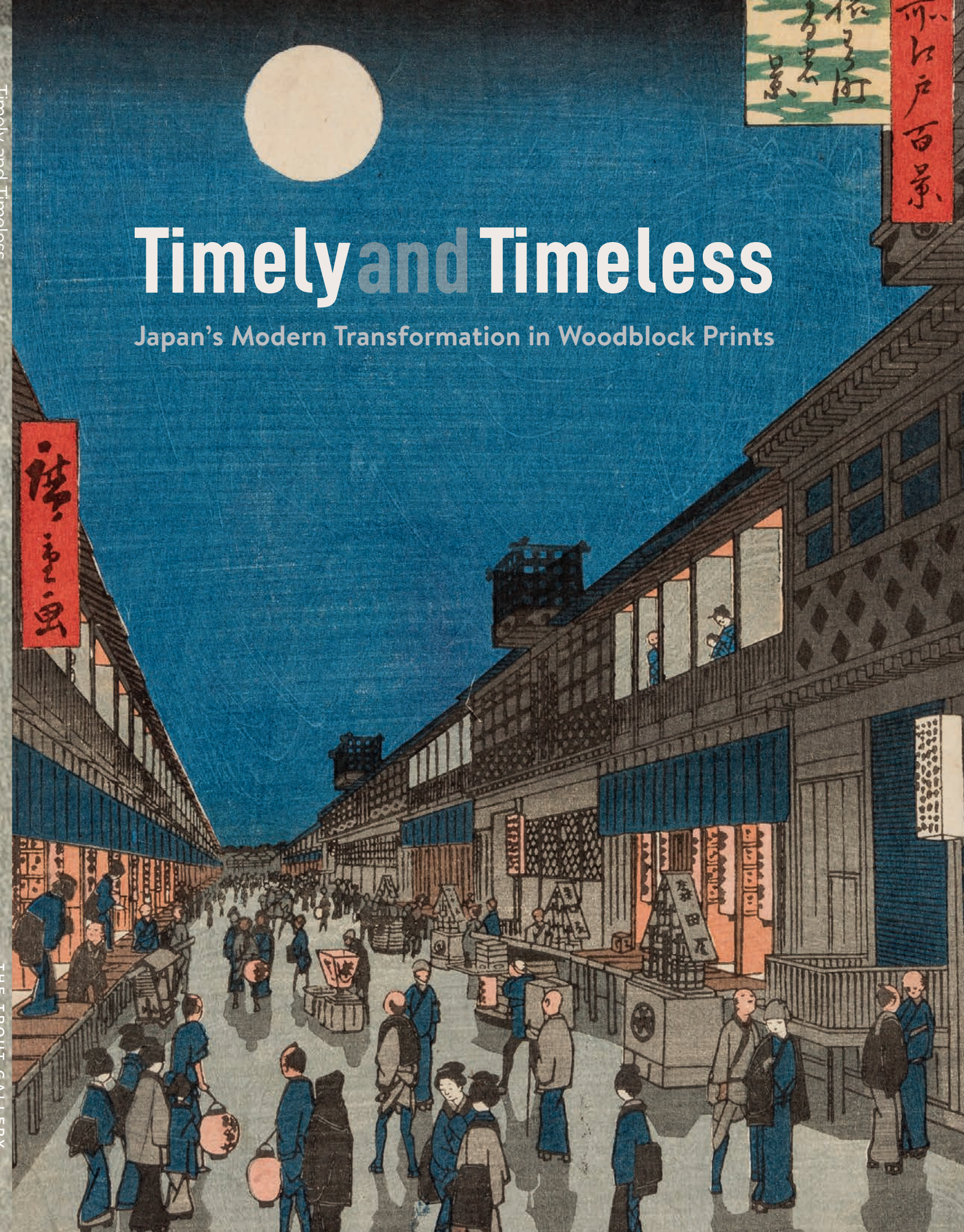




THE TROUT GALLERY
THE ART MUSEUM OF DICKINSON COLLEGE

Timely and Timeless

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Japan's Modern Transformation in Woodblock Prints

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March 1–April 13, 2019

Fiona Clarke

Isabel Figueroa

Mary Emma Heald

Chelsea Parke Kramer

Lilly Middleton

Cece Witherspoon

Adrian Zhang

THE TROUT GALLERY

THE ART MUSEUM OF DICKINSON COLLEGE

Carlisle, Pennsylvania

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BACK COVER: Utagawa Hiroshige, *Night View of Saruwaka-machi*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (detail), 1856. Woodblock print, ink and color on paper. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. 2018.3.14 (cat. 7).

FRONTISPIECE: Kobayashi Kiyochika, *Lieutenant-General Yamaji Leads the Second Japanese Army on Landing on the Jinzhou Peninsula (Liaodong)* (central panel of triptych), 1894. Woodblock print, ink and color on paper. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. 2018.3.9.b (cat. 16).



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Ren Wei
Assistant Professor of Art History

Table of Contents

Introduction

<i>Timely and Timeless</i> Ren Wei.....	6
--	---

Essays

<i>Elements in Design: The Varied Landscapes of Hiroshige, “Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain”</i> Fiona Clarke	12
--	----

<i>Meeting of the Two Worlds at Nihonbashi: Hiroshige’s Prints and the Tenpō Crisis</i> Adrian Zhang	20
---	----

<i>Visual Spectacles of an Idealized Japan in Meiji Woodblock Prints</i> Cece Witherspoon	26
--	----

<i>Mustaches, Sideburns, and Fur: Kobayashi Kiyochika’s Depiction of the First Sino-Japanese War</i> Mary Emma Heald	34
---	----

<i>Good Taste and Patriotism as Commodity: Koizumi Kishio’s Print Series and the New Middle Class in Japan’s Shōwa Period</i> Lilly Middleton.....	44
---	----

<i>A New Taxonomy of Modernity: Wada Sanzō’s “Japanese Vocations in Pictures”</i> Chelsea Parke Kramer	54
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<i>Prewar Pride, Postwar Trauma: The 1945 “Recollections of Tokyo” Series</i> Isabel Figueroa	60
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Exhibition Catalogue	69
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Introduction: Timely and Timeless

Ren Wei

Japanese woodblock prints are very much part of the global artistic canon today. They achieved wide international circulation by the latter half of the nineteenth century. Illustrated books and single-sheet prints by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) were disseminated, reproduced, and emulated in Europe and America in the 1860s.¹ His iconic design *Under the Wave off Kanagawa*, commonly known as “The Great Wave,” is Japan’s most representative image in the eyes of many Euro-Americans (fig. 1). It is difficult to find modernist artists unaffected by Japanese prints in Europe at the time. Claude Debussy hung Hokusai’s print in his Paris studio and adopted the design for the cover of the piano and orchestral scores of his *La Mer*, first published in 1905 (fig. 2). Edgar Degas relied on Hokusai’s encyclopedic images in *Manga*, or *Collections of Miscellaneous Pictures*, for his own rendering of human forms. Claude Monet owned 23 prints by Hokusai and 48 prints by Hiroshige. The Impressionist painter’s series of haystacks and the Rouen Cathedral, creating variations of the same motif, are indebted to Hokusai’s series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, in which the master mountain is depicted from a variety of perspectives

during different times of the day, in different seasons, and representing a spectrum of moods. Vincent van Gogh worked as a sales representative for the Japanese art dealer Siegfried Bing in Paris and traced designs created by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) (figs. 3, 4).² One of the two leading dealers of Japanese art in Paris, Hayashi Tadamasa sold no less than 156,487 Japanese prints between 1890 and 1901.³ Modernist artists, seeking solutions to break away from the ossified European painting tradition, found answers in the refreshingly unique spatial rendering, vivid palette, and palpable motifs of Japanese prints. In 1872, the French art critic Philippe Burty coined the term *Japonisme* to describe the fascination with all things Japanese.

Across the Atlantic, the American painter John La Farge visited Japan in 1886 and incorporated much of Hokusai’s and Hiroshige’s pictorial language into his own paintings. More specifically, his profound interest in asymmetrical composition, the lack of recession into the background, and the decorative quality of his still-life paintings all reflect influences he received from Japanese art. The American expatriate James McNeill Whistler was infatuated by the

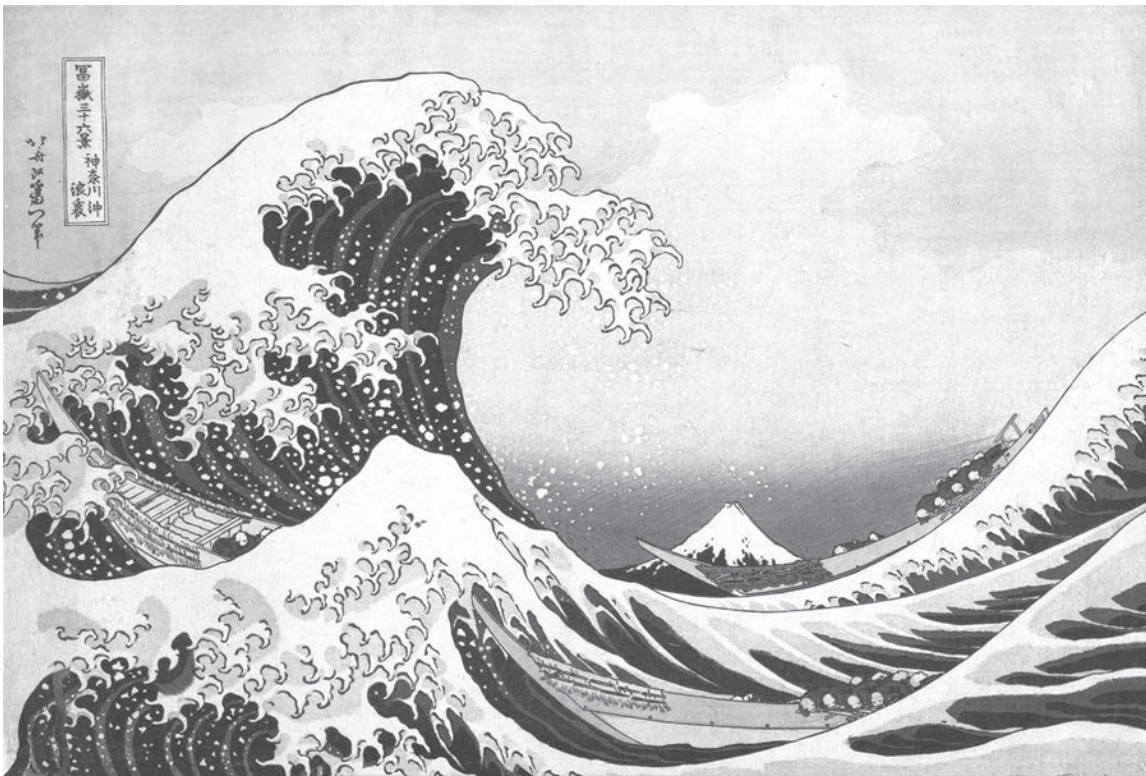


Fig. 1. Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), *Under the Wave off Kanagawa*, from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, ca. 1830–32, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (25.7 x 37.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 1929, JP1847.

poetic and atmospheric effect in Japanese landscape prints. In *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* from 1864 (fig. 5), Whistler dresses his Irish mistress in a voluminous kimono and places her reclining on a rug against a Tosa-School screen depicting scenes from *The Tale of Genji*. In the painting, she inhabits the role of a courtesan and a connoisseur of Hiroshige's prints from the series *Famous Views in the Sixty-odd Provinces*. At the time of his death in 1959, the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright owned six thousand Japanese color woodblock prints. For the architect, the graphic innovation, vibrant colors, and linear rhythms in the prints seemed inherently modern.⁴ Such visual encounters with Japanese prints catalyzed European and American modernism. The examples are too many to enumerate, but suffice it to say that, for many artists outside Japan, Japan (or the idea of Japan) was imagined as an exotic place of refuge and escape from the disillusionment spawned by the unstoppable forces of industrialization and modernization.⁵

Not everyone was a fan of Japanese woodblock prints. In 1900, the Japanese art historian and cultural figure Okakura Kakuzō (1862–1913) warned against the representation of Japanese pictorial art overseas with woodblock prints because of the relatively low cultural place they inhabited in Japan.⁶ The American art historian of Japanese art Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) disliked Hokusai with a passion. In a notoriously derisive critique of the French critic Louis Gonse's *L'Art Japonais*, Fenollosa disparages Hokusai's brushwork as "vulgar, rough, and unlovely." "It is strictly true," continues Fenollosa, "that Hokusai is despised in Japan, not because he was of low birth and painted vulgar subjects, but because his pen is as raw as that of a country bumpkin. If a man in the East were to write as Hokusai painted, he would be sent back to school to learn his letters."⁷ Hired by the Japanese government to teach philosophy and political economy at the Imperial University of Tokyo and tasked with surveying Japanese art, Fenollosa had seen many treasured examples of Japanese art in situ and felt compelled to point out the orientalist generalizations and misconceptions of Gonse, who never visited Japan. Fenollosa's bias against Hokusai, and woodblock prints more generally, reflects his subscription to the orthodox hierarchy of artistic mediums that puts a high premium on painting and sculpture. Ironically, upon realizing the commercial potential of Japanese prints, the first exhibition of Japanese art Fenollosa organized as the new curator of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1892 was *Hokusai and His School*.⁸ And it was his wife, Mary McNeil Fenollosa, whose 1901 essay "Hiroshige, the Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain" anchored the romanticization of Hiroshige's prints in the West.

