calligraphy 8th-19th Century* (New York: Asia Society and Japan Society, 1985).

⁶⁶ Felice Fischer et al. *The Arts of Hon'ami Koetsu, Japanese Renaissance Master* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000).

⁶⁷ Fischer et al. *The Arts of Hon'ami Koetsu and Wilson. The Potter's Brush: The Kenzan Style in Japanese Ceramics*.

⁶⁸ French. *Shiba Kokan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan* and Howard Link, *The Art of Shibata Zeshin: The Mr. And Mrs. James E. O'Brien Collection at the Honolulu Academy of Arts* (Honolulu: Robert G. Sawers, 1979).

⁶⁹ These monographs include: James Cahill. *Sakaki Hyakusen and Early Nanga Painting* (Berkeley: Center for Japanese Studies, University of California, Japan Research Monograph 3, 1983); Stephen Addiss. *The World of Kameda Bosai* (New Orleans Museum of Art, 1984); Addiss. *Tall Mountains and Flowing Waters, the Art of Uragami Gyokudo*; Money Hickman and Yasuhiro Sato. *The Paintings of Jakuchu* (New York: the Asia Society, 1989); Wilson. *The Art of Ogata Kenzan*; Takeuchi. *Taiga's True Views*; Gerhart. *The Eyes of Power* (largely focusing on Kano Tan'yu); and Kita. *The Last Tosa*.

⁷⁰ Stephen Addiss, ed. *Tokaido: Adventures on the Road in Old Japan* (Lawrence, KS: The University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1980).

not sequentially, but according to broad cultural and artistic themes (politics and economics, humor, pleasures and dangers of travel, folk beliefs, as well as aesthetic concerns) in order to make the material more interesting to a diverse audience.

A large body of publications on Ukiyoe has continued along the older model, enriching our knowledge of well known artists' oeuvres, as well as examining previously overlooked artists and types of prints. Among the new subjects explored have been privately-published *surimono* prints,⁷¹ illustrated books,⁷² and so-called decadent artists such as Utagawa Kunisada.⁷³ Recent scholarship, often the efforts of a group of scholars from diverse disciplines working together, has also emphasized the place of Ukiyoe in the context of *chonin* (urban commoner) culture.⁷⁴

New Perspectives and Unfinished Business – Thematic and Interdisciplinary Approaches

Similar to the thematic treatment of Early Modern art in Christine Guth's *The Art of Edo Japan* and Robert Singer's *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*, a number of other books and exhibition catalogues have approached the study of Early Modern art from a variety of interesting and innovative perspectives. These, I believe, offer the greatest insights into the complexity and sophistication of Early Modern visual arts, their relationship to the society in which they were

⁷¹ The first of many subsequent publications in this area was Roger Keyes' *Surimono: Privately Published Japanese Prints in the Spencer Museum of Art* (New York: Kodansha International, 1984).

⁷² Particularly significant is Jack Hillier's monumental, and beautifully produced *The Art of the Japanese Book*, 2 vols. (London: Sotheby's, 1987). It surveyed a far wider range of printed materials, by artists and writers of various traditions, than had ever before been examined. Hillier's study vividly reveals the importance of illustrated books to transmission of knowledge in Edo period society.

⁷³ Sebastian Izzard et al. *Kunisada's World* (New York: Japan Society, 1993).

⁷⁴ See especially: Donald Jenkins, ed. *The Floating World Revisited* (Portland, OR: Portland Art Museum, 1993; Eizabeth de Sabato Swinton et al. *The Women of the Pleasure Quarters* (New York: Hudson Hills in association with the Worcester Art Museum, 1996); and Screech. *Sex and the Floating World*.

created, as well as to the centrality of the visual arts within this society. These studies also clearly reveal the impact of diverse scholarly discourses on the study of Early Modern art, and suggest thought-provoking directions for further scholarly inquiries. I outline these topics broadly below.

Archaeology

This is a rich, largely untapped resource for understanding the production, distribution and use of various art forms in Early Modern society. Analysis of archaeological materials should also add greatly to our understanding of urban planning, and architecture and garden design, and to the field of material culture studies. Yet, despite extensive work by Japanese archaeologists, only Western scholars of ceramics seem to have made extensive use of these materials.

Cross Cultural Influences And International Contacts

Japan's relations with the outside world – both the West and China -- during the Early Modern period greatly affected the nature of artistic production in Japan. Yet, scholars tend to overlook this subject in favor of studies of native traditions—both samurai and commoner arts, perhaps an influence of modern Japan's perceptions about the Edo period's place as precursor to modern Japanese culture.⁷⁵ During the 1970s, Calvin French published two landmark studies of Western style painting in Edo Japan,⁷⁶ a subject also addressed more recently by Timon Screech, from the broader, and more provocative perspective of visual culture studies.⁷⁷ Addressing this subject also from an interdisciplinary context is the *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, published in English by the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal. Focusing almost exclusively on the Early Modern period, its pages frequently

⁷⁵ See: Carol Gluck. "The Invention of Edo." in: Stephen Vlastos, ed. *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 262-284.

⁷⁶ French. *Shiba Kokan: Artist, Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan* and French et al. *Through Closed Doors*.

⁷⁷ Timon Screech. *The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

include articles about the visual arts, especially those materials that were exported to Europe and especially Portugal. Apart from various publications on Chinese influenced paintings of the Nanga (literati) painting school, only two publications look more broadly at the impact of China on Japanese art and artists.⁷⁸

Gender Studies/Sexuality in Art

These interrelated topics have been much mined by scholars, particularly in the past decade, again revealing the influence of theoretical approaches associated with the fields of gender and visual culture studies.⁷⁹ The first publication on this theme was an exhibition catalogue by Patricia Fister, in 1988, that revealed the creativity and diversity of Japanese women painters.⁸⁰ Since then, she and other scholars, singly, and working in interdisciplinary teams, have looked further into these issues.⁸¹ Their studies have enriched our understanding of the meaning and function of erotic arts, the varied lifestyles of women from different classes and social circles, women's roles as producers, patrons, and subjects in art, and ideals of masculinity.

Studies of Religious Sites, Icons, and Other Devotional Arts

Great diversity now exists among scholars who conduct research on Japanese religions, sites, and imagery. Recent scholarship reveals the begin-

nings of massive reinterpretation of the field.⁸² However, recent studies of Early Modern religions reveal especially that scholarship on Buddhism other than Zen is still deficient.⁸³ This mirrors the interests of Modern Japanese art historians and of Japanese art historians in general. the overwhelming number of whom focus on religious arts of the ancient and medieval periods. Art historians tend to consider religious art of the Early Modern era inferior in aesthetic quality to that of earlier times, and aesthetics still dominates art historical studies of religious arts.⁸⁴ Scholars also tend to emphasize the study of religious art for elites and the institutions they supported (high ranking samurai and aristocrats).

The few scholars in Japan who consider Early Modern religious art generally study only a limited corpus of materials, especially the *honzon* (main sculpted images, usually made of wood) that were placed on the main altars of Buddhist temples and major shrine complexes such as Nikko Toshogu. Most of these scholars ignore the lively, usually anonymous, products of provincial carvers working in bronze and stone, whose free-standing sculptures are more frequently found amidst the grounds of religious sites, wooden relief sculptures, carved in upon panels on the sides of shrine and temple buildings, as well as personal, often eccentric, non-institutional images.⁸⁵ Biases against study of these works have influenced Western scholarship as well. Despite their proliferation, Early Modern religious arts, except for Zen painting and calligraphy, and a few studies of important sites,⁸⁶ unusual im-

⁷⁸ Stephen Addiss. *Japanese Quest for a New Vision: The Impact of Visiting Chinese Painters, 1600-1900* (Lawrence, Kansas: Spencer Art Museum, The University of Kansas, 1986) and Graham. *Tea of the Sages*.

⁷⁹ See for example, discussion of masculinity in visual culture in Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, ed. *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, xxii-xxvi.

⁸⁰ Patricia Fister. *Japanese Women Artists 1600-1900* (Lawrence, Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1988).

⁸¹ Important recent broad studies in this field include: Elizabeth Lillehoj. *Women in the Eyes of Man: Images of Women in Japanese Art from the Field Museum* (Chicago: The Smart Museum, University of Chicago, 1995); Patricia Fister. "Feminine Perceptions in Japanese Art of the Kinsei Era." *Japan Review* 8 (1997): 3-21; and Sumie Jones, ed. *Imagining/Reading Eros: Proceedings for the Conference, Sexuality and Edo Culture, 1750-1850* (Bloomington IA: Center for East Asian Studies, 1997).

⁸² Hardacre, Helen, "The Postwar Development of Studies of Japanese Religions," in: Hardacre, Helen, ed. *The Postwar Development of Japanese Studies in the United States*. Leiden: Brill, 1998, 195-226.

⁸³ See Janine Tasca Sawada's essay, "Tokugawa Religious History: Studies in Western Languages," in *Early Modern Japan* (Spring 2002): 37-62.

⁸⁴ See Cynthia J. Bogel. "Canonizing Kannon: The Ninth Century Esoteric Buddhist Altar at Kanshinji," in *The Art Bulletin* 84.1 (March 2002): 30-64.

⁸⁵ However several important studies (in Japanese) have been undertaken by the distinguished art historian Tsuji Nobuo.

⁸⁶ William H. Coaldrake. *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), chapter 7 (Tokugawa Mausolea)

ages,⁸⁷ and some materials categorized as folk arts,⁸⁸ much of this material has been overlooked by Japanese art historians in the West. Yet the recent Washington, D.C. National Museum of Art catalogue did include a provocative section on religious art.⁸⁹

Several scholars, including me, have argued that Early Modern religious imagery deserves reappraisal because it reflects new and unorthodox religious traditions which were closely linked with increased secularization of religious sites and changes to the nature and production of religious imagery during the Early Modern period.⁹⁰ To further understanding of these religious arts, I believe scholars should look to studies of religious traditions of other cultures who have acknowledged the centrality of religious material culture, including artifacts associated with popular worship and non-traditional, private expressions of faith, to the formation of religious practice and beliefs.⁹¹

⁸⁷ See in particular, Patricia Fister's provocative introduction of religious art from an unorthodox material, "Creating Devotional Art with Body Fragments: The Buddhist Nun Bunchi and Her Father, Emperor Gominno-o," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 27.3-4 (Fall 2000): 213-38.

⁸⁸ These include sculptures by illustrious monks such as Enku (1628-1695) or Mokujiki Gyodo (1718-1810) and studies on Otsue (folk paintings made at Otsu). For recent Western language studies of these materials, see for example Jan van Alphen. *Enku 1632-1659: Timeless Images from 17th Century Japan* (Antwerpen: Ethnografisch Museum, 1999) and McArthur. *Gods and Goblins: Japanese Folk Paintings from Otsu*.

⁸⁹ Singer, et al. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*, 203-257.

⁹⁰ See: Patricia J. Graham. "A Heterodox Painting of Shussan Shaka in Late Tokugawa Japan," *Artibus Asiae*, Part I 51.3-4 (1991): 275-292 and Part II 52/1-2 (1992): 131-145 and Gregory P. Levine. "Switching Sites and Identities: The Founder's Statue at the Buddhist Temple Korin'in," *The Art Bulletin* 83.1 (March 2001): 72-104.

⁹¹ On this issue, see David Morgan and Sally M. Promey, ed. *The Visual Culture of American Religions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), especially the introduction, 1-24. The authors note four categories of function in which images contribute to the making of religious experience: they communicate between the human and divine realms, they establish the social basis of communion, they facilitate memory-making, and they stimulate acts basic to religious worship (pp. 2-3).

Samurai Arts, Arms, and Armor

During the 1980s, several popular touring exhibitions focused on elite samurai arts of the daimyo⁹² and samurai accoutrements, especially helmets.⁹³ Yet it was not until the appearance of Karen Gerhart's book, *The Eyes of Power* in 1999, that a more sophisticated view of the relationship of the highest level of samurai arts to politics emerged. Gerhart zeroed in on art and architectural programs at three important sites—Nikko Toshogu, Nagoya Castle, and Nijo Castle in Kyoto. These sites were created by and for the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu. He carefully planned the buildings and their decorative elements—both inside and out—to disseminate specific political messages that bolstered the legitimization of the Tokugawa hegemony. Still, understanding the role of samurai as both patrons and makers of arts, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, are issues that have yet to be adequately addressed by scholars.

Tea Ceremony and Related Arts

The vast majority of studies of this quintessential Japanese cultural tradition are associated with the *Chanoyu* tea ceremony, and most of these focus on the Momoyama period and the influence of Sen no Rikyu. Paul Varley and Iwao Kumakura edited a volume that looked more broadly at Early Modern developments in this field, but it was still centered around *Chanoyu*.⁹⁴ Only my book, on the rival tradition of *Sencha*, has taken a different tack, and I hope it will encourage other avenues of inquiry in the future.⁹⁵ One forthcoming interdisciplinary study on tea culture, primarily of the early modern period, is a collection of

⁹² Tokugawa Yoshinobu, ed. *Shogun: The Shogun Age Exhibition from the Tokugawa Art Museum, Japan* (Tokyo: The Shogun Age Executive Committee, 1983); Yoshiaki Shimizu, ed. *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture 1185-1868* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1988); Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. *The Japan of the Shoguns: the Tokugawa collection* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Arts, 1989).

⁹³ Alexandra Munroe, ed. *Spectacular Helmets of Japan, 16th--19th Century* (New York: Japan Society, 1985).

⁹⁴ H. Paul Varley and Kumakura Isao, ed. *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989).

⁹⁵ Graham. *Tea of the Sages*.

essays by scholars from various disciplines that addresses both *Chanoyu* and *Sencha*.⁹⁶

Other Thematic and Interdisciplinary Studies

Many other thought-provoking themes, both cultural and aesthetic, have been addressed by recent authors. Among the most interesting have been new perspectives on landscape imagery that comment on how nature and the experience of travel was envisioned in Early Modern Japan,⁹⁷ humor and play in Early Modern art and culture,⁹⁸ linkages between the literary and visual arts,⁹⁹ the intimate relationship between motifs and their symbolic meanings in Japanese aesthetics,¹⁰⁰ and, as previously discussed, art in the

context of a new urban society. These themes only hint at the range of possible new directions for scholarship on Early Modern art, that would benefit from increased incorporation of newly discovered materials, as well as the expertise and vision of scholars from other disciplines, where a variety of critical discourses flourish.

Concluding Remarks

The proliferation of recent publications on a wide variety of Early Modern arts, that approach the subject from a diversity of perspectives, reveals a concerted effort by scholars to rethink the field afresh. These scholarly efforts have been encouraged of late by the support of a number of private individuals who seek to promote the study of Early Modern art as a focal point within the larger framework of Japanese art. Most of these benefactors organize and/or support scholarly symposia, and many have established study centers either at universities or museums, or have established their own private foundations, or art book publishing houses.

Of particular note are Willard Clark's Ruth and Sherman Lee Institute for Japanese Art in Hanford, California, with a regular schedule of exhibitions, related lectures, and scholarly symposia at a small, elegant museum, which is open to the public; Kurt Gitter and Alice Yelen's Gitter-Yelen Art Study Center in New Orleans, which promotes Early Modern painting studies through lectures, and traveling exhibitions from their collection; Joe and Etsuko Price's research center in Corona del Mar, California, and their magnificent gift of paintings and the Shin'enkan Pavilion for Japanese art to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Culture, funded by a generous donation from Sir Robert and Lady Sainsbury, and affiliated with the University of East Anglia and the University of London, it offers grants to visiting scholars, and organizes symposia and lectures; and finally, Hotei Publishing of Leiden, which began as a publishing house specializing in Ukiyoe, but which has now branched out to sponsor symposia and produce books on broader topics related to Japanese art and culture.

⁹⁶ Morgan Pitelka, ed. *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London: Routledge Press, forthcoming).

⁹⁷ See three publications by Melinda Takeuchi: *Taiga's True Views*; her essay on the Uji Bridge theme in Kuroda Taozo et al. *Worlds Seen and Imagined: Japanese Screens from the Idemitsu Museum of Arts* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1995); and her essay in Singer et al. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*, 261-281. See also: Louisa Cunningham. *The Spirit of Place: Japanese Paintings and Prints of the 16th Through 19th Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1995).

⁹⁸ Tsuji Nobuo. *Playfulness in Japanese Art* The Franklin D. Murphy Lectures VII (Lawrence, KS: The University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1986); Christine Guth. *Asobi: Play in the Arts of Japan* (Katonah, NY: Katonah Museum of Art, 1992); and Mildred Friedman, ed. *Tokyo: Form and Spirit* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986).

⁹⁹ See especially: Carolyn Wheelwright. *Word in Flower; the Visualization of Classical Literature in Seventeenth Century Japan*. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989); Stephen Addiss. *Haiga: Takebe Socho and the Haiku-Painting Tradition* (Richmond, VA: Marsh Art Gallery in association with the University of Hawaii Press, 1995); Mostow. *Pictures of the Heart*; and Joan B. Mirviss and John T. Carpenter. *Jewels of Japanese Printmaking: Surimono of the Bunka-Bunsei Era (1804-1830)* (Tokyo: Ota Kinen Bijutsukan, 2000); and 2001. Patricia J. Graham. "Okubo Shibutsu, Vagabond Poet of Edo, and His Nanga Painter-friends." *Kaikodo Journal* 20 (fall 2001): 63-73.

¹⁰⁰ Japan Society, ed. *From the Suntory Museum of Art--Autumn Grasses and Water: Motifs in Japanese Art* (New York: Japan Society, 1983); Kuroda et al. *Worlds Seen and Imagined*; and Patricia J. Graham. "Chinese Scholarly Imagery in Edo Period Paintings at the Indianapolis Museum of Art." *Orientalism* 32.3 (March 2001): 78-92.

Early Modern Literature

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General Comments

Generally speaking, the history of Japanese literary studies in English can be divided into two stages. The first stage is usually that of translation; the second is that of scholarship. In some cases, translation is preceded by literary histories or more general studies that take up texts that have not been translated. Such is the case of William Aston, *A History of Japanese Literature* (1899), the earliest history of Japanese literature, and Donald Keene's *World Within Walls*.¹ These literary histories have served the function of arousing the interest of readers and potential translators in yet untranslated works. Generally speaking, however, it is the appearance of a translation that sets the stage for scholarship and criticism, particularly in the case of major literary texts such as *The Tale of Genji*, *The Tale of the Heike*, or Noh drama. The translation of *The Tale of Genji* by Edward Seidensticker, for example, provided the foundation for a series of groundbreaking studies on Heian literature (Norma Field, Richard Okada, Haruo Shirane).²

Early modern literary studies have not yet reached the stage found, for example, in Heian literary studies, where almost all the texts are already available and where scholarship spawns scholarship. Instead, we find a situation where translation spawns scholarship or *vice versa*. Thus, it is almost impossible to speak of historical development or trends in scholarship of the kind found, for example, in political or institu-

tional history. This is not to say that the recent scholarship is out of touch with contemporary scholarship. On the contrary, the best scholarship and criticism in early modern literary studies is closely tied to recent trends in Japanese scholarship and contemporary Western literary and cultural theory and is best understood in a context that transcends Western historiography, which is still too thinly dispersed to provide a critical frame.

A number of Western literary studies in the 1950s-1980s consisted of a translation or translations preceded by an extended introduction. Typical examples include Howard Hibbett's *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*³, which include translations of ukiyo-zoshi by Saikaku and Ejima Kiseki in the latter half of the book. In the 1990s, this format has given way to monographs that are almost entirely concentrated on criticism and scholarship. Nevertheless, the need for much more translation remains, for without translations, the criticism in English has limited meaning. It is analogous to writing art history without access to the art. Unlike the readers of histories, the reader of literary studies needs to see the literary texts to be able to fully appreciate the analysis. One reason that I edited *Early Modern Japanese Literature, Anthology: 1600-1900*⁴ (Columbia University Press, 2002) is that the life of the field depends very much on the ability of the reader to have some sense of the texts in question. That said, it should be noted that early modern texts are notoriously difficult to translate, and frequently do not stand up in translation or make sense in isolation. As a consequence, there remains a need for monographs to appear alongside translations.

The period that has drawn the most interest has been the Genroku period. In the 1950s-60s Donald Keene, Ivan Morris, Howard Hibbett, and other Western scholars translated what are generally considered to be the "big three" of the Genroku period: Matsuo Basho, Ihara Saikaku, and Chikamatsu Monzaemon, who have come to rep-

¹ Aston, W. G., *A History of Japanese Literature*. Rutland, Vt. & Tokyo: Tuttle, 1972 (rept.; 1st pub. 1899); and Keene, Donald, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era 1600-1868*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

² Norma Field, *The Splendor of Longing in the Tale of Genji* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Richard Okada, *Figures of Resistance: Language, Poetry, and Narrating in The Tale of Genji and Other Mid-Heian Texts* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Haruo Shirane, *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of The Tale of Genji* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

³ Hibbett, Howard S. *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

⁴ Shirane, Haruo, ed. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

resent the major genres of poetry, prose fiction, and drama respectively.⁵ The emphasis on Genroku literature and drama has been so great that I would venture to guess that it surpasses in volume all the work done on texts in the rest of the early modern period. Not only have many of the texts of the “big three” been translated, major monographs have been written on Basho (Makoto Ueda, Haruo Shirane),⁶ Saikaku (Ivan Morris),⁷ and Chikamatsu (Drew Gerstle).⁸

Related to this interest in Genroku literature is the general interest by both scholars and non-specialists in haiku, with enormous attention being paid to a related “big three”: Matsuo Basho, Yosa Buson, and Kobayashi Issa, from the late seventeenth, late eighteenth, and early nineteenth century respectively. This interest in haiku has been driven by the English haiku movement, and as a consequence much of the material, both translations and scholarship, has been published by non-specialists, English haiku poets, whose work is not always very reliable. Nevertheless, it remains a lively area of interest, with direct links to the English-language world. Robert Hass, for example, who was the Poet Laureate of the U.S., wrote and edited a book on Basho, Buson, and Issa for public consumption though he was not a

Japanese specialist.⁹

By contrast, other important genres—particularly waka, *kyōka* (comic waka), *senryū* (comic haiku), *kanshi*, and *kyōshi* (comic Chinese poetry), all of which flourished in the early modern period—remain largely neglected. These genres flourished in the eighteenth century, after the Genroku period. The peak of *kyōka*, *senryū*, and *kyōshi* was in the mid- to late-eighteenth century. These texts need both to be translated and studied. One recent and welcome exception here is a *senryū* anthology edited and translated by Makoto Ueda.¹⁰

Another area that has drawn much interest in the West is kabuki, which begins in Genroku and spans the entire early modern period, and bunraku, puppet theater. In contrast to kabuki, which came to the foreground in the Genroku period and continued to flourish well into the mid-nineteenth century, *yoruri* (chanting to the accompaniment of the samisen and puppets) came to a peak in the mid-eighteenth century and then declined. Furthermore, kabuki continues to be an active genre. The nature of drama studies differs considerably from that of poetry and prose fiction in that most of the scholars are specialists in theater, with an interest in kabuki or *yoruri* as it exists today, as performance. In many cases, the focus has been on the present, on the “living tradition,” rather than on reconstructions of the past. Nevertheless, the relationship between kabuki and popular culture and literature is such that this field should become a major focus of socio-historical studies.

Kokugaku (also *wagaku*, nativist studies), which provided commentary on classical Japanese texts and espoused a nativist philosophy, and Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), the most notable *kokugaku* leader, have been the object of considerable study, but this field has been dominated by intellectual or political historians, who view *kokugaku* teleologically, in terms of the rise of modern nationalism, or strictly in relationship to

⁵ Donald Keene, tr. *Major Plays of Chikamatsu* (Columbia University Press, 1961), on Chikamatsu; Ivan Morris, tr. *The Life of an Amorous Woman* (NY: New Directions, 1963) and Howard Hibbett, *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959) on Saikaku; and Donald Keene, tr., “The Narrow Road of Oku,” in his *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Grove Press, 1955), on Basho.

⁶ Makoto Ueda, *Matsuo Basho: The Master Haiku Poet* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982); Ueda, Makoto. *Basho and his Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1992). Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Basho* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

⁷ Ivan Morris, *The Life of an Amorous Woman* (NY: New Directions, 1963)

⁸ Donald Keene, *Bunraku, The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theatre* (Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1965); Andrew Gerstle, *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986).

⁹ Robert Hass, *The Essential Haiku: Versions of Basho, Buson, and Issa* (Hopewell, N. J., Ecco Press, 1994).

¹⁰ Ueda, Makoto. *Light Verse From the Floating World: An Anthology of Premodern Japanese Senryū*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Neo-Confucianism or the ancient studies school, that is to say, in terms of political, religious, or philosophical issues.¹¹ By contrast, there are almost no studies of the early modern waka, which lies at the heart of this movement (Kamo no Mabuchi, one of the founders of *kokugaku*, was first and foremost a major waka poet), or of the philology and literary commentaries, which were the basis for what came to be called "thought." In the early modern period, as in the medieval period, commentary was a major genre of writing and scholarship. Nor has much attention been paid to the innovative work of these scholars (such as Fujitani Mitsue) on language. The *kokugaku* scholars were the first linguists of Japan, but this has been largely overlooked by Western scholars.

There are some anomalous areas, which can not easily be categorized. One of those is Ueda Akinari, the late-eighteenth century *yomihon* (fiction in neo-classical style, drawing heavily on Chinese and classical Japanese sources) writer and *kokugaku* scholar, who has attracted attention for *Ugetsu monogatari*, which has been made into a famous film by Mizoguchi Kenji. Meantime, other noted writers such as Hiraga Gennai have been almost completely neglected, particularly when it comes to published translations.

The great frontiers of scholarship and translation, particularly for prose fiction and poetry, lie in the period from early and middle eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. Of particular interest here is gesaku, popular prose fiction from mid-to-late eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century, which has been the object of study by a handful of scholars (James Araki, Sumie Jones, Leon Zolbrod, and others) but which has so far produced very few monographs.¹² Some of the vast holes in this

body of literature include *dangibon* (comic sermons), which followed the *ukiyo-zoshi*, and preceded the *yomihon* in the mid-eighteenth century, *sharebon* (fiction of the pleasure quarters) in the late-eighteenth century, and *gokan* ("combined" picture books), in the early-nineteenth century. No major works from these genres have been translated, and little has been written in English. *Hanashi-bon* (books of humor), which derive from public oral storytelling, and which differ from *kokkeibon* (comic fiction), have also been completely neglected.

Another major genre that remains unexplored is the *zuihitsu*, meditative writings, which became a major genre in the early modern period, actively carried out by scholars, poets, and artists of all persuasions (Neo-Confucian scholars, *kanshi* poets, *kokugaku* scholars, waka poets, historians, etc.). Even a noted *zuihitsu* such as Matsudaira Sadanobu's *Kagetsu zoshi* (Book of Moon and Blossoms), canonized in Japan from the Meiji period, has not been translated.

While it is difficult to discern recurrent trends in all these different subfields in the postwar era, one could say that post-war scholarship generally began, in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, with the study of authors and major texts (generally speaking, biographical or genre studies), while moving increasingly, in the 1980s and 1990s, to more interdisciplinary studies which eschew more traditional notions of literature in favor of focusing on texts in a broader cultural, economic, social, political, or geographical context. An example of a recent trend is Joshua Mostow's study of the relationship between text and image focusing on the reception of the *Ogura hyakunin isshu* (One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets) collection.¹³ Hopefully, we shall see studies that take up issues such as the relationship among print culture, publishing, commodity exchange, and literature, or cross-genre studies such as the study of the relationship between kabuki and prose fiction. These are just some of the possibilities for the future. At the same time, we still continue to

¹¹ Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). H.D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

¹² For example, see Araki, James T. "Sharebon: Books for Men of Mode." *Monumenta Nipponica* 24. 1-2 (1969): 31-45, Jones, Sumie Amikura. "Comic Fiction in Japan during the Later Edo Period." Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Washington, 1979, and Zolbrod, Leon M., trans. "The Vendetta of Mr. Fleacatcher Managoro, the Fifth, with

Illustrations by Kitao Shigemasa, and an Introduction." *Monumenta Nipponica* 20.1-2 (1965): 121-134.

¹³ Mostow, Joshua, *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

need good translations to pave the way.
(HS)

Poetry

Waka, Choka, Kanshi, and Kyoshi

We can define *haikai* as a verse form consisting of three lines with a 5/7/5 syllable count, or as a series of linked verses consisting of a first verse with a 5/7/5 syllable count, followed by a verse with a 7/7 syllable count, and continuing over several links, most often 36, which is called a *kasen*. Waka, in the form of *tanka*, or "short poems," is a verse form consisting of five lines with a 5/7/5/7/7 syllable count, and serves as the representative poetic form of the Japanese literary tradition, anthologized in twenty-one imperial and countless private collections. *Choka*, or "long poems," follow a sequence of several lines alternating in a 5/7 syllable pattern, and ending with the final two lines in a 7/7 syllable pattern. *Choka* represent an archaic poetic form, found most often in the massive eighth-century anthology, *Man'yoshu*, and *choka* composition proved rare until a revival in the early modern period. *Kanshi*, or "Chinese poetry," and *kyoshi*, "wild" or "deranged" poetry in Chinese, appear throughout Japanese literary history, especially as compositions by men (aristocratic women were expected to be proficient in waka), but over the course of the early modern period, a combination of factors led to an increase in both the numbers of poets working in the Chinese idiom, and in the quality of their production.