While Japanese prints were often idealized by artists and critics in the West as timeless representations of Japan in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the print itself has

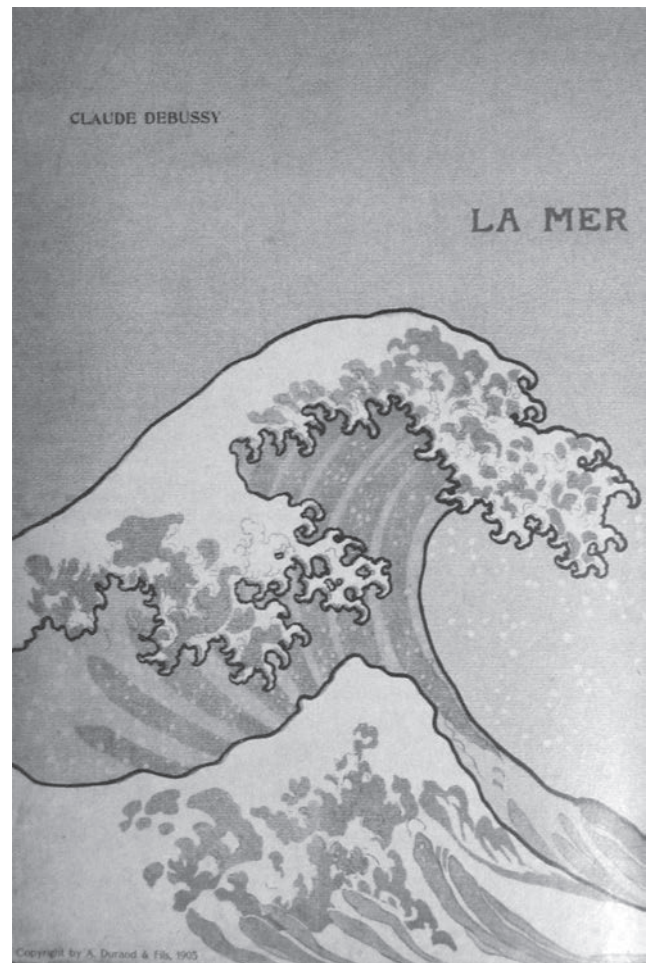


Fig. 2. Claude Debussy, *La Mer* (Paris: A. Durand & Fils, 1905), cover. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

always been the medium through which Japanese contemporary society is envisioned. In reality, many of the "timeless" images were in fact quite *timely* in their original contexts. Hokusai's *The Great Wave*, for example, was published in the early 1830s as a commercial experiment of the expressive potential of the new synthetic pigment Berlin blue, or Prussian blue, which replaced mineral and vegetal dyes used in earlier prints.⁹ Despite the Tokugawa shogunate's closed-country policy in the Edo period (1603–1868), Dutch copperplates and paintings were readily available at the port of Nagasaki. Through direct and indirect exposure to Dutch landscapes, Hokusai had completely internalized one-point linear perspective by the early 1830s when he embarked on the design of the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*.¹⁰ If *The Great Wave* could be considered at all as the most representative image of Japan, it would be for its timely and flexible adaptation of Western perspective.

By the time Hiroshige was designing the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, many of the famous sites he rendered had fallen into a dilapidated condition due to famines, natural disasters, a failing economy, and the arrival



Fig. 3. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Plum Estate, Kameido*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1857, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 9 in. (35.4 x 22.9 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 11.2223.



Fig. 4. Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890), *Tracing of "The Plum Tree Teahouse at Kameido" of Hiroshige*, 1887, pencil, pen, and ink on paper, 15 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (38.3 x 26.2 cm). Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam (Vincent van Gogh Foundation), d0772V1962.



Fig. 5. James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864, oil on wood panel, 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 26 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (50.1 x 68.5 cm). The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.75a.

of the US Navy during the 1850s. The lyrical effect observed in the prints is one way to idealize these sites. Yet, sometimes, the reality might be too harsh to ignore. One of the prints from the series, depicting the popular cherry-blossom viewing site at Gotenyama of Shinagawa heights, reveals the uncertainty of the time (fig. 6). The beautiful pink cherry blossoms are juxtaposed with the small hills below, from which a large amount of earth has been dug away in order to build Odaiba, the eight small island-fortresses constructed in Edo Bay off Shinagawa in 1853–54.¹¹ The US Navy, led by Commodore Matthew Perry, had arrived in Japan in July 1853 and intimidated the country to open for trade. Even Hiroshige, “the artist of mist, snow and rain,” could no longer shun changing realities in the waning years of the Tokugawa shogunal rule. Hiroshige’s print foreshadows the series of fortifications and modernizations compromising the integrity of many famous sites in Edo.

Timely and Timeless is an exhibition that showcases the myriad ways in which the print medium was used to visualize Japan in the country’s most transitional period between the 1830s and 1950s. From the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate in the late 1860s to the Meiji period’s (1868–1912) miraculous modernization, from the victorious expansionist wars with China in 1894 and Imperial Russia in 1904, followed by three decades of cultural liberation and ultra-nationalism, to the traumatic defeat in the Second World War, the modern period’s constantly shifting landscapes offered print artists ample space to experiment. Single-sheet woodblock prints only emerged in Japan in the late seventeenth century, a relatively late date considering the much longer history of the printing technique. The print medium was restricted to reproducing Buddhist texts until the Edo period, when commercial prints began to appear. Early prints had to build upon existing forms of pictorial expression, and they emulated painting in their linear quality. The medium was initially intimately connected to the world of entertainment, depicting Kabuki actors, sumo wrestlers, and activities associated with the demimonde. To emulate the more elevated medium of painting, prints routinely referenced poetry and classical literature in their titles and subtle visual conceits.

As an effort to curtail the wealth of the merchant class and maintain the Neo-Confucian social hierarchy, the Tokugawa government periodically implemented censorship laws banning depictions of the entertainment world. Though the subject matter of these prints depicting leading courtesans and Kabuki actors inherently represented a moral decadence, more important rationales for bans on such prints—often made using rich pigments and mica dust for added luxury—were their popularity, costliness, and sheer extravagance. The sumptuary laws led print artists to explore new subject matter, and landscape prints emerged in the early nineteenth century.

The exhibition begins with this moment in Japanese history. Adrian Zhang offers a close case study of Hiroshige and his publisher’s timely response to the tumultuous Tenpō era (1830–48), when famines and rebellions shook the core of the Tokugawa government. By comparing the two versions of the first print in the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, Zhang argues that the second version depicting a clash between a large bustling crowd and the arrival of the regional lord’s retinue reflects Hiroshige’s sensitivity to the period’s visual needs in a time of crisis.

New synthetic dyes such as Berlin blue equipped artists with new palettes to visualize the seas and skies of the archipelago. After centuries of assimilating European pictorial conventions into their images, designers such as Hokusai and Hiroshige continued to innovate in their synthesis of Western perspective with East Asian visual habits. Fiona Clarke’s essay explores Hiroshige’s design strategies, and, more specifically, how the designer reworked preexisting images of famous



Fig. 6. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Goten-yama, Shinagawa*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1856, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (36.5 x 24.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. 2018.3.3 (cat. 8).

places and adapted diverse perspectival schemes to achieve the desired effect. Clarke demystifies the genius of Hiroshige by exploring his design trajectory from the beginning to the end of his career, offering convincing examples of the designer's versatile synthesis of guidebook illustrations, Western perspective, Chinese pictorial conventions, and Hokusai's legacies. The seemingly timeless images of an idealized Japan belie Hiroshige's state-of-the-art innovations.

The stunning Meiji period triptychs are in and of themselves spectacles dramatizing the country's astounding progress toward modernization. The mandate of the period was to adapt to Western modes of industrialization as well as daily life, so that Japan could soon overturn the unequal trade treaties that it was forced into signing with the United States, Great Britain, France, and other Western powers. The cultural ethos to modernize touched every aspect of civil behavior, bodily comportment, fashion, and ways of living more generally. Confronting challenges from newly available mediums such as photography and color lithography, the woodblock print medium managed to survive and thrive in the Meiji period by depicting current events that visualized, however staged, the country's achievement in modernization. Borrowing the notion of spectacle pedagogy, Cece Witherspoon discusses how Meiji designers constructed appealing designs envisioning the newly built environment. More specifically, by allowing the viewer to visually participate in and celebrate the construction of Western-style architecture and infrastructure, Meiji prints—often made not from direct observation—carved out a niche unchallenged by photography and lithography.

As photography improved technically in the late nineteenth century, the popularity of woodblock prints diminished. However, the outbreak of Japan's first expansionist war against China for the control of the Korean peninsula breathed new creativity into the print medium. Mary Emma Heald's essay examines the unique ways through which the artist Kobayashi Kiyochika's prints visualized the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95). By the turn of the century, Japan had achieved a centralized government, industrialization, and a modernized economy. Justified by social Darwinism, the ability to colonize was a

crucial criterion for the status of modern nation-state. To qualify as a modern nation-state and ultimately attain political independence from Western powers, Japan had to demonstrate its ability to conquer. Focusing on Kiyochika's print depicting a striking, psychologically charged pre-battle moment, Heald demonstrates how facial hair and sartorial details serve as effective visualizations of Japan's successful modernization of the military.

The Great Kantō earthquake destroyed Tokyo in 1923. The disaster, however, also made way for new construction and improved urban planning. Focusing on three prints from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era* by the artist Koizumi Kishio, Lilly Middleton demonstrates how Koizumi's prints served as a visual record of the city's rebirth between 1928 and 1940. She argues that Koizumi's idiosyncratic soft palette and the attractive rendering of the city's famous sites appealed to the rising middle class, who embraced the Impressionism-inflected style and patriotism inherent in these celebratory images of the city. In the same vein, Chelsea Parke Kramer provides a case study of the artist Wada Sanzō, who visualized modernity not by way of the built environment, but through the changing professions of Japanese citizens. The watercolor effect in Wada Sanzō's prints highlights the excitement of these new occupations serving Japan's expansionist agenda in the 1930s.

No example better demonstrates the push and pull between the past and the present than the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, released in 1945, almost immediately after Japan's devastating defeat in the Second World War. Nine artists contributed a portfolio of fifteen prints, eight of which had actually been designed prior to the war and released between 1929 and 1932 in a series entitled *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*. In her essay, Isabel Figueroa argues that the same image is meaningful both as a manifestation of individualized avant-garde modernism in the prewar years, and as a collective visual remembrance of the past amid trauma in 1945. The persistent timeliness of the images in two different periods renders them somewhat timeless. As contexts shift and evolve, all of the images in the exhibition could be, after all, as timeless as they are timely.

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- 1 Christine M. E. Guth, *Hokusai's Great Wave: Biography of a Global Icon* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 54.
 - 2 Gabriel P. Weisberg, "The Creation of Japonisme," in *The Origins of l'Art Nouveau: The Bing Empire* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2004), 57.
 - 3 Timothy Clark, "'The Intuition and the Genius of Decoration': Critical Reactions to Rimpa Art in Europe and the USA during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Rimpa Art from the Idemitsu Collection, Tokyo*, ed. Yüzō Yamane, Masato Naitō, and Timothy Clark (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 68.
 - 4 Julia Meech, *Frank Lloyd Wright and the Art of Japan: The Architect's Other Passion* (New York: Japan Society and H.N. Abrams, 2001), 14, 23.
 - 5 Julia Meech, "Collecting Japanese Art in America," in *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876–1925*, ed. Julia Meech and Gabriel P. Weisberg (New York: H.N. Abrams in association with the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, 1990), 54.
 - 6 Christine M. E. Guth, "Hokusai's Great Waves in Nineteenth-Century Japanese Visual Culture," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 4 (December 2011): 468.
 - 7 Ernest F. Fenollosa, "Review of the Chapter on Painting in Gonse's L'Art Japonais," *Japan Weekly Mail*, July 12, 1884, 40–41.
 - 8 Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Special Exhibitions of the Pictorial Art of Japan and China, No. 1: Hokusai and His School* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1893).
 - 9 Henry D. Smith II, "Hokusai and the Blue Revolution in Edo Prints," in *Hokusai and His Age: Ukiyo-e Painting, Printmaking, and Book Illustration in Late Edo Japan*, ed. John T. Carpenter (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 234–69.
 - 10 Matthi Forrer, "Western Influences in Hokusai's Art," in *Hokusai*, ed. Gian Carlo Calza (London: Phaidon, 2003), 23–31.
 - 11 Andō Hiroshige, *Hiroshige, One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (New York: G. Braziller and Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1986), cat. no. 28.

Fiona Clarke

In 1834, the print designer Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) drafted a series entitled *Famous Views of Osaka*. The series features ten prints depicting various famous places in the city. The first print in the series, *The Naniwaya Pine in Adachi-chō*, which depicts two pine trees in the garden of a well-known teahouse and restaurant, exemplifies Hiroshige’s early design method (fig. 1).¹

A swath of pine emerges from the right and extends across the entire frame, faded blue, tumbling forward like sea-foam. Starbursts of needles pattern its expanse—the froth, so to speak. The pine tapers slightly on the left to reveal the shoji doors and hipped roof of the nearby restaurant, half obscured by lines of stylized clouds and the mass of color at the center of the composition. Wooden posts—part of a supporting structure—mark the sand below the pine, and fragments of branch peek through its lowermost limbs. Nine figures admire the trees, dressed in muted shades of blue and gray. A woman stands at the center, pale face and white headdress stark against the trees. The companion to whom she turns bends slightly for a better view.

The pine is the only part of the composition that largely lacks an outline. Its sprawl threatens to overwhelm the secondary characters of the buildings and figures. The dark blue gradation in the sky at the top of the print hems everything in and renders the trees larger still. *Naniwaya Pine* is broken compositionally into thin triangles; the slope of the pine leads down and left toward the buildings, and then the darker values of the lattice and stakes bring us to the travelers grouped at the base. This back-and-forth movement is encouraged by the lines of cloud parallel to the edge of the paper and interrupted by the vertical lines of the buildings, the people, and the support posts.

When Hiroshige’s work hit the Western market in the mid-nineteenth century, it was these qualities of delicate coloration and balanced composition that held great appeal. Largely overshadowed by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) in the first wave of Japonisme to sweep Europe and the US, Hiroshige attained a new level of fame after the turn of the century, with the rise of a romantic, spiritual-minded generation of artists, collectors, and critics.² Mary McNeil Fenollosa’s 1901 essay “Hiroshige, the Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain” summarizes the predominant understanding of Hiroshige within this group:³

A master, to be remembered, must not only originate new methods, but with them give to the world something unforgettable and not to be imitated, and this Hiroshige has done in his



Fig. 1. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *The Naniwaya Pine in Adachi-chō*, from the series *Famous Views of Osaka*, 1834, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8½ x 13½ in. (21.6 x 34.3 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Knut S. Royce 62', P'16, 2016.2.3 (cat. 3).



Fig. 2. Takehara Shunchōsai (d. 1801), *Settsu meissho zue*, vol. 1, 1798, woodblock printed guidebooks in 12 volumes, ink on paper, published by Kawachiya Tasuke in Osaka. The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC. The Gerhard Pulverer Collection, FSC-GR-780.850.1–12.

marvelous rendition of the subtle, the elusive, the momentary, in atmospheric phenomena. It was in his power to breathe into his graded ink-tones the impalpable texture of wind and vapor, the clinging moisture of snow, the essence, character—almost the smell—of rain. His spirit seemed a part of these things. It was not technique alone which told him how to blur a commonplace object into wonderful dim outlines, or to heap his cottage roofs with massed white vacancies of snow.⁴

Hailed as a master of “impressionist” landscapes for his supposedly naturalistic depictions, Hiroshige’s genius was thought to lie in his intimate connection to nature, and in the faithfulness with which he reproduced the spiritual essence of a place.⁵ This conception values Ukiyo-e as independent of the Chinese influences that characterized aristocratic art of the Edo period (1603–1868), and is misinformed in several ways.⁶ The line between popular art—prints crafted for mass consumption and sold cheaply—and official art—paintings modeled after classical Chinese tradition, commissioned by elite members of society—was increasingly blurred by the end of the eighteenth century.⁷ Restrictions on travel precluded the possibility that Hiroshige could personally visit all of the places he depicted, so he relied heavily on preexisting models, rather than his own, firsthand experience of a particular site.

In this essay, I propose a reorientation of the parameters of Hiroshige’s artistic success: to measure his prints not by an imagined connectedness to nature, but by the brilliant synthesis of multiple design strategies. The following pages examine several of those strategies and the sources from which Hiroshige adopted them as he developed an arsenal of pictorial techniques to diversify the appeal of his designs.

***Meisho* and Travel in the Edo Period**

“Landscape” as a genre did not exist in Edo Japan. The term *meisho-e*, literally “pictures” (*e*) of “famous places” (*meisho*), was used to designate landscape prints. Locations earned *meisho* status once they acquired a level of poetic, historical, or sacred significance. Famous places were traditionally associated with the passing of the twelve months and the four seasons, with the aristocracy of the ancient capitals of Nara and Kyoto, and with narrative and courtly poetry, but the definition of *meisho* expanded in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries to include areas more accessible to the viewing public in and around Edo.⁸ This shift coincided with the development of a system of five radial highways (*Gōkaidō*) and the implementation of an alternate attendance policy (*sankin kōtai*) that required feudal lords to attend the shogun in Edo every other year, necessitating increased security and amenities along the routes they took.⁹ The *Tōkaidō*, the busiest, most celebrated road, became a *meisho* in its own right as traffic from the feudal lords and commoners alike increased. Pilgrimage was the only state-sanctioned form of tourism, so travelers often took the opportunity to visit other sites of historic or scenic interest while en route. This illicit tourism created a market for travel-based literature in the form of *meisho-ki* (travel diaries) and *meisho zue* (illustrated guidebooks). The term “guidebook” is misleading; *meisho zue* were multivolume, relatively large format, and expensive, and so were generally ill-suited for portable reference. Instead, they spurred public

imagination as conduits for virtual travel.¹⁰ Woodblock prints of *meisho*, when they rose to prominence with Hokusai’s *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* in the early 1830s, served a similar function.

Meisho-ki and *meisho zue* were valuable topographical references for print designers. Because travel was limited, designers drew heavily on an existing body of landscape art not limited to guidebooks, but also encompassing paintings and poetry. Today, there is something of a stigma attached to mimicry of this kind, and it often falls under the broad category of plagiarism. Dependence on tradition was inherent in Japanese art—in some cases, only references to an established code of pictorial symbols allowed viewers to understand the time and place of a given scene. The emulation of existing models was also a prestigious practice rooted in long-standing schools of Japanese painting such as the Kano, and in Chinese painting tradition.

Meisho zue: Famous Views of Osaka

Famous Views of Osaka followed Hiroshige’s inaugural landscape print series of 1830 and 1831, among them *Eight Views of Omi*, *Famous Views of the Eastern Capital (Edo)*, and Hiroshige’s most famous work at the time, *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*. In this early stage of his career, the designer was still developing a visual language for landscape. Guidebooks, especially ones detailing areas he had never seen or visited, provided a blueprint from which to work. All the prints in the Osaka series are derived from *meisho zue*, as are at least six *Tōkaidō* prints and a minimum of three designs in his final series, *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, published from 1856 to 1858.¹¹

The Naniwaya Pine in Adachi-chō borrows its composition from an image in the *Settsu meisho zue* (fig. 2), an illustrated guidebook to the area around Osaka published in 1798 under Kawachiya Tasuke, with designs by Takehara Shunchōsai and inscriptions by Akisato Ritō.¹² Shared visual characteristics abound: the swath of dark pine emerging from the viewer’s right and extending across the entire length of the image, highly stylized clouds obscuring sections of the print to provide a poetic frame for the depicted scene, and a series of buildings occupying the background. Hiroshige lifted several people nearly verbatim from the guidebook and regrouped them in the foreground of *Naniwaya Pine*: the two rightmost men, crouched to admire the trees and engaged in enthusiastic conversation; the standing man gesturing at the pine with his fan; the monk, with his shaved head and wrinkled face, leaning against his staff, back slightly bent under the weight of his pack; and the standing woman with the white headdress. A close comparison of the two images reveals Hiroshige’s design strategy.

Takehara placed all the outstanding elements on the left: the people, with their various postures, and the detailed

architecture. The mass of pine needles dominating the composition appears uniform because its unbroken pattern lacks specific points of interest. The lines of the roof in the background parallel the pine's diagonal movement across the frame, pulling the viewer's attention downward and leftward. Hiroshige brought the figures forward, and grouped them centrally in the foreground. The white face and headdress of the most centrally placed woman contrast sharply with the blue of the pine canopy, which draws the eye to the figures in the middle of the image. Slices of pale sky, sandy ground, white mist, and white shoji screens alternate with dark blue sky, teal-gray roof, and deep blue pine to create an overall balance in coloristic value. Hiroshige countered the heavy downward pull of Takehara's composition by arranging the roofs of the restaurant building to form opposing angles that project upward toward the leftmost corner.

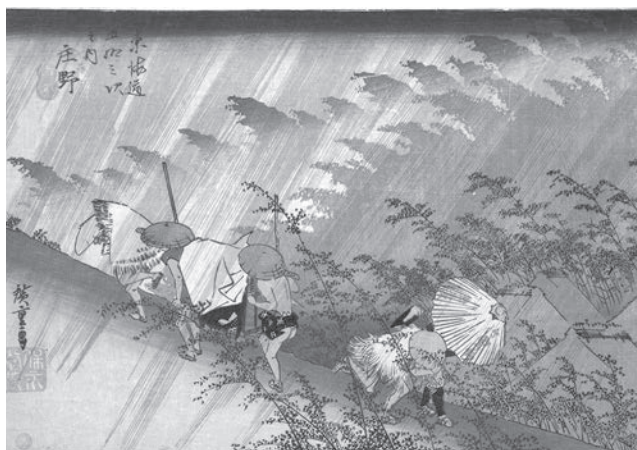


Fig. 3. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Sudden Shower at Shōno*, from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1834–35, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9¾ x 14¼ in. (24.8 x 36.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1914, JP41.

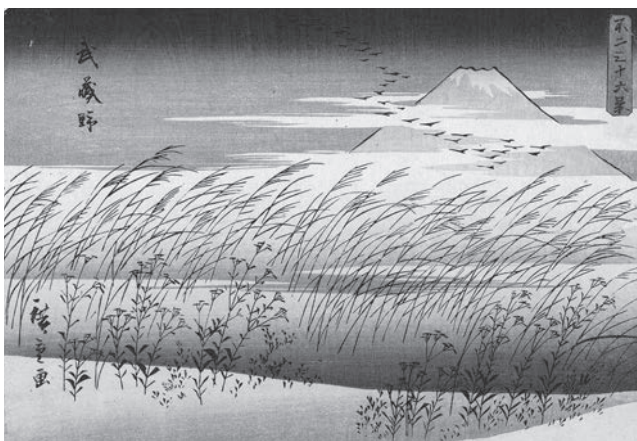


Fig. 4. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Musashi Plain*, from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, 1852, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7¾ x 9¼ in. (18.3 x 25 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William S. and John T. Spaulding Collection, 21.9559.

The amount of space dedicated to architecture in each print differs greatly. The buildings in *Settsu meisho zue* frame thirty-two distinct figures, some of which are seen seated inside, enjoying tea and, presumably, the sweet rice cakes that were a regional specialty. In *Naniwaya Pine*, the buildings are reduced to blocks of color, and Hiroshige employed a more naturalistic perspective; we no longer see into the restaurant from an elevated position. Less emphasis on the interiority of the buildings means greater emphasis on the landscape itself, and on the reactions of the people viewing it. The restaurant's appeal was leisure and relaxation, enhanced by the natural beauty of the pines. In assigning equal importance to the restaurant and the pines, the guidebook served its purpose—to present an appealing version of the travel experience to those who remained in the city. Hiroshige placed greater emphasis on natural wonder—the interaction of the people with the pines rather than the restaurant.

Such a shift is typical of Hiroshige's landscape oeuvre; he often placed emphasis on the late Tokugawa “culture of movement,” which consisted in a variety of outdoor activities, chief among them flower viewing and other seasonal pastimes, and pilgrimages to religious sites. Nearly all of Hiroshige's *meisho-e* depict people engaging in these activities; he was “less an artist of [n]ature than of the culture of nature,” and Takehara was an artist of the culture of travel.¹³ The distinction is between different kinds of vicarious experience.

The changes from the *Settsu* print to *Naniwaya Pine* are also in line with Hiroshige's (admittedly limited) written statements on how nature should be represented: in the album *Landscape Views on the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō fūkei zue*, 1851), he writes that “everything lacking in taste and grace must be omitted,” and in 1849, in the incomplete drawing manual *Ehon tebikigusa*, he writes: “Paintings are based on the form of things. So if you copy the form and add style and meaning, the result is a painting To depict a beautiful view the artist must know how to combine with one another each of the elements that constitute that view.”¹⁴ These philosophies are particularly evident in the reduction of figures, and the careful balancing of color, value, pattern, and form in *Naniwaya Pine*.

The Maruyama-Shijō School: *Musashi Plain* and *Evening Snow on the Asuka Mountain*

Ukiyo-e and Chinese influences were not mutually exclusive; print craftsmen constantly emulated painting as a means of elevating their medium, in the quality of line (reminiscent of brushwork), subject matter (*meisho*), and literary references (usually poetry and *mitate-e*, parody prints depicting historical and mythical events in contemporary settings with contemporary figures). Major schools of Japanese painting such as the Kano, Tosa, and Maruyama-Shijō all emulated classical Chinese paintings, albeit ones from different time

periods with diverse design philosophies.¹⁵ The Maruyama-Shijō school in particular, which specialized in a blend of the Kano and Tosa styles, influenced the Utagawa design lineage of which Hiroshige was a part.¹⁶ Diagonal compositions and large foreground motifs are characteristic of the school, as are the kind of atmospheric, painterly washes that fascinated Mary McNeil Fenollosa and are now synonymous with Hiroshige's work.¹⁷ *Sudden Shower at Shōno*, from *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* series (fig. 3), is likely the best-known example, but *Musashi Plain (Musashino)*, from Hiroshige's *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (fig. 4), allows for a more direct comparison in terms of subject. Murakami Tōshū's untitled hanging scroll painting of Mount Fuji showcases the lines of mist that shroud the base of the mountain (fig. 5).¹⁸ A subdued palette of earthy mauve and pale blue, green, and yellow also links the two depictions. As a design strategy, this atmospheric effect allowed for a level of ambiguity, experimentation, and abstraction in Hiroshige's prints while maintaining their credibility as images of the natural world.

The delicate *bokashi* gradation in the hills and sky of *Evening Snow on the Asuka Mountain* (fig. 6) is more or less a print version of the Maruyama-Shijō *soto-guma* ("outside shading") technique, wherein shapes are delineated by the absence of pigment. Subtle gradation and the lack thereof define the tree at the bottom of the print, and the sloping hills behind it. Hiroshige's omission of a keyblock outline in these places could also indicate a familiarity with the paintings of Maruyama Ōkyō (1733–1795), whose snow-laden hills are rendered in much the same way (fig. 7).¹⁹

Evening Snow on the Asuka Mountain was commissioned by the Taihaidō poetry club, and directly references the Eight Views of Xiaoxiang, or its Japanese adaptation *Shōshō hakkei*. One of the most widespread tropes in Japanese pictorial representation, the Eight Views originated in the melancholic writings and paintings of Chinese scholar-officials in exile in the Xiaoxiang area of what is now the Hunan Province in southern China. Their unfulfilled ambition and profound sorrow were compounded in a series of eight poetic views: Clearing Storm over a Mountain Village, Sunset over a Fishing Village, Sails Returning from Distant Shores, Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang, Evening Bell of a Temple in Mist, Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting, Descending Geese at a Sandbar, and Evening Snow on a River.²⁰ The first edition of *Evening Snow on the Asuka Mountain* features three poems in the sky above the scene, and "Taihaidō" along the left margin as a copyright holder. The poem in the Trout Gallery edition reads:

The snow falling heavily in the dusk not only covers up signs that warn against breaking branches of the cherry trees on Asuka hill, but breaks down the branches, as well.

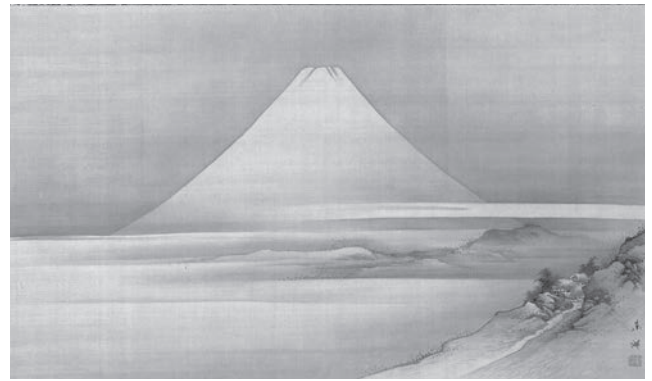


Fig. 5. Murakami Tōshū (d. 1820), *Untitled*, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, hanging scroll painting, ink, light color and gold on silk, 19 x 34½ in. (48.2 x 86.7 cm). The British Museum, London, 1881,1210,0.2316.



Fig. 6. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Evening Snow on the Asuka Mountain*, from the series *Eight Views of the Environs of Edo*, 1837–38, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9 x 14 in. (22.9 x 35.6 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Knut S. Royce '62, P'16, 2013.6 (cat. 4).



Fig. 7. Attributed to Maruyama Ōkyō (1733–1795), *Winter Landscape*, n.d., hanging scroll painting, ink and wash on paper, 19¾ x 24 in. (50.2 x 61 cm). Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, SC 1917:3–20.



Fig. 8. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Panoramic View from Asuka Hill*, from the series *Cutout Pictures of Famous Places in Edo*, 1857, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (13.6 x 22.6 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William S. and John T. Spaulding Collection, 21.8850.