As we have seen above, a plethora of translations, studies, and "appreciations" are available in English for *haikai*, or its contemporary form, haiku. However, *haikai* was originally considered to be a "zoku," or plebian, form of literary production, while literary elites considered waka and *kanshi* as "ga," or refined, poetic forms. Waka and *kanshi* have not enjoyed the attention given to *haikai*, both in terms of translations, as well as in terms of studies. Even today, most early modern waka translations available are found in a prewar anthology, Miyamori Asataro's *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and*

Modern.¹⁴ A mere four pages are devoted to 16 examples of early modern *waka* (by six poets) in Donald Keene's *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, Hiroaki Sato and Burton Watson provide selections from Ryokan (1758-1831), 30 *tanka* by Tachibana Akemi (1812-68), and nine *kyoka* ("wild," or humorous *waka*) in their 1981 anthology, *From the Country of Eight Islands*, while Steven Carter, in his 1991 anthology, *Traditional Japanese Poetry*, includes just seven *kyoka*, 12 *waka* by Ryokan, and 23 *waka* by four poets, nine verses of which are by Akemi.¹⁵ If it were not for Keene's 1976 history of "premodern era" (Keene's terminology) Japanese literature, *World Within Walls*, and its three chapters devoted to early modern *waka* and *kyoka*, complete with example translations and discussions of several poets, then Western students and non-specialist scholars would have almost nothing available in English to which they could gain access.¹⁶ Since the 1980s, Peter Nosco has published a study of the important mid-*kinsei* poet and scholar Kada no Arimaro (1706-51) and his poetics, and Roger Thomas has published on the *ba-kumatsu* poet Okuma Kotomichi and others.¹⁷ There has yet to appear in English, however, a single study that treats the Japanese nativist schools of *wagaku* (or *kokugaku*) as primarily a collection of schools of poetics and classical studies, much less a treatise that examines the distinc-

¹⁴ Miyamori Asataro. *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and Modern*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970 (2 volumes, reprint of 1936 edition).

¹⁵ Keene, Donald, ed. *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Grove Press, 1955; Sato, Hiroaki and Burton Watson, ed. and trans. *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*. (Anchor Books) Garden City: Anchor Press, 1981; Carter, Steven, tr. and intro. *Traditional Japanese Poetry: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

¹⁶ Keene, Donald. *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era 1600-1868*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

¹⁷ Nosco, Peter. "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The *Kokka hachiron* Controversy: 1742-46." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41.1 (1981): 75-91; Thomas, Roger K. "Okuma Kotomichi and the Re-Visioning of *Kokinshu* Elegance." *Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 3 (1997): 160-81.

tions between the various schools of *tosho* (or *dojo*, court-sponsored) poetry, *jige* (officially recognized poetry schools), and other, unofficially organized, movements, including the *wagaku* schools started by Shinto clergy, such as Kada no Azumamaro and Kamo no Mabuchi, or by *chonin* urbanites, such as Murata Harumi in Edo, and Ozawa Roan in Kyoto.

Surprisingly, the situation for poetry in Chinese is somewhat better. In addition to Keene's chapter in *World Within Walls* on "Poetry and Prose in Chinese," there exist at least five book-length translations of Chinese prose and/or poetry composed by Japanese in the early modern period. Premier among these in terms of volume is the 1997 collection by Timothy Bradstock and Judith Rabinovitch, ed. *An Anthology of Kanshi (Chinese Verse) by Japanese Poets of the Edo Period (1603-1868)*.¹⁸ This collection includes selections from 93 poets working in *kanshi*, and six poets composing in the humorous *kyoshi* form. The compilers provide an introduction for each poet, describing his or her life and poetic activities. It is unfortunate, though, that this valuable anthology is priced beyond an affordable level for students or non-specialists to purchase. Burton Watson has published three volumes of early modern *kanshi* translations, *Japanese Literature in Chinese-Volume 2, Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jozan and Other Edo-Period Poets*, and *Grass Hill: Poems and Prose by the Japanese Monk Gensei*.¹⁹ Hiroaki Sato has recently compiled and translated *Breeze through Bamboo: Kanshi of Ema Saiko*, the first anthology of Japanese poems in Chinese by a woman to appear in English.²⁰ David Pollack and Andrew Mar-

kus have published essays on comic *kanshi*, or *kyoshi*, which provide something of a starting point for future studies of this important genre.²¹ The next step now is to build on this groundwork with a critical study of *kanshi* in the early modern period, and in-depth studies of various circles and individual poets.

One *kanshi* poet has received inordinate attention in English, the itinerant Zen monk, Ryokan (1758-1831). Several volumes of his verse in Chinese and Japanese have appeared, including those by John Stevens, Burton Watson, and, most recently, Ryuichi Abe and Peter Haskell.²² Ryokan lived a relatively isolated existence in rural Japan, however, and his work was not recognized even by Japanese scholars until the modern period. This falls in stark contrast to the case of Rai San'yo (1780-1832), who exerted enormous influence both during his life and afterward, but who has not enjoyed similar recognition in the West.

(LEM)

Haikai and Haibun

The Western history of poetry in the Tokugawa period has basically been the history of haiku. The Western reception of haiku has been deeply influenced by the the Imagists, who appeared in the 1910s, and the North American haiku movement, which emerged in the 1960s. The Imagists were a small group of English and American poets—Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell, D. H. Lawrence, William Carlos Williams, H.D., John Gould Fletcher, F.S. Flint, and others—who worked together in London in the early 20th century, especially between 1912 and 1914, and whose poetry was to have a profound influence on the devel-

¹⁸ Bradstock, Timothy and Judith Rabinovitch tr. and ed. *An Anthology of Kanshi (Chinese Verse) by Japanese Poets of the Edo Period (1603-1868)*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997.

¹⁹ Watson, Burton. *Grass Hill: Poems and Prose by the Japanese Monk Gensei*. New York: Columbia UP, 1983. Watson, Burton. *Kanshi: The Poetry of Ishikawa Jozan and Other Edo Period Poets*. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990. Watson, Burton, trans. *Japanese Literature in Chinese: Volume 2, Poetry and Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Later Period*. New York and Guildford: Columbia University Press, 1976.

²⁰ Sato, Hiroaki, trans. *Breeze through Bamboo: Kanshi of Ema Saiko*. New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1998.

²¹ Pollack, David. "Kyoshi: Japanese 'Wild Poetry'." *Journal of Asian Studies* 38 (1979): 499-517. Markus, Andrew. "Domyaku Sensei and 'The Housemaid's Ballad' (1769)." *HJAS* 58.1 (1998): 5-58.

²² Stephens, John tr. *One Robe, One Bowl: The Zen Poetry of Ryokan*. New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1977. Watson, Burton. *Ryokan: Zen Monk-Poet of Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. Yuasa, Nobuyuki. *The Zen Poems of Ryokan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. Abe, Ryuichi and Peter Haskell. *Great Fool: Zen Master Ryokan - Poems, Letters, and Other Writings, Translated with Essays by Ryuichi Abe and Peter Haskell*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

opment of T.S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens, and other major 20th-century poets. The Imagists stressed concentration, directness, precision, and freedom from metrical laws, and gravitated toward a single, usually visual, dominant image, or a succession of related images. Pound also stressed the notion of juxtaposition, especially sharp contrasts in texture and color.

During the 1950s, America suddenly took an avid interest in Japanese culture and religion, especially Zen Buddhism and haiku. Alan Watts, Daisetz T. Suzuki, the San Francisco poets, the Beats (in New York)—especially Jack Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums*, a best-selling novel centered on a protagonist (modeled on Gary Snyder) who composes haiku—and American scholar-translators such as Donald Keene contributed to the popular interest in haiku, but most of all it was R. H. Blyth, Kenneth Yasuda, and Harold Henderson, who wrote a series of books—a four-volume work called *Haiku* by Blyth, Yasuda's *The Japanese Haiku: Its Essential Nature, History, and Possibilities in English*, and Henderson's *An Introduction to Haiku: An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Basho to Shiki*—that generated widespread fascination with haiku and set the stage for a North American English haiku movement, which flourished in the 1960s and continues to this day.²³

Following Pound and the Imagists, Blyth focused on the "concrete thing," but without the "intellectual and emotional complex" that has interested Pound. For Blyth, haiku was the poetry of "meaningful touch, taste, sound, sight, and smell," "the poetry of sensation"—as opposed to that of thought and emotion. Furthermore, Blyth, coming under the spell of D.T. Suzuki's view of Zen, believed that reading and composing haiku was a spiritual experience in which poet and nature were united. Zen, which becomes indistinguishable from haiku in much of Blyth's writing, was "a state of mind in which we are not

separated from other things, are indeed identical with them, and yet retain our own individuality. . . . Haiku is the apprehension of a thing by a realization of our own original and essential unity with it." This view of haiku as a spiritual subject/object fusion had a profound impact on subsequent Western reception of haiku. In *The Japanese Haiku: Its Essential Nature, History, and Possibilities in English*, Kenneth Yasuda, like Blyth before him, stressed the "haiku moment" when the poet reaches "an enlightened, Nirvana-like harmony" and the "poet's nature and environment are unified." In Yasuda's view, the haiku poet also "eschews metaphor, simile, or personification."

Harold Henderson's *An Introduction to Haiku: An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Basho to Shiki*, an updated version of an earlier book called *The Bamboo Room* from the 1930s, provided a major stimulus to the North American haiku movement, which emerged in the 1960s. In contrast to Blyth and Yasuda, Henderson did not regard haiku as a spiritual or aesthetic experience and downplayed the notion of Zen illumination. Instead, he drew attention to the "overtones," the highly suggestive quality of good haiku, the techniques of condensation and ellipsis, and stressed the importance of the reader, who works by the process of association. Unlike Yasuda, who believed that the haiku should have only one focal point, Henderson drew attention to the role of the cutting word (*kireji*), which divided the haiku in half, creating two centers and often generating what he called the "principle of internal comparison," an implicit comparison, equation, or contrast between two separate elements—a dynamic that he saw as a major characteristic of Basho's poetry.

As this brief overview of Anglo-American reception suggests, haiku has been largely conceived as the poetry of the object (particularly small things), of "sensation," and of the moment. There has also been a strong tendency to treat the haiku in a spiritual context or in an autobiographical, personal mode, especially as "haiku experience." By stressing the unity of the poet and the object, writers such as Blyth and Yasuda transformed the "impersonality" that the Imagists stressed into a highly subjective, personal moment, closely tied to the spiritual state of the

²³ Blyth, Reginald H. *Haiku*. 4v. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1949-52, Henderson, Harold G. *An Introduction to Haiku: An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Basho to Shiki*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958, and Yasuda, Kenneth. *The Japanese Haiku: Its Essential Nature, History, and Possibilities in English, with Selected Examples*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1957.

poet. Indeed, Western scholars have tended to regard Basho as an autobiographical, confessional poet, as a part of a larger literary and cultural tradition that gives priority to "truth," "fact," and "sincerity."

The state of the field was significantly altered by the work of Makoto Ueda who produced the first modern scholarly study of Basho in English, *Matsuo Basho: The Master Haiku Poet*.²⁴ Here and in a number of related essays, Ueda not only provided a biographical context for Basho's work, he examined the different genres that Basho was engaged in, going beyond the *hokku* (haiku) to analyze linked verse (haikai), *haibun* (haikai prose), and *hairon* (haikai theory), thereby paving the way for future research. In 1992, Ueda made yet another major contribution, in his book *Basho and his Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary*, which was the first book to translate commentaries (modern and early modern) on specific poems, thus revealing the wide range of possibilities for reading Basho's haiku.²⁵

In *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Basho* (Stanford University Press, 1997), Haruo Shirane brings together the issues of language, landscape, cultural memory, and social practice through a reassessment of haikai, particularly that of Basho and his disciples, which he sees as emerging from the engagement between the new commoner culture and earlier literary texts, which haikai parodied, transformed, and translated into the vernacular.²⁶ Shirane explores the notion of "haikai imagination," the seemingly paradoxical co-existence of different textual and perceptual planes—figurative and literal, monologic and dialogic, referential and parodic, objective and subjective, personal and impersonal, metaphorical and metonymical, representation and collage—multiple planes made possible in large part by the fundamental haikai assumption that the meaning of the text is relative and dependent on its context,

²⁴ Ueda, Makoto, *Matsuo Basho: The Master Haiku Poet*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982.

²⁵ Ueda, Basho and his Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.

²⁶ Shirane, Haruo, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Basho*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

which is subject to constant change.

One of the most striking aspects of Basho studies in the West has been the overwhelming interest in *Oku no hosomichi*. There have been a number of translations, which range from the haiku poet Cid Corman's experimental *Back Roads to Far Towns*, to Dorothy Britton's *A Haiku Journey: Basho's Narrow Road to a Far Province*, to Donald Keene's translation, *The Narrow Road to Oku*, and Helen McCullough's translation in her *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*. Most recently Hiroaki Sato has come out with another translation, using one-line translations of the *hokku*. Each of these has sought out a different aspect of the text.²⁷

For example, in one section, Basho and his companion Sora encounter a pair of courtesans (*yujo*) on a pilgrimage, but reject the women's plea to serve as their traveling companions. Corman's translation, preserving the ellipses and tense changes of the original Japanese, provides a direct, stream-of-consciousness effect on the reader. "'Unfortunately we often like to take detours. Just follow anyone going your way. Surely the gods will protect you and see you safely through,' words lift them on leaving, but felt sorry for them for some time after" (section 41). McCullough desires to provide a translation that attempts to be both faithful to the original and at the same time readable in English. She translates, "'I sympathize with you, but we'll be making frequent stops. Just follow others going to the same place; I'm sure the gods will see you there safely.' We walked off without waiting for an answer, but it was some time before I could stop feeling sorrow for them" (p. 545). Sato's translation attempts to remain as faithful as possible, while at the same time ex-

²⁷ Corman, Cid and Kamaike Susumu trans., *Back Roads to Far Towns*. New York: Mushinsha/Grossman, 1968; Britton, Dorothy trans., *A Haiku Journey: Basho's Narrow Road to a Far Province*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980; Keene, Donald, trans., *The Narrow Road to Oku*. New York: Kodansha International, 1996; McCullough, Helen, trans., "The Narrow Road of the Interior." In Helen McCullough comp. and ed., *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990: 522-551; Sato, Hiroaki, *Basho's Narrow Road*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1996; also, Hamill, Sam, trans. *Narrow Road to the Interior*. Boston: Shambhala, 1991.

ploiting the lyricism of the original. "However, I had to tell them: 'We sympathize with your plight, but we stop in many places. You should go along following the others as they go. With the Sun Goddess's protection, all should go well.' And so we left. Nevertheless, sadness did not cease for quite some time" (p. 111). Each translation, imagining a different potential readership, enhances one aspect of the text while downplaying other possible readings.

Buson's haikai appears in all the major English anthologies of Japanese poetry. Some more focused examples include Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai ed., *Haikai and Haiku*, which includes hokku and his *washi* (Japanese-Chinese poetry) and Sawa Yuki and Edith M. Shiffert's *Haiku Master Buson*.²⁸ Some of the best translations and explications appear in Makoto Ueda's recent study *The Path of Flowering Thorn: The Life and Poetry of Yosa Buson* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998).²⁹ As in his book on Basho, Ueda takes a biographical approach, while at the same time exploring Buson's interests in a variety of art forms. (Ueda, however, does not deal with Buson as a visual artist, as the composer of *haiga*, or haikai paintings, which were a critical part of his career as a *bunjin*, or Chinese-styled literati.) Leon Zolbrod also wrote a series of articles on Buson and unfortunately passed away before publishing his book on Buson.³⁰ Other important

²⁸ Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, ed., *Haikai and Haiku*. Tokyo: Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, 1958; Sawa, Yuki and Edith M. Shiffert, *Haiku Master Buson*. San Francisco: Heian International, 1978.

²⁹ Ueda, Makoto. *The Path of Flowering Thorn: The Life and Poetry of Yosa Buson*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

³⁰ Zolbrod, Leon M., "Buson's Poetic Ideals: The Theory and Practice of Haikai in the Age of Revival, 1771-1784." *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 9.1 (1974): 1-20; Zolbrod, "Death of a Poet-Painter: Yosa Buson's Last Year, 1783-84." In Saburo Ota and Rikutarō Fukuda, *Studies on Japanese Culture*, Vols. I and II. Tokyo: Japan P.E.N. Club, 1973: I:146-54; Zolbrod, "Emblems of Aging and Immortality in the Poetry and Painting of Buson (1716-1784)," in *Selecta: Journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages* 7 (1986): 26-31; Zolbrod, "Talking Poetry: Buson's View of the Art of Haiku." *Literature East and West* 15-16 (1971-1972): 719-34; Zolbrod, "The Busy Year: Buson's Life and Work, 1777." *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 3 (1988): 53-81.

essays on Buson include Mark Morris, "Buson and Shiki."³¹

Of the three famous early modern haiku masters (Basho, Buson, and Issa), Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827) is perhaps the most popular among English haiku poets. He is easily translated and his works are easily accessible. Basho and Buson, by contrast, rely heavily on Chinese or classical Japanese allusions, which escape English readers. His major prose works have also been translated, most notably *Journal of My Father's Last Days* (*Chichi no shuen nikki*) and *The Year of My Life* (*Oraga ga haru*), and have proved to be popular among North American audiences³². Lewis Mackenzie has also translated many of Issa's texts in *The Autumn Wind*.³³

A word should be said here about *haibun*, or haikai prose, a major prose genre pioneered by Matsuo Basho. Considerable work has been done on *Oku no hosomichi*, perhaps the most famous work of *haibun*. Haruo Shirane's *Traces of Dreams* looks at *Oku no hosomichi* as a form of *haibun* rather than, as many earlier scholars and translators have, as simply a form of travel diary. Much work, however, remains to be done with *haibun* after *Oku no hosomichi*. Basho's disciples compiled a number of *haibun* anthologies, and the genre prospered into the modern period. The only translation/study of post-Basho *haibun* is Lawrence Rogers's work on Yokoi Yayu's *Uzuragoromo*.³⁴

(HS)

Senryu and Kyoka

Almost all the attention to early modern poetry has been focused on haiku. There has been, how-

³¹ Morris, Mark, "Buson and Shiki." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 44, No.2 (1984-5).

³² See Huey, Robert N., "Journal of My Father's Last Days: Issa's *Chichi no Shuen Nikki*," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 39.1, 1984, and Yuasa, Nobuyuki trans., *The Year of My Life: A Translation of Issa's Oraga Haru* (University of California Press, 1960; also Hamill, Sam, trans. *The Spring of My Life and Selected Haiku*. Boston & London: Shambhala, 1997.

³³ Mackenzie, Lewis trans., *The Autumn Wind*. London: John Murray, 1957.

³⁴ Rogers, Lawrence, "Rags and Tatters: The *Uzuragoromo* of Yokoi Yayu." *Monumenta Nipponica*, No. 34, 1979.

ever, some work on *senryu*, the seventeen syllable comic haiku, mainly as a result of the general interest in haiku. In contrast to haiku, which generally requires a seasonal word and a cutting word and tends to be serious poetry related to nature, *senryu* requires neither the seasonal word nor the cutting word and focuses instead on the human condition and often provides satire of contemporary society. R. H. Blyth, who was one of the pioneers of haiku, took a serious interest in *senryu* and wrote a series of books—including *Edo Satirical Verse Anthologies* and *Japanese Life and Characters in Senryu*—and articles in the 1950s and 1960s, in which he advocated the value of *senryu* as an alternative or complement to haiku.³⁵ Though poets of English haiku have taken a serious interest in *senryu* (often more suited to English haiku, which has a hard time with the seasonal word) and regularly use this genre, relatively little has been done in English scholarship or translation until recently, with the publication of Makoto Ueda's recent anthology of *senryu*, which should do much to vitalize the study of this genre.³⁶

Kyōka, or comic waka, which came into prominence in the late-eighteenth century, has been by contrast almost entirely neglected. Except for a handful of translations in large poetry anthologies, such as Watson and Sato's *Eight Islands*, Geoffrey Bownas and Anthony Thwaite, *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse*, and Steven Carter's *Anthology of Japanese Poetry*, there are hardly any translations, not to mention serious studies.³⁷

(HS)

³⁵ Blyth, Reginald H., *Edo Satirical Verse Anthologies*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1961, and Blyth, *Japanese Life and Characters in Senryu*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1961.

³⁶ Ueda, Makoto, *Light Verse From the Floating World: An Anthology of Premodern Japanese Senryu*, Columbia University Press, 1999.

³⁷ Sato, Hiroaki, and Burton Watson, ed. and trans., *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*. Garden City: Anchor Press, 1981; Bownas, Geoffrey, and Anthony Thwaite, *The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1986; Carter, Steven, *Traditional Japanese Poetry: An Anthology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Narrative Fiction

General Comments

As mentioned in the General Comments above, the state of the field for narrative fiction outside of Saikaku, for whom more studies and translations exist than any other author, is basically open for anyone interested in doing some work. Currently, Saikaku himself seems to be on a kind of island, neither preceded by any significant kana-zoshi writers (of whom Asai Ryōi stands out in particular), nor flanked by any contemporaries or followers, with the exception of Ejima Kiseki, on whom work was done a half century ago by Howard Hibbett.³⁸ In Japan, new editions of kana-zoshi and ukiyo-zoshi by less-well-known authors have been appearing in recent years, both in the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* compendium (for which fully 40 of the 100 total volumes features early modern texts), and in the unannotated but still valuable *Sosho Edo bunko* (50 volumes).³⁹ Aside from Hachimonjiya publishing house writers, Kiseki and Jisho, the names of Miyako no Nishiki, Nishizawa Ippu, and Tada Nanrei come to mind as fertile ground for research and translation that will place Saikaku in a context he does not currently have. Nanrei, a Shinto intellectual figure, especially plays an important role as a bridge to later writers, such as Tsuga Teisho and Ueda Akinari. Among dangibon "sermonizers," not only is Hiraga Gennai currently absent from the field, his appearance makes little sense without study of the lives and works of such predecessors as Masuho Zanko, Issai Chozan, and Jokambo Koa. Gennai's pre-

³⁸ Hibbett, Howard. *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

³⁹ Satake Akihiro, et al. *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei*. 100 volumes + indices. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989-; Takada Mamoru and Hara Michio, ed. *Sosho Edo bunko*. 50 volumes. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1987-2002.

mier disciple, Morishima Churyo (Shin-ra Manzo) expanded Gennai's oeuvre even further, and deserves as much scholarly attention as Gennai himself.

(LEM)

Kana-zoshi and Ukiyo-zoshi

Kana-zoshi (literally, "books in *kana*") was the prose fiction genre that flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century, prior to the rise of *ukiyo-zoshi* in the Genroku period. Some representative pieces have been translated. Two are parodies of Heian classical texts (*Makura no soshi* and *Ise monogatari*): *Inu makura*, by Edward Putzar ("Inu makura: The Dog Pillow.") and *Nise monogatari*, by Jack Kucinski ("A Japanese Burlesque: *Nise Monogatari*").⁴⁰ Another popular *kana-zoshi* that has been translated in part is *Chikusai monogatari*, by Edward Putzar ("Chikusai monogatari: A Partial Translation").⁴¹

But there are almost no studies of this genre as a whole. The only extended study are a 1957 article by Richard Lane ("The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel: *Kana-zoshi*, 1600-1682." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, No. 20, 1957) and an entry in Keene's *World Within Walls*.⁴²

The most extensive translation and research in early modern prose fiction has been with regard to Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693). With the exception of *Koshoku ichidai otoko*, his first work of prose fiction, which exists in a poor translation, almost all of Saikaku's major works have been translated into English, and in many instances we have more than one good translation. In the 1950's, Richard Lane, who did a dissertation on Saikaku at Columbia University, did a series of articles and translations on Saikaku.⁴³ This was followed

in the early 1960s by Ivan Morris, who published *The Life of an Amorous Woman*, which included not only a translation of *Life of an Amorous Woman* but selections from other major works including *Five Women Who Chose Love*, and *Reckonings That Carry Men Through the World* (*Seken munesan'yo*).⁴⁴ Other noteworthy translations include Caryl Ann Callahan's translation of *Bukegiri monogatari*, *Tales of Samurai Honor*, Wm. Theodore de Bary's *Five Women Who Loved Love*, Robert Leutner's "Saikaku's Parting Gift—Translations From *Saikaku Okimiyage*", and G. W. Sargent's *The Japanese Family Storehouse or the Millionaire's Gospel Modernized*, an excellent translation of *Nippon eitaigura*.⁴⁵ Another noteworthy translation is Paul Schalow's *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (Stanford UP, 1990), a translation of *Nanshoku okagami*.⁴⁶ Christopher Drake is completing a translation of *Koshoku*

Renaissance." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia U., 1957; Lane, "Saikaku's Prose Works; A Bibliographical Study." *Monumenta Nipponica* 14 (1958): 1-26; Lane, "Saikaku and Boccaccio; The Novella in Japan and Italy." *Monumenta Nipponica* 15.1-2 (1959-60): 87-118; Lane, "Saikaku and the Japanese Novel of Realism." *Japan Quarterly* 4 (1957): 178-188; Lane, "Saikaku and the Modern Japanese Novel." In *Japan's Modern Century*. Tokyo: Sophia U., 1968: 115-132; Lane, trans., "Three Stories from Saikaku." *Japan Quarterly* 5 (1958): 71-82. ["How the flea escaped his cage"; "Wild violets may be plucked free, but for a courtesan you need hard cash"; "They thought him no different from the grubs."]; Lane, trans., "Two Samurai Tales; Romance and Realism in Old Japan." *Atlantic* 195 (1955): 126-27; Lane, trans., "The Umbrella Oracle." in Donald Keene ed. *Anthology of Japanese Literature*. NY: Grove Press, 1955: 354-356.

⁴⁴ Morris, Ivan, trans., "The Eternal Storehouse of Japan." "Five Women Who Chose Love," "Life of an Amorous Woman," *Reckonings That Carry Men Through the World*. In Ivan Morris trans., *The Life of an Amorous Woman and Other Writings*. New York: New Directions, 1963.

⁴⁵ Callahan, Caryl Ann, *Tales of Samurai Honor*. Tokyo: Monumenta Nipponica, 1981; de Bary, Wm. Theodore, trans., *Five Women Who Loved Love*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1956; Leutner, Robert. "Saikaku's Parting Gift—Translations From Saikaku Okimiyage." *MN* 30.4 (1975): 357-391; and Sargent, G.W., trans. *The Japanese Family Storehouse or the Millionaire's Gospel Modernized*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

⁴⁶ Schalow, Paul Gordon, *The Great Mirror of Male Love*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

⁴⁰ Putzar, Edward, "Inu makura: The Dog Pillow." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 98-113; Rucinski, Jack. "A Japanese Burlesque: *Nise Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 30.1 (1975): 39-62.

⁴¹ Putzar, Edward, trans., "Chikusai monogatari: A Partial Translation." *Monumenta Nipponica* 16 (1960-61): 161-195.

⁴² Lane, Richard, "The Beginnings of the Modern Japanese Novel: *Kana-zoshi*, 1600-1682." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957): 644-701.

⁴³ Lane, Richard, "Postwar Japanese Studies of the Novelist Saikaku." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 18 (1955): 181-99; Lane, "Saikaku: Novelist of the Japanese

ichidai otoko, Saikaku's first work of prose fiction and the first *ukiyo-zoshi*.

Despite the large number of translations, the scholarship has tended to be limited to explications of the socio-historical context of Saikaku's works, with particular emphasis on his *chonin* background and the commercial world that he inhabited. One exceptional article, which was important in Japan and should draw more attention in the West, is that by Noma Koshin, "Saikaku's Adoption of *Shuko* from *Kabuki* and *Joruri*," which reveals the manner in which Saikaku borrowed and parodied dramatic techniques (such as the *michiyuki*) from *kabuki* and *joruri* for his fiction.⁴⁷ Saikaku awaits a major monograph in English.

Little has been done in the area of post-Saikaku *ukiyo-zoshi*, commonly referred to as *Hachimonjiya-bon*. The only significant work are the translations of Ejima Kiseki (1667-1736) by Howard Hibbett (*The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*, 1959), whose 1950 Harvard University dissertation was on Kiseki, and Charles Fox ("Old Stories, New Modes: Ejima Kiseki's *Ukiyo Oyaji Katagi*". Hibbett translated selections from Ejima's *Seken musuko katagi* (*Characters of Worldly Young Men*, 1715) and *Seken musume katagi* (*Characters of Worldly Young Women*, 1717), and Fox translated selections from *Ukiyo oyaji katagi* (*Characters of Worldly Fathers*).⁴⁸

Dangibon and Early Kokkeibon

Another major lacuna in Edo prose fiction is the *dangibon* (comic sermons) and early *kokkeibon* (comic fiction) written in Edo from the mid-eighteenth century, particularly the work of the monumental figure of Hiraga Gennai (1728-1779), who wrote two masterworks, *Furyu Shi-*

doken den (*The Modern Life of Shidoken*) and *Nenashigusa* (*Rootless Weeds*), as well as the comic essay *Hohiron* (*A Theory of Farting*). There have been several Ph. D. dissertations on the subject, but none of these has been published.⁴⁹ Fortunately, *Early Modern Japanese Literature, An Anthology* includes major selections from Gennai, who is a writer on the order of Ihara Saikaku and Ueda Akinari, but still obscure in Western scholarship.⁵⁰

(HS)

Later Fiction

Gesaku. Virtually all fictional prose narratives written after 1750 are categorized into one of several subgenres of "*gesaku*," sometimes translated as "frivolous works" or "playful writings." The term derives from the fact that narrative fiction was considered base and vulgar, and members of the *bushi*, or samurai class, were especially discouraged from reading such works, much less writing them. Nevertheless, many of the most active *gesaku* writers came from samurai ranks, and samurai, as well as other classes, appear prominently in the pages of these works.

Gesaku is one of the areas in which *World Within Walls* provides little discussion, in spite of the fact that more publishing of *gesaku* works occurred in the last century of the early modern period than in any other field. Haruko Iwasaki's essay "The Literature of Wit and Humor in Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo," in Donald Jenkins' *The Floating World Revisited* (1993) provides one of the few extended discussions of *gesaku* available in English.⁵¹ Iwasaki's recognition of *sekai* ("world") and *shuko* ("trope") as factors making

⁴⁷ Noma, Koshin. "Saikaku's Adoption of *Shuko* from *Kabuki* and *Joruri*." *Acta Asiatica* 28. (1975): 62-83.

⁴⁸ Hibbett, Howard S., Jr., *The Floating World in Japanese Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Includes translations of "A Prig", "A Rake", "A Spendthrift", "A Swaggerer", and "A Worthless Trio" from *Characters of Worldly Young Men*. (*Seken musuko katagi*, 1715), as well as "A Wayward Wife" from *Characters of Worldly Young Women*. (*Seken musume katagi*, 1717). Fox, Charles E., "Old Stories, New Modes: Ejima Kiseki's *Ukiyo Oyaji Katagi*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 43.1 (1988): 63-93.

⁴⁹ Probably the best of these are Stanleigh Jones, "Scholar, Scientist, Popular Author, Hiraga Gennai, 1728-1780," Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University, 1971), and Sumie Jones, "Comic Fiction in Japan during the Later Edo Period," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Washington, 1979).

⁵⁰ Shirane, Haruo, ed. *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology 1600-1900*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

⁵¹ Iwasaki, Haruko. "The Literature of Wit and Humor in Late-Eighteenth-Century Edo." In Jenkins, Donald. *The Floating World Revisited*. Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1993, distributed by University of Hawai'i Press: 47-61.

up *gesaku* structure provides a starting point for future research in *gesaku* across the lines of the various subgenres. Finally, a pair of essays by the premier scholar of *gesaku* in Japan today, Nakano Mitsutoshi, attempts to generate interest in early modern literature, especially *gesaku*, from the perspective of its radical "dissimilarity" to the literature of other periods, and from the perspective of the interplay between word and image, especially in the 1770s and 1780s.⁵²

Yomihon. Yomihon (literally, "reading books") are distinct from other forms of *gesaku* in several ways. For one thing, their illustrations were limited to frontispieces, or to one or two illustrations per volume, while the other *gesaku* subgenres depended heavily on a sophisticated blend of image and text in their works. Furthermore, yomihon were generally historical in nature. For this reason Leon Zolbrod, in a 1966 article, referred to the yomihon as "historical novels."⁵³ Since Zolbrod's article, practically nothing has appeared in English on yomihon as a general form, in spite of the fact that the two major writers of the final century of the early modern era, Ueda Akinari and Kyokutei Bakin, are remembered today for their yomihon works.

Yomihon are not a monolithic form. Given the fact that they originated in the Kamigata (Kyoto-Osaka region) in the mid-eighteenth century, but developed in Edo from the 1790s through the 1840s, we cannot expect uniformity. Basically, *yomihon* are divided into the early *yomihon*, centered in the Kamigata region and represented by Tsuga Teisho and Ueda Akinari, and the Edo *yomihon*, represented by Santo Kyoden and Kyokutei Bakin. Recently, the Japanese scholar Takagi Gen has conducted extensive work in a subgenre called the *Chubongata yomihon*, a

subgenre of the Edo *yomihon*, which are lighter in style and smaller in size, and so were less expensive to produce, yet retained the relative stature of their larger counterparts.⁵⁴ No research is available in English on this subgenre, and, aside from Leon Zolbrod's work on Bakin, including his 1967 monograph, next to nothing has been published on the Edo *yomihon* in general.⁵⁵

Ueda Akinari and his works are a different matter. Translations of *Ugetsu monogatari* (1776) made up some of the first articles to appear in *Monumenta Nipponica*, and Akinari-related articles and translations have continued to appear in that journal on a regular basis.⁵⁶ *Ugetsu monogatari* itself has been translated in whole or in part several times, starting with Koizumi Yakumo's (Lafcadio Hearn's) "Of a Promise Kept" (*Kikka no chigiri*) and "The Story of Kogi the Priest" (*Muo no rigyo*) in *A Japanese Miscellany* (1905) up to William F. Sibley's "The Blue Cowl" (*Aozukin*) in *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature* (1996).⁵⁷ The "standard" translation of *Ugetsu monogatari* to date, though, is Leon Zolbrod's *Ugetsu monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain* (1974).⁵⁸ Perhaps inspired by Mizoguchi Kenji's 1953 film of the same name, and even a

⁵⁴ Takagi, Gen. *Edo yomihon no kenkyu: jukyū-seiki shosetsu yoshiki ko*. Tokyo: Perikan Sha, 1995.

⁵⁵ Zolbrod, Leon M. *Takizawa Bakin*. New York: Twayne, 1967.

⁵⁶ Saunders, Dale tr. "Ugetsu Monogatari or Tales of Moonlight and Rain." *MN* 21 (1966): 171-202; Araki, James T. "A Critical Approach to the 'Ugetsu Monogatari'." *Monumenta Nipponica* 22 (1967): 49-64; Chambers, Anthony tr. "Hankai: A Translation from *Harusame Mongatari* by Ueda Akinari." *MN* 25.3-4 (1970): 371-406; Washburn, Dennis. "Ghostwriters and Literary Haunts: Subordinating Ethics to Art in *Ugetsu Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 45.1 (1990): 39-74; Fessler, Susanna. "The Nature of the Kami: Ueda Akinari and *Tandai Shoshin Roku*." *MN* 51.1 (1996): 1-16.

⁵⁷ Hearn, Lafcadio. *A Japanese Miscellany: Strange Stories, Folklore Gleanings, Studies Here and There*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1967 (reprint of 1905 original); Sibley, William F., trans. "The Blue Cowl [*Aozukin*]." In Steven D. Miller, ed. *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature*. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1996: 125-33.

⁵⁸ Zolbrod, Leon M., trans. *Ugetsu Monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974.

⁵² Nakano, Mitsutoshi. "Revising Edo." *The Japan Foundation Newsletter* 21-1 (1993): 1-8; Ibid. "Hard-boiled Survivors of the Edo Studies Boom." *Japanese Book News* (Japan Foundation) 18 (1997): 3-5. (Reprinted as "The Edo Period as an Antidote to Modernism: A Plea for Accepting the Tokugawa Age on Its Own Terms." *The East* 33-6 (1998): 20-22).

⁵³ Zolbrod, Leon. "Yomihon: The Appearance of the Historical Novel in Late Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Japan." *Journal of Asian Studies* 25 (1966): 485-498.

jazz composition by Art Blakey, "Ugetsu" (Blakey believed that "ugetsu" was the Japanese translation for "fantasy"), recorded in concert in Tokyo in 1961, Sasaki Takamasa created a limited-edition translation in 1981 that attempts to recreate Akinari's prose in a style attempting to emulate Shakespeare's.⁵⁹ While Sasaki's translation falls short of its goal, it provides an example of the range of possibilities available when translating early modern literary texts. Akinari's other major collection of historical narratives, *Harusame monogatari* (1805-09; unpublished until modern times), has also received quite a bit of attention, with translations of the longest story in the collection, "Hankai," by Anthony Chambers in 1970, Blake Morgan Young in 1972, and its inclusion in Barry Jackman's complete translation, *Tales of the Spring Rain: Harusame Monogatari by Ueda Akinari* in 1975.⁶⁰ Jackman's translation is especially helpful in that it provides an alternative translation of parts of "Hankai" based on a variant manuscript.

Several scholars have done critical studies on Akinari and his work. Young's 1982 biography is a detailed study of Akinari's life and major work, and provides a starting point for future studies.⁶¹ James T. Araki in 1967 provided the first "critical approach" (in his words) to *Ugetsu monogatari*, identifying the relationship between the text and Chinese vernacular sources.⁶² Another important study that links *Ugetsu monogatari* to Akinari's nativist scholarship is Dennis Washburn's 1990 "Ghostwriters and Literary Haunts: Subordinating Ethics to Art in *Ugetsu Monogatari*."⁶³ In 1999, Noriko R. Reider conducted a useful comparative study of one of the

stories in *Ugetsu monogatari* with its Chinese source.⁶⁴ Given Akinari's breadth, a comparative approach that also takes in the intellectual trends of the time seems most promising. The ongoing publication of Akinari's collected works in Japan provides scholars with accurately transcribed texts, and first-rate introductions to those texts, that promise to open up a new era of Akinari scholarship, both in Japan and abroad.⁶⁵ This is especially important with regard to his many other untranslated works that demand careful analysis.

Akinari, like Hiraga Gennai and Buson, is considered a representative *bunjin*, or bohemian individualist, of the eighteenth century. Another *bunjin*, Takebe Ayatari, was a contemporary who associated with Akinari, and probably Gennai. Lawrence E. Marceau has completed a study of his life and many of his literary and artistic works from the *bunjin* perspective, due to appear from the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.⁶⁶ One of Ayatari's important works was translated from the perspective of the "star-crossed-lovers" motif by Blake Morgan Young in 1982.⁶⁷ As a polymath, active in a number of genres, Ayatari attracts our scholarly interest, perhaps more for his literary, artistic, and scholarly relationships during the eighteenth century than for the quality of his prose.

The first writer of later *yomihon* published in Edo is Santo Kyoden. Jane Devitt produced a Harvard dissertation in 1976, and subsequently an article in *HJAS* in 1979, but other than these two items, little else is available.⁶⁸ Another *yomihon*

⁵⁹ Sasaki Takamasa tr. *Ueda Akinari's Tales of a Rain'd Moon*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1981.

⁶⁰ Chambers: 1970; Young, Blake M. "'Hankai': A Tale from the *Harusame monogatari* by Ueda Akinari (1734-1809)." *HJAS* 32 (1972): 150-207; Jackman, Barry, trans. *Tales of the Spring Rain: Harusame Monogatari by Ueda Akinari*. Tokyo: Japan Foundation, 1975.

⁶¹ Young, Blake Morgan. *Ueda Akinari*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.

⁶² Araki, James T. "A Critical Approach to the 'Ugetsu Monogatari'." *Monumenta Nipponica* 22 (1967): 49-64.

⁶³ Washburn, Dennis. "Ghostwriters and Literary Haunts: Subordinating Ethics to Art in *Ugetsu Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 45.1 (1990): 39-74.

⁶⁴ Reider, Noriko R. "'Chrysanthemum Tryst': Remaking a Chinese Ghost Story in Japan." *Sino-Japanese Studies* 12-1, November 1999: 33-46.

⁶⁵ Nakamura Yukihiko, et al., ed. *Ueda Akinari zenshu*. 13 vols., *Bekkan*, 1 v. Tokyo: Chuo Koron Shinsha, 1990-.

⁶⁶ Marceau, Lawrence Edward. "Literati Consciousness in Early Modern Japan: Takebe Ayatari and the *Bunjin*." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1990. The published study is entitled, *Takebe Ayatari: A Bunjin Bohemian in Early Modern Japan*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, in press.

⁶⁷ Young, Blake Morgan, trans. "A Tale of the Western Hills: Takebe Ayatari's *Nishiyama Monogatari*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 37.1 (1982): 77-121.

⁶⁸ Devitt, Jane Crawford. "Santo Kyoden and the *Yomihon: Mukashi-gatari inazuma byoshi*." Ph.D.

author for whom more work is necessary is Ishikawa Masamochi, also famous in his youth as the *kyōka* poet, Yadoya no Meshimori, and, in retirement, as a scholar of the classics and classical language. Frederick Victor Dickens published in 1912 a translation of Masamochi's *Hida no takumi monogatari* (1808), which Tuttle reissued under the title, *The Magical Carpenter of Japan*, but no other works or studies have been published to provide a greater sense of this talented and prolific Edo writer, poet, and scholar.⁶⁹

The major figure of the Edo yomihon, Takizawa Bakin, wrote under the sobriquet, Kyokutei Bakin. The scholar who did the most work on Bakin is Leon Zolbrod, not only completed a biography, but also published three articles on Bakin's representative work, *Nanso Satomi Hakken den*, as well as translation of a Bakin *kibyoshi*.⁷⁰ Zolbrod's 1967 biography provides a good starting point for any number of studies and translations of Bakin, his milieu in Edo, and his works.⁷¹ As a literary critic, Bakin is extremely important, and a study with selective translations of his series of critical comments on early modern *gesaku* authors, *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui* (1834), would be a

valuable contribution to the field.⁷²

Kusazoshi (Akahon, Kurohon/Aohon, Kibyoshi, Gokan), Sharebon, Ninjobon, and Kokkeibon. *Kusazoshi*, sometimes referred to as "grass booklets," represent popular fiction, in which illustrations of the narrative are equal in importance to the text itself. *Akahon* ("red books") and *kurohon/aohon* ("black books/blue books") appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century, with children as the intended audience. The subject matter for these works, identified by the color of their covers, tended to focus on legends, fairy tales, and similar stories that children and their mothers would have desired to read. On the other hand, adults overwhelmingly made up the readership of *kibyoshi* ("yellow-covers") and *gokan* ("combined fascicles"). *Kibyoshi* consisted of short illustrated narratives that often parodied contemporary life in innovative ways. Some 1000 titles were published over the period between 1775 and 1805, or over thirty titles annually. *Gokan* appeared after the decline of *kibyoshi*, and expanded the possibilities of the genre through publication in bundles of five booklets, instead of the two or three for *kibyoshi*, and through serialization, whereby a particular work might continue appearing in annual installments over a period of years, and even decades in some of the most successful cases. *Sharebon* ("fashionable books"), while cast as fictional narratives, through the wealth of detail they contained often provided valuable information to people who wished to know details of life in the pleasure quarters, including fashions, insider slang terms, differences between various courtesans, and other matters related to a successful experience as a customer visiting the quarters. *Kokkeibon*, or "humor books," consisted of humorous narratives and focused on the foibles of comic characters and the earthy side of everyday life, both in the metropolis of Edo, and in the provinces. Finally, *ninjobon*, or "books of human emotion," arose after the demise of the *sharebon*, and generally focused on the intricacies of the often complex relationships between courtesans and their customers. These genres represent the most popu-

dissertation, Harvard University, 1976; Devitt, "Santo Kyoden and the yomihon." *HJAS* 39.2 (1979): 253-74.

⁶⁹ Dickens, Frederick Victor, trans. *The Magical Carpenter of Japan, by Rokujiu-yen (Ishikawa Masamochi)*. Rutland, Vt. & Tokyo: Tuttle, 1965 (reprint of 1912 ed. entitled, *Story of a Hida Craftsman*).

⁷⁰ Zolbrod, Leon M. "Tigers, Boars, and Severed Heads: Parallel Series of Episodes in Eight 'Dogs' and Men of the Marshes." *Chung Chi Journal* 7 (1967): 30-39; Zolbrod, "The Autumn of the Epic Romance in Japan: Theme and Motif in Takizawa Bakin's Historical Novels." *Literature East and West* 14.2 (1970): 172-184; Zolbrod, "The Allegory of Evil in Satomi and the Eight 'Dogs'." In Katushiko Takeda, *Essays on Japanese Literature*. Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 1977: 76-94; Zolbrod, trans. "The Vendetta of Mr. Fleacatcher Managoro, the Fifth, with Illustrations by Kitao Shigemasa, and an Introduction." *Monumenta Nipponica* 20.1-2 (1965): 121-134.

⁷¹ Zolbrod, Leon. *Takizawa Bakin*. New York: Twayne, 1967.

⁷² Kimura Miyogo, ed. *Kinsei mono no hon Edo sakusha burui*. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1988.

lar forms of narrative fiction in the early modern period, and, as such, are invaluable sources for understanding popular culture, especially the dynamic lifestyles of the inhabitants of the Edo metropolis itself.

In spite of the plethora of subgenres, few articles, and fewer books have appeared on these subjects. The only work on *kusazoshi* in general is Leon Zolbrod's 1968 "Kusazoshi: Chapbooks of Japan."⁷³ The major work to date among any book-length studies is Andrew Markus's masterful *The Willow in Autumn: Ryutei Tanehiko, 1783-1842*, a 1993 biography of Ryutei Tanehiko, author of the massive episodic novel in fully illustrated *gokan* form, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*.⁷⁴ James Araki broke the ground in studies of *sharebon* with his 1969 *MN* article, "Sharebon: Books for Men of Mode," while Peter Kornicki provided a study of the Kansei-era crackdown on satirical fiction, one that brought an end to *sharebon* and *kibyoshi* as they had existed in the 1780s, with his 1977 *MN* article, "*Nishiki no ura*: An Instance of Censorship and the Structure of a *sharebon*."⁷⁵ The best published study of *kibyoshi* so far has been James Araki's highly entertaining study of a Chinese Taoist motif and its transformation in Japanese popular fiction, "The Dream Pillow in Edo Fiction: 1772-81" in *MN*, 1970.⁷⁶ More specific studies along the lines of Araki's would go far toward providing an appreciation of the quality and level of sophistication of illustrated fiction, especially during the An'ei and Temmei eras (1772-89). With regard to *kokkeibon*, only Robert Leutner's partial translation of and introduction to Shikitei Samba's *Ukiyo-buro, Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction* (1985), and Thomas Satchell's

idiosyncratic translation of Jippensha Ikku's *Tokai dochu Hizakurige* (reprinted) are available.⁷⁷ Finally, *ninjobon* romances of the early-nineteenth century, based in the pleasure quarters, are represented by Alan S. Woodhull's 1978 Stanford Ph.D. dissertation, "Romantic Edo Fiction: A Study of the *Ninjobon* and Complete Translation of 'Shunshoku Umegoyomi'."⁷⁸ Tamenaga Shunsui, the author, is another major figure in his own right, and his position in the world of *ninjobon* writing in particular, and Tenpo-era (1830-43) literary circles in general, demands our attention.

(LEM)

Early Modern Drama

There are a number of general introductions and surveys of Japanese theater that devote significant space to kabuki and joruri. They should be noted here since some of these are often just as useful as the more specialized studies or translations. These include Karen Brazell, ed., *Traditional Japanese Theater: An Anthology of Plays* (Columbia UP, 1998), an extremely well conceived anthology of which 259 pages are devoted to kabuki and joruri.⁷⁹ Other noteworthy general introductions include Peter Arnott's *The Theatres of Japan* (St. Martin's Press, 1969), Faubian Bowers's *Japanese Theatre* (Hill and Wang, 1959), Kawatake Toshio's *A History of Japanese Theatre II: Bunraku and Kabuki* (Kokusai bunka shinkokai, 1971), and Benito Ortolani's *The Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (Princeton University Press, 1995).

⁷³ Zolbrod, Leon M. "Kusazoshi: Chapbooks of Japan." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 10 (1968): 116-147.

⁷⁴ Markus, Andrew Lawrence. *The Willow in Autumn: Ryutei Tanehiko 1783-1842*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1993.

⁷⁵ Araki, James T. "Sharebon: Books for Men of Mode." *Monumenta Nipponica* 24. 1-2 (1969): 31-45; Kornicki, Peter F. "*Nishiki no ura*: An Instance of Censorship and the Structure of a *sharebon*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 32.2 (1977): 153-188.

⁷⁶ Araki, James T. "The Dream Pillow in Edo Fiction, 1772-81." *Monumenta Nipponica* 25.1-2 (1970): 43-105.

⁷⁷ Leutner, Robert. *Shikitei Sanba and the Comic Tradition in Edo Fiction*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1985; Satchell, Thomas, trans. *Shanks' Mare: Being a Translation of the Tokaido Volumes of Hizakurige, Japan's Great Comic Novel of Travel & Ribaldry*. Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1960 (first pub., 1929).

⁷⁸ Woodhull, Alan S. "Romantic Edo Fiction: A Study of the *Ninjobon* and Complete Translation of 'Shunshoku Umegoyomi'." Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1978.

⁷⁹ Brazell, Karen, ed. *Traditional Japanese Theater: An Anthology of Plays*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Puppet Theater

The field of *yoruri* (present-day bunraku) or puppet theater was pioneered by Donald Keene, whose 1952 Ph. D. dissertation was on Chikamatsu Monzaemon's *The Battles of Coxinga*, the most famous of Chikamatsu Monzaemon's historical plays (*jidaimono*).⁸⁰ Donald Shively, in *The Love Suicide at Amijima*, soon after wrote a study and translation of Chikamatsu's most noted contemporary play (*sewamono*).⁸¹ Eventually Keene went on to translate ten *sewamono* (contemporary or domestic plays) by Chikamatsu in *Major Plays of Chikamatsu*, which introduced the diversity of Chikamatsu's plays to the world and laid the ground for all subsequent studies.⁸² A major turning point in the state of the field occurred in 1986 when Andrew Gerstle published *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*, which looked for the first time in English not only at the content and social and religious context but at the musical structure of the *yoruri* play.⁸³ Gerstle drew subtle parallels between the musical structure of the plays and the larger narrative movement (such as the downward spiral toward hell). Gerstle went on to write a series of articles on the notion of tragedy, murder, and the role of the protagonist, particularly in the later Chikamatsu history plays that Keene had not translated, thereby opening up yet more ground for understanding the breadth of Chikamatsu's vast repertoire.

What many consider to be the "golden age" of the puppet theater occurred in the mid-eighteenth century, after the death of Chikamatsu and the development of the three-person puppet. These were longer, more elaborate multi-authored plays. The "big three" of the "golden age" were *Kanadehon Chushingura*, translated by Donald

Keene as *Chushingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers*, *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*, translated by Stanleigh Jones as *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*, and *Yoshitsune senbonzakura*, translated by Stanleigh Jones as *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees: A Masterpiece of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Puppet Theater*.⁸⁴ All three were written by Takeda Izumo II (1691-1756), who was ranked by some contemporaries as the equal of Chikamatsu, in collaboration with Namiki Senryu and others. With the exception of *Chushingura*, these plays are rarely performed in their entirety but key scenes from these plays are regularly performed in both bunraku and kabuki. The English reader thus has full access to these plays, which are deserving of more specialized study.

One of the interests of bunraku, is of course the puppets, their construction, their costumes, their wigs, their manipulation, and the training of the puppeteers. The roles of the shamisen and the musicians is also extremely important. In *Bunraku: The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theater*, Donald Keene provides both commentary and full-size photographs on these topics.⁸⁵ Two other beautifully illustrated books on this topic are Barbara Adachi's *Backstage at Bunraku* and *The Voices and Hands of Bunraku*.⁸⁶

Kabuki

Kabuki has attracted the attention of Western audiences from as early as the Meiji period, but it was understood almost entirely as performance, with little attempt to translate the texts. The

⁸⁰ Keene, Donald L. "'The Battles of Coxinga': Chikamatsu's Puppet Play, Its Background and Importance." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952.

⁸¹ Shively, Donald H., trans. *The Love Suicide at Amijima*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

⁸² Keene, Donald, trans. *Major Plays of Chikamatsu*. Columbia University Press, 1961.

⁸³ Gerstle, C. Andrew. *Circles of Fantasy: Convention in the Plays of Chikamatsu*. [Harvard East Asian monographs, 116] Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986.

⁸⁴ Keene, Donald, trans., *Chushingura: The Treasury of Loyal Retainers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971; Jones, Stanleigh H., Jr., trans. *Sugawara and the Secrets of Calligraphy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985; Jones, trans. *Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees: A Masterpiece of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Puppet Theater*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

⁸⁵ Keene, Donald. *Bunraku, The Art of the Japanese Puppet Theatre*. Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1965.

⁸⁶ Adachi, Barbara Curtis. *The Voices and Hands of Bunraku*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978, also Tokyo: Mobil Sekiyu Kabushiki-gaisha, 1978; and Adachi, *Backstage at Bunraku: A Behind the Scenes Look at Japan's Traditional Puppet Theater*. New York: Weatherhill, 1985. (revised version of Adachi 1978).

first major breakthroughs in the postwar period came with the translations done by James Brandon and Samuel Leiter, who each produced an anthology of noted kabuki plays. Brandon's *Kabuki: Five Classic Plays* contains famous scenes from *Sukeroku*, *Saint Narukami*, *Chronicle of the Battle of Ichinotani*, *Love Letter From the Licensed Quarter*, and *The Scarlet Princess of Edo*.⁸⁷ Leiter's *The Art of Kabuki: Famous Plays in Performance* contains noted scenes from *Benten kozo*, *Sugawara's Secrets of Calligraphy*, *Shunkan*, and *Naozumurai*.⁸⁸ Both anthologies, which have established a kind of canon for Western readers, take representative plays ranging from the early-eighteenth century to the late-nineteenth century and provide highly detailed stage instructions and photographs.

One important group of kabuki plays are the *Kabuki juhachiban* (Eighteen Plays of Kabuki), a canon established by Ichikawa Danjuro VII, of Edo kabuki, in the 1830s. Though some of these eighteen plays have been translated—such as *Sukeroku* (Brandon), *Narukami* (Brandon) and *Kanjincho* (Adolphe Scott), and *Ya no ne* (Laurence Kominz)—most of these plays are not yet available in English.⁸⁹ Brandon and Leiter are now editing a multi-volume series of translations of kabuki that include many of the eighteen plays and that should dramatically alter the state of the field as a whole.⁹⁰

It is well known that there is a close relationship between kabuki and *yoruri*. Many of the plays in the kabuki repertoire, particularly in the mid-eighteenth century, when kabuki was in decline, were derived from *yoruri*. Indeed, the three great *yoruri* plays of the mid-eighteenth cen-

ture—*Kanadehon Chushingura*, *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*, and *Yoshitsune senbonzakura*—became three of the foundations for the kabuki repertoire. Brandon and Leiter have translated a number of noted scenes from the kabuki adaptations of *yoruri* (such as the noted "Temple School" scene from *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami*) and famous scenes from *Chronicle of the Battle of Ichinotani* and *Shunkan*.

Western scholars have produced a number of fine historical studies that examine the contemporary socio-political milieu of the theater, the life of the actors, the conventions of kabuki, the nature of the audience, and the structure of the theaters. Particularly noteworthy are James Brandon, William Malm, and Donald Shively's *Studies in Kabuki: Its Acting, Music, and Historical Context* and Laurence Kominz's *The Stars Who Created Kabuki*, an outstanding study of early kabuki, especially Ichikawa Danjuro and Sakata Tojuro.⁹¹ Earle Ernst's *The Kabuki Theatre* remains perhaps the best all-around study of the historical milieu of kabuki.⁹² Also recommended is Andrew Gerstle, "Flowers of Edo: Eighteenth-Century *Kabuki* and Its Patrons."⁹³

Of the two forms, kabuki and *yoruri*, kabuki has been more active and continues to grow. New plays continue to be written for kabuki, which is performed regularly at a number of venues. Kabuki actors are major stars, and can appear in television, film, and theater. By contrast, the number of performances of *yoruri* remains limited, the troupes are government supported, and there are very few new *yoruri* plays. One consequence is that the interest in kabuki is more extensive both in Japan and in the West. Not surprisingly, the primary interest of Western research on kabuki remains with contemporary kabuki, on the plays as they are performed today. The transla-

⁸⁷ Brandon, James R., ed. & tr. *Kabuki: Five Classic Plays*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992. Reprint of Harvard University Press edition. (1975).

⁸⁸ Leiter, Samuel L.. *The Art of Kabuki: Famous Plays in Performance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

⁸⁹ Scott, Adolphe. Gen'yadana: *A Japanese Kabuki Play and Kanjincho: A Japanese Kabuki Play*, Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1953; and Kominz, Laurence. "Ya no Ne: The Genesis of a Kabuki *Aragoto* Classic." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 38.4, 1983: 387-407.