Evening Snow was not the only Xiaoxiang archetype Hiroshige imposed on the Asuka Mountain, a *meisho* usually associated with cherry-blossom viewing. *Descending Geese at Asukayama*, from the series *Twelve Views of Edo*, is another. Hiroshige designed dozens, if not hundreds, of Asuka Mountain prints over the course of his career. The same is true of any number of other *meisho-e*, because famous places belonged to a relatively fixed canon. The challenge for print designers in particular was to find new and interesting ways to depict those places; altering the season and other temporal markers in prints utilizing the same location was necessary to ensure diversity of design. Repurposing a *meisho* as a setting for a literary trope was another way to expand its dimensionality. In this struggle to “get the most out of” each *meisho*, the locations became formal frameworks within which each designer exercised his pictorial repertoire. The results are sometimes unexpected: see a lovely, monochromatic blue *Panoramic View from Asuka Hill*, from the series *Cutout Pictures of Famous Places in Edo* (fig. 8).

Linear Perspective and *Uki-e*: *Night View of Saruwaka-machi*

Linear perspective, a pictorial device for representing depth on a two-dimensional surface, existed in Japan by the late 1730s. Images utilizing the system, which in its most basic form demands that all diagonal lines in a picture converge at a single point, were collectively known as *uki-e* (floating pictures), or *kubomi-e* (sunken pictures)—terms that describe the effect of the images on the viewer; how they seem to advance or recede from their frames.²¹ The development of Western linear perspective in Japan has been traced back to sources ranging from Dutch optical prints to Chinese Suzhou prints to Japanese woodblock prints of Kabuki theater interiors, but I will limit the discussion here to two

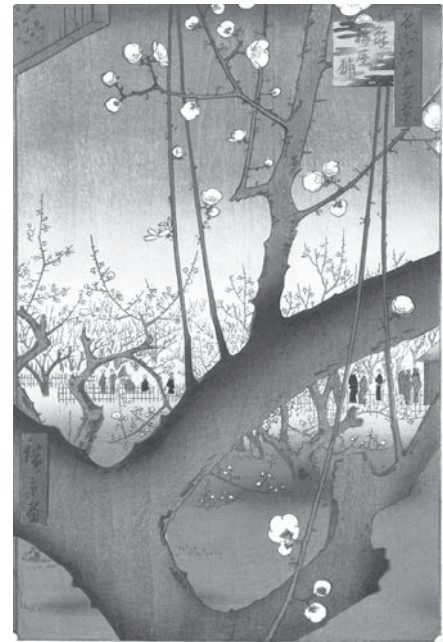


Fig. 9. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Plum Estate in Kameido*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1857, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (36 x 23.5 cm). Brooklyn Museum. Gift of Anna Ferris, 30.1478.30.

important intermediaries: the print designer Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), whose *Under the Wave off Kanagawa* (*The Great Wave*) ranks among the most famous images in the world, and the painter Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818), an early Japanese practitioner of the Dutch style.²² In 1788, Kōkan traveled to Nagasaki, the only port open to foreign trade in the Edo period. The trip resulted in a series of sketches, which he eventually used as the basis for several Western-style oil paintings. Kōkan wrote of the Dutch: “Their pictures are models of reality,” an attitude that sets him apart from Hokusai, who would later use Kōkan’s paintings to develop *The Great Wave* print.²³

Linear perspective was not an empirical system of image making for Hokusai and Hiroshige in the way it was for Western artists and Shiba Kōkan. Rather, it was an effect, a design strategy like the others explored here, and thus could be altered at will to maximize the visual appeal of a design.²⁴ Hokusai obscured horizon lines, placed them higher on the picture plane to allow more space for figures and topography, and toyed with visual metaphor. In *Kajikazawa in Kai Province*, for example, the horizon line merges with the haze enveloping Mount Fuji, and the lines of uncrested waves. Hiroshige adopted linear perspective to the greatest extent in his *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (*Meisho Edo hyakkei*, 1856–58) series, experimenting with large-scale objects, or parts thereof, in the foreground of several prints, including *The Takata Riding Grounds* and *Plum Estate in Kameido* (fig. 9), the subject of Vincent van Gogh’s famous copy painting.

Hiroshige also had a predilection for obscured horizon lines, as we have already seen in *Naniwaya Pine*.

Night View of Saruwaka-machi, from the *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* series, illustrates nightlife on an Edo street known for its Kabuki and *jōruri* theaters (fig. 10). Exaggerated one-point perspective narrows the buildings on either side of the street until they vanish into a wall of thinly sketched structures just left of center. The sky is empty, a brilliant blue expanse with no clouds to distract the viewer from the careful *bokashi* gradation at the top of the print and the stark contrast of the full moon against encroaching black. A similar gradation marks the buildings; dark gray at the roofline, they transition to a lighter shade near the ground. The street itself is an even paler gray, slightly cool in tone. This combination of pigments and *bokashi* technique creates a subtle glow evocative of moonlight, reflecting off the pavement to illuminate the lower floors of the theaters and shops. The figures are distinct, simultaneously aloof and yet part of the cityscape. Even in this busy scene, their slender forms are held apart; they seem to repel and attract each other in turn, caught in a moment of equidistance. The shadows contribute to this otherworldliness, elongating the figures and distorting them at the same stroke. Whereas the people in *Naniwaya Pine* are carved like trees—bent, even gnarled—these figures almost flicker, wax and wane, while remaining perfectly still. The ground, because it is so light, lacks the weight to hold them down. The print's vertical *ōban* format enhances the overall lengthening effect.

The moonlight suffusing the scene has deeper significance. The moon is often employed as a symbol of rebirth and rejuvenation in East Asian art, an appropriate allusion for an image of Saruwaka-machi, the area where Edo's Kabuki theaters were forced to relocate following a fire that destroyed two, the Nakamura-za and Ichimura-za, during the Tenpō Reforms (1841–43).²⁵

We do not know in what order Hiroshige designed the prints in *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*. Regardless, *Saruwaka-machi* seems a culmination. It strikes the same chords as some of Hiroshige's other night scenes in the series—the emphasis on woodgrain, the liberal application of Berlin blue—but we see no stars, and there is a distinct absence of the dark gray that permeates images such as *Night View of the Matsuchiyama and Sam'ya Canal* (fig. 11). Instead, through repeated emphasis on illumination, flat planes of color in the street and sky, and elevated, narrow perspective, Hiroshige created an alternate world in line with the contemporary perception of Saruwaka-machi. The print is populated with tiny details that accord with reality: for example, the lanterns cast no shadows, and the open shops on both sides of the street emit a warmer light, which radiates off the platforms where waitresses are seeing off their late guests—the undersides of the platforms are gray, but the

skyward sides take on a copper hue. This visual language matches late Edo-period descriptions of Saruwaka-machi:

From the teahouse—it had already been decided which one—people would come to meet us at the dock. Each would be carrying a paper lantern bearing their establishment's crest. "How delightful to see you! You are most welcome indeed!" they would exclaim, ever so politely, and lead us up from the boat to the teahouse. . . . Both sides of the street were lined with teahouses, their *noren* curtains hanging out in front. And my, how beautiful the dangling paper lanterns were! Taking the boat from Tsukiji and going to the theatre there was just about the most wonderful thing you could do; it was like floating on air.²⁶

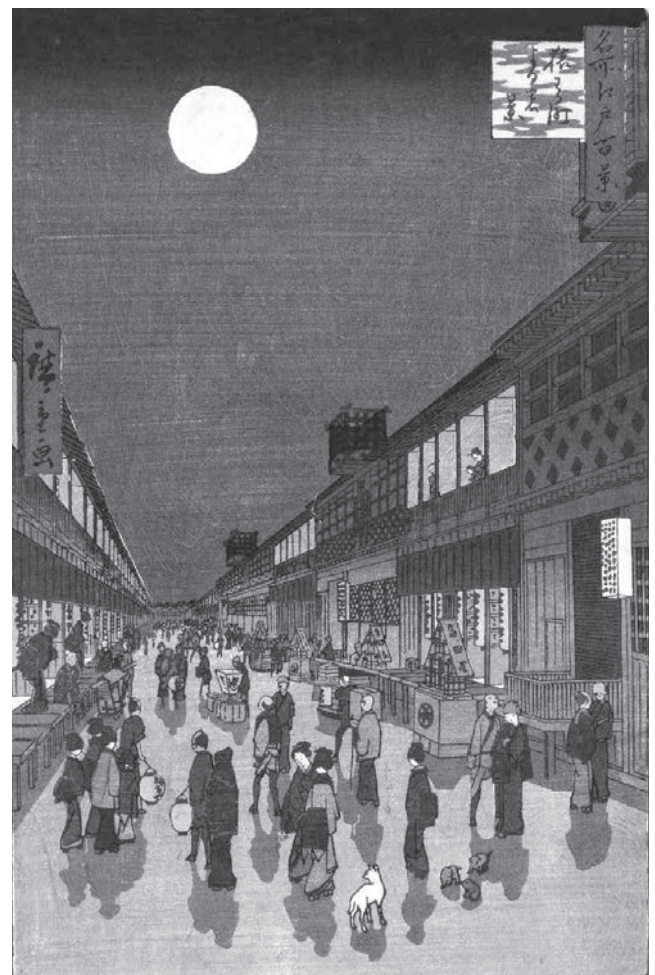


Fig. 10. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Night View of Saruwaka-machi*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1856, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 13¼ x 8⅞ in. (33.7 x 21.3 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.14 (cat. 7).

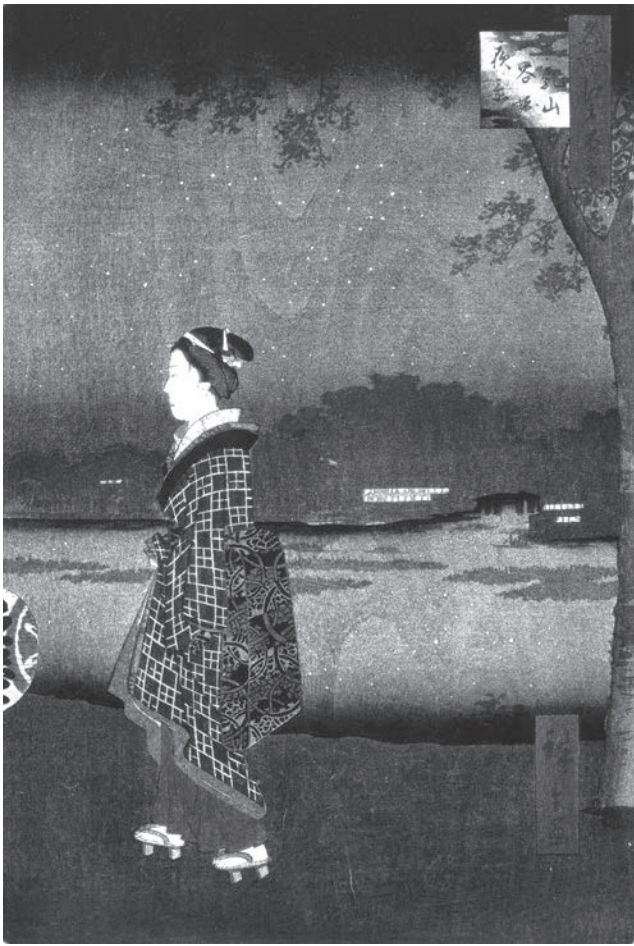


Fig. 11. Utagawa Hiroshige (1792–1858), *Night View of the Matsuchiyama and Samiya Canal*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1857, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (36 x 23.5 cm). Brooklyn Museum, 30.1478.34.



Fig. 12. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Nissaka Sayo no Nakayama*, from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (22.5 x 34.9 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.13 (cat. 2).

Katsushika Hokusai: An Extended Comparison

Both Hokusai and Hiroshige experimented with visual empathy, a technique wherein certain elements of a composition—the figures, in Hiroshige’s case—assume the characteristics of others, or of their surroundings. The rough travelers of *Nissaka Sayo no Nakayama* (fig. 12), the angular people of *Evening Snow on the Asuka Mountain*, and the slim-shouldered, wavering silhouettes of *Night View of Saruwaka-machi* seem to belong to the particular places in which they are set. The straw hats in *Nissaka* are rounded as if to echo the stone at the center of the composition, but the same hats in *Asuka Mountain* are sharp, clean triangles that match the intersecting tree branches and roofs their wearers pass through. The clearest example in Hokusai’s work is *Mishima Pass in Kai Province*, from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (fig. 13), where the rough bark of a massive tree finds its complement in the equally jagged contour of the distant mountain.

Hiroshige needed to balance inhabitability and visual interest in a way that Hokusai did not, because print was not Hokusai’s only medium; he was also a painter. Japanese paintings did not function as stimuli for virtual travel, and thus provided an alternative creative outlet for the artist, as well as additional income. None of Hokusai’s subsequent landscape series matched the commercial success of *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, which suggests that the initial allure of the works lay in their novelty as the first landscape prints to utilize Berlin blue colorant, not in their often bizarre variations on linear perspective. Hiroshige’s approach to *meisho-e* had greater longevity because his prints invite viewer participation.



Fig. 13. Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), *Mishima Pass in Kai Province*, from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, 1830–32, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (24.4 x 37.8 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Williams S. and John T. Spaulding Collection, 21.6752.

Hiroshige claims in his introduction to *A Hundred Views of Mount Fuji* that his illustrations are based on “first-hand observation (“original sketches”), even though it was not possible to incorporate every detail.”²⁷ He could be referring to the on-site sketches of illustrators such as Takehara Shunchōsai, upon which he did indeed base several prints. More likely, he was enhancing his own credibility as a

designer of reality, engaging with the curiosity and civic pride of the citizens of Edo through idealized views of famous places foreign and familiar. The results are images of such superlative beauty and romanticism that Mary McNeil Fenollosa was compelled to look for explanation in Hiroshige’s spirituality.

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- 1 Andreas Marks, *Japan Journeys: Famous Woodblock Prints of Cultural Sights in Japan* (Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2015), 149.
 - 2 Henry D. Smith II, “Hiroshige in History,” in *Hiroshige: Prints and Drawings*, ed. Michael Foster (Munich: Prestel, 2001), 33.
 - 3 Mary McNeil Fenollosa, *Hiroshige, The Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain: An Essay by Mary McNeil Fenollosa, with illustrations, and fac-similes of some famous signatures* (San Francisco: Vickery, Atkins & Torrey, 1901). Mary McNeil Fenollosa was the wife of Ernest Fenollosa, an esteemed collector and art historian who headed the Western effort to “preserve” what was perceived as the authentic art of traditional Japan. As such, she was in a position to write articles such as “Hiroshige, The Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain” for American and European audiences.
 - 4 Fenollosa, *Hiroshige*, 10–11.
 - 5 Smith, “Hiroshige in History,” 33–34.
 - 6 Ukiyo-e, or “pictures of the floating world,” derived from a Buddhist term for the transience of life that assumed an opposite meaning in Edo Japan; the life of excess, governed by material pleasures. Typical Ukiyo-e subjects include Kabuki theatre (see below), the red-light district of Yoshiwara, sumo wrestling, and eventually landscape. Kabuki is a type of Japanese theater involving highly choreographed movements and enthusiastic audience participation. *Jōruri* is a similarly elaborate genre of puppet theatre.
 - 7 Jilly Traganou, *The Tōkaidō Road: Traveling and Representation in Edo and Meiji Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 151.
 - 8 Gary Hickey, “Ukiyo-e Meisho-e,” in *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, ed. Amy Reigle Newland (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 181–83.
 - 9 Harold Bolitho, “The Edo Period, 1603–1868,” in *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 19.
 - 10 Robert Goree, “Meisho Zue and the Mapping of Prosperity in Late Tokugawa Japan,” in *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 6, no. 2 (June 2017): 75.
 - 11 Ellis Tinios, “Diversification and Further Popularization of the Full-Colour Woodblock Print, c. 1804–1868,” in *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 209.
 - 12 Hickey, “Ukiyo-e Meisho-e,” 21–22; and Tinios, “Diversification and Further Popularization of the Full-Colour Woodblock Print,” 209. Takehara Shunchōsai and Akisato Ritō were founders of the *meisho zue* genre and its first iteration, the *Miyako meisho zue*. They can rightly be called the authors of the first exhaustive record of cultural geography in Japan. Each entry in this massive undertaking was compiled through archival research and site visits. Takehara Shunchōsai’s illustrations were also based on on-site sketches. For more information on *meisho* and the inception of *meisho zue*, see Goree, “Meisho Zue and the Mapping of Prosperity in Late Tokugawa Japan,” 73–107.
 - 13 Smith, “Hiroshige in History,” 39.
 - 14 Matthi Forrer, “The Art of Hiroshige,” in *Hiroshige*, ed. Foster, 22.
 - 15 Kano was the preeminent school in Edo Japan. Associated with officialdom and the shogunate, Kano school painters were first known for bold brushwork, vibrant color, and an abundance of gold leaf, then for restrained, monochrome ink paintings in a Chinese literati style. The Tosa favored delicately rendered detail, and dealt with ancient Japanese subjects, such as the Tale of Genji, rendered with ancient Japanese techniques, as opposed to the Chinese ones espoused by the Kano. However, cross-fertilization between the two schools eventually led to an increase in Chinese influence on Tosa works.
 - 16 Timothy T. Clark, “Utagawa Hiroshige and the Maruyama-Shijō School,” in *The Commercial and Cultural Climate of Japanese Printmaking*, ed. Amy Reigle Newland (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004), 143. Utagawa Kuniyoshi favored the illustrations of Kawamura Bunpo, a Shijō artist, during his own foray into the *meisho-e* genre following the success of Hiroshige’s *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*. For more information on the Maruyama-Shijō influence on the Utagawa school outside of Hiroshige, see Ellis Tinios, “Borrowed Landscapes: The Exploitation of Maruyama-Shijō Book Illustrations by Ukiyo-e Artists,” in *The Commercial and Cultural Climate of Japanese Printmaking*, ed. Newland.
 - 17 Clark, “Utagawa Hiroshige and the Maruyama-Shijō School,” 146.
 - 18 Murakami Toshu was associated with the Tosa School; however, this particular work is more Maruyama-Shijō in style.
 - 19 Clark, “Utagawa Hiroshige and the Maruyama-Shijō School,” 147–48.
 - 20 For comparison, Hiroshige’s *Eight Views of Environs of Edo (Edo kinko hakkei no uchi, 1837–38)* includes *Clearing Weather at Shibaura (Shibaura no seiban)*, *Sunset Glow at Koganei Bridge (Koganei-bashi no sekishō)*, *Returning Sails at Gyōtoku (Gyōtoku no kiban)*, *Night Rain at Azuma Wood (Azuma-no-mori yau)*, *Evening Bell at Ikegami (Ikegami no banshō)*, *Autumn Moon on the Tama River (Tamagawa no shūgetsu)*, *Descending Geese at Haneda (Haneda no rakugan)*, and *Twilight Snow at Asuka Hill (Asukayama no bosetsu)*.
 - 21 Timon Screech, “The Meaning of Western Perspective in Edo Popular Culture,” *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 58.
 - 22 Matthi Forrer, “From Optical Prints to Ukie to Ukiyoe: The Adoption and Adaptation of Western Linear Perspective in Japan,” in *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 247–49.
 - 23 Forrer, “From Optical Prints to Ukie to Ukiyoe,” 245.
 - 24 Henry D. Smith II, “‘He Frames a Shot’: Cinematic Vision in Hiroshige’s *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*,” *Orientalism* 31 (March 2000): 91. This distinction is also articulated by Screech in “The Meaning of Western Perspective in Edo Popular Culture.”
 - 25 Satoko Shimazaki, “The End of the ‘World’: Tsuruya Nanboku IV’s Female Ghosts and Late-Tokugawa Kabuki,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 66, no. 2 (2011): 240.
 - 26 Imaizumi Mine, *Nagori no yume (Lingering dreams)*, quoted in Jinnai Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, trans. Kimiko Nishimura (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 100.
 - 27 Forrer, “The Art of Hiroshige,” 22.

Adrian Zhang

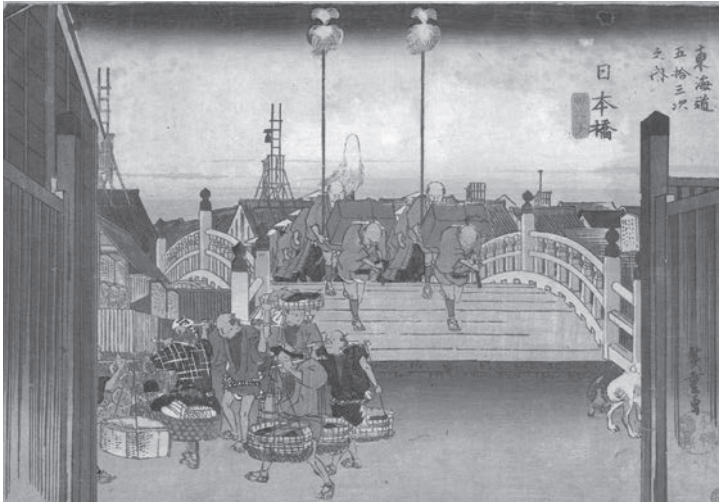


Fig. 1. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Morning View of Nihonbashi* (Station #1 first version), from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9½ x 13⅞ in. (24.2 x 35.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1918, JP471.



Fig. 2. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Processional Standard-Bearers at Nihonbashi Bridge* (Station #1 second version), from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8½ x 13½ in. (21.6 x 34.3 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Purchased with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.21 (cat. 1).

Published by Hōeidō in 1833–34, *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* may be Utagawa Hiroshige's best-known print series. The series depicts the fifty-three stations along the Tōkaidō highway connecting the imperial capital Kyoto with the shogunal seat in Edo. The series also includes one print depicting the starting point of the highway at Nihonbashi in Edo, and another featuring the final destination marked by the Sanjō Bridge in Kyoto. Crossing the river by the same name, Nihonbashi Bridge is not only designated the origin of the Tōkaidō road, but also the country's zero-mile marker as it measures the traveling distance between Edo and anywhere else in Japan. Travelers in the Edo period (1603–1868) passed by many famous sites as they arrived or departed Nihonbashi bridge.¹

Interestingly, two versions depicting Nihonbashi in Hiroshige's series exist today, and the second version was released some time after the first. This essay focuses on the two versions of the print, both depicting the daimyo procession's arrival at Nihonbashi. The first version depicts the procession crossing the bridge as it is about to encounter vendors at the end of the bridge (fig. 1). The second depicts a similar scene with a much larger crowd and a different color scheme (fig. 2). The differences in the two versions reflect the social crises of the Tenpō era and the visual needs of the time.

Hiroshige and the Tōkaidō

Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) was born in a lower-class samurai family in Edo. After the consecutive deaths of his parents in 1812, Hiroshige succeeded his father's vocation as a fire warden. Besides the hereditary position, he also inherited a low regular wage. His poor financial situation may have encouraged Hiroshige to embark on a subsidiary career to become a print designer. Although information on Hiroshige's early career is fragmentary, we know that the print designer Utagawa Toyohiro (1773–1828) accepted him as a pupil at the age of thirteen or fourteen. Hiroshige thus gained his last name "Utagawa" following his mentor and received the artistic name "Hiroshige."² As a fire warden, he lived in the barracks of the shogunal firefighting organization and directly commanded a unit of firefighters. Little evidence supports that



Fig. 3. Utagawa Hiroshige II (1826–1869), *Daimyo Procession at Kasumigaseki in Edo*, 1863, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14½ x 29¼ in. (36.8 x 76.3 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The Joan Elizabeth Tanney Bequest, 2006.136.285a–c.

Hiroshige was a fire warden for the shogun, the powerful military head of the state, but it is plausible that Hiroshige had a political affiliation with the Tokugawa government.³ Simultaneously, the status of shogunal retainer favored his artistic career. The status of a samurai enabled him to keep an eye on the ongoing political affairs and depict those occasions in his sketchbook.

In particular, an alternate attendance policy, or *sankin kōtai*, was crucial in maintaining peace under the Tokugawa government. Under this system, the shogun required each regional feudal lord, or daimyo, to travel to Edo from his domain and reside there every other year at his own expense. When the daimyo returned to his own domain, his wife and children were held as hostages in Edo. The policy effectively prevented local feudal lords from rebelling against the shogun and maintained their loyalty.⁴ The daimyo's travels between their domain and Edo enabled highways to develop, and the Tōkaidō route became the most traveled highway during this period. Along the Tōkaidō road, post stations provided lodging, food, bathing, and entertainment; each station possessed special features. The daimyo traveled with a number of retainers and spent a certain amount of his wealth, promoting the local economy along the road. The procession occupied a large physical space on the highway, its size usually determined by the land output of each daimyo's domain. The Dutch doctor Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) described in his manuscript: “With every step they kick up their heel nearly to their backsides and at the same time thrust the opposite arm forward, so that it looks

as if they are swimming in the air.”⁵ Such a vivid description of the extravagant movement suggests that each procession was not simply a political act that reflected both the daimyo's status and Tokugawa authority, but was also a theatrical event, a performance.

Several elements account for the theatrical nature. First, the size of the procession was impressive. Second, the dramatic footsteps and the decorative items, such as banners and lances, were awe-inspiring. The procession became a popular subject matter in woodblock prints. Print designers often chose a bird's-eye view to encompass the entire retinue. For example, in Hiroshige's successor Utgawa Hiroshige II's (1826–1869) print *Daimyo Procession at Kasumigaseki in Edo* of 1863 (fig. 3), the designer offers a panoramic view of the scene. Hiroshige II's depiction focuses on the details of the entourage such as the number of men, horses, banners, and decorative lances, thus showing the visual complexity and density of the procession. Instead of a bird's-eye view, Hiroshige lowers the angle and places viewers in a way similar to how they would directly encounter the procession at the end of Nihonbashi. The frontal viewpoint allows Hiroshige to merely suggest the emergence of the procession by depicting only a few banner bearers. The curve of the bridge naturally keeps the rest of the procession out of sight. The procession in Hiroshige II's print shows the onlookers kneeling on either side of the street. In Hiroshige's two versions of Nihonbashi, the vendors appear in the foreground, occupying more pictorial space than the emerging

retinue. Placed on the same level as the figures in the print, the viewer enjoys a participatory role in Hiroshige's prints.

The daimyo's procession gave visibility to Tokugawa authority and became part of the regular cycle of yearly events for people living in castle towns, local domains, and Edo itself.⁶ People of the non-samurai status along the road were required to show respect when encountering the frequent daimyo processions, as shown in Hiroshige II's print, but they also enjoyed witnessing the theatrical movements of the entourage as a sort of cultural performance. As a result, the depiction of the daimyo's procession gained popularity. In Hiroshige's series, several prints depict this impressive yearly procession, such as number 2, *Shinagawa: Departure of the Daimyo* (fig. 4), number 23, *Shimada: The Suruga Bank of the Oi River* (fig. 5), and number 48, *Seki: Early Departure from the Main Camp* (fig. 6). The commoners' increasing fascination with the procession aided the production of more such prints. In the early 1830s, Hiroshige's depiction was an immediate response to contemporary cultural norms.

The Tenpō Crisis

Hiroshige passed the burden of being a fire warden to his son in 1828, so that he could devote himself to print design full-time as commissions increased in the 1830s.⁷

Unfortunately, Hiroshige's productive years coincided with consecutive crises during the Tenpō era (December 1830–December 1844). First, a period of famine and agricultural crisis joined with economic distress from 1832 to 1838 took many lives in the rural area, fundamentally affecting the social and economic base of the country. Struggling rural people could not simply run off to another domain because it was a risky choice in legal terms and they could be punished.⁸ Second, the agricultural and economic crises triggered rebellions against the wealthy. In response to the unequal commercial regulations, poor peasants and rural traders became angry with their privileged urban rivals. Successful traders and their warehouses were more likely to be looted and attacked. Although the crises did not substantially affect Hiroshige's artistic career, it led the Tokugawa government to seize more control over Edo's citizens. Yet, surprisingly, he was at his creative peak during the turmoil.⁹

In response to the unhealthy mercantile environment, the government aimed to cultivate a moral base for traders. The government praised austerity and glory, and condemned the luxurious lifestyle as a way to maintain the Neo-Confucian hierarchy of samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants, a long-established social division challenged by the rising wealthy merchant class. The government's moral persuasion led to additional censorship laws on the print industry.¹⁰ Aiming to maintain the morality of Edo society, the government advocated integrity, honor, and virtue, and as

a result, officials required the print industry to choose themes that were more in line with the nature of austerity and virtue. As a commodity, woodblock prints had substantially benefited from the vitality of the market, so most publishers complied with the Tenpō-era moral standards.

Increasing numbers of landscape prints and warrior prints appeared in the market as prints depicting the decadent and luxurious world of entertainment were banned. The former, as the government regarded, fit the advocated morality, and the latter, featuring Kabuki actors and courtesans, were banned because they symbolized the merchant class's "moral degeneration" that had directly led to the growing wealth gap and national crises.¹¹ Morality had been a controversial topic already in the second half of the eighteenth century. Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), one of the most noted scholars who followed the Neo-Confucian tradition in the Edo period, lamented: "People buy useless things that they should not buy, and do useless things that they should not do, so they naturally become practiced in extravagance, which becomes the cause of impoverishment."¹² In Hiroshige's time, the adherents of Norinaga's view continued to politicize his idea as the government tightened regulations on any conspicuous display of wealth and extravagance.