⁹⁰ Brandon, James R., and Samuel L. Leiter. *Kabuki Plays on Stage*. 5 volumes. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002-.

⁹¹ Brandon, James R., William P. Malm, and Donald H. Shively. *Studies in Kabuki: Its Acting, Music, and Historical Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1978; and Kominz, Laurence. *The Stars Who Created Kabuki*. Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1997.

⁹² Ernst, Earle. *The Kabuki Theatre*. New York: Grove Press, 1956.

⁹³ Gerstle, C. Andrew. "Flowers of Edo: Eighteenth-Century *Kabuki* and Its Patrons." *Asian Theatre Journal* 4.1 (1987): 52-75.

tions of kabuki, particularly those by Brandon and Leiter, are consequently filled with minute stage instructions based on modern performances, enough to allow for a director to perform the play in English. However, this rarely makes for good reading as literature. The teacher instead must teach kabuki strictly as performance, with the aid of video or film, which remain scarce and difficult to obtain. In short, this is an area that needs to be developed: a video library of kabuki with English subtitles.

Two major nineteenth century kabuki playwrights to receive attention from Western scholars are Tsuruya Nanboku IV (1755-1829), known for his drama of thieves, murderers, pimps, and swindlers, and Kawatake Mokuami (1816-93). Brandon includes Nanboku's *The Scarlet Princess of Edo* (1817) in his anthology. Karen Brazell's anthology includes a fine translation by Mark Oshima of Nanboku's *Tokaido Yotsuya kaidan*. Famous scenes from Mokuami's most famous play, *Benten kozo*, are also included in Leiter's anthology. Other plays by Mokuami include *The Love of Izayoi and Seishin*, translated by Frank Motofuji.⁹⁴ Both of these major playwrights deserve to have full-length studies in English.

A helpful sourcebook in English is Samuel Leiter's *Kabuki Encyclopedia*, which has been extensively revised and expanded, and published as *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*.⁹⁵ We are also fortunate to have an English translation of the most important treatise on kabuki acting, *Yakusha banashi*, which has been translated by Charles Dunn and Bunzo Torigoe as *The Actors' Analects* (Columbia UP, 1969).⁹⁶

(HS)

Literary Thought (Excluding *Hairon* and Drama Theory): Confucian and Nativist Studies

Literary thought in the early modern period underwent a course of development in conjunction with developments in socio-political and religious thought in general. From the narrowly didactic views of literature proposed by Confucian scholars such as Hayashi Razan and Yamazaki Ansai and their schools in the seventeenth century through the reinterpretations of the Chinese and Japanese classics by Ito Jinsai and Ogyu Sorai, and, later, by Kamo no Mabuchi and Motoori Norinaga in the eighteenth century, to the use of literature as a means of indirectly criticizing the political status quo by Takizawa (Kyokutei) Bakin, Hagiwara Hiromichi, and Hirose Tanso in the nineteenth century, we can discern a range of trends and strategies for legitimizing literary activity.

From this perspective, it is of course essential to have a familiarity with Confucian thought, especially as it was reformulated in the Southern Sung dynasty by Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng brothers, and how these teachings were interpreted by Yi Toegye in sixteenth-century Korea. It is also necessary to be aware of the thought of the Ming philosopher Wang Yang-ming, and its relationship to Yomeigaku and Shingaku in Japan. Finally, one should be aware of the teachings of the disparate schools, later identified as sharing *kogaku*, or "ancient learning," tendencies, promoted by Yamaga Soko in Edo, Ito Jinsai in Kyoto, and Ogyu Sorai, also in Edo.

Several major studies of early modern Japanese thought, by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, H. D. Harootunian, Tetsuo Najita, Naoki Sakai, Victor Koschmann, Herman Ooms, Janine Sawada, and others, have appeared over the past quarter century.⁹⁷ They have, with

⁹⁴ Motofuji, Frank T., trans. *The Love of Izayoi and Seishin: A Kabuki Play by Kawatake Mokuami*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1966. (*Kosode Soga azami no ironui*)

⁹⁵ Leiter, Samuel L. *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.

⁹⁶ Dunn, Charles and Bunzo Torigoe. *The Actors' Analects*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969 [trans. of *Yakusha banashi*].

⁹⁷ For example, Najita, Tetsuo and Irwin Scheiner eds. *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period, 1600-1868: Methods and Metaphors*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978; Ooms, Herman. *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985; Harootunian, H.D. *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988; Sakai, Naoki. *Voices of the Past: The Status of Language in*

varying degrees of success, provided readers with some tools for understanding intellectual trends, and, to a lesser extent, for comprehending the literary thought that served as a pillar of the various ideological systems promoted over this period.

With regard to translations of theoretical texts, little work has been done to date. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume II* provide brief translations of works by various thinkers of the period, but these are typically not directly related to literary thought *per se*.⁹⁸ Donald Keene's *World Within Walls* in many cases provides the only discussion of the thought promoted by various writers.⁹⁹ Keene's observations require extensive amplification, reinterpretation, and critical examination based on a close reading, both of primary sources, and of the growing body of research on early modern Japanese poetics that continues to appear in Japan (such as the excellent series of essays found in the *kinsei* volumes [1996] of the *Iwanami koza Nihon bungaku shi* series).¹⁰⁰

One intellectual historian who has examined some of the literary issues involved is Peter Nosco, who, in 1981, analyzed the important *Kokka hachiron*, or "Eight Treatises on (Japanese) National Poetry," controversy between Kada no Arimaro and Tayasu Munetake (joined later by

Kamo no Mabuchi).¹⁰¹ Study of such "debates" can prove fruitful toward understanding poetic preferences from within a culture, and Roger Thomas successfully broke new ground in 1994 with an article on the "ga/zoku" controversy that waged between followers of Kagawa Kageki in Kyoto, and the "Edo faction" (*Edo-ha*) led by Murata Harumi and Kato Chikage in the first decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁰² Other disputes exist, most notably the heated argument that waged between Ueda Akinari in Osaka and Motoori Norinaga in Matsusaka in the late 1780s, known as the *Kagaika* Controversy. While both Peter Nosco and Blake Morgan Young, Akinari's biographer, have discussed this controversy, a full examination has yet to appear.¹⁰³

Nosco's book-length study of nativist studies, *Remembering Paradise*, approached the movement from a perspective of "nostalgia" and archaic utopianism.¹⁰⁴ Nosco surveys the movement from Keichu in Osaka in the 1690s through Kada no Azumamaro in Kyoto, Mabuchi, and finally Norinaga until the latter's death in 1801. Given the fact that all five of the main nativist scholars were known for their poetry, each leaving at least one published anthology of his poems (*kashu*) behind, many of the issues Nosco raises in his study might profitably be re-examined from a perspective that focuses on such literary issues as the development of alternative schools of poetry composition and their relationships with the publishing industry at that time.

Nosco, and Naoki Sakai, in his *Voices of the Past* (1991), identified the *Man'yoshu* and *Man'yo* studies in the early modern period as a convenient angle for examining the literary

Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991; De Bary, Wm. Theodore, and Irene Bloom, ed. *Principle and Practicality: Essays in Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979; Sawada, Janine Anderson. *Confucian Values and Popular Zen: Sekimon Shingaku in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993; and Koschmann, J. Victor. *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform, and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790-1864*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1987.

⁹⁸ Tsunoda, Ryusaku, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, comp. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume II*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1958, 1964 (paper).

⁹⁹ Keene, Donald. *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era 1600-1868*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

¹⁰⁰ Kubota Jun, et al., ed. (*Iwanami koza*) *Nihon bungaku shi*. Volumes 7-11. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996.

¹⁰¹ Nosco, Peter. "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The *Kokka hachiron* Controversy: 1742-46." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41.1 (1981): 75-91.

¹⁰² Thomas, Roger K. "'High' versus 'Low': The *Fude no Saga* Controversy and Bakumatsu Poetics." *Monumenta Nipponica* 49 (1994): 455-69.

¹⁰³ Young, Blake Morgan. *Ueda Akinari*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982.

¹⁰⁴ Nosco, Peter. *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Harvard Yenching Monograph series 31. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990.

thought of various scholars.¹⁰⁵ Much more detail is necessary, though, to provide a clear understanding of what roles the *Man'yoshu* (or the *Kokinshu* or the *Shin-kokinshu*, for that matter) actually played, and how those roles changed over the course of the period.

Early modern scholarly and critical interest in the Heian classics, such as the *Ise monogatari* and the *Genji monogatari* also serve as potential subjects of fruitful research. The 1971 dissertation by Thomas Harper on Norinaga's *Genji monogatari Tama no ogushi* (pub. 1794), complete with English translation of the "Omune" ("General Theory") section, has for three decades now served as an important starting point for many students, both of early modern literary thought, and of *Genji* studies alike.¹⁰⁶ Hopefully this study will be published, or perhaps a future study can take Norinaga's literary thought to the next level, and examine its development, its origins, and its reception.

In a 1985 essay translated by Bob Wakabayashi, Noguchi Takehiko examined the use of *Genji monogatari* by the nineteenth-century scholar Hagiwara Hiromichi (1815-63).¹⁰⁷ More recently, Patrick Caddeau has produced a substantial Ph. D. thesis on Hiromichi and his poetics.¹⁰⁸ Publication of Caddeau's study will go far to help fill in the gaps in our understanding on the relationships between Chinese and Japanese literary thought, and between nativist poetics and nineteenth-century *yomihon* fiction.

The major development in early-modern use of *Genji monogatari* by an intellectual figure, however, is James McMullen's 1999 monograph, *Ide-*

alism, Protest, and the Tale of Genji, a masterful study of *Genji* in Kumazawa Banzan's thought.¹⁰⁹ McMullen's analysis is marked by clarity of thought, rigorous attention to factual detail, and clarity of argument. Scholarship such as this provides a standard of quality that future students in the field can use when judging their own work.

Many important Japanese Confucian scholars dealt with literary issues in their writings, and such treatises served both to enhance literary discourse among Confucians themselves, and also to provide nativist-leaning scholars with new tools for developing their own poetics. Joseph J. Spae wrote a treatise on Ito Jinsai in the 1940s that appeared in reprinted form in 1967.¹¹⁰ John Allen Tucker has recently published a translation and study of one of Jinsai's most important works, *Go-Mo jigi* ("Meanings of Words in the *Analects* and the *Mencius*").¹¹¹ However, the only article to date that examines the relationship between Jinsai's school, especially Jinsai's notion of human emotions, and the *Shih ching*, or *Book of Songs*, is Lawrence Marceau's study found in the journal *Sino-Japanese Studies*.¹¹² As for Sorai and his literary thought, Sumie Jones published an essay in Earl Miner's *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature* (1985), in which she related Sorai's literary thought with Hiraga Gennai's creative practice.¹¹³ Sorai influenced many more writers than Gennai, though, and their indebtedness to Sorai and his followers demands further examination. In this respect, Samuel Yamashita has published a useful translation of the *Sorai sensei tomonsho*, (*Master Sorai's Re-*

¹⁰⁵ Sakai, Naoki. *Voices of the Past: The Status of Language in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

¹⁰⁶ Harper, Thomas James. "Motoori Norinaga's Criticism of the *Genji monogatari*: A Study of the Background and Critical Content of His *Genji monogatari Tama no ogushi*." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971.

¹⁰⁷ Noguchi, Takehiko; Bob T. Wakabayashi, trans. "The Substratum Constituting Monogatari: Prose Structure and Narrative in the *Genji Monogatari*." Earl Miner, ed. *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985. Pp. 130-50.

¹⁰⁸ Caddeau, Patrick W. "Hagiwara Hiromichi's '*Genji monogatari hyoshaku*': Criticism and commentary on '*The Tale of Genji*'." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1999.

¹⁰⁹ McMullen, James. *Idealism, Protest, and The Tale of Genji*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.

¹¹⁰ Spae, Joseph J. *Ito Jinsai: A Philosopher, Educator and Sinologist of the Tokugawa Period*. (rept.) New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1967.

¹¹¹ Tucker, John Allen. *Ito Jinsai's Gomo Jigi & the Philosophical Definition of Early Modern Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

¹¹² Marceau, Lawrence E. "Ninjo and the Affective Value of Literature at the Kogido Academy." *Sino-Japanese Studies* 9/1 (November 1996): 47-55.

¹¹³ Jones, Sumie. "Language in Crisis: Ogyu Sorai's Philological Thought and Hiraga Gennai's Creative Practice." In Earl Miner, ed., *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985: 209-256.

sponsals).¹¹⁴
(LEM)

Early Modern Books and Publishing

This is not only a field that raises important issues in its own right, but it is one in which Western scholars can provide a unique contribution to the field, given the strong collections of illustrated books (*ehon*) that survive outside of Japan. David Chibbett, with his 1977 survey, *A History of Japanese Books and Printing*, and Matthi Forrer, with his 1985 study of an important publisher, *Eirakuya Toshiro: Publisher at Nagoya*, broke ground in this respect.¹¹⁵ Jack Hillier has provided a massive compendium of *ehon* with his 1987 *The Art of the Japanese Book*, and has followed through with several other studies in book illustration and woodblock picture books.¹¹⁶ C. H. Mitchell's 1972 biobibliography of illustrated books is an indispensable reference, and it is a great shame that this is out of print and difficult to find.¹¹⁷ Henry D. Smith II published a comparison of the publishing worlds in Paris and Edo respectively, that underscores the great diversity and momentum that publishing enjoyed in the early modern period.¹¹⁸ Finally, Peter Kornicki's 1998 *The Book in Japan* serves as a cornerstone that will continue to be valuable for dec-

ades to come for future work in the field.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

Briefly, the current state of early modern Japanese literature studies in Western languages is one of nearly unlimited opportunity. Not only does much basic identification of works, individuals, and movements still need to be done, but comparative studies of Japanese literature *vis à vis* Chinese (and Korean) literature can help provide a context from within the East Asian cultural sphere. The fact that many narratives, especially *yomihon*, owe a great deal to continental Asian fiction makes it imperative that continued research on literature and literary thought in early modern Japan take continental Asian writings into account. Only a few scholars at Ph.D.-granting programs are currently active in training the next generation of scholars, so much responsibility for active publication falls on the shoulders of scholars in smaller programs that do not enjoy strong Japanese collections. Hopefully, interdisciplinary collaboration among literature specialists and art historians, historians, and intellectual historians can generate more articles and books. Anthologies, such as that edited by Haruo Shirane (Columbia University Press, 2002), and another by Sumie Jones and Howard S. Hibbett to appear from the University of Hawai'i Press, promise to generate greater interest in the field from a broader range of students. Undergraduates and M.A. students need an introduction to the field, and such anthologies are a powerful enticement to further reading and research.

From another perspective, close collaboration with Japanese scholars can provide for more productivity. Only a handful of essays by Japanese scholars have been translated into English, while, in the intellectual history field, for example, Maruyama Masao's study of Ogyu Sorai's thought transformed the field when it appeared in English translation in 1974.¹²⁰ Given the greater ease in

¹¹⁴ Yamashita, Samuel Hideo, trans. *Master Sorai's Responsals: An Annotated Translation of 'Sorai Sensei Tomonsho'*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.

¹¹⁵ Chibbett, David. *The History of Japanese Printing and Book Illustration*. Tokyo, New York, & San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1977; Forrer, Matthi. *Eirakuya Toshiro: Publisher at Nagoya: A Contribution to the History of Publishing in 19th Century Japan*. Amsterdam: Gieben, 1985.

¹¹⁶ Hillier, Jack. *The Art of the Japanese Book*. 2 vols. London: Philip Wilson for Sotheby's, 1987; Hillier, *The Japanese Picture Book: A Selection from the Ravicz Collection*. New York: Abrams, 1991.

¹¹⁷ Mitchell, C. H. *The Illustrated Books of the Nanga, Maruyama, Shijo, and Other Related Schools in Japan: A Biobibliography*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972.

¹¹⁸ Smith, Henry D. II. "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris." In McClain, James L., John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru, eds. *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994: 332-54.

¹¹⁹ Kornicki, Peter. *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 1998; rept. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

¹²⁰ Maruyama, Masao; Mikiso Hane, trans. *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*.

communication and sharing of ideas (not to mention texts) provided by the Internet, it should be possible to collaborate with Japanese scholars on bilingual editions of works, multi-language studies of authors, or other such publications. Donald Keene has published three books, on *Taketori monogatari*, on *Oku no hosomichi*, and, most recently, on *Tsurezuregusa*, that provide bilingual texts, and beautiful illustrations.¹²¹ In the case of *Taketori*, an unusual textual variant, the *Ohidebon*, is even provided as an appendix to Kawabata Yasunari's modern Japanese and Keene's English translations. The possibilities for such collaboration with Japanese scholars, writers, and illustrators seem almost endless.

(LEM)



Nakamura Nakazo I (actor) portraying a monk.
From Timothy T. Clark and Osamu Ueda with Donald Jenkins, Naomi Noble Richard, ed., *The Actor's Image: Print Makers of the Katsukawa School*. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 146.

Princeton & Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press and Princeton University Press, 1974.

¹²¹ Keene, Donald, trans., *The Narrow Road to Oku*. Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1996; Keene, trans. *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter: Taketori monogatari*. Tokyo & New York: Kodansha International, 1998; Keene, trans., *Selections from Essays in Idleness (Yorinuki Tsurezuregusa)*. Tokyo: Kodansha Intanashonaru, 1999.

Foreign Affairs And Frontiers in Early Modern Japan: A Historiographical Essay¹

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When the Edo shogunate implemented maritime prohibitions (*kaikin*) in the 1630s, it marked the beginning of a historical era wherein the shoguns strictly regulated Japan's contact with the outside world. In pre-Meiji Japanese history, it represented one of the few moments when such hegemony, whether in Kyoto, Kamakura or, in this case, Edo, were powerful enough to usurp the prerogatives of coastal domains in Kyushu or such port cities as Sakai, and channel foreign contact through the center. The shoguns prohibited local state and non-state interests from formulating independent foreign agendas, sponsoring religious exchange, and conducting overseas trade without authorization. As the new historiography on the topic argues, it was a powerful assertion of the realm-wide legitimacy of the new regime in Edo, as well as an obvious birthplace of an early "national" consciousness among many Japanese and a critical element in the formation of what historians call Japan's early modern period, or *kinsei*.

This essay attempts to create an updated narrative of early modern Japan's foreign relations and frontier experiences, one that incorporates previously neglected topics and highlights the new directions explored by this vibrant sub-field of Japanese studies. This narrative suggests the selective exclusion of certain foreigners from Japanese soil should be viewed as a proactive engagement of the outside world, one which required a fairly sophisticated understanding of the religions and cultures of trading partners and the implications of exchange with them. That is to say, the Edo shogunate actively sought to authorize or prohibit certain domains from conducting trade unilaterally, to debrief repatriated individu-

als, to craft diplomatic ceremonies so that they bolstered Tokugawa authority, to defend borderlands from invasions and uprisings, and to rigidly scrutinize the implications of the importation of new technologies and ideologies from around the globe. The Edo shogunate's stance toward the outside world, as this narrative portrays it, was a loosely knit fabric of political and cultural assumptions about foreign affairs and prejudices about the outside world, not to mention real fears of events unfolding in Asia, fears motivated by the Jurchen-Tartar unification wars, the Manchu conquest of Ming China, Ainu insurrection, and European expansion. In short, Edo shoguns wove together the threads of military violence, ideological containment, political legitimacy, identity formation, cultural arrogance, individual paranoia, and the economics of foreign trade when crafting their approach to dealing with the outside world.

In the first section, entitled "Kultur Politik," I draw on the scholarship of Jurgis Elisonas, Herman Ooms, and others to paint a portrait of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea and China. Even though a gruesome failure, Hideyoshi's invasion needs to be viewed within the context of the process of state consolidation and border formation in the beginning decades of the early modern period. Second, in "Diplomacy," I explore the pioneering work of Ronald Toby, as well as Gregory Smits and others, to illustrate how the Tokugawa regime used diplomacy to legitimize its authority both at home and abroad. Third, in "Diplomatic Sham," I look briefly at the critique of Toby's work articulated by Jurgis Elisonas in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, and then, in an attempt to mediate this dispute, I project both Toby's and Elisonas' main arguments against the backdrop of observations made by Engelbert Kaempfer in the seventeenth century. In the fourth section, "Others," I survey new research on the birth of an early modern identity for Japanese, one which positioned foreign peoples as "others" in the creation of ethnic boundaries, political borders, and notions of a Japanese "self." In this context, as Toby, David Howell, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki argue, foreign "others" served to bolster a sense of a Japanese "self" in an otherwise fragmented political and social environment where most *Nihonjin* (a term that people of the

¹ Originally, this essay appeared as a conference paper for "Early Modern Japanese Studies: The State of the Field," an Early Modern Japan Network Symposium at Ohio State University, April 21-23, 2000. It benefited greatly from the suggestions of the participants.

early modern period seldom used outside discussions of things foreign) delineated identities along patrilineal, domainal, regional, or status lines. Under the Edo shogunate, it was in the realm of foreign contact that the dominant ethnic group of the present-day Japanese Archipelago, the people we view as "Japanese," best understood themselves to be just that, *Nihonjin*.

The fifth section, entitled "People," looks at multiethnic interaction within the Japanese Archipelago's most ambiguous spaces. As Smits demonstrates, Ryukyu Islanders possessed more agency in their own cultural assimilation than previously thought. In a fascinating twist, even following the invasion of the Ryukyu Kingdom, Satsuma and Edo officials preserved Ryukyuan foreignness, or place as "other," in order to keep trade with China alive, while at the same time Ryukyuan ideologues, such as Sai On, emulated Japan, a country they believed to be exemplary in the Confucian world. To the north, the intensification of trade between Ainu and Matsumae domain led to the emergence of such charismatic chiefs as Shakushain, who, in 1669, waged a bloody war against Japanese after forging a pan-Ainu alliance to expel Japanese from the southern tip of the Oshima Peninsula. And, at Deshima, the small islet near Nagasaki, the experiences of Engelbert Kaempfer support the notion that Japan, because of the shogunate's fear of Christianity, had closed its doors, particularly at the level of interpersonal interaction, during the early modern period. I argue that these three figures caution against using foreigners as simply "others" either in a cultural anthropological sense or to generalize about Japan's relationship with all foreigners. That is to say, just as Shakushain fought against what he viewed as an expanding Japan to the north, Kaempfer was confronted by an inward looking and, not to put too fine a point on it, paranoid society, one which basically staged diplomatic conduct in the name of domestic politics.

The sixth section, called "Place," investigates the interdependency of Japan's domestic economy, overseas commerce, and the ecology. As Toby, Howell, and Robert Innes argue, Tokugawa foreign relations had an important impact on the domestic economy by fueling market growth, and

hence sparking technological innovations in mining, fishery development, and other industries. In the case of Ezo, Japanese markets and Matsumae trade policy led to regional depletions of deer numbers in Ezo and undermined the ability of Ainu to subsist independently. The economic intrusion into Ezo also witnessed the introduction of deadly contagions--as European advancement did in "virgin soil" populations around the world in the form of what Alfred Crosby calls "ecological imperialism"² -- exposing the implications of Japan's move into new epidemiological terrain.

As this introduction suggests, a fair amount has been written on Japanese early modern foreign relations and frontiers in recent years, and so not all of it can be discussed in this essay. (For this reason, a fairly comprehensive bibliography has been included in this volume.) I focus mainly on historical writings that I see as pushing the boundaries of this subfield, writings that have reshaped the ways we look at the early modern period in particular and Japan in general.

Kultur Politik

Mary Elizabeth Berry argues in her political biography *Hideyoshi* that in the closing years of the sixteenth century, the second great unifier crafted what she refers to as a "federal" state from the remnants of the late medieval polity. Through a variety of political and personal devices, Hideyoshi linked powerful warring states lords (*sengoku daimyo*), rulers who only decades before had viewed their domains as semi-independent states (*kokka*), to the center in Kyoto, and thereby extended his authority over the traditional provinces of the realm.³ By the 1590s, Hideyoshi extended this vision of unification even further, and orchestrated the failed invasion of Korea and Ming China. To contextualize this invasion, we must start by looking briefly at the

² On the notion of "ecological imperialism," see Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900? 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

³ Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 147-67. On the reunification of Japan and the Weberian model, see Berry, "Public Peace and Private Attachment: The Goals and Conduct of Power in Early Modern Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 237-71.

late medieval period. This fact might seem obvious to those who study pre-modern Japan. But all too often, the early modern period serves as a kind of preface to discussions of Japan's modern period--an epochal "straw man" positioned to show just how fast Japan modernized and industrialized in the late nineteenth century--when the birth of the Edo shogunate also represented the termination of the chaotic medieval period and the emergence of a more perfected form of feudalism. The invasion of Korea (as cruel and ill-fated as it was) was an offshoot of these political developments.

At the outset, there was no "Christian century" in Japan at this time. With only about 130,000 converts in 1579, the height of missionary activity and only eight years before the first expulsion edicts issued by Hideyoshi, what C. R. Boxer saw as the "Christian century" was in fact the terminal decades of the Era of the Warring States and the primordial beginnings of early modernity in Japan.⁴ What Boxer exposed was that the late medieval period witnessed intense spiritual exploration by many Japanese, no doubt a response to endemic warfare and the "culture of lawlessness" that gripped the late medieval years.⁵ After the Onin War (1467-77), the Ashikaga shogunate had basically lost any semblance of control over the warring states lords of Kyushu, the greatest patrons of the new faith, and motivated for reasons of devotion, exotic magic, weapons technology, domestic ambitions, and access to foreign markets, some gladly accommodated the early missionaries of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁶ By 1587, however, Hideyoshi had become alarmed. Not because of too many converts, but rather because the hegemon learned that Christian lords reportedly oversaw forced conversions of retainers and commoners, that they had garrisoned the city of Nagasaki, that they participated in the slave trade, and (appar-

ently offending Hideyoshi's Buddhist sentiments) that they allowed the slaughter of horses and oxen for food.⁷ With the San Felipe Incident of 1596, moreover, Hideyoshi's resolve hardened considerably, and he undoubtedly viewed Christianity as a threat to the realm. "I have received information that in your kingdoms the promulgation of the law [i.e., Christianity] is a trick and deceit by which you overcome other kingdoms," he wrote in a letter to the Philippines in reply to the embassy led by Navarrete Fajardo in 1597. Christian missionaries, in Hideyoshi's mind, represented the first wave of European imperialism.⁸ The expulsion of these missionaries, therefore, needs be viewed as a first step in centering control over foreign affairs in Kyoto and the stepping up of an ideological campaign designed to articulate Hideyoshi's legitimacy to rule "all under heaven," or the East Asian notion of *tenka*.

Hideyoshi, taking a page out of the missionary's own handbook, began to fantasize about his own vision of religion as a means to articulate a world hierarchy that legitimized overseas conquest. Herman Ooms, elaborating on the role of religion and thought, illustrates that Hideyoshi, in letters to the Portuguese Viceroy of Indies in Gao (1591) and the governor-general of the Philippines, explained that Buddhism in India and Confucianism in China both spoke of the same deities: the *kami* of Japan's Shinto. Therefore, it stood to reason that Hideyoshi's Japan had religious justification to physically, not just metaphysically, extend its power over the entire known civilized world. It was, as Ooms concludes, Hideyoshi's version of *kultur politik*.⁹ The invasion of Korea, in other words, implemented a broader spiritual unity that already existed in Hideyoshi's imagination, albeit with Japan--*shinkoku*, or the Land of the Gods--as the sacred center. Hideyoshi's reorganization of foreign relations, then, was not necessarily, as Elisonas submits, "a matured antecedent to the

⁴ George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 54 and 63.

⁵ On the "culture of lawlessness," see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 11-54.

⁶ On the "Christian Century," see C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

⁷ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 117-18.

⁸ Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), 160.

⁹ Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 46.