Upgrading the Appearance

Against the political and cultural backdrop of the Tenpō era, the differences observed in the two prints depicting Nihonbashi become revealing of the period. In both versions, Hiroshige places the viewer as directly facing Nihonbashi to allow full visual access to the figures in the foreground, to the horizon, and to the landscape of Edo in the background, through which emerge the first few figures in the daimyo procession. The perspective allows viewers to see just enough of the long procession so that they can imagine the impending arrival of the large entourage in the next moment.

In the second version of the print, a group of Edo residents occupies the center of the road after the bridge, leaving little space between the daimyo's retainers and themselves. Yawning and turning their heads to look at the rest of the crowd, the group of four figures dressed in white on the left side of the bridge expresses boredom and indifference to the upcoming arrival of the daimyo. Moving to the right, the crowds become more dynamic. Many figures stand in each other's way and do not seem to be bothered by the procession looming behind them. Many have their mouths open, conversing and yelling, creating a rowdiness that further energizes the picture. One man places a bamboo tray filled with fish on his head, identifying him as a fishmonger. Another figure carries piles of flowering buds, perhaps selling them as decorations. The Nihonbashi



Fig. 4. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Shinagawa: Departure of the Daimyo*, from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9½ x 14½ in. (25.2 x 37.5 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago. Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1925.3499.



Fig. 5. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Shimada: The Suruga Bank of the Oi River*, from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9½ x 14¾ in. (24.2 x 36 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago. Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1925.3526.



Fig. 6. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Seki: Early Departure from the Main Camp*, from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9½ x 14¾ in. (24.2 x 36 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago. Clarence Buckingham Collection, 1925.3555.

area was known for its thriving fish market. Always bustling with vendors of various goods, the bridge had become Edo citizens' public square, symbolizing the vitality of the capital.¹³ In the second version of Hiroshige's depiction of Nihonbashi, he shows the lively market scene despite the impending arrival of the daimyo's procession that would soon disperse the crowd. Curiously, the print features a man who stays out of the crowd in the right corner by the wooden gate. Veiling himself with a bamboo hat, he holds a tiny sketchbook. To his right appears Hiroshige's signature.

By comparison, the earlier version of the print lacks the rowdy crowd and the opposing dynamic between the daimyo's procession and the Edo vendors. The few figures in the foreground are already alert to the arriving procession as they begin to move away from the center of the road. Such a depiction conveys the unease of the vendors with the government's interference in the marketplace. Meanwhile, the decreased number suggests the moral impact on the vitality of the market. The first version of *Morning View of Nihonbashi* depicts the daimyo procession's departure from Edo in the early morning. The wooden gate is half-open toward the viewer. The early departure and arrival at Edo was the perfect time for the citizens to witness the impressive procession.

The second version takes away the phrase "morning view" from the title and renders a different time of the day. Hiroshige achieved the different temporal effect through color gradations.¹⁴ In the first version, the print depicts a band of blue underneath the top edge of the picture,

suggesting the fading of the night sky at dawn. The later version features a dusky view rendered in ocher underneath the frame and a band of light Berlin blue in the horizon. The warm and cool colors simulate the balanced-light effect of dusk.¹⁵ As nighttime approaches, people stop their day jobs at the waterfront and start to enjoy entertaining activities in the neighborhood. The fish vendors do not seem happy, as they have not sold the daily catch. Hiroshige's composition highlights their unwillingness to clear the passage for the daimyo procession. While it might have been risky to portray the Edo citizens as indifferent to the arrival of the regional feudal lord, Hiroshige rendered a lively market scene giving space to the commoners.

Besides the difference in the liveliness of the public square, the color scheme in the second version varies notably. The first version includes black, purple, blue, cyan, and green, joined with yellow, ocher, and shell white, thus requiring eight color blocks. The second version only contains seven, more muted colors. It is possible that the Tokugawa government's policy on the print industry contributed to the visual differences in Hiroshige's designs. In conclusion, *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* series built up Hiroshige's later fame despite the Tenpō crisis. Without dramatically altering the design, the second version of the Nihonbashi print visualizes the idealized bustling mercantile scene at the expense of the commoners' ignorance of the arriving procession. The timely image must have soothed the citizens' anxiety amid the Tenpō crisis.

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- 1 Jordan Sand, "Conclusion: History and Memory in a City without Monuments," in *Tokyo Vernacular: Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 145.
 - 2 Matthi Forrer, *Hiroshige: Prints and Drawings* (Munich: Prestel, 1997), 12.
 - 3 Forrer, *Hiroshige*, 37.
 - 4 Constantine N. Vaporis, "Lordly Pageantry: The Daimyo Procession and Political Authority," *Japan Review* 17 (2005): 3–54.
 - 5 Vaporis, "Lordly Pageantry," 20.
 - 6 Vaporis, "Lordly Pageantry," 10.
 - 7 Forrer, *Hiroshige*, 12.
 - 8 Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 31.
 - 9 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 31.
 - 10 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 43.
 - 11 Sarah E. Thompson and Harry Harootunian, *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints* (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1991), 76.
 - 12 Peter Flueckiger, *Imagining Harmony: Poetry, Empathy and Community in Mid-Tokugawa Confucianism and Nativism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 201.
 - 13 Jinnai Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, trans. Kimiko Nishimura (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 78.
 - 14 Clare Pollard and Mitsuko Ito Watanabe, *Hiroshige—Landscape, Cityscape: Woodblock Prints in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2014), 23–31.
 - 15 Arthur Davison Ficke, *Chats on Japanese Prints* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1915), 375–82.

Cece Witherspoon

Japan created a miracle in the Meiji period (1868–1912). Over a span of four decades, the country successfully transformed from a decentralized feudal society with a closed-country policy to a Westernized nation open for international trade. In 1853, the US Navy, led by Commodore Matthew Perry, invaded the beaches of Edo Bay with a clear demand: “Agree to trade in peace, or suffer the consequences in war.”¹ Aware of the military superiority of Western imperialist powers, the Tokugawa shogunate had no choice but to open the ports and sign unequal treaties. Generating a semi-colonial status due to political and economic agreements, these treaties presented Japan as legally subordinate to the foreign authorities. The fear of becoming colonized by Western nations, a situation witnessed in China by Japanese leaders, compelled Japan to quickly modernize. The oppressive relationship with Western governments did not discourage the Japanese populace. The country quickly undertook bold initiatives to centralize political authority and create a strong, modern nation-state.²

In desperate need of strengthening the nation, the Japanese government quickly adopted and enforced Western-style infrastructure, urban planning, architecture, technology, education, healthcare, and social customs. In 1868, the

Charter Oath (also known as the Five-Article Oath), issued in Emperor Meiji’s name, declared new proposals of reform. The fourth and fifth rulings are important to mention in the context of this essay, as they declare that:

4. Evil practices of the past shall be abandoned, and actions shall be based on international usage.
5. Knowledge shall be sought all over the world, and the foundations of Imperial rule shall be strengthened.³

Japanese government officials feared that old social habits, traditional timber-frame architecture, and the general appearance of the Japanese populace would be perceived as backward and unsophisticated when measured against Western standards.⁴ These articles express an attitude of reformation influenced by Western ideals and customs that informed the dramatic social changes imposed by the new imperial government in the early years of the Meiji period. New architectural structures in Japan’s major cities now resembled buildings found in Europe. The construction of Western-style buildings served to convince international and domestic audiences that

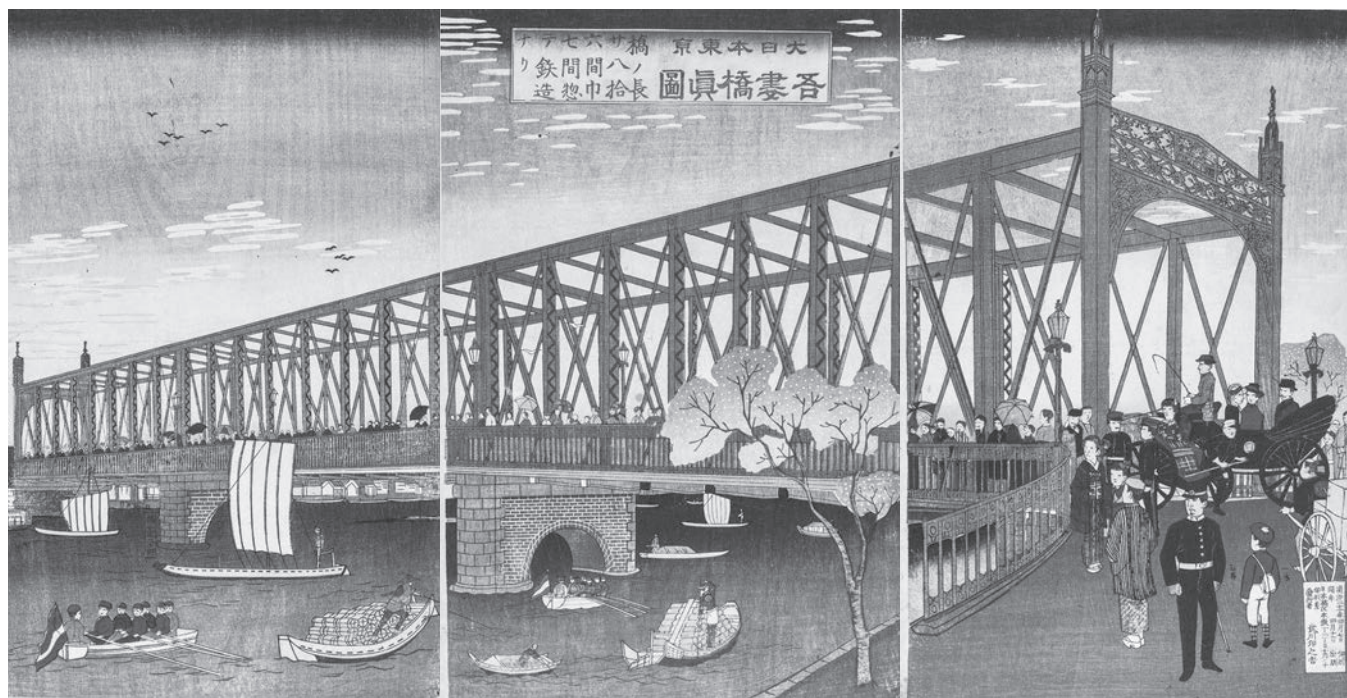


Fig. 1. Artist Unknown, *Opening of the New Azuma Bridge in Tokyo, 1888*, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 14½ x 29 in. (36.8 x 73.7 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.5a–c (cat. 15).



Fig. 2. Utagawa Hiroshige III (1843–1894), *The Grand Opening of Kawarazaki-za Theater*, 1874, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 14¼ x 28½ in. (36.2 x 71.4 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.6a–c (cat. 14).

Japan had achieved equal status, at least superficially, with European imperialist powers.⁵ The Japanese quickly began to collect knowledge of the West and accumulate modern objects, technologies, and systems symbolizing *bummei kaika*, or “civilization and enlightenment.”

Woodblock prints from the Meiji period are often denounced as “vulgar, coarse, and unworthy of serious consideration.”⁶ When the Edo-Meiji transition occurred, the print medium, intimately linked to the culture of Edo, struggled to stay relevant. Imported modern mediums, such as photography and lithography, proposed challenges and threatened the survival of the woodblock print medium. Despite the competition posed by these new reproductive mediums, prints not only survived but thrived as artists quickly adapted the Edo medium to visualize the new period’s dramatic cultural changes with new pictorial strategies. Such visual strategies include switching from the traditional *ōban* format to triptychs in order to create visual panoramas of new innovations, incorporating Western perspective to showcase knowledge of European art, and using a bold color palette of newly imported synthetic pigments. Prints thus converted new public spaces into visual spectacles filled with symbols of progress. By doing so, they visualized Meiji Japan as a powerful, sophisticated, intellectual, and modern nation-state. Two prints in the Trout Gallery’s collection, *Opening of the New Azuma Bridge in Tokyo* (fig. 1) and *The Grand Opening of Kawarazaki-za Theater* (fig. 2), exemplify the sort of visual spectacles created in woodblock prints from this period.

The Spectacle of Visual Culture

The ideology of visual culture is essential to understanding how Meiji artists transformed the woodblock print medium into composed visual spectacles to reflect the modern period. Charles R. Garoian and Yvonne M. Gaudelius explore the ideology of visual culture in our past, present, and future society as a “spectacle pedagogy.”⁷ This idea focuses on images as teaching tools that guide one’s behaviors, thoughts, and sights, and are thus responsible for the ways in which we socialize with others. Since the advent of photography, our world has been immersed in visual culture through television, films, the Internet, social media, advertisements, and other forms of commercial production. Therefore, given that our world is always subject to images, we understand the impact these images have on societies and social behaviors through the manifestation of spectacles.⁸

Many have attempted to properly characterize the idea of visual culture as spectacle pedagogy. According to the cultural critic Guy Debord, visual culture “is not a collection of images; rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images.”⁹ The spectacle pedagogy of visual culture can also be understood as a form of signs in images that establish the enlightening intentions of mass-mediated culture, corporations, and governments to fabricate desires and govern behaviors. Incorporating such contrived symbols into images is, in fact, the objective of the Meiji print artists. Exemplifying the idea of visual culture as spectacle pedagogy, Meiji prints are idealized images of reality aiming to inform Japanese and Western observers of a “civilized and enlightened” country.

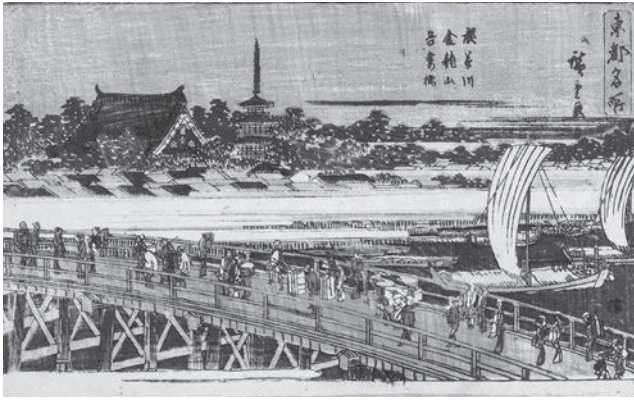


Fig. 3. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *The Asakusa River, Kinryūzan Temple, and Azuma Bridge*, from the series *Famous Places in the Eastern Capital*, 1843–47, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (19.4 x 31.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.4 (cat. 5).