Tokugawa construction, Sakoku," but rather a form of sixteenth-century Japanese expansionism, interwoven with a program of domestic pacification and legitimation, and rooted in nativist traditions of Japan as a divine land.¹⁰

Armed with this newly fashioned world order, Hideyoshi launched his infamous attack on the Korean Peninsula. The invasion, skillfully narrated by Elisonas, resulted in Japanese defeat. Elisonas' moving account of Japan's "sanguinary excesses" during the invasion, the utterly horrific atrocities inflicted against Koreans of all stripes, ranks among the most disturbing scholarship on Japan. On the one hand, the lurid 1597 threats by Japanese warlords to mass murder Korean officials and farmers illustrates that Japanese armies made few, if any, distinctions between combatants and noncombatants. The Japanese collection of pickled noses, on the other hand, when such domainal contingents as Kikkawa Hiroie's and Nabeshima Katsushige's boasted the collection of some 23,794 noses in about two months, remains inexplicable even by modern standards. The *Chosen nichinichiki* (Korean days), the work of a Buddhist priest named Keinen, tells of Korean slaves being led by Japanese slave traders. In a section translated by Elisonas, Keinen wrote,

Among the many kinds of merchants who have come over from Japan are traders in human beings, who follow in the train of the troops and buy up men and women, young and old alike. Having tied these people together with ropes about the neck, they drive them along before them; those who can no longer walk are made to run with prods or blows of the stick from behind. The sight of the fiends and man-devouring demons who torment sinners in hell must be like this, I thought.¹¹

Simultaneous to orchestrating these hellish policies in Korea, Hideyoshi also extended Japan's northern border to include the Kakizaki family

(the Matsumae family after 1599) of southern Ezo (present-day Hokkaido). In 1593, when Kakizaki Yoshihiro met with Hideyoshi at Nagoya in Hizen Province, the staging area for the invasion of Korea, they discussed the possibility of a northern route through Orankai (north of the Korean Peninsula near Manchuria, home of the Tartar and Jurchen) onto the continent. Maps in Hideyoshi's possession, and earlier maps attributed to Matteo Ricci, illustrated Ezo (that is, the island of Hokkaido) as part of North Asia. It was widely rumored, moreover, that the Jurchen and Tartar carried on trade with the Ainu (at this time called Ezojin). Kato Kiyomasa, after attacking Hamgyong-do, crossed into Orankai where he captured Goto Jiro, a Japanese native from Fukuyama (at this time only a fort, but later the castle town of the Matsumae family). He had been living in the region for twenty years, spoke both Korean and Japanese, and told Kiyomasa that Fukuyama, in southern Ezo, was "close to Orankai [and hence Korea]."¹²

Chronicles describe Hideyoshi, after his meeting with Yoshihiro, as "extremely excited." Obviously, the reasons for his excitement were twofold. First, Hideyoshi sought to use Ezo as a possible northern route for his invasion of the continent. Second, he sought to position the Kakizaki family as a bulwark against Jurchen and Tartar unification wars that were, according to descriptions offered by missionary Luis Frois, underway in Orankai, and that he and others believed might spill over into Ezo and possibly Japan. It was foreign policy based on realm security, much like his expulsion of European missionaries was motivated (at least in part) by fears of imperialism. To bolster Kakizaki authority, Hideyoshi granted the Kakizaki the exclusive rights to levy shipping duties in Ezo (*funayaku*): Kakizaki ports henceforth became the hubs of the region's economic activity. Implicit within this arrangement was the fact that Kakizaki lords became obliged to recognize Hideyoshi's authority to grant such shipping duties, duties subsequently recognized by Japan's sometimes cantankerous political community. When Yoshihiro returned

¹⁰ Elison, *Deus Destroyed*, 117.

¹¹ Jurgis Elisonas, "The Inseparable Trinity: Japan's Relations with China and Korea," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 4, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 290-93.

¹² Brett L. Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 29-35.

to Ezo after the 1593 meeting, chronicles trumpet that he gathered Ainu "from east and west" and read to them, in translation, Hideyoshi's vermilion-seal order granting the Kakizaki the right to levy shipping duties. If Ainu failed to observe these orders, the chronicle continues, a force of 100,000 warriors would be sent by the hegemon to crush them. With this, "Hideyoshi had extended his control beyond the confines of the traditional provinces of the realm, which suggests that not all his overseas ambitions ended in utter disaster."¹³

Recent writings, in other words, view Hideyoshi's policy toward the continent less as simply a bungled invasion of Korea that ended in the later Tokugawa withdrawal from the international arena, but rather as part of a broader process of state consolidation, the conversion of military power to political legitimacy, border demarcation, realm wide security, and the continuing formation of a Japan-centered epistemology in the form of *shinkoku*. In short, Hideyoshi's foreign policy set the stage for a proactive engagement of the Eurasian continent designed to strengthen domestic authority and, unless you view events from the singular perspective of Jesuits and Franciscan friars on ships departing Nagasaki, moved to protect Japan, a country he understood to be the sacred core of a more far-flung agenda of *kultur politik*.

Diplomacy

The Tokugawa stance toward foreign affairs was initially shaped by Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, and so, Ronald Toby, in his pioneering *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, begins with a discussion of how the Edo shogunate attempted to patch up relations with Korea and China. Following the death of Hideyoshi, writes Toby, "the most urgent diplomatic business at hand was what in modern terms would be called the normalization of relations with East Asia." In concrete terms, this meant a withdrawal of troops from the peninsula; offering paddy lands to Tsushima to raise its status so that it could, under the protocol of the day, enter commercial relations with Pusan; and playing

host to a 1607 Korean embassy to "normalize" relations to the benefit of both countries, when a forged letter from King S'ijo was given to shogun Hidetada. The 1607 embassy, argues Toby, "functioned to the advantage of both [Japan and Korea] as legitimating propaganda for the bakufu, and as a channel of political and strategic intelligence on continental affairs, as the political foundation for trade, and as one element in an emerging diplomatic manifestation of Japan's ideal vision of the structure of international order."¹⁴

Supported by this new political foundation, foreign trade flourished among those domains that the shogun authorized to trade. By the late seventeenth century, the profits from the private trade between Pusan and Tsushima domain, for example, exceeded 10,000 *kan* in silver, an amount, Toby notes, comparable to the *nengu* (annual tax) revenues of all but the largest early modern domains.¹⁵ This diplomatic "normalization"--if such a term can be comfortably applied to conquest--also extended southward between the Ryukyu Islands and Satsuma domain. In 1609, Shimazu Iehisa, after receiving authorization from Edo, invaded Ryukyu with a force of 3,000 troops.¹⁶ Essentially, Satsuma then incorporated the Ryukyu Kingdom: it ruled over the islands, conducted cadastral surveys, and eventually claimed Ryukyu's *kokudaka* (assessed yield) as its own.¹⁷

Gregory Smits, in *Visions of Ryukyu*, writes that Satsuma also proceeded to reinvent Ryukyuan history in the form of a pledge, signed by King Sho Nei, that acknowledged Satsuma's historical role in governing the islands. Smits concludes, "Satsuma's military power had transformed Ryukyu's past." From this point forward,

¹⁴ Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984; reprint, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 23, 25, 26, 33-35.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

¹⁶ George H. Kerr, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1958), 156-60. See also Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 45.

¹⁷ Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 45-46. See also Gregory Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu: Identity and Ideology in Early-Modern Thought and Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 15-16.

¹³ Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 34-35.

despite the creative resistance of such Ryukyuan figures as Tei Do, Satsuma oversaw the kingdom's relations with China. Among the Fifteen Injunctions given to the king of Ryukyu, one forbade "any merchant ship to sail from Ryukyu to a foreign country" without Satsuma's approval. Smits points out, however, that a conflict quickly broke out between shogunal and domainal officials over the administration of Ryukyu, a conflict that the Shimazu family ultimately lost. In 1613, Satsuma had sought to assimilate the islands: one domainal order read that "[t]he various customs and practices of Ryukyu are not to differ from those of Japan." However, three years later, Shimazu Iehisa reversed Satsuma policy, arguing, as Smits paraphrases, that "for Ryukyu to follow Satsuma in every way would be detrimental to Ryukyu's continued existence as a country."¹⁸ In time, Satsuma prohibited Ryukyu Islanders from wearing Japanese hairstyles and clothing. The reason that Ryukyu needed "continued existence as a country," even after its conquest, was because the island kingdom was more useful as a foreign country in the Tokugawa diplomatic order and more lucrative as a trading partner with China than it was as a newly assimilated province.

Toby also explains that in this competition between Satsuma and the shogunate over what to do with the conquered Ryukyu Islands, Edo won. In fact, between 1610 and 1850, Ryukyu kings, adorned in their intentionally preserved native and, more importantly, foreign garb, made twenty-one trips to Edo to visit the shogun.¹⁹ Shogunal officials, moreover, manipulated these visits to serve as a powerful legitimizing tool for Tokugawa authority. This fact, Toby submits, "should serve to lay to rest some of the misconceptions that exist about the direction of early Tokugawa foreign policy: the bakufu actively sought contact with Korea and the rest of Japan's international environment, pulling back only when it perceived real danger."²⁰ In brief, immediately following the military victory at Sekigahara, the shogunate took an active interest in manipulating audiences in Edo, disputing sino-

centric calendars and era names, and crafting its own tally trade with China. In relations with China, the shogunate invented new diplomatic titles such as *Nihonkoku taikun*, Great Prince of Japan, rather than simply "king," which smacked of the Sinocentric order, because it correctly understood these aspects of political and diplomatic life to be an important part of extending its hegemony over the realm and bolstering its prestige abroad.

In this way, while foreign envoys visited Edo, ceremony was carefully constructed to create a Japan-centered world. As Toby explains, "the bakufu sought a set of protocols and norms for the conduct of foreign relations which would be acceptable to a sufficient number of foreign states to sustain the levels of trade and cultural contact deemed essential, and which might constitute a symbolic mirror of the structure of an ideal 'world order' of Japanese fantasy."²¹ Specific diplomatic language, the manipulation of spatial hierarchy, the strict use of a Japanese-based schedule of ambassadorial visits, employing popular art as propaganda in the form of the *Edo zu byobu* [1637], ritualizing gift giving, and pushing notions of Japan as the "central kingdom" and foreigners as "barbarians"--or the *ka'i chitsujo*--all served to legitimize Tokugawa authority and set a standard for realm wide diplomatic practice.

In Matsumae domain's "barbarian audiences" with Ainu, for example, officials employed these realmwide diplomatic practices. Kakizaki Orindo's *Matsumae jonai nenju gyoji* (The annual events of Matsumae Castle), which includes a section on the protocol used in Ainu visits to Fukuyama Castle--visits called *uimamu*, a term, as David Howell observes, that was a reinvention of a native Ainu form of greeting²²--illustrates that these Ainu visits were meticulously constructed to assert the military power and political authority of the Matsumae family, and hence Japanese rule, on the northern border. When Ainu participated in attendance at the castle, Kakizaki noted that the ceremony was held in the audience chamber, a room carefully adorned with the symbols of

¹⁸ Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 16-19.

¹⁹ Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 48-49.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

²² David L. Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," *Past & Present* 142 (February 1994): 80-81.

Matsumae authority, including armor and hanging curtains with the household crest. Spatial hierarchy dramatized Japanese power, moreover: the domain lord occupied a raised section of the chamber while Ainu sat in the outer chamber. A designated official mediated all edicts, while a translator made sure Ainu understood them. Even the gifts carried political nuances. Ainu offered *kenjobutsu*, or gifts presented upward, while the lord presented *kudasaremono*, or gifts bestowed downward. The *goyoban*, or master of ceremonies, then escorted Ainu elders to inspect the military hardware of the domain. This protocol shared several similarities with the seventeenth-century visits to Edo by Korean and Ryukyuan embassies.²³

Only four decades after Sekigahara the shogunate found itself confronted by a major foreign-policy issue on the Eurasian continent. With the Manchu conquest of China, Edo realized what Toby calls (and all Japan specialists should recognize as) a manifest truth: "Japan is in Asia, and cannot isolate herself from it." To varying degrees, the shogunate, or domains under its authority, assisted continental allies in their fight against Manchu takeover. In 1627, anticipating a Manchu push, shogun Iemitsu ordered that gunpowder and swords, and possibly some firearms, be sent to Korea. Later, in 1645, Ming loyalist Cui Zhi, through the Nagasaki magistracy (*bugyo*) requested shogunal assistance in fighting the Qing. "[D]ozens of embassies," Toby explains, followed, all looking for Tokugawa aid.²⁴ However, the absence of a Ming state, the poor prospects of Ming pretenders, and other factors all pointed to a cautious stance by the shogunate. Finally, with the defeat of Zheng Zhilong, any hope of driving the Manchus out of China died, and shogun Iemitsu chose to stay out of the conflict. Still, by favoring anti-Qing merchants and serving as a haven for Ming loyalists, Japan had taken sides in a continental matter.

Diplomatic Sham

Jurgis Elisonas, in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, leveled the first critique of Toby's thesis,

arguing that Korea and the Ryukyu Kingdom, the two countries with which Japan conducted so called "diplomatic relations"--that is, *tsushin*, as opposed to *tsusho*, or "commercial relations"--were either reluctant participants in Japan's staged diplomatic sham or not really foreign countries at all. Turning the East Asian perspective against Toby and others, moreover, Elisonas points out that the model for the Tokugawa policy of *kaikin*, "maritime prohibitions," was Ming China, a country that, Elisonas insists, "constructed the model of an isolationist policy." "The means and motives of what the Chinese of the Ming period called *hai-chin* (J: *kaikin*), or maritime prohibitions," writes Elisonas, "were analogons to those of the Tokugawa period's *sakoku* directives."²⁵ Hence, the very spirit and historical precedent of the notion of *kaikin*, (strictly speaking, of course, there were no "*sakoku* directives"), spawned from the very East Asian context that Toby and others emphasize as being so important.

Elisonas continues by pointing out that Korea, "the only foreign country with which the Tokugawa regime maintained diplomatic relations," sent only twelve official embassies to Japan during the entire Tokugawa period, and that the first and most famous of these, the 1636 mission to visit shogun Iemitsu and the deified Ieyasu at the Nikko mausoleum, was in fact a "diplomatic mission" rather than a "return embassy," thus hardly constituting a tributary visit as understood by the rules of the East Asian diplomatic order. As for the Ryukyu Kingdom, between 1634 and 1806, the Ryukyu king dispatched some fifteen embassies to visit Tokugawa shoguns. Elisonas insists, however, that Ryukyu "could scarcely be called a foreign country insofar as Japan was concerned. Ryukyu was not an independent or even an autonomous state: it had been conquered in 1609 by the Shimazu and was no more than a dependency of the daimyo of Kagoshima, whom the bakufu enfeoffed with Ryukyu just as it did with Satsuma and Osumi."²⁶

Elisonas is correct about Ryukyu. Nonetheless, remarks made by the German doctor Engelbert Kaempfer, whose seventeenth-century his-

²³ Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 214-17.

²⁴ Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 112, 114, 119.

²⁵ Elisonas, "The Inseparable Trinity," 237.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 299-300.

tory of Japan Beatrice Bodart-Bailey recently translated under the title *Kaempfer's Japan*, illustrate the complexity of the relationship between the Ryukyu Kingdom and Japan, as well as some noteworthy comments about Chosen (Korea) not mentioned by Elisonas but that support his critique. "Some centuries ago," Kaempfer wrote, the Ryukyu Islands "submitted to the king of Satsuma as a result of military force, and he keeps them subservient with *bugyo*, or commissioners and magistrates, strong military commanders, and guards." Kaempfer continued, "Even though they are not considered foreigners, but to some extent as Japanese subjects, they are, nevertheless, treated as foreigners and outsiders when it comes to trade." In the case of Chosen, Kaempfer remarked in his section on "Japanese Possessions Overseas" that, after Hideyoshi's invasion, "Ieyasu had the Koreans appear at court every three years with a delegation as proof of their submission. After that, they slowly came again under the sway of the Tartars and pushed the Japanese occupation to the furthest corner of their last province, which indeed is still subservient to the present Japanese ruler." Kaempfer explained that the Tokugawa shogun "is happy to own no more than the Korean frontier as safety for his own country and has it guarded by the lord of Tsushima, who maintains a military guard of sixty people under the command of a *bugyo*. The Koreans are ordered to appear at court only at a time of shogunal succession to take an oath of loyalty to the new ruler."²⁷

Herein lies the crux of the debate between Toby and Elisonas. If we follow Kaempfer's line that Ryukyu Islanders "are not considered foreigners," then we can accept the rather sharp critique of Toby leveled by Elisonas: "Japan had a government that barely pursued foreign relations at all." That the "sham played with Ryukyu enforced participation and the facsimile of a formal relationship in which Korea acquiesced sufficed to create for the bakufu its own international order, in which Japan ranked first, even if it had to be *prima in vacuo*."²⁸ Regarding Chosen,

although Elisonas never questioned its authenticity as a foreign country in trade and diplomatic exchange, some Japanese historians, such as Yamamoto Hirofumi, float the notion that southern Korea was part of the administrative frontiers of the early modern Japanese state or, as Kaempfer mentioned, that the shogun oversaw part of the Korean frontier "as safety for his own country."²⁹ Hence historians raise questions regarding even Chosen's authenticity as a real diplomatic partner.

If we return to Kaempfer's earlier remarks, however, we learn that Ryukyuan were "treated as foreigners and outsiders when it comes to trade," which was, if we understand Kaempfer's use of the word "trade" to mean both economic and diplomatic exchange, precisely Toby's point. That is to say, the Tokugawa shoguns partly manufactured such foreigners to fit within its version of diplomatic exchange to bolster its political power at home and abroad, even if such diplomatic exchange was largely the product of the Japanese imagination.

Others

By retelling a fascinating story from Ezo, David Howell demonstrates that Matsumae policy toward the Ainu shared similarities to the shogunal and, later, the Satsuma strategy of what might be called mandated difference toward the Ryukyu Islands. That is, Ainu were, like the Ryukyuan, "treated as foreigners" by Matsumae domain, even when the status of their actual foreignness, at least in the area called Wajinchi (Japanese land) was less clear. Howell points to an Ainu named Iwanosuke, of Kennichi village in Wajinchi, the Japanese occupied section of southern Hokkaido, who was thoroughly assimilated to the everyday customs of Japanese life: he had a Japanese name, lived in a Japanese village, and wore his hair in a Japanese fashion. During New Year's ceremonies, however, Iwanosuke underwent what Howell calls a "curious metamorphosis." "As a representative of the Ainu people," writes Howell, Iwanosuke went to Fukuyama Castle to participate in an audience with the Matsumae lord. Iwanosuke's metamorphosis was cast by contemporary Japanese observers as

²⁷ Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan*, ed. Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 42-43, 228.

²⁸ Elisonas, "The Inseparable Trinity," 300.

²⁹ Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Sakoku to kaikin no jidai* (Tokyo: Azekura, 1995), 1-9.

a "remnant of old Ezo customs." However, as Howell argues, the opposite was true: "Iwanosuke assumed what had become for him a false identity for reasons that had little to do with old Ainu customs and everything to do with the institutions of the Matsumae domain."³⁰

This invention of tradition and fabrication of foreignness, Howell points out, served several purposes. Most pertinently, it demarcated "ethnic boundaries" which in turn served to establish "political boundaries." At the same time, it cast the Japanese domination of the Ainu "in history and the 'timeless' traditions of Ainu culture." Howell observes of the Tokugawa shogunate that it "was the first regime in Japanese history to draw clear physical borders for itself." Qualifying this assertion, however, he continues that "rather than establish a dichotomy between Japan and the rest of the world, it surrounded itself with peripheral areas that were neither fully part of the polity nor completely independent of it." Howell submits that this "spurred the formation of a Japanese identity even before the emergence of a modern nation-state in the mid-nineteenth century."³¹

Similarly, Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out that even the assimilation policies aimed at the many "societies on the periphery" of the early modern polity "involved a sharpening of the official definition of what it meant to be Japanese." Scrutinizing the place of the "frontier" in mapping out what was spatially "Japan," Morris-Suzuki asks important questions regarding "the whole way in which we deal with space in history." "The eye of the historian," she writes, "tends to look for change over time rather than diversity across space." Through investigating Japan's relationship with its neighbors, Morris-Suzuki argues for a sensitivity to "spatial diversity" as well as "temporal change."³²

³⁰ Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," 79-80. See also David L. Howell, "Kinsei Hokkaido? ni okeru midoru-gurando no kan? sei," in *Basho ukeoisei to Ainu*, ed. Hokkaido-Tohokushi Kenkyukai (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shuppan Kikaku Sento, 1998), 417-18, 420.

³¹ Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," 69, 71, 83.

³² Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "The Frontiers of Japanese Identity," in *Asian Forms of the Nation*, ed. Stein

Following an analysis of the 1713 *Wakan sansai zue* (An Illustrated Japanese-Chinese encyclopedia), Morris-Suzuki conjectures that the "feeling conveyed by this work is of a world made up of concentric circles of increasing strangeness, stretching almost infinitely outwards from a familiar centre." She points out how this model was born from the *ka'i chitsujo*--or the model of the "civilized center" and "barbarian periphery"--although it remains not entirely clear whether Japan or China served as the hub in this first work (it being modeled after earlier Chinese encyclopedias). Bruce Batten, though more concerned with comparative models of frontier and boundary creation, emphasizes a similar frontier theme, albeit on a more state-centered level, in his Japanese-language history of premodern Japanese boundaries and frontiers. Rather than identify "concentric circles of increasing strangeness" which stretched out from a "familiar centre," as Morris-Suzuki did, Batten draws on Robert Gilpin's state-centered model of "loss-of-strength gradient," wherein premodern frontiers are defined by their distance from the political core and by their political strangeness.³³

Morris-Suzuki argues that in the late Tokugawa period, other popular encyclopedias drew on the increasingly important nativism of Motoori Norinaga, "in which Japanese identity was defined in terms of spontaneous virtue and creativity, as opposed to the rigidity and sterility attributed to Chinese learning," and the civilized hub was clearly identified by an "urbanized samurai encountering a group of Geisha in a city street." "Moral rectitude" emerged as one of the defining characteristic of being a Japanese.³⁴ Like Howell, Morris-Suzuki writes that the "cornerstone" of the *ka'i chitsujo* was "the logic of difference," even if it was sometimes trumped up. She explains that the "relationship with the Ainu and the Ryukyu kingdom were important precisely because they represented the subordination

Tønnesson and Hans Antlöv (Richmond: Curzon, 1996), 42, 44. See also Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 11-20.

³³ Bruce Batten, *Nihon no 'kyokai': Zenkindai no kokka, minzoku, bunka* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2000), 35.

³⁴ Morris-Suzuki, "The Frontiers of Japanese Identity," 48.

of foreign people to Japanese dominion. Everything about the relationship, therefore, had to be structured in such a way as to magnify the exotic character of the peripheral societies." The embassies dispatched to Edo from the Ryukyu Kingdom, for Morris-Suzuki, were an "extravagant and elaborately staged dramatization of the logic of *ka'i*," or mandated difference.³⁵

Later, with late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century contact with European nations, Japan was forced to grapple with a modified notion of the frontier. Morris-Suzuki explains that Japan needed to adjust to the idea of a frontier as a "line marking the boundary between one nation and another, instead of the idea of a series of frontiers marking gradually increasing degrees of difference." (Pointing to a later transformation of frontiers to national boundaries, Batten picks up this theme as well, arguing that actual boundaries failed to emerge in the north until around 1855 with the Shimoda Treaty between Japan and Russia.³⁶) But for Morris-Suzuki, evidence of boundary creation earlier than 1855 include the formulation of an assimilationist discourse in Japan, a discourse that forced Edo officials and intellectuals to sharpen their definition of what was, and what was not, the Japanese realm. The geographer Honda Toshiaki, for example, following the intrusion of Russian trappers into the North Pacific, believed that Ainu should be made more Japanese.³⁷ "[W]e must establish a mutual frontier between Japan and other countries and create a fortress to withstand foreign enemies," he wrote on one occasion. Thus, even the slow absorption of "peripheral societies" into the early modern polity (and hence the clean delineation of borders between Japan and other nations) further helped clarify what it meant to be Japanese.³⁸ For Morris-Suzuki and Batten, one of the hall-

marks of modernity in Japan was the transformation of once "concentric circles of increasing strangeness" or "loss-of-strength gradient" emanating from the political center to political borders and the ultimate assimilation of foreign peoples who found themselves living within these newly drawn lines.

In 1857, in a different kind of example of this spatial and ethnic demarcation of the boundaries of the early modern polity, the Edo shogunate sponsored medical treatment and Jennerian smallpox vaccinations for all Japanese and Ainu in Ezo. With this policy, shogunal officials, working through the Hakodate *bugyo*, placed medical treatment and smallpox vaccinations in the same context as the other forms of assimilation discussed by Howell and Morris-Suzuki. State-sponsored medicine in Ezo "sought to transform the place of the Ainu, even at the level of the individual Ainu body, in relation to the early modern Japanese polity." Like the Foucauldian relationship between public medicine and state power that emerged in modern Europe, medicine in Ezo was employed by the shogunate to protect what it viewed as "a newly acquired appendage of the body politic--or something to be integrated into the national whole--as well as demarcate, at the level of the individual body, the borders of the Japanese state in the north."³⁹

Beginning in 1799, with the Tokugawa attainment of lands and administrative powers once under Matsumae control, officials in Ezo mandated that Ainu infected with disease report to administrative posts throughout Ezo. In other words, in the same context as ordering Ainu to change their hairstyles, conform to Japanese customary norms, use the Japanese language, or to abandon the practice of polygamy, Ainu were forced, via shogunal policy, to recognize Japanese-based notions of health and medical culture. The ultimate manifestation of this was the 1857 vaccination project. Physicians on Tokugawa payroll set out to vaccinate people increasingly thought to be wards of the early modern state, even if they were ethnic Ainu, and conscious decisions were made

³⁵ Ibid., 51.

³⁶ Batten, *Nihon no 'kyokai'*, 21, 50.

³⁷ On Honda Toshiaki, see Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952); George Alexander Lensen, *The Russian Push Toward Japan: Russo-Japanese Relations, 1697-1875* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Morris-Suzuki, "The Frontiers of Japanese Identity," 54.

³⁸ Morris-Suzuki, "The Frontiers of Japanese Identity," 54-56.

³⁹ Brett L. Walker, "The Early Modern Japanese State and Ainu Vaccinations: Redefining the Body Politic, 1799-1868," *Past & Present* 163 (May 1999): 126-27, 128-29.

at the outset about who and where to vaccinate. In short, in the arena of public medicine, the Edo shogunate consciously mapped out the ethnic, spatial, and administrative boundaries of the early modern body politic before the rise of the modern nation-state.⁴⁰

The emergence of an early modern Japanese identity, and the delineation of modern state boundaries, was not confined to the political arena, but extended into the popular consciousness as well. As Toby illustrates in several articles on the topic, images of "foreign others," ones usually built on strongly held, and sometimes state-sponsored, stereotypes -- or "codes of Other"⁴¹ -- of Koreans and other outsiders, galvanized the imagination of urban commoners in Japan. He writes that along the routes of Korean embassies, "rich and poor; courtier, daimyo, and commoner, competed--and paid dearly--for the best vantage point from which to watch the passage of an embassy." To preserve and profit from these embassies, "artists and printmakers recorded virtually every stage of a Korean embassy's progress through Japan, from first landfall in Tsushima, to passage by ship through the Inland Sea and riverboat up the Yodo River, and overland through Kyoto, and along the highways to Edo, and occasionally beyond." Toby's highly original analysis of these visual sources illustrates that the tropes of alterity (or "codes of Other") employed by Japanese served to affirm what it meant to be Japanese. "Through reenactment and representation," writes Toby, "the alien embassy became permanent and omnipresent, an enduring element in contemporary culture. It was an instrumentality for the construction of 'Korea', and implicitly of all 'others', in Japanese culture, and by extension it was a means for creating 'Japan'."⁴²

The symbolic meaning of Korean embassies also altered the nature of the Tokugawa status system. When townspeople undertook their own *Tojin gyoretsu*, or foreigners parades, and crafted *Chosen yama*, or Korean floats, common people asserted an "identity radically different from that sanctioned by official social ideology," and by masquerading as foreigners, they "licensed themselves temporarily to step outside the tightly controlled behavioral requirements of role and status demanded of them by the norms of their society." In other words, participants stepped from the realm of the Japanese self, and its implicit rigid status categories, to the realm of stereotyped-ethnic alterity, appropriating the "codes of Other" which remained alien enough to serve as a commonly perceived liminal space for escaping the officially endorsed social norms of the day. Common people, Toby concludes, masquerading as foreigners, brought the political center, that lavish capital where embassies visited, to themselves, thus "asserting their own, communal parity with the shogun."⁴³

Ultimately, however, confronting foreigners forced early modern Japanese to, as Toby explains, "reorder not only their cosmology, but their imaginings and imaging of the range of human variation that they encountered in the wake of Columbus."⁴⁴ The greater the number of outside people Japanese witnessed in the early modern period, the less blanket terms used to describe this outside world, such as *Sangoku*, or the Three Realms, remained meaningful. Prior to what Toby describes as the "Xavierian moment," the tripartite framework Japanese employed to describe the outside world was the Three Realms of *Wagachu* ("Our Land," or Japan), *Shintan* or *Kara* (usually "China," but also other continental peoples such as Koreans), and *Tenjiku* (rendered as "India," but more of a theologic term that meant "Land of the Buddha"). Toby writes that for early-sixteenth-century Japanese, "the real world consisted largely of two possible identities: peo-

⁴⁰ Walker, "The Early Modern Japanese State and Ainu Vaccinations," 141-58.

⁴¹ Ronald P. Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and changing Japanese iconographies of Other," in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 331.

⁴² Ronald P. Toby, "Carnival of Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art and Popular Culture."

Monumenta Nipponica 46, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 416, 418, 423.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 445, 452, 454.