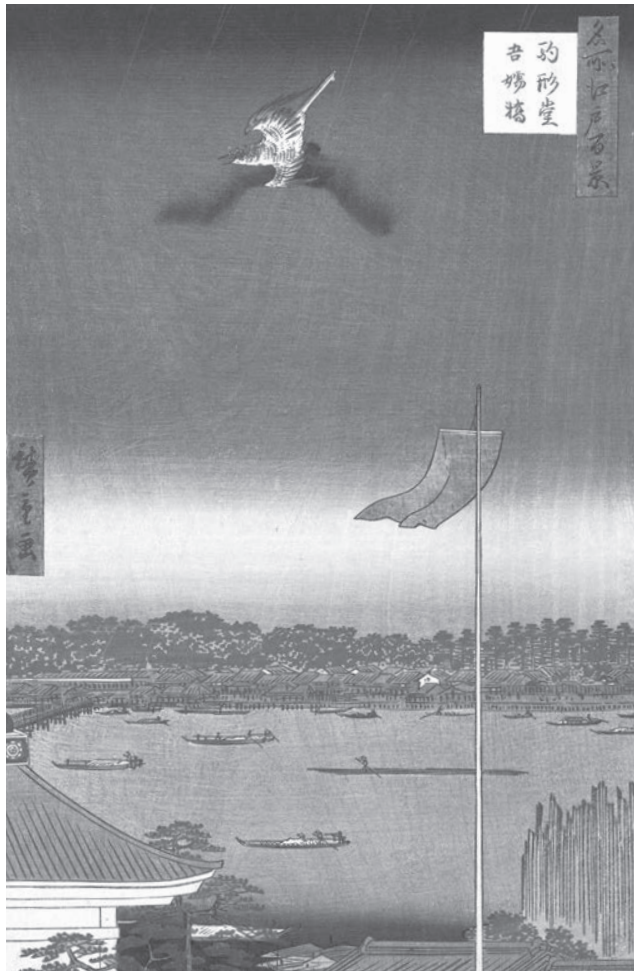


Fig. 4. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Azuma Bridge from Komagatadō Temple*, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1857, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (34 x 22.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Estate of Samuel Isham, 1914, JP1023.

The Opening of the New Azuma Bridge in Tokyo

Opening of the New Azuma Bridge in Tokyo from 1888 depicts the inauguration of the Azuma Bridge in the Asakusa district during the peak of Meiji restoration (fig.1). The designer worked with traditional Japanese woodblock printing techniques such as color gradation and wood graining, as seen in the sky. The protagonist of this panoramic triptych is the steel-made Azuma Bridge stretching over the Sumida River, as its impressive size spans across the length of three prints. The bridge recedes into space diagonally, creating a sense of lateral expanse. The deep recession of the bridge reflects the designer's knowledge of Western perspective. By incorporating Western perspective into this print, the designer unifies traditional Japanese woodblock techniques with European visual habits. A group of pedestrians on the right walk into the edge of the print in Victorian-style dresses, while others ride onto the bridge in an elegant horse-drawn carriage. Behind them, a figure vigorously wheels a rickshaw onto the bridge while a man in Western-style military uniform stands on the bank of the river with several other pedestrians around him wearing Japanese kimonos. These figures represent the different demographics of people experiencing the opening of the new bridge. Clusters of heads and umbrellas on the bridge indicating the heavy foot traffic convey the steel bridge's superior weight capacity. Below the bridge, figures on boats travel up and down the river through the multiple large arches. The designer incorporates cherry blossoms to brighten up the palette and to create a contrast with the formidable man-made structure.

One only has to compare the print with one of Hiroshige's depictions of the same bridge from the Edo period (1603–1868) to realize the dramatic advancements in the construction of new urban infrastructure. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) depicts the Azuma Bridge as it appeared forty years earlier in *The Asakusa River, Kinryūzan Temple, and Azuma Bridge* from 1843–47 (fig. 3). The wooden bridge in this print is much smaller in contrast to the large scale of the bridge in the Meiji print. Only a few small groups of people travel across the bridge. Hiroshige depicts the old bridge with numerous wooden foundational pillars supporting the structure from underneath, creating narrow canals that only allow for the passage of small boats. The Meiji print, by contrast, depicts the bridge supported by two girders, thus creating large canals for mass transportation of goods and more opportunities for leisure boating. The print renders the new Azuma Bridge, therefore, as a symbol of Japan's power as a modern nation by visualizing the country's adoption of the latest Western bridge engineering and urban planning.

Meisho, translated as "a place with a name" is a major genre in Japanese pictorial art. Notable places, shrines, and temples linked to literature or religion acquire such *meisho*

status.¹⁰ Some famous Edo sites experienced dramatic transformation in the Meiji period regarding their physical appearance and significance. The Azuma Bridge was a famous place in the Edo period because it provided pedestrians a passage to travel to the famous Komagatadō Temple, an ancient Buddhist site dedicated to the bodhisattva Kannon. Another of Hiroshige's prints, *Azuma Bridge from Komagatadō Temple* (fig. 4), from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (1843–47), also depicts the scene from an elevated perspective, allowing the viewer to glimpse the flanking riverbanks. In both prints by Hiroshige, the Azuma Bridge serves as a linkage of the major sites along either side of the Sumida River.

The Azuma Bridge was the first bridge rebuilt with industrialized material on the Sumida River in the Meiji period. The bridge's fame, therefore, changed from serving as the passageway between two main city districts to a destination in its own right due to its impressive new structure. In the Meiji print (fig. 1), the artist skillfully uses Western perspective not only to allow the viewer visual access to this inaugural event, but also to grant physical access to the scene as he places the viewer onto the path leading to the bridge. The print thus renders a visual spectacle by allowing the viewer to visually and physically participate in the celebration of the reopening.

By enhancing the composition with the inclusion of additional fanciful details embodying Japan's catchphrase of the time, "civilization and enlightenment," Meiji print artists recharged the interest of tourists and of the general populace in woodblock prints, and increased sales.¹¹ For example, a photograph of the Azuma Bridge reveals the differences between the print and the actual bridge (fig. 5). Compared with the print, the photograph shows Japanese pedestrians, some pulling rickshaws, walking on and off the bridge in kimonos and clogs. The lack of figures in Western-style dresses riding across the bridge in horse-drawn carriages, as illustrated in the Meiji print, suggests that the main users of the bridge were not carriages, stylish upper-class citizens, or foreigners, but instead the common Japanese populace. The numerous boats on the Sumida River and the strategically placed cherry trees illustrated in the print likewise do not appear in the photograph. The print idealizes the setting by inserting modern Western technology, such as gas lamps and carriages, and more diverse figures that could not have possibly gathered on the bridge at the same time. Traffic in reality was sparse, consisting mostly of pedestrians as opposed to the horse-drawn carriages seen in the print. The inclusion of the embellished details creates a romanticized image of the new infrastructure, something that would be difficult for photography to render due to its high reality index. Woodblock prints allowed artists to manipulate reality and create a more desirable image for Japanese citizens.



Fig. 5. *The Azuma Bridge*, from the photo album *Tabi no Iezuto 29* (Kobe: Mitsumura Shashinbu, 1902). National Diet Library, Tokyo, DOI 10.11501/762246.

The Grand Opening of Kowarazaki-za Kabuki Theater

If the picturesque Azuma Bridge provided a daytime spectacle for Tokyo residents, the Kowarazaki Kabuki theater was the center of marvel at night. Kabuki theaters originated in the Edo period, and the performances were popular among commoners.¹² Paintings on folding screens, panels, scrolls, and illustrated guidebooks offer images of actors, Kabuki performances, the chaotic reactions of the audience, and often the interior and exterior of the theaters.¹³ The print *Interior View of the Kabuki Theater Kowarazaki-za* by Utagawa Toyokuni I (1769–1825) from 1803 depicts the distinctive elements in Kabuki performances (fig. 6). Young men and female impersonators performed in cross-dressed roles, and often also worked as prostitutes; dance and musical routines served as the basis of these theatrical performances rather than drama; members from different social classes would mingle in the audience (including the attendance of Westerners later in Kabuki's history); and the integration of the audience with the performers was an integral component of these performances.¹⁴ The print depicts members of the audience sitting on the floor, screaming, laughing, and in the midst of conversation, while others eat during the performance. Prints like this illustrate Kabuki's rowdy and social nature attracting mainly commoners. The theatrical art's vulgar reputation was compounded by its connection to immorality and prostitution.¹⁵ In the Meiji period, woodblock prints continued to depict Kabuki performances after they were restructured by new censorship laws.

The Meiji leaders worried immensely about Western disapproval and criticism of elements in Japanese society. Between 1871 and 1873, Meiji officials traveled to Europe and the United States on a "fact-finding mission" known as the Iwakura Mission.¹⁶ The government-organized mission to the West allowed Japanese representatives to study Western

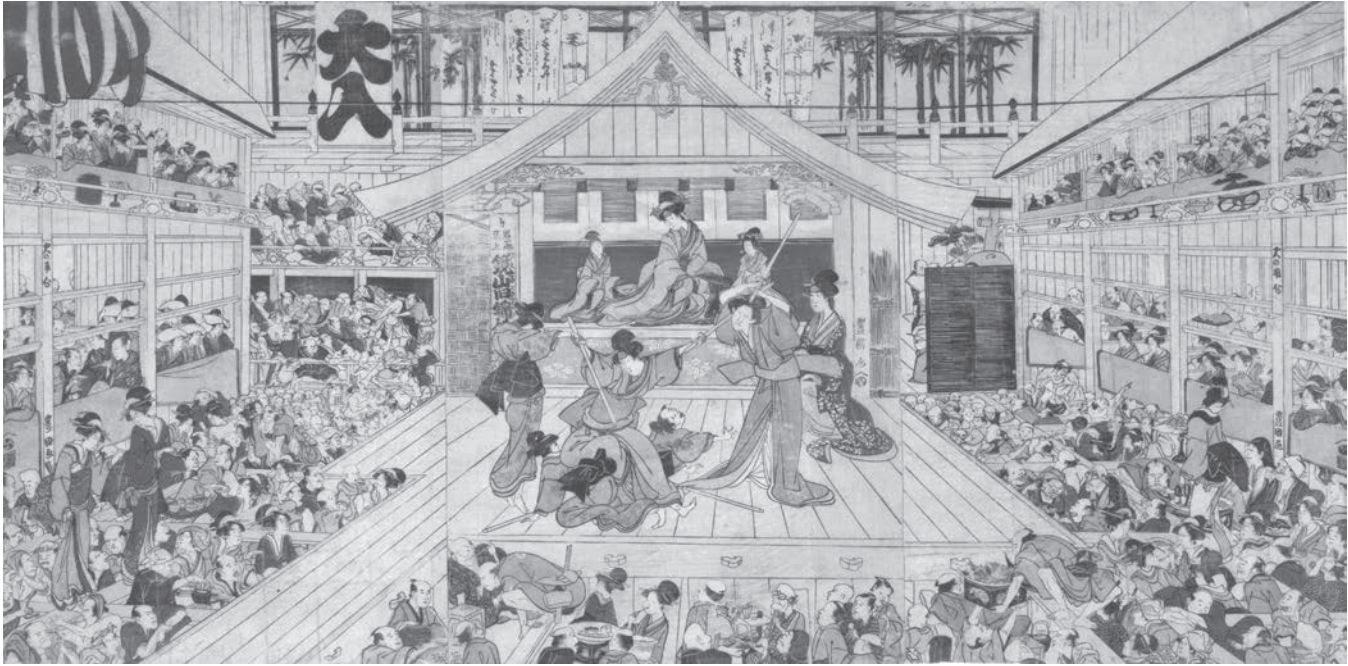


Fig. 6. Utagawa Toyokuni I (1769–1825), *Interior View of the Kabuki Theater Kawarazaki-za*, ca. 1800–1803, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 29 15/16 in. (37.8 x 76 cm). Brooklyn Museum, New York. Asian Art Collection, X1119.3a–c.

culture firsthand and collect information on “civilized and enlightened” societies. Kido Kōin (1833–1877), one of the leaders of the Iwakura Mission, recorded in his diary the “astonishing” and “magnificent” accomplishments of Western architecture, education, and industry that he observed while traveling in the United States and Europe in 1872.¹⁷

Western theater was one of the main cultural components that contributed to the Japanese officials’ appreciation of Western culture. Set in splendid concert halls found in the center of major cities, theater and opera shows were attended by members of high society who embraced a culture of refinement and intelligence. The Japanese officials were struck by the important social function of Western theatrical performances.¹⁸ The Meiji government was thus determined to transform the nation’s Kabuki theater from a vulgar, dingy performance to an “enlightened” cultural outing that would be on a par with Western theater.¹⁹

Beginning in 1872, the government implemented reforms and censorship laws through a series of edicts to prevent Kabuki from creating the image of a backward and irrational Japan. One such transformative approach was the strict separation between Kabuki and prostitution that was crucial for Kabuki to enter good society.²⁰ The goal of these measures was to inherently elevate the status of Kabuki and encourage middle- and upper-class attendance at the performances. More conspicuously, the government rebuilt Kabuki theaters into Western-style halls and organized opening ceremonies for these renovated theaters. The imposing new masonry buildings and such inaugural

celebrations reinvented Kabuki to match, at least superficially, the Western model of theater.

The Grand Opening of Kawarazaki-za Theater, designed by Utagawa Hiroshige III (1843–1894) in 1874, perfectly illustrates one of these newly constructed Kabuki theaters in Tokyo’s Shinbori-cho district (fig. 2). The expansive triptych depicts the celebration of the official reopening of the Kawarazaki Theater destroyed in the 1855 Ansei earthquake. The building emulates grand European-style architecture with its fireproof stone structure, slate roof, and glass and cast-iron windows spanning the three prints. The printer uses different colors for the windows, such as dark turquoise and light blue, to suggest the illumination coming from modern gas lamps in the newly built theater. A massive processional crowd outside parades the famous actors among them. Some actors are easily recognizable due to their distinct facial features and elaborate makeup. The actors wear distinctively different kimonos in comparison to the townsmen. The famous Kabuki actor Kawarazaki Sanshō is identifiable in the crowd in the central panel of the triptych. The print *Clearing Weather at Akabane: Actor Kawarazaki Sanshō as Katabami no Saekichi*, by Toyohara Kunichika (1835–1900), from the series *Eight Views of Edo* of 1868, serves as visual evidence to identify the famous actor at his home theater in the Meiji print (fig. 7). The print is not only a celebration of the newly built Kawarazaki Theater, but also the occasion of Kawarazaki Sanshō’s taking of the Ichikawa Danjūrō IX title, thereby joining the prestigious Ichikawa Danjūrō lineage of Kabuki actors.

In the foreground of the triptych, an audience of men and women dressed in both traditional Japanese and Western-style clothes gathers on either side of the road, observing this grand procession. Additional Japanese citizens look down in excitement onto the parade from the balconies of the theater in the background. The boulevard in front of the theater is transformed from a public space into a stage from which to admire both the actors and the grand building. The observers serve as surrogates for the viewers of the print, who can vicariously participate in the celebration through the triptych.