⁴⁴ Ronald P. Toby, "Imagining and Imaging 'Anthropos' in Early Modern Japan," *Visual Anthropology Review* 14, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1998): 19.

ple of 'Our Land', and people from China--comprising 'the Continent', with which there was a long history of contact and commerce."⁴⁵ (Perhaps for this reason, when Kaempfer traveled to Edo, he was called Tojin, or Chinese, by onlookers.⁴⁶) After the 1550s, however, in the wake of the "Xavierian moment," Japanese were, argues Toby, "inundated with a bewildering array of new-found Others," people who "came in hitherto inconceivable variety of colors, shapes, hirsutenesses, and habiliments." These were the people not of *Sangoku*, but rather of the more broadly cast *Bankoku*, or "Myriad Realms."⁴⁷

The notion of *Bankoku* required a new way of construing the world, one riddled with unfamiliar geographies and taxonomies, demanding that Japanese artists, who rendered these new cartographies visually, move beyond distinguishing between Japanese and others, now distinguishing Japanese from among a vast variety of human kinds--*jinrui*. In his analysis of such works as the 1645 *Shoho bankoku jinbutsu zu* (Shoho illustration of the peoples of the myriad realms), Toby describes a "groping toward an 'anthropology' of sorts," or what he later refers to as the "anthropology of representation." Moreover, Toby cautions against dismissing this type of early modern "anthropology of representation" as overly imagined by pointing out that "European 'knowledge' of the foreign was not consistently empirical, either. . . ." The principal medium for representing foreigners became the visual image and, as Toby argues, "each image was a specimen, much like museum dioramas or specimen villages at a World's Fair."⁴⁸ This explosion of anthropos in the Japanese world view engendered new knowledge of "other" and "self," and visual sources, unlike texts, provide a rare glimpse into this world of the early modern imagining and imaging of the outside world.

People

Focus on the formation of an early modern identity, one which required casting foreigners as

"others," has had its dangerous interpretive pitfalls. Fine tuning this notion of an early modern Japanese identity has meant casting foreign peoples, both real and imagined, as reflexive or reflective "others," with little or no historical agency. More often than not, such foreigners and the places where they lived have served the purposes of either Japan or those who write its history, which is, of course, a biased vantage point from which to view any country's foreign relations and frontier experiences. New research reveals that relations with foreigners not only transformed the Japanese idea of self, but that these foreigners themselves--the "others" with whom the Japanese interacted--also witnessed political and cultural changes as a result of their contact with early modern Japan. Outside important observations related to missionaries, or brief discussions of seventeenth-century Korean politics, this point has only been made by Elisonas, Smits, and Bodart-Bailey, but nonetheless it should be considered central to our discussion. Really, this lesson is simple yet critical: vantage point, or the temporal, spatial, and human perspective from which history is construed, shapes our rendering of the past.

When Boxer and Elisonas argued that Japan was isolated under the Tokugawa regime--the "*sakoku* directives"--their vantage point and temporal site stemmed from European experiences in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Of course, for these Europeans, Japan was a "closed country," and so not surprisingly, historians most reliant on this European perspective most passionately pushed the *sakoku* thesis. Reinier Hesselink, who actually bridges the Japanese and European perspectives, has most recently made this point in *Prisoners from Nambu*. In July 1643, when Japanese authorities from the northeastern domain of Morioka (overseen by the Nanbu family) cleverly lured ashore and then incarcerated ten crew members of the *Breskens*, a yacht out of Batavia that Dutch officials had dispatched along with the fluyt *Castricom*, these Dutch sailors correctly came to the conclusion that Japan was a country run by paranoid and at times even sadistic rulers. What else could they possibly have concluded as they watched as the Christian hunter Inoue Masashige and others subjected Catholic missionaries to horrific tortures

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan*, 285.

⁴⁷ Toby, "Imagining and Imaging 'Anthropos' in Early Modern Japan," 19.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 36.

such as the *anatsurushi* (the legendary "pit torture")?⁴⁹ By contrast, it stands to reason that historians illustrating the pervasiveness of East Asian contact in the early modern period should depend on an Asia-centered perspective. These historians argue that some foreign groups understood Japan to be an altogether too-open country. In other words, if certain Europeans understood Japan to be closed, then Ryukyu Islanders, Koreans, and Ainu had a different opinion. Japan was not only open, but slowly expanding and at times highly intrusive.

In his introduction to *Visions of Ryukyu*, Smits stakes out a decidedly Ryukyuan vantage point. He writes that his study "seeks to center Ryukyu as a historical agent, examining Ryukyu history mainly from the vantage point of Shuri (capital of the Ryukyu Kingdom), not Edo or Beijing." Smits accomplishes this largely through the person of Sai On, a Ryukyuan ideologue and statesman who believed that the small island kingdom must strive to reach a "moral parity" with Japan and China. Smits explains that Sai On understood that "Ryukyu's long-term survival and prosperity. . . depended in large part on its adoption and adaptation of the Confucian way."⁵⁰ Thus, in an ironic twist, the idea of the dominant Japanese forcing the acculturation and assimilation of neighboring people is cast in a fresh (and slightly uncomfortable) light: some of these neighbors also advocated a policy of assimilation--of assimilating themselves--through the adoption of certain aspects of Japanese life in order to assure their country's survival.

To begin with, Sai advocated a Confucian agenda for Ryukyuan officials that would have brought a grin to even the face of his stoic hero, Kaibara Ekken. He believed officials should thoroughly familiarize themselves with the Classics; nurture a Confucian-based notion of sincerity of will; employ geomancy in the construction of sacred and political sites; adopt Confucian notions of family relations; replace certain "native" Ryukyuan rites with Japanese ones; and recast the

king as a Confucian sage.⁵¹ In one polemic, Sai inferred that the Satsuma conquest of the Ryukyu Islands had in fact benefited his kingdom. Ryukyu, under Satsuma rule, now practiced what he identified as "fundamental principles of the Way of Government." Smits illustrates that Sai expressed his indebtedness to Satsuma in largely Confucian terms, believing that even the rice tax extracted by the powerful Kyushu domain, which no doubt pained the Ryukyuan countryside, had led to better agriculture among farmers, in turn leading to a "rectification" of Ryukyuan customs.

Moreover, Sai oversaw important policy initiatives that in today's world might be viewed as traitorous to his country. In the mid-eighteenth century, for example, Sai oversaw widespread forestry reform and the Genbun survey. Smits points out that the Genbun survey, based on Japanese cadastral practice, "established the basic economic framework for early modern Ryukyu," and resulted in a revision of the original cadastral numbers and a tightening of the central government's control over rice-producing districts. However, as it did in Japan, the survey went further than just the realm of agronomics. As Smits argues, in Ryukyu it provided the government with a means to regulate everyday life in the districts, which extended into the realm of "moral behavior" and ceremonial practice. With increased central control, Sai was able to oversee a crackdown on "native" Ryukyuan festival life, assert a ban on shamanism, and reinvent the original meanings of such rites as worshiping the hearth deity. Of course, these measures met with mixed results; but the point is that some of the deculturation and assimilation of the Ryukyu Kingdom was generated internally.⁵² Oddly, while Tokugawa officials pushed to preserve Ryukyuan foreignness, Sai On and others advocated that country's move in the opposite direction.

In the far north, Shakushain's seventeenth-century struggle against Matsumae domain serves as another example of the historical agency of foreigners. A survey of the twenty some years leading up to Shakushain's War demonstrates that

⁴⁹ Reinier H. Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in 17th-Century Japanese Diplomacy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

⁵⁰ Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, 3, 8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 75, 76, 97, 101, 103.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 109-16.

the roots of this conflict lay planted in the soil of cultural and ecological change brought about by trade with Japan. By the late sixteenth century, Ainu notions of political power, social prestige, and ritual practice had become tied to trade with Japan. That is, like the example of Sai On's reform policies, Ainu generated political and cultural change internally. Everything from the clothing that adorned powerful chiefs, to the lacquerware cups and saké used in ceremonies, Ainu acquired in trade. To obtain these items, Ainu brought dried fish, animal skins, and certain pharmaceuticals to trading posts. Consequently, as certain chiefs maneuvered to extend their hegemony through acquiring more emblems of prestige, they positioned themselves to extend their control over the land that produced the animals whose skins purchased these goods. Early on, this led to border conflicts between Ainu chiefdoms, including the construction of Ainu fortifications called *casi*. In the case of Shakushain's War, the two main chiefdoms involved were the Hae, under Onibishi (and his territory known as Haekuru), and the Shibuchari (or Menashikuru), under Shakushain.⁵³

In the 1660s, Shakushain defeated Onibishi, but not before forcing Matsumae domain to take sides in the conflict. Just prior to the outbreak of full-scale war, Hae Ainu sought assistance from Japanese miners and Matsumae domain, and Shakushain, viewing these events from his fortified position in eastern Ezo, believed himself to be boxed in by hostile neighbors. So he lashed out, killing just under 300 Japanese in two well-planned assaults. Matsumae domain dispatched troops to Kunnui, in eastern Ezo, to stem a potential Shakushain-led march on Fukuyama Castle, and at Kunnui a stalemate ensued. Ultimately, the shogunate, in an unqualified example of how it viewed its role on the borders of the realm, dispatched a retainer, Matsumae Yasuhiro, to take over local command of military activities in Kunnui and see to the "subjugation of the barbarians." Indeed, "Campaigns to 'subdue the barbarians' were urgent prerogatives of the shogunate; after all, it was the imperial duty of the Barbarian Subduing Generalissimo (*seii taishogun*; the formal imperial title of the shogun) to defend the

realm."⁵⁴

However, Shakushain's War also forged strong ethnic identities among the participants, leading some Japanese historians to call the conflict a "greater ethnic war." Once underway, Shakushain's War served to strengthen ethnic identities in Ezo. Although competition for resource sparked the conflagration, the two sides of the conflict, with some important exceptions, were drawn along ethnic lines. Matsumae commanders, such as Kakizaki Hiroshige, went so far as to threaten to "destroy all the Ainu." Shakushain, by contrast, boasted that his forces should "slash their way to the Matsumae" stronghold. In short, Shakushain's War took on a disturbing us-against-them mentality, prompting the shogunate to assert its duty to defend the realm by conscripting support among northeastern domains under the already arcane *gunyaku* (military conscription) system.

The important point is that trade with Japan, and the incorporation of Japanese-manufactured items into Ainu politics and culture, was a powerful ingredient in this war and the formation of pan-Ainu alliances. Moreover, at the same time that Japanese probably viewed themselves as "Japanese" while facing tenacious Ainu fighters, Ainu probably formed broader conceptions of their Ainu-ness while facing Japanese warriors as well. Before and after this point in 1669, Ainu society remained fragmented among patrilineal political alignments called *petiwor*, or river-based villages and chiefdoms. However, as Shakushain watched his hunting and fishing grounds transform into *akinaiba chigyo*, or trade fiefs, under Matsumae's economic expansion, it forced him to think more bilaterally about ethnic relations on the island. Importantly, for these Ainu, Japan must have been a country all too actively engaged with the outside world, or from Shakushain's vantage point, actively conquering his homeland.

Situated on the southern and northern edges of Tokugawa hegemony, Sai On and Shakushain faced the ensuing complications of an expanding early modern Japanese polity at different periods of time. Sai On, on the one hand, resisted the Edo shogunate's attempts to mandate Ryukyuan

⁵³ Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 53-54.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

difference on an intellectual and political level, pushing the small kingdom in the direction of Japanese-style Confucian reform. On the other hand, Shakushain resisted Japanese economic designs on the cold, harsh battlefields of eastern Ezo by attempting to create an united Ainu front to expel the Japanese from his homeland. For these two non-Japanese societies situated on the fringes of the Japanese realm, Japanese expansion resulted in nothing less than their ultimate conquest and acculturation, and so, consequently, any characterization of early modern Japan as a "closed country" would have come as some surprise to them.

Such a characterization would not have surprised other foreigners, however, proving once more that vantage point is critical to understanding early modern Japanese attitudes about the outside world. As mentioned, Engelbert Kaempfer was stationed on Deshima Islet near Nagasaki, (like Ryukyu and Ezo, Nagasaki was also an ambiguous space, with Chinese temples and the Chinese factory, not to mention the Dutch presence at Deshima). He viewed seventeenth-century Japan not as an expanding country but as a closed and highly paranoid one. Given a chance, he speculated, the Japanese people would have lavished "the best possible treatment on us [Dutch visitors]," but owing to the strict prohibitions against Christianity, the Edo shogunate kept Europeans under a watchful eye.⁵⁵

Even a superficial reading of Kaempfer's writings related to his stay in Japan (between September 1690 and October 1692) expose the extreme steps taken by the Edo shogunate to immunize Japan from any potential Christian infection. It is hard to overestimate the shogunate's fears of the monotheistic religion. Like antibodies scurrying around an alien, and quite threatening, virus, trying to protect the larger body from infection, attendants and translators followed Kaempfer throughout his stay in Japan, making sure that he did not infect people, and hence the Tokugawa body politic, with the toxins of Christianity. Those Japanese who dealt with the "imprisoned visitors," as Kaempfer called the Dutch, were "bound by an oath and sign with their blood not to talk or entrust to us information about the

situation of their country. . . ." In others words, as Kaempfer concluded--in many ways setting the tenor in Japan and the West for nearly three centuries of historiography related to early modern Japan's foreign affairs and frontiers--Japan was a "secluded world apart from the rest of the world."⁵⁶

Offering much needed details on the nature of the Nagasaki trade, Kaempfer wrote that when European ships first entered the waters off Japan, their arrival was announced by guards called *tomiban*. They manned watch towers to warn of European invasion (an invasion thought imminent, incidently, after the expulsion of the missionaries). In the case of such an invasion, signal fires would be lit in succession until the fires, and hence the news of the European attack, had reached Edo. Later, as European ships entered Nagasaki harbor, they were assisted (or accosted, depending on your perspective) by guard boats called *funaban*. Kaempfer described the city of Nagasaki as having an international flare, a product of late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century trade. Three Chinese temples (the Nankin, Chokushu, and Hokushu temples) graced the port city and upwards to 10,000 Chinese merchants had once visited Nagasaki every year in well over 200 ships. Some Chinese, according to Kaempfer, had even set up permanent residences in the city. After 1688, however, following shogunal suspicions that the Qing state had accommodated the Jesuits (the Tokugawa family's "sworn and banished enemy"), and that Christian books "printed in China were hidden among the other Chinese volumes that annually arrived in the country," the Chinese trade was restricted and Chinese merchants themselves, much like Dutch merchants at Deshima, were forced to reside at the Chinese factory. Although the Chinese were allowed to intermix with the Japanese population for a longer period of time, in the case of the European presence, "No Japanese who treats the Dutch with sincerity is considered an honest citizen," observed Kaempfer.⁵⁷

Kaempfer described Deshima as a "jail" or a "fortified compound," one where Europeans were

⁵⁵ Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan*, 285.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 27, 56.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 186-88, 153-54, 224-25, 199.

"sealed off and guarded like thieves." Japanese who worked with the Dutch were inoculated from foreign influence through a "Letter of Acceptance," wherein a guarantor promised that the new employee would not "listen to any talk about the banned Christian sect" and not "have any secret discussions with the Dutch." Even when traveling to Edo for a shogunal audience, Japanese attendants watched over Kaempfer's every move, "even when stepping aside to follow the call of nature." At the inns where they stayed along the Tokaido Circuit, "the Dutch must rely on the small walled garden during the day and, if it pleases them, the bath at night." While traveling, "young gentlemen" followed Kaempfer and his entourage shouting, "tojin bai bai!" (or "Chinaman, haven't you got something to peddle!"), illustrating a curious clumping of all foreigners under one category of "other" in the Japanese mind, hardly a quality that one expects from a country really open to outside contact. Once at Edo Castle, much like infected people in need of quarantine, "Our rooms were isolated from all other human beings," wrote Kaempfer. Following the audience, Kaempfer returned to Nagasaki in time to witness the execution of Japanese who had smuggled with the Dutch (a common occurrence). For the crime of illegal trade with the Dutch, "with neither a word nor ceremony," an executioner "cut off the heads of their charges as soon as we arrived and turned our eyes upon the scene." Although the Japan trade was lucrative for the Dutch, their treatment at the hands of paranoid Tokugawa attendants and translators was the conduct of people who had, in Kaempfer's opinion, "closed their mouths, hearts, and souls" to their foreign guests.⁵⁸

Places

Where early modern Japan did actively engage the outside world it often reshaped such places through prolonged ecological and cultural exchange. John Hall, for example, has illustrated the importance of the copper trade in commercial relations between Japan and China.⁵⁹ Robert

Innes, in his unpublished dissertation on the economic value of such trade, argues that the continental trade led to technological advances in mining in some Japanese communities. Trade spurred an expansion of mining in Japan to meet the foreign demand. The main reason for this expansion was that the major Japanese export specie in the early Tokugawa years (as Hall pointed out) was precious metals: gold, silver, and copper. Facilitating the expansion of the mining industry, and the exploitation of these valuable resources, were technological innovations in excavation techniques, drainage, surveying, and smelting. In short, Innes concludes that foreign trade "speeded the pace of innovation by increasing the demand first for silver and later for gold and copper."⁶⁰ Toby echoes this point, explaining that the influence of foreign trade on the early modern domestic economy was several fold: it fostered a general advancement of the market economy, sparked regional industries such as sugar and silk, facilitated an expansion of national transportation networks, and led to market competition which improved the quality and increased the quantity of goods.⁶¹

Economic and technological advancement also transformed Japanese commercial activity beyond the traditional provinces. In *Capitalism From Within*, Howell illustrates how the intensification of cash-crop farming in the Kinai led to increased demand for herring-mulch fertilizer. This demand, in turn, sparked a massive expansion of merchant-run fisheries in Ezo, transforming the production habits of local Japanese and Ainu. It was not long until Japanese were searching out fresh supplies of herring on southern Sakhalin, hoping to fill the large merchant vessels, or *kitamaebune*, which followed the Japan Sea coast to ports such as Tsuruga or Obama.⁶² Along with engendering depend-

⁶⁰ Robert Leroy Innes, *The Door Ajar: Japan's Foreign Trade in the Seventeenth Century* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980), 533, 543.

⁶¹ Ronald P. Toby, "Ikinai shi no naka no kinsei Nihon no kokushi--meshita kadai." In *Ajia koeki ken to Nihon kogyoka, 1500-1900*, ed. Hamashita Takeshi and Kawakatsu Hirao (Tokyo: Riburopoto, 1991), 235.

⁶² Robert G. Flershem, "Some Aspects of Japan Sea Trade in the Tokugawa Period," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 23, no. 3 (May 1964): 405-416; David L. Howell,

⁵⁸ Ibid., 142, 187, 234, 282-83, 285, 355, 396, 27.

⁵⁹ John Whitney Hall, "Notes on the Early Ch'ing Copper Trade with Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12, no. 3-4 (December 1949): 444-61.

ency in Ainu communities by forcing them to labor in fisheries, however, the herring industry depleted fishery yield throughout Hokkaido and beyond. At one point, explains Howell, herring shoals which migrated from the Sea of Okhotsk to the west coast of Hokkaido to spawn had been so dense that "a pole could almost stand unsupported." At these sites, gams of whales and flocks of seagulls gathered to feed off the concentration of fish. However, with advances in fishing technology, such as the invention of the pound-trap, not only were small family fisheries unable to compete with the proto-capitalist firms which owned this equipment, but the environment witnessed a drastic decline in fishery yield by the Meiji period.⁶³

This type of environmental degradation and ecological change occurred throughout Ezo (and other places in Asia) with the expansion of Japanese markets and trade networks. In the early seventeenth century, large quantities of deer skins were imported into Japan from Asia, an early trade largely ignored by Western scholarship. Once in Japan, these skins were used to make armor and other specialty crafts such as brushes for calligraphy or *tabi*, a kind of sock worn with traditional Japanese footwear. Deer-skin items became so popular that Japanese merchants traveled to Southeast Asia in search of more skins to import. Dutch records from 1624 lament that European traders could not get their hands on any decent deer skins because Japanese had bought them all up. That year alone, 160,000 skins were imported. It reached the point where Spanish observers (no doubt motivated by their own greed) worried that deer herds were disappearing from Southeast Asia.⁶⁴ John Shepherd, in his history of early Taiwan, points out that the deer skin trade with Japan also became an important part of that island's economy under early Dutch and Chinese rule.⁶⁵ Thus Japanese had an

appetite for animal skins, and as certain Asian markets were increasingly closed off, or as deer became scarce, Ezo began to supply deer skins in their place.

Ainu trapped and hunted deer throughout Ezo, exchanging the skins with Japanese at trading posts. Matsumae Norihiro, in an eighteenth-century memorandum to Edo officials, remarked that trade in deer skins had depleted herds in Ezo. (These herds, it should be mentioned, along with healthy salmon runs, were closely tied to Ainu subsistence systems.) Norihiro was not the only observer to note the depletion of deer herds, however. Five years earlier, Matsumiya Kanzan had briefly remarked of deer pelts that "in recent years none are traded." Likewise, in 1717, a shogunal inspector wrote that "in past years deer pelts were mainly taken in the Saru River and Yubetsu areas, but in recent years few pelts are taken at all." These are important observations because healthy deer herds were central to Ainu survival.⁶⁶

In 1792, Kushihara Seiho, a local observer in Ezo, offered hints as to how deer had come under so much pressure. He wrote that in the fall deer from the mountains of the southern section of the Ishikari region crossed the Ishikari River and migrated southeast to Shikotsu. Illustrating ecological trends in fauna distribution, he observed that in western Ezo the snow became very deep in the winter, and deer found it difficult to forage for food. During this migration, when deer crossed the Ishikari River, Ainu concealed themselves and their boats behind reed blinds and waited for deer to cross the river so that they could overtake them in boats and kill them. "In recent years an increasing number of deer have been taken, and none are left. Those deer that did remain have swum across the straits to Morioka domain," wrote Kushihara. Now, "there are very few if any deer in eastern Ezo."⁶⁷

Finally, maritime prohibitions, and Japan's geographic isolation from the Eurasian continent, shaped the disease ecology of the archipelago, and hence the rhythms of life and death in early modern Japan. In her research on disease and mortality crisis in the early modern period, Ann

Capitalism From Within: Economy, Society, and the State in a Japanese Fishery (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 38; and Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 138-44.

⁶³ Howell, *Capitalism From Within*, 50, 117.

⁶⁴ Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 120-21.

⁶⁵ John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 57, 73-79, 100.

⁶⁶ Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 119-20.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Bowman Jannetta argues that with the establishment of the Edo shogunate few new diseases actually entered Japan. Pointing to evidence such as the absence of bubonic plague and epidemic typhus, Jannetta argues that "Japan's geography and her isolation from the major world trade routes provided a *cordon sanitaire* that prevented major diseases from penetrating Japan until the mid-nineteenth century."⁶⁸

That is not to say, however, that certain diseases did not spread outward from Japan. Similar to the scenario outlined by William McNeill in *Plagues and Peoples*, Japanese contributed to the dissemination of deadly contagions in Ezo as their commercial and political interests advanced into Ainu communities.⁶⁹ In Ezo, Japanese traders brought diseases such as smallpox and syphilis, incorporating the northern island into the disease ecology of early modern Japan and sparking demographic havoc in Ainu communities.⁷⁰ Ecologically speaking, viewed from the perspective of the epidemiologic range of Japan's disease ecology, Ezo was incorporated into the Japanese Archipelago in the early modern period via forms of "ecological imperialism."⁷¹ Not only were people moving beyond the traditional confines of the realm, but it seems pathogens were as well.

Conclusion

I should offer at least a brief explanation as to why this historiographical essay concludes prior to the rise of the "unequal treaty" regime negoti-

ated between the Edo shogunate and the early Meiji state with the Western powers. Quite simply, in my opinion, such forms of international interaction and diplomatic order no longer resemble early modern forms and so are beyond the scope of this narrative. As W. G. Beasley and, more recently, Michael Auslin point out, after 1855, Japan was forced to navigate within a new logic of foreign relations and international order, one not premised on the notion that Japan--or even China for that matter--stood at the center of a real or imagined global community, but rather one that exposed that Japan sat precariously on the edge of modern civilization. As Auslin cautions, this is not to say that between 1858 and 1872 the Japanese were completely unable to assert some political and diplomatic agency when negotiating with the Western powers. For example, Japanese diplomats did succeed in shifting the location of some key treaty ports (along with other minor diplomatic successes) during this early phase.⁷² However, the mere advent of such ports, not to mention the "unequal treaties" that made them legally binding and the "extraterritoriality" that made them sting, meant that Japan, whether it liked it or not, had joined the dog-eat-dog international climate of the late nineteenth century.

As for the early modern period, three points stand out after surveying new literature on its foreign affairs and frontier experiences. The first comes in the form of (not altogether unbiased) praise: with the exception of John Whitney Hall's *Government and Local Power in Japan, 500-1700* and Thomas C. Smith's *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, possibly no single monograph on the early modern period has spawned the kind of explosion of historical writing as has Ronald Toby's *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*. To different degrees, the writings of Howell, Morris-Suzuki and others expand on Toby's point that the notion of *sakoku* was highly Eurocentric and that historians need to focus on the Edo shogunate's relations with Asia. With the thesis that Japan isolated itself from all

⁶⁸ Ann Bowman Jannetta, "Disease Ecologies of East Asia," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 476-482; Ann Bowman Jannetta, "Diseases of the Early Modern Period in Japan," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 385-389; and *Epidemics and Mortality in Early Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 5.

⁶⁹ William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Anchor Books, 1976).

⁷⁰ Walker, "The Early Modern Japanese State and Ainu Vaccinations," 102-7; Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 177-93.

⁷¹ Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁷² Michael Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism: Japan and the Unequal Treaties, 1858? 1872* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2000).

foreign contact wiped clean from the deck (although, as the case of Kaempfer shows, certain important issues clearly have yet to be swept away), Japan specialists have started to navigate entirely new waters. For this reason, some of the most interesting work in early modern Japanese studies relates to the subfield of foreign affairs and frontiers. At the same time, however, so much still could be done: multiethnic communities in Nagasaki, Japanese-trading stations in Korea, foreign trade and environmental degradation in Japan, early-seventeenth-century Japanese trading communities in Southeast Asia and their environmental impact, and many other topics cry out for investigation by talented scholars.

Second, an interpretative gulf exists among scholars of early modern Japan. Those who study domestic-centered topics, ranging from literary studies to domainal politics and economics, often sound like they are talking about a different country than those writing on foreign affairs and frontiers. Increasingly, historians such as Philip Brown, Luke Roberts, and Mark Ravina paint a picture of an early modern polity where local domains remained the most pervasive manifestation of the political and economic country. However, in the realm of foreign affairs, few would dispute the idea that the Edo shogunate maintained tight control over contact with the outside world, a concrete manifestation of a state in the process of centering power. These two ideas are not mutually exclusive, but Japan specialists have yet to integrate them into one con-

vincing narrative of Japan's early modern experience. To date, in the collective scholarship of Japan specialists, two political countries coincide and sometimes collide in one temporal and spatial frame. One aim of future research should be to reconcile some of these differences.

Third, the new writings on early modern foreign affairs and frontiers have failed to convince historians of the modern period of the complexity of Japan's pre-Meiji relations with the outside world. Many modernists still slavishly use the "closed country" (*sakoku*) and "open country" (*kaikoku*) dichotomy to explain Japan's plunge into the modern age. It is still common to talk of the "opening of the country" with Matthew C. Perry, and how in the 1850s Japan was forced to confront for the first time the practice of international diplomacy. This is, of course, highly misleading, but it does make the task of writing about the Meiji years easier. With *sakoku*, we can be told that only in the Meiji period did Japan master diplomacy, conduct foreign trade, conquer foreign lands, and develop collective philosophies similar to what might be described as a "national" identity. The next step, it seems to me, is to have a broader penetration of the complexity of early modern foreign affairs and frontiers into the other sub-fields of Japanese studies. This would require the onerous process of rethinking topics such as modern Japan expansionism, but it would surely enrich our understanding of Japan's past and present.

Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan 1700-1820*.

London: Reaktion Books, 1999.

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Contents: (1) Introduction; Erotic Images, Pornography, *Shunga* and Their Use; (2) Time and Place in Edo Erotic Images; (3) Bodies, Boundaries, Pictures; (4) Symbols in *Shunga*; The Scopic Regimes of *Shunga*; (5) Sex and the Outside World. References, bibliography, list of illustrations (115 monochrome, 34 color). 319 pages.

Summary (Introduction, 9-10): Chapter 1 aims to correct "those who persist in seeing Japanese *shunga* as categorically separate from solitary-use pornography" [i.e., masturbation]. Chapter 2 "investigates social relations to the exotic images which proliferated during the eighteenth century." Regarding their impact on social health, these images were not "benignly viewed in their own time," and with "anxiety peaking in the 1790s" they "include the non-overtly sexual pictures of the Floating World as well as pornography." Chapters 3 and 4 "offer close readings of some images, both overtly sexual and more subtly libidinous, in order to assess their status as figures

within the larger field of painting and printing, and also within the field of sexual practice.” Chapter 5 investigates “the politics and mechanics of the gaze,” both of viewers and actors, in which “the signification of peering, peeping, magnifying and shrinking were all implicated.” Chapter 6 looks at “the end of the Floating World ... with the movement of erotica out of the pleasure quarters and into the open,” especially after the establishment of “a new contract between cities (especially Edo) and their rural hinterland [that] underpinned this refashioning of pornography.” After this time, it is “appropriate to abandon the term ‘*shunga*.’”

The word *shunga* conjures up a host of urgent questions: What were the motives and conditions leading up to and guiding the development of this sensational genre? How did it evolve over time? What is its relationship to the themes and techniques of *ukiyo-e* art in general? Were its artists and practices any different from those involved in other sorts of *ukiyo-e* art? Does it exhibit anything like the range of *ukiyo-e*? Like *ukiyo-e*, did it grow darker, more violent and brutal - more “decadent” - over time? Under what commercial and legal conditions was *shunga* being sold and bought, and by whom? How was it regarded by the government? By the masses? How accurately does it reflect actual Edo sexual practices?

This study addresses some but not all of these questions. The author’s goal appears to be a reworking of what he regards as an outmoded and inadequate, if not entirely absent, conceptual underpinning of the artistic genre. As the summary above suggests, the study sets itself the task of examining everything from uses to social contexts, promising to place the images – in turn beautiful, crude, surprising, humorous, outrageous, horrifying, but generally intended to be erotically stimulating – within contemporaneous contexts of both artistic and sexual practice. It examines old and new technologies that were working both to sustain and to change artistic practice and reception, often simultaneously. To achieve these sorts of goals demands breadth of scholarship, and the book’s 15 pages of small-print annotations attest to the breadth of the author’s reading, comprising not only much of the expected scholarship on *ukiyo-e* and *shunga* art and history, but also the poetry, fiction, and cul-

tural history of the time, as well as the critical literature on these subjects in both Japan and the west. As demonstrated in his earlier publications and fluency with his materials, Screech’s credentials for the act of an informed new reading of *shunga* appear to be more than adequate. And, while this is often the impression this study gives, in its sweep and detail, it also all too often seems to stray and sometimes stumble in its determined rush toward new and broader horizons.

For nearly half a century, Edo *shunga* scholarship has been dominated by the monumental body of work amassed by Hayashi Yoshikazu, who since 1955 has published some 30 monographs detailing the *shunga* works of such major *ukiyo-e* artists as Toyokuni, Shigenobu, Kunisada, Utamaro, Harunobu, Hiroshige, Shigemasa, Eisen, Oei, Moronobu, Hokusai, Kiyonaga, and Shunsho, as well as more general studies of the subject (nine of Hayashi’s studies are cited in Screech’s bibliography). Hayashi is also, with Richard Lane, editor of a magnificent recent 26-volume series reproducing representative *shunga* art, *Teihon ukiyo-e shunga meihin shusei*¹ (only one volume of this series is cited here). Others like Fukuda Kazuhiko have also published collections and studies of *shunga*. The most substantial overviews of the field in English until now have been Richard Lane’s study “The *Shunga* in Japanese Art”² and his later more extensive but relatively inaccessible *The Erotic Theme in Japanese Painting and Prints*³ (neither of which is mentioned here). Recently, the scope of the field has been broadened and deepened by a series of conference essays collected in Sumie Jones, ed., *Imaging Reading Eros: Sexuality and Edo Culture, 1750-1850*.⁴ Decades of challenges to ever more unworkable censorship laws in Japan have finally burst open the floodgates, and we are now up to our eyeballs in uncensored reproductions of the once-infamous and usually bowdlerized *estampes Japonaises*. A serious study of this genre in English has been needed, and this book proposes not

¹ Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 1995

² In Philip Rawson, ed., *Erotic Art of the East* (NY: G.P. Putnam, 1968), 283-375.

³ Tokyo: Gabun-do, 1979.

⁴ Bloomington: Indiana University East Asian Studies Center, 1996.

only to fill this void, but to change the field. Whether it succeeds in doing so is another matter.

The first problem with the book is a conceptual one. Even a cursory look through the most widely consulted English-language reference work on *ukiyo-e*, Richard Lane's *Images from the Floating World: The Japanese Print: Including an Illustrated Dictionary of Ukiyo-e*,⁵ will reveal that, far from a separate genre, *shunga* constitutes at least half of the output of all Edo *ukiyo-e* art, and often the largest part of any given artist's production, an impression that is supported by such well-known studies as Jack Hillier's *The Art of the Japanese Book*.⁶ This continuity, once surprising and only recently beginning to be taken for granted, between the greatest masterpieces of *ukiyo-e* art, often acclaimed for their subtlety, elegance, refinement, and novel composition, and the blatantly pornographic images produced by the same artists, which can often be acclaimed for the very same reasons, represents something of a problem for the work at hand. For, in spite of claims to have extended the boundaries of *shunga*, Screech elects instead to isolate the genre from its broader *ukiyo-e* contexts, treating it as an entirely separate artistic genre that can be adequately comprehended by examining the social and artistic and ideological conditions and boundaries of "pornography" alone.

One telling example of this attitude is the author's description of Nishikawa Sukenobu (1670-1750) as "the great pornographer" (173). There are very few *ukiyo-e* artists who are not equally deserving of this title (as Hayashi's extended roster of studies about them suggests). It would be far more accurate to call Sukenobu "the great Kyoto illustrator and antiquarian" (Screech stubbornly refers to Kyoto throughout as "Keishi," one of its more obscure historical monikers). For a "great pornographer," moreover, Sukenobu is curiously absent in this study: examples of his work constitute a mere one percent of the 149 illustrations in this book, while those of Utamaro, who is not thus distinguished, constitute some

twenty percent. We are forced to ask whether it has been not only the anachronistic mischief of modern prudery, a Meiji era Victorian relic which survives today in official attitudes, that necessitates the hyperbolic claims made here for an entirely separate realm of pornography, one that traumatically severs the intrinsic continuity of *shunga* from *ukiyo-e* in general. This situation is perhaps analogous to the way in which the full range of Edo sexuality was earlier deformed by the similar modern amputation of *nanshoku*, or male-male sex, from its larger Edo gestalt in such a way that now requires it to be celebrated as something unique by its modern champions. *Shunga* is an integral part of *ukiyo-e* art, just as *nanshoku*, for all its particularity, is an essential part of Edo eroticism (*koshoku*) in general. Just as the full range and meaning of Edo literature cannot be understood without the one, neither can its arts be understood without the other.

While there is much of interest in this book, there is perhaps even more to dispute. As the author himself warns (and he seems always to be hectoring the reader), "Whenever people write about the fields of aspiration and desire, they are apt to fabricate, to twist the facts to suit their purposes" (83-84). What he aspires to offer is "a new interpretation of Japanese erotic images from the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century," by "set[ting] "erotic images properly into their social context" and "go[ing] beyond the domain of what are known as *shunga*..." (7) But while his study moves boldly to detail the presumed sexual practices of the period, it rarely ventures beyond the realm of the pornographic, defining the social context of erotic images narrowly in terms of sexual practices alone. In doing this, even if his own study is more up to date in lexicon and attitudes, Screech reflects in an odd way the sort of sexological approach favored by older scholars such as Lane.

Since the author acknowledges an Edo "libidinous economy" that comprehends its artistic representation, that same "economy" might better be extended to its involvement in the production and consumption of goods and practices of every sort. *Shunga* can best be understood as one telling manifestation among many of a complex and greatly expanded *circulation of desire* that marks the Edo period, an economy defined by all sorts

⁵ New York: Putnam, 1978.

⁶ London: published for Sotheby's Publications by Philip Wilson Publishers; New York: Distributed in the U.S. by Harper & Row, 1987.

of material practices in every aspect of life, and not merely by the representation of its sexual practices, narrowly defined as sex acts (however spectacularly illustrated).

From the outset, Screech holds that male masturbation – the subject of the entire first chapter – was the sole motivating force behind all *shunga* art, “the central practice that accounts for the genres” that he examines, to the near exclusion of any other. This is in effect to reduce to one narrow and solitary sexual practice (in the too-often repeated cute euphemism “reading with one hand”) of an early male-heavy and male-oriented Edo the wide range of male *and female* desire of the entire period for every sort of stimulation, titillation, humor, and parody, as well as overtly sexual behavior (for all his insistence on men’s practices, Screech does occasionally allow for women’s as well, though often in a backhanded way). Given such a sweeping claim, one might well wish to look up “masturbation” in the index in order to locate the various examples of this argument and the proofs adduced of its asserted centrality; but the book lacks an index, even of proper nouns. However, a look through the images reproduced in this study, and certainly those available elsewhere, suggests that the greatest proportion of *shunga* showing people engaged in the consumption of pornography depicts love-making couples, not masturbating males (though both males and females are often shown masturbating while watching other couples making love). And if, as Screech claims, “there was not much to choose” (41) between *shunga* produced in its first flourishing, ca. 1675-1700 in Kansai and Kanto, and in its second surge in Kyoto ca. 1710 (43), then why should the specifically bachelor state of Edo be singled out as *the* condition for the production of *shunga*? There was after all no shortage of women (or of boys) in Kyoto.

As Screech himself accurately observes, “the *shunga* market was not unitary” (46), but rather fragmented along the expected fault-lines of male/female, old/young, and rich/poor (but are there no gradations of these?) – bifurcations to which should be added those of courtier/samurai/commoner and *nyoshoku* /*nanshoku* (as he observes elsewhere, the last are not the same as “heterosexual” and “homosexual,”

though the reader will find simpler and clearer explanations of these terms and their uses in Paul Schalow’s introduction to Saikaku’s *The Great Mirror of Male Love*,⁷ not cited here). While he is correct to warn that we cannot understand Edo sexuality by simple projection, Screech still presumes to understand the psychological structure of the Edo “process of masturbation” (46). He notes that typical housing conditions and social practices made a modern notion of privacy almost impossible, but this only makes one wonder how sex in general was then any more possible than masturbation – in the dark? But if in the dark, how were *shunga* used as visual aids? Both men and women are shown engaging in self-gratification in *shunga*, and usually with no more privacy, or concern for it, than they exhibit in any other form of sex, which was at best an un-private business in a crowded city of flimsy one- and two-story buildings built largely of wood and paper. Edo voyeurism (*nozoki*) was in part a product of this historical lack of privacy, already central a millennium past as a culturally venerable and still charged fetish in *The Tale of Genji*, and in part a product of the Edo importation of western telescopes and other optical devices (the subject of chapter four). Again, after noting that books other than the pornographic *koshokubon* rarely came in the convenient *koban* size ideal for purposes requiring “holding in one hand” (but what about holding in *no* hands as depicted in prints?), Screech tells us that *koshokubon* in fact came in all of *fifty* different sizes (47), a number that would seem to make it difficult if not impossible to generalize about their presumed uses in this authoritative way.

“Erotic images began to appear in appreciable numbers from about the 1680s,” writes the author, “But it was only in the first decades of the eighteenth century that production in quantity seems to have begun” (7). Before this period, he tells us, erotic images “have to do with humor and parody, and seldom show couples copulating.” I have a hard time imagining the young males in the early decades of Edo, desperate for sexual relief, dashing out to buy works of humor and parody for the purpose of masturbation. What Screech emphati-

⁷ Stanford University Press, 1990.

cally does not allow is the possibility that it may rather have been men of flagging or jaded appetites who could have been the primary consumers of such materials. This consideration opens up the possibility that such materials were being produced as a form of advertising for the stimulation of consumer appetites, rather than solely as an avenue of relief for male sexual appetites that probably already had short fuses. The new and rapidly growing Edo of the first half of the seventeenth century may well have been two-thirds male (i.e., a 2:1 ratio of men to women) even as late as the 1680s, as Screech claims; but we are not to imagine that anything like such an imbalance persisted throughout the entire period (13). Writing of the probable gender ratios that obtained over the entire Edo period, for example, Henry Smith notes “a crucial change in the demographic reality of [the city of] Edo throughout the last half of its history,” with “the sex ratios of the commoner population moving steadily in the direction of parity.”⁸ Thus by 1733-47 (the 120-year span of Screech’s study begins in 1730), Smith writes, the earlier imbalance had already declined from 1.73:1 to 1.69:1; to 1.35:1 in 1798; and in the period 1822-67, the disparity disappeared entirely, from 1.2:1 to near parity.

Even granting that the male:female ratio in early Edo may indeed have been 2:1, however, can we really conclude that this fact alone is sufficient to serve as the major motivation for the production of pornography? We might wish to know what proportion of such women as were actually in Edo were, in one way or another, helping to relieve alleged male frustrations, in every occupation from the highest *oiran* courtesan down to the lowest shop servants - the infamous tea-pouring *chakumi-musume*, the licentious *yumiya-musume* archery stall attendants, the *yadoya-musume* at inns who even as late an artist as Hiroshige depicts as hauling unwilling men in off the streets, the notorious *yuna* bath attendants, and so on right down to the appalling *yotaka* streetwalkers – and all the way up the other side

of the social scale to the large numbers of maids and ladies-in-waiting formally in service in samurai residences and at Edo castle, about whom so much lusty art and literature was produced. In the Goto Museum’s famous Hayashi *Edo-zu byobu* screen of 1644 depicting daily commoner life around the city, a small crowd of lower-class *Azuma-otoko* or “men of the East” are shown brawling – the men of Mushashi were a notoriously rowdy lot – but they and their betters are to be found in far larger numbers downtown in the fleshpots of Sakaimachi and Fukiyamachi, amusing themselves with every sort of woman as well as with young *wakashu* and *kagema* “actors” (we do not learn how many of *them* there were for every male).

Screech is fond of using poems as evidence to bolster his points, but the *senryu* he cites about a female servant who uses an actor’s likeness (*yakusha nigao-e*) for masturbation (22) would appear to contradict the idea of sex-starved men as the only audience for pornography in a female-deprived city. From this and numerous other examples, there were clearly women who availed themselves of it as well. Even if some proportion of the huge output of actor prints were in fact employed by men and women for purposes of masturbation, it seems just as reasonable to assume that at least as many, and likely even more, were not. In the absence of more compelling documentation, to claim conclusively that male self-gratification is indeed how they were used amounts to a willful distortion of the materials.

Finally, there is the problem that many of the early *shunga* artists such as Nishikawa Sukenobu (Screech’s “great pornographer”) worked in Kansai, not Edo; Sukenobu himself was the leader of the famed early *ukiyo-e* school of Kyoto, an area where no male-female imbalance can be presumed to have existed. While Screech does produce examples of prints showing men masturbating over various sorts of pornography, these few examples do not add up to a refutation – however firmly asserted – of the scorned *idée reçue* that much of this sort of work was produced for use in brothels, whether the most expensive ones at Yoshiwara, the cheaper mass-entertainment areas around Shinagawa Shinjuku and Naito Shinjuku (just plain Shinjuku today), or even the truly

⁸ “The Floating World in its Edo Locale, 1750-1850,” in Donald Jenkins, ed., *The Floating World Revisited* (Portland Museum of Art and Hawaii University Press, 1993), 25-46, 36.

cheap *okabasho* areas scattered around the city. The customer in today's toney Tokyo fashion shops will find expensive glossy style magazines – an elegant form of soft porn – strewn about, while those in the grungy ramen shops have to make do with piles of cheap manga and less elegant sorts of porn stacked by the door for the entertainment of the student-and-worker crowd. Wherever people gather, it would seem, erotica and pornography will always exist, and an actively if inconsistently repressive government only makes its existence more likely.

This comparison is of course an anachronism; but my point is merely to raise the question of whether Edo was really so very different in the variety of uses to which its reading-matter was put than other large cities then and now. Even while making the gesture against anachronistic reading, Screech does it all the same: “I sought to overturn the Romanticist notion that Edo pictures were somehow different from what we know similar images are produced for today” (40) – unless I misinterpret, “what we know they are produced for today” is precisely what he is arguing against as interpretation. The U.S. and Europe are not demographically imbalanced societies (though China and India with their high rates of female infanticide promise to become so), yet pornographic materials of every sort have never been more available in those lands.

Screech is at some pains to refute what he calls the “outright mythologies” that have customarily been brought forward to explain the production of pornography in the Edo period. He specifies three of these myths in particular: its superstitious uses in homes to avert fires, and by soldiers to avoid injury; its pedagogical use in sex education as “pillow books” for innocent brides; and its use for viewing by couples rather than by solitary masturbators. Such explanations only reveal what Screech calls “a woefully naïve interpretation of the nature of pictorial evidence” (34). Why, we might wonder, couldn't it have served all these purposes, and more? While pornography may indeed have been “kept well out of the way” in “the better class of establishment” – as was the case with other sexual aids (the varieties reproduced in *shunga* art and *kibyoshi* fiction beggar description), how can Screech be so confident that they weren't kept *just* out of the way, in

drawers or cabinets near to hand or under pillows? Their use is so often depicted with such stunning casualness in fiction and art as to suggest that they were probably not an uncommon sight in stylish, keeping-up-with-the Satos households, let alone in brothels of every sort.

Edo was simply more laid-back about such matters, though here again the author fails to distinguish the attitudes of Confucian officials and moralists, from whom we have testimony, from those of the population at large, from whom we do not. He asserts that the populace was actually far more censorious of immoral behavior than modern scholarship's apologetic attitudes suggest: “Edo literature is not short on characterizations of the good bourgeois outraged by the wastage of time and money in the pleasure quarters” (50). True, but the uptight Pecksniffs who served as stereotypes of moral disapproval were butts of humor, even in Saikaku's tales of bourgeois virtue. Saikaku disapproved, as Screech might have put it, with one hand.

Censorship did exist, of course, but the government was not after pornography so much as materials it regarded as seditious and capable of leading to social disorder. Screech may dislike the “safety-valve” notion, but it seems clear that the authorities viewed sex (licensed and kept close watch over) as a way of maintaining social order. While erotica did occasionally fall almost inadvertently into the wide snares cast in the relatively few years when reform edicts were actually stringently enforced, these edicts were enacted primarily to put the brakes on politically and socially “dangerous” activities, and only incidentally on other sorts of behavior that could be deemed “immoral” by extension. For example the punishment meted out to Kitagawa Utamaro – the harshest instance of repression in the art world – had nothing at all to do with pornography; it was for imprudently taunting the authorities with an infamous, though not the slightest bit erotic, triptych print of 1804 depicting “Hideyoshi and His Five Wives Viewing the Blossoms at Daigoji.”⁹

⁹ Kitagawa Utamaro, *Taiko gosai Rakuto yukan no zu* (1804). See Sarah D. Thompson and H.D. Harootunian, *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints*. (NY: The Asia Society Galleries, 1991), pp. 44-45.

Stories and pictures of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98, known as the Taiko or "Chief Minister"), the last of the great hegemony who preceded the start of the Tokugawa polity, had been popular with the masses since the publication of Oze Hoan's *Taikoki* (1626), and he was therefore viewed with apprehension as a potentially subversive figure by the authorities, who wanted him banished from the popular imagination, even when actual names and events were conventionally masked – and in this instance the artist foolishly used actual names. Following an official investigation, all unsold copies of this print were confiscated, the artist was jailed for three days and kept in manacles for fifty, and the printer and publisher were heavily fined.¹⁰ Just six months later the artist was dead in the prime of life at the age of fifty-three, and it is generally assumed that his early demise was no coincidence. The point is that, compared to works deemed politically subversive by the authorities, those regarded as merely pornographic encountered very little official interference.

Even if actual names could not be used for a while after the early 1790s, well-known prostitutes and actors (and political figures) were easily identified by their crests and shop-signs, indeed even by parodic distortions of them. Artists and publishers did often use rebuses for names on their prints rather than the names themselves, as much for diversion as for concealment, and rebuses were often used together with the names.

While we can always agree that a certain amount of pornography was put to the solitary use that Screech insists on, insistence on this use alone only serves to obscure its more significant purpose. The entire economy of Edo, after all, a city that produced mainly for its own consumption, was increasingly organized around the desires of ever more sophisticated and educated – and jaded – urban consumers, and as in the capitalist economies of goods and their desires today, those needs were not merely catered to but *created* by advertising of all sorts. Edo was the

world's first great advertising culture.¹¹ Every sort of *ukiyo-e* art, including *shunga*, displays goods and clothing that, like the beautiful and scantily-clad models in today's ads, both set a tone of desire for the scene portrayed, and are in turn the objects of cathected desire (as the Freudian ad-psych jargon might put it) stimulated by the models. While the lust stimulated by eroticism registers as a desire for sex, that immediate primitive response is also easily rerouted as a desire for goods. We are used to seeing this in the more "artistic" sorts of *ukiyo-e* representations of the famous upper class of *keisei* prostitutes identified by name and house such as the well-known examples by Utamaro – an example I use advisedly, for it should be noted, in keeping with that *continuum of the erotic* that I am proposing, that *shunga* by this artist comprise thirteen percent of Screech's 149 illustrations. "You could not even display a Floating World print for very long," writes Screech, "before it had to be replaced with something more up to date" (52). "Even" is the wrong logic – it was the very purpose of much of the genre to function as fashion advertising, to show people the latest fads, and to make last season's patterns (and the sort of women who would wear them) seem somehow less desirable.

In chapter 2, Screech posits a trend away from *nishiki-e* (polychrome) *shunga*: in a brief six year period. He says 74% of all *koshokubon* were in color, while in the 16 years between 1772-88, only 20% were. He focuses on the cost/profit ratio as an explanation, but ignores the possibility that the decrease could be due to official proscription, not of *koshokubon* as such, but of expensive editions of such works printed *in color*. As their name literally suggests, the equation of *shoku/iro* as both "color" and "sex" is central to the representation of desire in the Edo period.

Even Screech's interpretations of the works themselves are far from dependable. A pornographic print by Isoda Koryusai is called a "reissue" of a sweet scene by Suzuki Harunobu (fig. 6

¹⁰ Suwa Haruo, *Shuppan Kotohajime*, pp. 172-175; also manacled for fifty days during this crackdown were the artists Toyokuni, Shuntei, Shun'ei, Tsukimaro and Ikku.

¹¹ See David Pollack, "Marketing Desire: Advertising and Sexuality in the Edo Arts." *Gender & Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, ed. Norman Bryson, et al. University of Hawaii Press, forthcoming.

- it must be remembered that at least half of Harunobu's work was pornographic), but is clearly nothing of the sort; rather, it is a *mitate* scene in which Harunobu's open options are narrowed to Koryusai's sex-act. Again, referring to fig. 16, Screech oddly fails to comment on the complex *nanshoku* eroticism of a bath-house scene (22): against a background of women and children bathing, a *wakashu* (easily identifiable by the mandatory shaved spot on his pate) is gazing at the women while hiding his erection from the elegant and wealthy older man who is his patron, and whose gaze in turn is only for *him*. The unimpressed women simply ignore both men, leaving only a small child to point gleefully at the *wakashu*'s erection. Screech unaccountably decipheres this fascinating scene with its complex circular gaze merely as an eroticized example of heterosexual mixed bathing, yet the scene is all the more titillating because of its clearly bisexual subject-matter. *Nanshoku* in its most common form, rather than as an idealized and celebrated ideological position, was perhaps most often bisexual in nature, perhaps because desirable and less gender-marked boys grew to become desiring and more gender-marked men. In the terms of the day, this *wakashu* may be *otoko-zuki* (man-loving), but he is clearly not *onna-girai* (woman-hating), non-exclusive categories that indicate the fluidity and scope of Edo sexuality and eroticism.

Screech's style is both idiosyncratic in its authoritative-sounding reliance on assertion rather than evidence to make his case. How can he be so certain, for example, that "*most people* only went to the theatre in order to have orgies with young men and women" (55, my italics)? There is no documentary evidence from the period to support such a claim. While we are often left to wonder where such information about what "most people" did or thought comes from, the argument all too often relies on suspect rhetorical constructions such as "surely," "it must have been the case," and "it cannot be coincidental." On just one page we find "it must be conceded," "might be," "would have," "said to be," "might hasten," "would have been," "would be," and, most improbably, the syntactically alarming "would probably already have been" (21). This reliance on asseveration demands that the reader swallow quite a mouthful of probability on the basis of

nothing but the author's say-so. "*It must be conceded that all 'beautiful person' pictures [bijinga] could have been used for auto-erotic purposes,*" Screech writes (21, my italics) – certainly, and as well that *some might not have been*. Again, in a calendar-print of 1765 by Harunobu, Screech finds that the woman shown taking in her laundry "is more comely than the average woman employed in such labor" (45). She may well be, since *all* of Harunobu's women are uncommonly comely – but how does he know? Has he seen enough "average women" elsewhere to know what they looked like? True, the invariably good-looking women in prints compare favorably to actual photographs of prostitutes taken in the 1880s and '90s. Either the national physiognomy went into very sudden decline in the few decades between Hokusai's *One Hundred Views* and the advent of photography, or we are dealing with – dare we say it? – artistic license and convention. The women shown in early studio photographs are indeed often lovely (but it is an interesting question whether their loveliness accords more with presumed western standards of pulchritude or native ones), while those in unstaged photographs (well, less-staged: it was still impossible to take candid photos) suggest a very different idea of what the "average woman" looked like. Even photos of *oiran* scarcely suggest Utamaro's tall, lissome and willowy beauties.

"Of course" (the reader should be wary of this phrase by now), "in pornography a viewer is unlikely to want genuine uncertainty about gender, since his or her imagination will be inclining to one or the other option (or to a two-gender threesome, but there too the roles will be clear" (86). On what authority is this stated, other than the author's own educated surmise? Screech calls modern pornography, in Japan and elsewhere, "binary" (92), but one would never guess this from the ambiguous depictions of *wakashu*, or from the products purveyed today on the web and in sex stores, where every variation of sexuality is catered to. The example of the bath-house scene above suggests that there is nothing necessarily "binary" about how artists' and readers' imaginations are inclining, and to corral them into that model is to do them violence.

Screech does not hesitate to set up the occasional easy straw man to knock down: "People of

the present," he writes, for example, "misinterpret the ukiyo as representing all of Edo" (79). But the weight of scholarship of the last quarter-century and more has tended in exactly the opposite direction. Screech appears to believe that immorality causes moral decline; but could it be that what he calls the "enfeeblement" of the samurai is a phenomenon that is *reflected in ukiyo-e* prints rather than *caused by* them? Is it in fact the case that "erotica was prematurely eroticizing children" and bringing Japan "to the brink"? Or could it be that the country was increasingly moving in a brinkly direction and that erotic representation merely reflected this drift? Screech wants to have the notion of an effeminate samurai class both ways, deconstructing the mythology of the samurai in *Hagakure* even as he quotes that work to demonstrate how effeminate the samurai had become (82). The fact that the Yoshiwara was a sword-free zone does not necessarily prove that samurai were becoming limp-wristed, but may in fact suggest the very opposite: that swords had to be left outside the gate because they were responsible for too many fatalities when they were allowed inside these testosterone-drenched zones (though the style code of the Yoshiwara sagely discouraged manly muscle in favor of wimply wealth). Screech's emphasis on the notion of the effeminization of formerly manly men appears to harken back to the notion of an earlier and purer era when men kept manly by consorting only with other men – a romanticization not of samurai, but of *nanshoku* as a higher calling. Such defences of *nanshoku* as those he quotes (84) were widespread, and the worship of "heroic" male sex in a world of effete fops is merely another tack leading in the same direction. I would suggest that, rather than blame eroticism for the "effeminization" of the samurai, it is more useful to understand Edo *nanshoku* practices as a perhaps inevitable result of the enforced urbanization and bureaucratization of the *bushi*, a way of translating the logic of formerly rural and feudal male relationships of muscle to a new and more ambiguous urban environment of wealth.

Screech finds a "lack of secondary sexual characteristics" in *shunga* to be significant (100) since he needs their "unimportance" to be the reason for the extreme focus on genitals (107-8). One immediately thinks of Chinese erotica, how-

ever, in which secondary sexual characteristics are if anything even *less* pronounced and yet genitals are not hypertrophied (Screech's suggestion that the genitals are the same size as their owners' heads because "*shunga* wishes to propose an egalitarianism of thought and sex-drive" (128) is just plain silly). Why not instead find that the obsession with these secondary characteristics in western representation is what is odd? Breasts are universally maternal, after all, and are used in Chinese and Japanese pornography (and perhaps everywhere) for suckling only by children and by men who desire to be infantilized. And of course Asians tend not to be as hirsute as *kebukai* westerners (and even other Asians are invidiously thought of as *ketto* in contrast to Japanese). His interpretation has some strange repercussions. For example, it comes as something of a surprise to learn that the child in fig. 41 who is only "apparently reaching for the breast" of a woman we might assume to be his mother (since she is herself reaching to free her breast from the kimono in response to the child's upward reach), is "actually reaching for the woman's skirt as she leans back in apparent excitement" (110). But no, she is leaning *forward* with a very maternal smile on her face as she clearly prepares to nurse her child, and the child has his hand on her robe because he is still crawling on the floor and cannot reach her breast. There are plenty of prints that show children fondling and suckling at a breast. Screech may think the child "too old for breast-feeding," but as in many societies, Japanese children in the Edo period were regularly suckled to a later age than they are today – a custom that, like so much else in that relatively innocent land, came to an abrupt end with the shock of scandalized Victorian visitors. Screech's view of the picture as "entirely erotic" is accurate, but only because of its use of maternal masking. Children are not "prematurely sexualized" (though certainly young girls were brought up in the Quarter to be trained for the sexual bondage they were sold into), but infants are regularly used as voyeuristic devices in *shunga*, a diversion to the maternal of quite another impulse, since the child is uncritically allowed access to and behavior toward the woman that the adult male may find more problematic. This helps account for the many *shunga* showing couples engaged in lovemaking while

the woman nurses or otherwise diverts the child – the latter offers the male reader, and perhaps the female one as well, a different point of entry into the scene. But this does not mean as Screech proposes that this particular child is trying to reach up his mother’s skirt to reach her willing genitals; it only means that the eroticized gaze between the two figures reaching toward one another and the urgent request for and happy imminent release of the breast create the charged path along which the viewer’s desire is channeled and released. And what should coincidentally lie smack in the middle of that exchange of gazes but a great swath of elegant kimono material that has the not-so-innocent look of product-placement to it. Eroticism was regularly directed to the latest designs on sale in the great material emporiums of the time that are so often seen in *ukiyo-e* prints of the city.

Indeed, as Screech quite accurately observes, “In pictures of the Floating World, the clothes themselves carry sexual weight” (110). This is, as he notes, not a question of an acceptance of or a preference for semi-concealment, but is rather a fetishization of clothing. Still, his catalogue of clothing and accessories often requires some comment. For example, Screech finds that Utamaro’s three Kansei beauties in fig. 44 (*Tosei san bijin*, 1793) are “wearing meaner sorts of cloth than those of the former age” (117). They may very well be, since the Kansei sumptuary laws against gorgeous clothing were in effect, whether in art or in life. But it would be hard to tell in this monochrome reproduction, which scarcely does justice to the gorgeousness of the fabrics depicted. If we look closely, for example, we find that one robe has a finely-patterned and clearly expensive *kasuri* design; a second sports a very delicate *karaori* design whose discreet *mon* in white – undoubtedly a crest – is almost indistinguishable from its greyscale *ji* ground; and the central and tallest of the women (and thus the most important of the three) is wearing a simple crested *haori* that was never intended to be gaudy but rather to suggest the beauty underneath (the crest of the woman in *kasuri* is shown on her fan). Color reproductions of prints by the same artist about five years later (figs. 26, 57) make use of gaudy robes that might well look “mean” as well if they too were reproduced in monochrome. The

robes on the figures shown in the pornographic fig. 57 are as gorgeous as any in the genre. Fig. 26, like the *Three Beauties*, is erotic though not pornographic, with both bearing the artist’s signature and censor’s *kiwame* seal, as *shunga* prints never did since they were not intended for sale in bookshops. Contrary to Screech’s suggestion that it was only the prints that the censors saw that showed “mean” clothes, however, the robes in all of those bearing the censor’s seal are equally exquisite. Screech’s elaborate explanation (121) of what clothing is for is much too difficult when its role is, quite simply, to frame and provide the setting for the action of the genitals. It is useful to think of clothing as the setting for characters on stage.

There is a great deal more here that might be critiqued. The book is well-organized in that it tries to provide a place for nearly everything; but in trying to cover nearly everything, it ends up seeming disorganized. Almost every time Screech proposes a good idea, he spoils it with a bad one, or a weak or erroneous interpretation, or a hectoring and arrogant manner that makes the reader disinclined to accept even the best of ideas. His illustrations seem selected to make his points, rather than serve as representative examples of the genre. But perhaps the greatest problem remains the fact that *shunga* pictures do not really constitute a separate genre at all; they are part and parcel of *ukiyo-e* art in general, and can only be understood in close reference to it.

The Deshima Dagregisters, Volume XI, 1641-1650, Cynthia Viallé & Leonard Blussé, trans. & eds., Intercontinenta No. 23, Universiteit Leiden, 2001, ISSN 0165-2850, 440 pages.

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The *Deshima Dagregisters*, the near daily record of the Dutch trading post at Nagasaki, makes fascinating reading. Even the material of the first years contained in the volume under review of this over two-hundred-year record is so varied that most people working on Tokugawa Japan will find – if not substantial material – at least some interesting snippets of information.

For the Dutch the year 1641, with which this record begins, marked the end of thirty years of trading at Hirado, and the transfer to the small fan-shaped island of Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki, a man-made plot of land, originally constructed to contain the Portuguese. But however cramped the confines of Deshima were, it still meant that the Dutch were not merely the only Westerners permitted trade with Japan, but also the only nation with a permanent foothold and representative in the country, for the Chinese had to completely vacate their settlement at the end of every trading season.

Apart from their animosity towards the proselytizing Catholics, the Dutch were no doubt given this privilege because their worldwide trading empire permitted them to supply the Japanese with a large variety of rare goods. The volume under review provides us with a fascinating list of such items, ranging from buffaloes, butter, copper horses and live camels, to hand grenades, unicorn horn, spyglasses, pansies, and rhinoceros and elephant livers (p. 438). The main subject of the *Dagregisters* is, of course, the trade between the two nations, but to further this trade and maintain profits, the Dutch also had to examine the workings of the bakufu, and keep contact with those in authority. One of these was the fierce persecutor of the Christians, the *ometsuke* Inoue Chikugo no kami Masashige. Being responsible for all foreigners, he features prominently in the *Dagregisters*, yet the description of this man we find here differs significantly from that of other Western sources (Introduction, pp. IV-V).

Any special events or conditions that might affect the Dutch-Japanese relationship are described in detail. In the volume under review these include the unauthorized visit of the Dutch yacht *Breskens* in northwestern Japan, and the imprisonment and later release of some of her crew members, as well as the Dutch gift of the spectacular copper lantern which can still be admired at Nikko today. (An early photo of the lantern is found between pp. 105-106)

While the main theme of trade relations is pursued, much incidental information is recorded. For instance, when the Dutch are questioned by Japanese officials on the connections of the Dutch royal family to ensure that there was no link to a Catholic nation, the fact that the prince

was of French descent on his mother's side was considered so unimportant, as not to require translation (p. 273). This reflects the concept that women are merely the womb that carries the baby, and explains how in the strictly hierarchical order of Tokugawa Japan the child of a woman of the lowest class could become ruler, as was the case with the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi. Having worked on the much-maligned Laws of Compassion of this shogun, I was also interested to read that already some forty years prior to their promulgation a man was crucified simply because he had shot a goose and a heron (p.202). Moreover, a clue as to why the number of dogs was becoming a problem with the rapid increase of Edo's samurai population can be gained from the fact that this animal, so prolific by nature, was much sought-after by the daimyo and for this reason imported by the Dutch (p. 225).

Depending on the interests and penmanship of those responsible for the record, the journey from Nagasaki to Edo is described annually with varying amount of detail. While the accounts of later travelers, such as Kaempfer and Siebold, might be more learned and contain greater detail, it was the record contained in earlier *Dagregisters* which permitted these men to acquire advance knowledge of the subject and then supplement this information with more detailed observations. Moreover, when compared with that of later centuries, the early record of the *Dagregisters* might well provide good data on environmental changes in the areas through which the delegation traveled annually.

The greatest merit of the *Dagregisters*, however, is perhaps that they provide an authentic and often lively record of matters not recorded in Japanese sources. Thus we get a rare glimpse of what the third shogun Iemitsu looked like:

fair of complexion and handsome, not very fat but well-built, rather tall, his face long rather than round, looking more like forty than older, although he is past forty-three. (p. 265)

Though four years previously he was described as "short and skinny" (p. 141), indicating that personal perceptions tend to differ, we can at least conclude that he was not plump. This might be

Question: "Had the release of the Dutchmen who had been imprisoned in Nanbu two years ago been reported to the Governor General?"

Reply: "Yes, it had." (p. 226)

The transcript and Japanese translation, however, indicate that the question was whether the Governor General had been "accurately informed" and the incident been "completely reported." (*rechten bekentgemaackt ende volcoomen gerapporteert, ? ? ? ? ? ? ? , ? ? ? ? ? ? ?*). The reply was: "In every respect completely." (*In alles volcomentlijck. ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?*) (*Original Texts*, p. 121, ? ? ? , p. 143).

While in the English translation of the volume under review the question appears as a useless and repetitive exercise, the transcript of the manuscript and the Japanese translation indicate that the *ometsuke* was suspecting that the Governor General had not been informed accurately and completely of the incident. This, the Japanese might well have assumed, was the reason why they had as yet not been shown the gratitude they were expecting.

Anybody who has done translations will know the large amount of time required to fine-tune a first draft to accurately reflect the nuances and details of the original. Pointing out the difference between the original and the English translation here – of which the editors themselves warn us – is not to criticize the translators, but rather the fact that no funding has been available to make possible a full translation of this important primary source.

Since 1974 the Historiographical Institute in Tokyo has published transcriptions of the original Dutch manuscript and Japanese translations for some fourteen years of the over two-hundred-year record. It takes no mathematical genius to work out that should the project continue at this pace, nobody reading this around the year 2002 will witness its completion. In its volumes the Historiographical Institute thanks Dutch scholars for their help, but the basic work of transcription and translation is done by Japanese scholars. The

difficulty of transcribing a handwritten pre-modern text in a foreign language is no doubt in part responsible for the delay, a task which would be accomplished with much greater ease and speed by a Dutch specialist with training in pre-modern paleography. In turn the editors of the volume under review thank the staff of the Historiographical Institute for their assistance with Japanese names, an indication that neither Dutch nor Japanese scholars can manage without the other when working on the *Dagregisters*. Surely the drawbacks of both publications – lack of detail in the case of the Dutch, and lack of speed in case of the Japanese – could be overcome if both joined forces.

To further their present relationship, Dutch and Japanese never tire in pointing to their record of some four hundred years of trade and cooperation. Only a small fraction of the funds invested in this commercial relationship would be required to also permit cooperation on an academic level. A joint and strengthened team of scholars would be able to make a reliable record of the *Deshima Dagregisters* available to a wider public, and in the process produce a worthy and lasting memorial to the relationship between the two countries.

Until such times when the powers that be recognize the importance of the *Deshima Dagregisters*, we must be grateful for what we are given. But I would like to make a plea for the all-important index of any future volume to be more user-friendly. The present system may be totally logical for those who produced the translation, but is extremely difficult for an outsider simply wishing to locate reference to a specific item. Reference numbers in the index do not refer to page numbers in the published volume, but to numbers the editors have added to the pages of the original manuscript. These are placed at intervals at the side of the two-column English text, and when in a hurry are easy to confuse with the numbers indicating the day at the beginning of some paragraphs. Moreover, the count of the manuscript page numbers begins afresh with each new commercial year, and the year therefore appears with the page number in the index. Yet the year given in the index does not always refer to the year indicated in the translation, but to the year to which the greater part of the trading season belonged. Thus entries for August 1643 (i.e.

reference to the ships *Lillo* and *Capelle*, pp. 106-107), appear in the index as 1644, 1, 3 (p. 414).

But the complexity of the index does not end here. Looking for information on the third shogun Iemitsu I searched in vain for the usual entries of "Iemitsu," "Tokugawa Iemitsu," "shogun" etc. It was only by chance that I found the desired references in a sub-entry titled "shogun" listed under a main entry of "Japanese nobility." There is a

Literati and Society in Early Modern Japan: An EMJ Panel Discussion

AAS Annual Meeting, Marriott Wardman Park, Washington DC, April 4, 2002

Participants: Lawrence E. Marceau, University of Delaware; Patricia Graham, University of Kansas

Discussant: Cheryl Crowley, Emory University

Professor Marceau's comments focused on conceptions of the literati (*bunjin*), a major area of focus in his forthcoming book, *Takebe Ayatari: A Bunjin Bohemian in Early Modern Japan*, to be published by the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan Press.

The most useful source for research on the subject of literati and society in early modern Japan is the work published in the 1950s by Nakamura Yukihiko.¹ He drew upon the research of Yoshikawa Kojiro and other Japanese sinologists. Nakamura demonstrated that Japanese *bunjin* were different from Chinese *wenren*. In his definition, the *bunjin* appeared in the 18th century as a result of the somewhat liberalized atmosphere and promotion of learning that occurred from around 1720 to 40--i.e., the Kyoho reforms of Tokugawa Yoshimune (although 17th century literati such as Ishikawa Jozan could be described as proto-*bunjin*). The term *bunjin* actually goes back to the Nara period, and it referred to scholars and peo-

main entry "Shogunal," but it does not contain reference to the man himself. And presumably because he was not referred to by the Dutch by his name, he never made it into the separate "Index of Japanese names."

The good news is that once you have mastered the system of the index, you are likely to find any new computer software a piece of cake.

ple of letters, that is, not precisely the same type that emerged in the Edo period. He also points out that the term is anachronistic: the individuals that modern scholars call *bunjin* would not have labeled themselves this way.

Nakamura describes four elements that characterize these *bunjin*:

☞ Versatility (*tageisei*): *Bunjin* were polymaths who excelled in several arts, such as painting, ceramics, music, etc.; also martial arts.

☞ Antagonism to *zoku* (*hanzokusei*): The term *zoku* could refer to vulgarity, the mundane world, money, or commercialism.

☞ Eremitism (*in'itsusei*): This including psychological, rather than physical separation. Many Edo period *bunjin*, such as Hattori Nankaku, remained in the city while keeping to a lifestyle of reclusion.

☞ Aloof idealism (*kokosei*): The *bunjin* typically had strong ideas about how society should be, and, dissatisfied with the way it was, they withdrew. Examples include Takebe Ayatari and Hiraga Genai.

Another useful source for definitions of the *bunjin* is Konishi Jinichi's article *Bunjin to wa nani ka*. Konishi also considers Chinese models, but he brings into the discussion Kuwabata Takeo's theory of primary and secondary arts. Kuwabata argued that primary arts were characterized by an art-for-art's-sake mentality, where producers and consumers belonged to the same group. Secondary arts exist for the benefit of consumers who were outside the producers' in-group. He placed *haikai* into this secondary category. In Tang China, skilled artists produced art for the

¹ Nakamura Yukihiko, "Kinsei bunjin ishiki no seiritsu" (1959, reprinted in *Nakamura Yukihiko chosaku shu*, vol. 11, pp. 375-407).

ruling classes. The ruling classes were mainly concerned with philosophy and statecraft, and would never have lowered themselves to learning the skills necessary to become painters. The art produced by court artists thus was, for Konishi, of a secondary nature. Painting that could be considered a first class art emerged in China with the Mongol conquest and the rise in the number of disaffected Chinese intellectuals who produced poetry, calligraphy and paintings. In this case, producers and consumers were the same group. Their works were related to the desire to cultivate a lofty spirit, which replaced the desire to serve the state. Such disaffected officials, called *shi*, were not *bunjin* in the fullest sense, Konishi argues, because true *bunjin* come from the citizenry. During the medieval period in Japan, Konishi identifies *bunjin* with *renga* masters, who characteristically arose from non-elite classes. Despite their comparatively lower status, they took it upon themselves to become experts in the classics, especially poetry and narrative, even writing commentaries on classical works. Also, they were generally skilled calligraphers whose writing became models for later students. *Renga* upheld Konishi's identification as a primary art, as it was composed at gatherings and later circulated in collections, and thus its producers were also its consumers.

For Teruoka Yasutaka,² the *bunjin* is primarily an 18th century phenomenon. He identifies around a dozen examples of *bunjin*--primarily of the "urban recluse" (*shiin*) or *yasainja* (fashionable recluse) type: Gion Nankai, Sakaki Hyakusen, Yanagisawa Kien, Tsuga Teisho, Ueda Akinari, Takebe Ayatari, Hiraga Genna, Yosa Buson, Yokoi Yayu, Sawada Toko, and Miyake Shozan. He also mentions a number of "salons" or "circles" (*kessha*, also *shisha*, or *ginsha*) where like-minded people would gather. Some of the more famous ones were Katayama Hokkai's Kontonsha (Osaka), Ryu Soro's Yuransha (Kyoto), and Hattori Nankaku's Fukyosha (Edo), but there were actually many such salons all over the country.

² Teruoka Yasutaka, "Bunjin bungaku no seiritsu." In Teruoka and Gunji Masakatsu, *Edo shimin bungaku no kaika* (*Nihon no bungaku* series 5) (Shibundo, 1967), pp. 65-132.

Professor Marceau's own research mainly follows the Japanese scholarship, but he is also interested in exploring how the figure of the *bunjin* was reflected in Western discourses of reclusion. Marceau views the *bunjin* as individuals faced with a dilemma: how to improve society, without working to tear it down. The *bunjin* chose to create an alternative society, creating communities of people with shared outlooks, which in turn attracted followers. Such followers may not have shared the same sense of discontent, but rather decided to take part in a shared quest for a new vision. By the final decades of Tokugawa rule, the *bunjin* garnered support of large masses of people, and this trend continued well into the Meiji period.

The *bunjin* were merely articulating widely-held beliefs on the relationship between literature and Confucian ethics. The importance of their writings lies not so much in their novelty, or even in their influence on later writers but rather in the fact that they made explicit that which was already implicit in the culture.

Professor Graham's remarks were mainly drawn from her book, *Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha*, published by the University of Hawaii Press, 1998.

Professor Graham first learned about *sencha* tea ceremony during the course of dissertation research in the late 1970s and 80s on Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783-1856), a *bunjin* and *nanga* painter. Baiitsu was a collector and connoisseur of Chinese paintings and antiquities and was celebrated as a *sencha* tea master. In exploring how *sencha* served as a source of inspiration for literati such as Baiitsu, Graham learned that *sencha* was much more influential than just something associated with this group of literati. She decided to look at the *sencha* tea ceremony as a way of understanding not only the sinophile literati aesthetic but also the general influence of Chinese material culture on the Edo period and afterwards. While the dissertation was a product of the time in the sense that it followed the pattern of then-current research that focused on painters, their works, and their styles, the book takes up the more interdisciplinary approach that has emerged in recent years. This approach is particularly well-suited to the *bunjin*, who were, as Professor Marceau

points out, engaged in a wide range of disciplines.

Early modern Japanese literati saw *sencha* as belonging to the elite Ming literati culture which they sought to emulate. Through *sencha*, which elevated tea to the status of elixir of the sages, these literati were able to form spiritual connections with their ancient Chinese counterparts who had idealized the beverage. The literati preference for *sencha* spread throughout the general population, and with it, an appreciation of literati values also spread, altering the very nature of Japanese culture. How the *sencha* tea ceremony spread Chinese values became the book's prevailing theme.

The transmission of literati values and tea drinking customs resulted in the emergence of a new canon of aesthetic taste. Discussion of aesthetics is now considered somewhat old-fashioned among art historians, but Professor Graham believes that its importance remains because of the great emphasis Japanese culture places on aesthetics. Thus, identifying this aesthetic became another important focus of the book. Her research shows how the aesthetics of *sencha*, expressed through tea treatises, decorative accoutrements and consciously Chinese-like environments created for drinking tea can be viewed as a kind of cultural trespass which was experienced by a broad spectrum of society. Chinese learning, once the exclusive domain of the elite classes, came to be appreciated by all. Not just the literati practiced *sencha*: ordinary people were also able to enter a world of intellectual refinement through following its rituals.

Although the drinking of *sencha* began as a means to transmit Chinese aesthetics and values, as it became more popular, the ritual associated with it was altered by the very interests and tastes of its proponents. In contrast to the unpretentiousness and simplicity with which it had been enjoyed originally in China and by the literati in Japan, with popularization came increasing formalization. For its earliest practitioners, *sencha* was a way of enjoying tea without the constraints of the formal rules of *chanoyu*. Ironically, the growth in popularity of *sencha* resulted in part from incorporation of formalized procedures borrowed from *chanoyu* to the extent that in its modern incarnation *sencha* is actually considered an offshoot of *chanoyu*. This trend has gone on to the

present day, and a discussion of this is another major part of the book.

For anyone who has witnessed *chanoyu*, the *sencha* ritual seems very similar, although there are some differences because the types of tea being prepared are different. This is related to the fact that assimilation, popularization and absorption of *chanoyu* influences occurred concurrently. Indeed, the evolution of *sencha* did not proceed in a linear fashion; different versions coexisted within different circles. Today, the literati way of *sencha* has largely vanished, though its vestiges can be found in the practices of some of its existing schools. There are around forty or fifty of these, each with its own rules of etiquette. Some are relatively conservative, and use very Chinese-looking utensils, others employ Japanese style utensils, arrangements, and architecture. Proponents of more traditional schools think that the modernized, Japanized schools are debasing the tradition.

Clarifying the complex relationship between *chanoyu* and *sencha* was another important task of the book. *Chanoyu* today is dominated by a few large national schools; by contrast, *sencha* schools tend to be small, autonomous, and local. Some *sencha* schools are led by female *iemoto*, something unheard of in *chanoyu*. Again, unlike *chanoyu*, there is no large organization that unites all the *sencha* schools (although many belong to a *sencha renmeikai* headquartered at Manpukuji in Uji). But perhaps the biggest reason for *sencha*'s relative obscurity is the perceived primacy of *chanoyu* as reflecting pure Japanese aesthetic and cultural values. Although this perception was only formed in the Meiji period, it has had a powerful effect: *chanoyu*, not *sencha*, has been the subject of scholarship in Japan, although it largely perpetuates carefully constructed myths to maintain the reputations of the practice's luminaries and their philosophical and aesthetic ideals. Exhibitions of *sencha* materials in Japanese museums only started in 1966, and only a few have been held since.

In summary, *Tea of the Sages* studies the importance of *sencha* in Japan. It examines the products and material culture associated with *sencha*'s distinct aesthetic and philosophy to show how it assisted in disseminating Chinese literati values on a popular level, values which

became an important component in modern Japanese definitions of its own national identity.

Note: Patricia Graham has just recently published, "The Later Flourishing of Literati Painting in Edo-period Japan," on the world of literati

Editor's Note: The following bibliographies are posted on the EMJ web site (URL: <http://emjnet.history.ohio-state.edu>) in both the form published here, and also organized by year of publication, then alphabetically.

Early Modern Japanese Art History: A Bibliography Of Publications, Primarily In English

(arranged within categories alphabetically)

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Acknowledgements: Numerous citations in this bibliography came from members of the Japan Art History Forum email list serve worldwide, and I thank everyone for their assistance. I owe special indebtedness to: Frank Chance, John Clark, Pat Fister, Maribeth Graybill, Patrizia Jirka-Schmitz, Lee Johnson, Sandy Kita, Elizabeth Lillehoj, Andrew Maske, and Melanie Trede.

This bibliography encompasses Western language studies of Japanese art, published primarily outside of Japan, with emphasis on works published in English between 1980 and 2001, although it also cites important, influential publications of earlier date, and a few publications in European languages. Also included are broader publications on Japanese art with significant portions devoted to the arts of the Early Modern era (roughly 1600-1868). I omit smaller publications, including minor exhibition catalogues and the numerous articles in the periodicals *Arts of Asia*, *Andon* (Journal of the Society for Japanese Arts, Leiden), *Daruma*, and older issues of *Impressions* (the journal of the Ukiyo-e Society of America). *Impressions* has been published since 1976, usually once or occasionally, twice a year, with an occasional missed year. Beginning with number 19, the journal expanded from a small newsletter into a bound magazine format and became a juried publication. An index for the first 20 issues appears in vol. 20 (1998). Due to limitations of

painters of *Kansai* and Edo, in the exhibition catalogue: Kobayashi Tadashi et al. *An Enduring Vision: Paintings from the Manyo'an Collection from the 17th to the 20th Century*. New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 2002.

 space, I am not including references to articles prior to vol. 19 in my bibliography, for even without them, the Ukiyoe section is the largest. Many of articles in these journals focus on *uikyoe* prints and decorative arts, and are (with the exception of some of the articles in *Andon* and *Impressions*) aimed at collectors rather than a scholarly audience. The bibliography also only contains minimal references to peripheral, subsidiary fields for which the literature is vast, such as Japonisme and netsuke. In these cases, references are provided to published bibliographies and a few other noteworthy sources, such as major exhibition catalogues.

Although I made great effort to include as many relevant publications as possible, I regret the inevitable omissions. Tracking down citations for publications in European languages and exhibition catalogues from smaller, less well-known museums was especially problematic. Also, difficult to find were references to journal articles, as contributions by art historians can be found in diverse publications, including scholarly journals for the field of Asian and/or art history in general (ie. *Archives of Asian Art*, *Ars Orientalis*, *The Art Bulletin*, *The Art Journal*, *Artibus Asiae*), periodicals of scholarly value but also designed for a broader (collectors') readership (such as *Oriental Art*, *Orientalism*, and *Apollo*), interdisciplinary scholarly journals on Asia and Japan (ie. the now defunct *Chanoyu Quarterly*, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, *Modern Asian Studies*, *Monumenta Nipponica*, and *Res*), and various art museum bulletins.

Organizational Framework

1. References And Survey Books

- A. Reference Books and Bibliographies
- B. Web Resources
- C. Survey Books and Articles, Exhibition and Collection Catalogues

2. Architecture and Gardens**3. Crafts and Folk Arts**

- A. Ceramics
- B. Lacquers
- C. *Mingei* (Folk Arts)
- D. Netsuke and Inro
- E. Textiles and Basketry
- F. Theatrical Arts: Costumes and Masks

4. Paintings, Prints, And Calligraphy

- A. Painting And Calligraphy (Note: for Ukiyoe--see section 4B, below)
 - 1. Broad Studies
 - 2. Studies on Individual Artists and Lineages
- B. Ukiyoe Prints, Paintings, and Illustrated Books
 - 1. Broad Studies
 - 2. Studies on Individual Artists, Types of Prints, and Lineages

5. Thematic And Interdisciplinary Studies

- A. Archaeology
- B. Cross Cultural Influences and International Contacts
- C. Gender Studies/Sexuality in Art
- D. Religious Sites, Icons, and Other Devotional Arts
- E. Samurai Arts, Arms And Armor
- F. Tea Ceremony And Related Arts
- G. Other Thematic And Interdisciplinary Studies

6. Dissertations And Post Doctoral Theses

- A. In North America
- B. In Europe

A Note On Organizational Format: Most publications are listed according to the main media they address, but in some instances, such as publications on thematic topics or those that address several media, I duplicate the citation in the appropriate categories. Within each category, publications are listed chronologically, to provide some sense of the development of the respective sub-fields.

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- C. Survey Books and Articles, Exhibition and Collection Catalogues**
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(English language, alphabetical order by sub-fields)

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Outline of Bibliography Structure

I. General Readings on Early Modern Culture and Literature

II. Early Modern Poetry and Poetic Prose

- Early Haikai
 Matsuo Basho (1644 - 1694) and his *Hokku*
 Basho's Linked Verse
Oku no hosomichi
 Other Poetic Diaries by Basho
 Other *Haikai* Poets
 Later *Haibun*
 Yosa Buson (1716 - 1784)
 Kobayashi Issa (1763 - 1827)
Senryu, Comic *Haikai*
 Poetry in Chinese
 Ryokan (1758 - 1831)

III. Prose Fiction

- Kanazoshi*
 Ihara Saikaku (1642 - 1693)
 Ejima Kiseki (1667 - 1736) and Later *Ukiyozoshi*
Gesaku in General
 Hiraga Gennai (1728 - 1780)
 Ueda Akinari (1734 - 1809)

- Takebe Ayatari (1719 - 1774)
Sharebon
Kibyoshi and Santo Kyoden (1761-1816)
Kokkeibon: Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822) and Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831)
 Takizawa (Kyokutei) Bakin (1767 - 1848)
Yomihon
 Ryutei Tanehiko (1783-1842)
 Tamenaga Shunsui (1790-1843)
Kusazoshi

IV. Early Modern Books and Publishing

V. Drama

- Early Modern Theatre in General
 Puppet Theatre in General
 Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725)
 Golden Age of Puppet Theatre
 Kabuki in General
 Kabuki *Juhachiban*
Kanadehon Chushingura
 Kawatake Mokuami (1816-1893)

VI. Philologists and Scholars of Chinese and Japanese

- Early Modern Literary Thought
 Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829)
 Song Confucian Thought and Ancient Learning
 Nakae Toju (1604-1648)
 Ito Jinsai (1627-1705)
 Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728)
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Foreign Affairs and Frontiers in Early Modern Japan: A Bibliography

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Organization of Bibliography

General Foreign Relations

Ainu Relations

British Relations

Chinese Relations

Dutch Relations

Iberian Relations

Korean Relations

Russian Relations

Ryukyuan Relations

U.S. Relations

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