In comparison, Utagawa Hiroshige depicts the same theater as it appeared in the last decade of the Edo period in his triptych *The Kawarazaki Theater*, from the series *Pictures of Prosperity in the Eastern Capital* of 1854, a year before the Ansei earthquake devastated Tokyo (fig. 8). This triptych offers an aerial view of the theater and the crowded street during the peak season of Kabuki performances. It provides much information regarding the transformation of the theater's architectural style. The lack of solid walls and the use of sliding doors suggest the casual atmosphere of Kabuki theater in the Edo period. Pedestrians and citizens of all social classes could learn about and attend the theater directly from the street. The traditional timber-frame building also allowed one to see the interior of the theater. By contrast, *The Grand Opening of Kawarazaki-za Theater* presents the theater as inaccessible to pedestrians. The building's white brick façade, large French windows, and pillared balconies appear rather imposing and unsuitable for the noisy crowd parading in front of it.



Fig. 7. Toyohara Kunichika (1835–1900), *Clearing Weather at Akabane: Actor Kawarazaki Sanshō as Katabami no Saekichi*, from the series *Eight Views of Edo*, 1868, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (36 x 24.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, 11.40505.



Fig. 8. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *The Kawarazaki Theater*, from the series *Pictures of Prosperity in the Eastern Capital*, 1854, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (37.2 x 74 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, 11.27067–9.

No photograph of the Kawarazaki-za Theater survives, but a photograph of the famous entertainment hall for the Foreign Ministry, the Rokumei-kan, captures a similar building of the period intended to entertain foreigners, specifically Western diplomats (fig. 9). The number of Western visitors had increased since the opening of the country, and the need to impress them became a priority for the Japanese government. The Rokumei-kan provided a space for Japanese representatives to practice Western social skills, such as giving toasts, speaking foreign languages, smoking cigars, and ballroom dancing, and therefore this building was a place to charm foreign officials and demonstrate Japan's modernization.²¹

A building's architectural style can play a major role in expressing a community's civic values and morals. The Japanese thus sought to create an idealized modern image of Japan by introducing architectural styles imported from Europe in the major cities.²² The hope was to create a new sense of national pride by embracing Western architectural

types. Jonathan M. Reynolds defines architecture as “a field that combines a thirst for new technology with the mastery of forms richly imbued with cultural values.”²³ In the case of the country's Kabuki theater, the emulation of Western architectural style visibly transformed Kabuki into an art equivalent to Western opera. With regard to infrastructure, the Azuma Bridge served a similar function of communicating to the populace the cultural value of Meiji Japan.

Utilizing both traditional and newly imported techniques, the Meiji print artists embellished Western-style structures with superfluous details of crowds, vibrant unrealistic colors, and the large triptych format. As such, they created an idealized image of the modern nation-state that would appeal to the masses, and perhaps even educate the populace in rural areas about the country's progress. *The Grand Opening of Kawarazaki-za Theater* and *Opening of the New Azuma Bridge in Tokyo* are thus examples of “spectacle pedagogies” that took on the responsibility to inform the Japanese of Westernization in an idealized manner.



Fig. 9. *The Rokumei-kan Club*, from the photo album *Tokyo Keshiki Shashinban* (Tokyo: Egi Shoten, 1893). National Diet Library, Tokyo, DOI 10.11501/764109.

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Mustaches, Sideburns, and Fur: Kobayashi Kiyochika's Depiction of the First Sino-Japanese War

Mary Emma Heald

On a cold dawn in October 1894, the Second Japanese Army, led by Lieutenant-General Yamaji Motoharu, landed on the Jinzhou Peninsula in China's Liaodong Province and prepared for an impending assault on enemy troops. The battle would later end in a crucial victory for Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), solidifying the nation's status as a force to be reckoned with in the modern world. Taking inspiration from the remarkable quickness of the Japanese army's glorious victory, the artist Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915) transforms the grim reality of war into a brooding reflection, depicting a rare moment of inaction on the beaches of an upcoming conquest. In commemoration of Japan's decisive victory over China, Kiyochika chooses to depict not the victorious moment in the heat and glory of battle, but rather a contemplative pre-battle moment focusing on the strategic and sophisticated operation guided by these Westernized leaders. In doing so, Kiyochika offers his audience a psychic, individualized image of the war that allows the physical and sartorial features—mustaches, sideburns, and fur—to serve as markers of a culturally and racially superior Japan.

Capturing this unexpected pre-battle moment, Kiyochika's *Lieutenant-General Yamaji Leads the Second*

Japanese Army on Landing on the Jinzhou Peninsula (Liaodong) illustrates a moment frozen in time as the lieutenant-general and his troops approach the shore in frigid waters (fig. 1). The presence of tidy uniforms and composed commanders romanticizes the otherwise gory bloodshed and urgency for survival in war. The print depicts three figures looming large in the foreground, awaiting the troops under their command, which materialize from the background fog. An embodiment of Japan's newly established military prowess, the central man, identified as the great lieutenant-general Yamaji, dons a distinguished red-sashed hat as an indicator of his status—also marked by the stoicism of his stature. On his left stands another authoritative man, hunched over to get a closer look at his approaching troops. In lieu of the more practical firearms, both figures carry ornate swords with bejeweled, gilded handles. Kiyochika dresses the men in glossy black boots and fur-lined coats featuring a double-breasted design adorned in shiny gold buttons, presenting these military officials as regally confident in their Western-inspired attire. More importantly, both men sport dramatic sideburns and mustaches as symbols of their sophistication and masculinity. Facial hair, as it turns out, was crucial during the period in visualizing modernization and Westernization. The brooding



Fig. 1. Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915), *Lieutenant-General Yamaji Leads the Japanese Second Army on Landing on the Jinzhou Peninsula (Liaodong)*, 1894, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in (36 x 75 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.9a–c (cat. 16).

moment Kiyochika chose to depict allows the appearance of Japan's military leaders to impress the viewer.

Mustaches, sideburns, and uniforms may seem uncommon as symbols of Japan's modernization. Kiyochika's rendering of such details is especially important within the historical and political context surrounding the events of the late nineteenth century in Japan. To fully understand the significance of such physical and sartorial emphasis, we must first look into the politics of the Meiji period (1868–1912), the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War, and the life of Kobayashi Kiyochika.

Meiji's Path Toward War

Commodore Matthew Perry of the US Navy landed in Edo Bay in July 1853, carrying a message imploring Japan to trade in peace with the Western powers or to suffer the carnage of war. Under the Tokugawa regime (1603–1868), Japan hid behind closed doors to prevent unwelcome European influences from entering the country, only allowing Dutch and Chinese merchants to trade in the port of Nagasaki. Created in the wake of Commodore Perry's imposition, the 1854 Treaty of Kanagawa opened eight ports of trade and allowed the Western powers of the United States, France, Britain, and Russia each to station a consul.¹ The forced opening of Japan's ports to the West made a crucial economic and political impact, spurring the subsequent collapse of the Tokugawa rule and establishment of the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

These unequal treaties of trade were the closest Japan came to being colonized in its history. The threat of the imperialist powers of the West inspired a new urgency in Japan for modernization—without it, the nation could have succumbed to a drastically different fate. Transitions of power proved difficult. Newly established international trade caused the sharp inflation of goods, which drove many Japanese producers out of business. The people responded to increasing prices with violent protests against the Tokugawa government, providing further reason for its eventual downfall.² The Meiji government was oligarchical in nature, placing all the power within the cabinet and creating a Westernized front, but not exactly a democratic country in essence.³

The oligarchy also restored the young Meiji emperor in 1868. Reforms implemented by the new government included the establishment of a national education system to promote literacy equally among the people, the creation of a cash-based tax system, encouragement of industrialization in the form of more sophisticated textile production, and enforced conscription of the military forces.⁴ Aspiring to align Japan with the formidable Western imperialist powers through economic strength and military might, the Meiji reformers looked to the Prussians for the reinvention of Japan on constitutional and militaristic levels.



Fig. 2. Uchida Kuichi (1844–1875), *Mutsuhito, The Meiji Emperor*, 1872, albumen silver print from glass negative with applied color, 9⁷/₈ x 7¹/₁₆ in. (25.1 x 19.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, 1986.1064.1.

“Civilization and enlightenment” paired with another slogan “rich country, strong military” became the maxims of this period.⁵ In 1873, Japanese officials implemented universal military conscription, subsequently ending the samurai class. In 1878, the army was entirely reorganized to function as a regimented unit, designed to mirror the centralized command structure established in the Prussian military in the 1870s. China's military, by contrast, was far from unified: the Chinese army and navy were fractured by province, ethnicity, and training, each beholden to one command rather than to the Qing state. In Japan, the new centralized structure now included a training apparatus, complete with military academies and college. The collective knowledge of organization and routine allowed for a greater sense of unification. This training regimen was also extended to specialized schools in medicine, transport, and sanitation.⁶

Most importantly, the Japanese military transformed its physical appearance, opting to emulate the tailored uniforms worn by distinguished militaries of European imperialist powers. The Japanese military sought to foster respect abroad and inspire awe domestically by adopting Western-style uniforms. The Meiji government made decisions about the tailoring of their military uniforms based on information gathered by correspondents sent to investigate other countries around the world. Based on their observations, these correspondents suggested the tailored uniformity of clothing



Fig. 3. Yōshū (Hashimoto) Chikanobu (1838–1912), *A Mirror of Japanese Nobility: The Emperor Meiji, His Wife, and Prince Haru (Fuso koki kagami)*, 1887, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 29 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (37.2 x 74.1 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf Collection, 2000.548a–c.

in civilian life as well, specifically for members of the aristocracy and bureaucracy.⁷

In fact, an 1872 portrait of Emperor Meiji shows the young monarch dressed in a style similar to that of Napoleon III: a field marshal jacket ornamented in gold embroidery, complete with tassels hanging from the shoulder pads (fig. 2). It is said that Emperor Meiji rarely wore traditional Japanese clothing in public. Rather, he would wear this Napoleon-esque attire when outside his private quarters.⁸ The image of Western rule extended to the emperor's family—woodblock prints from the 1880s portrayed the imperial family as a modern European nuclear family with everything from clothing to material items in Western style. An 1887 print, *A Mirror of Japanese Nobility*, reflects the efforts of the Meiji government to adapt the lifestyle of powerful European nations with tailored clothing, Western bound books, and even the mustache, sideburn, and beard combination seen on the emperor (fig. 3).⁹ The empress's clothes conform to Western standards as well. Her ornamented dress buttons up at the chin and tapers at the waist, indicating the existence of a corset underneath.

Following the example set by the emperor, his court, and his family, the implementation of Western-style uniforms swept the nation. A version of the Prussian-inspired uniform of the Japanese military was distributed to male students as a boys' school uniform. Working men also began to wear Western-style suits to work every day.¹⁰ For the ruling male elite, wearing uniforms crystallized relationships between military might and modernity, empowering them through

displays of nationalist pageantry.¹¹ Women were relegated to bodices and corsets, a sign of a regimented and controlled body in contrast to the loose and flexible kimono. The new tailored appearance focused on controlling and modernizing the body for a greater sense of modern engagement.

Unlikely Symbols of Modernization

With the inclusion of fur on Lieutenant-General Yamaji's and his right-hand man's uniforms, Japan demonstrated its high regard for the nation's military leaders, presenting a front of security and confidence to people back home. Fur is a visible Westernized element of the print as it was not customary as an accessory in Japan, as it was in Europe. Practical for warmth in the chill of the Jinchou Peninsula, it was also a luxury utilized to promote Japan's prioritization for the welfare of its troops. Incorporated into the new, modern, tailored appearance of the navy uniform adorned with gold buttons, the luxurious fur flaunts the sheer amount of investment in the country's military.

To complete this Westernized and modernized appearance, men were encouraged to grow facial hair—more specifically, sideburns and mustaches. Even today, facial hair still represents masculinity.¹² For ancient Mesopotamian civilizations, the beard of a man was a symbol and essence of his personality and rank—no razor was permitted to touch Samson, chosen by God to lead Israel, and as long as his hair grew he was bestowed with unconquerable strength.¹³ In nineteenth-century Britain, whiskers and sideburns made their first prominent appearance with Baron Ferdinand de

Géramb, whose romantic reputation created a stylistic craze among young men and the military. A general in the Hungarian army, Géramb sported an enviable set of whiskers and the most-talked-about mustache in London, the reputation of which was compounded through fashion magazines and newspaper articles. Inspired by his example, impressive whiskers became ubiquitous with adventure and pride to British men. At the same time, beards and facial hair rose among athletic European and American men as physical proofs of virility.¹⁴ Athleticism could certainly be tied to the physical demand of war. In Meiji Japan, therefore, beards likewise helped men visibly establish their masculinity, and, by extension, their military prowess.

Echoing the symbolic strength of patriarchal and militarist machismo in Europe and America, the Japanese military channeled exaggerated beards, sideburns, and mustaches to visualize a strong, powerful military equal to that of the European race. A color lithograph in the Trout Gallery's collection, identified as one scene from the First Sino-Japanese War, *The Meiji Emperor atop a Hierarchy of Early East Asian Generals and Rulers* illustrates the emperor and his most distinguished military leaders, all in tailored uniforms as seen on the emperor in his previously discussed portrait (fig. 4). Almost all the men are decked out in outrageous facial hair—sitting at the top, the emperor himself dons a pointed beard and erect mustache, and, most notably, the man directly below him in the third row sports wild, unruly white sideburns alongside a lengthy mustache. An attractive alternative to the traditional woodblock print,

lithography was introduced in 1796, though it did not arrive to Japan until the 1870s, shortly before the date of this lithograph. To make a lithographic print, the design is drawn onto an aluminum or a limestone plate with grease crayons or a grease solution so that the ink adheres only to those lines drawn. The inked slab is then covered with a sheet of paper and run through a press. This method offers more freedom to the artist, allowing the designer to simply draw on the surface with the same fluency as that of a pencil or brush.

Photography also emerged in the Meiji period. Alongside lithography, the medium accompanied informational and narrative texts in newspapers and magazines. These cheaper and more efficient forms of image reproduction were enticing to the average Japanese customer, who could pick among a wide range of photographs, lithographs, illustrated magazines, or a set of postcards to spend his or her fifteen *sen*.¹⁵ However, prints retained the upper hand over photography as the First Sino-Japanese War broke out. Early photography allowed for little artistic freedom. Prints, on the other hand, gave the artist freedom to exaggerate and enhance an image; this enhancement was especially beneficial in Japan's emulation of European-styled uniforms and elaborate facial hair. As seen in *The Meiji Emperor atop a Hierarchy of Early East Asian Generals and Rulers*, these motifs projected an image of sophistication and power to international and domestic audiences. The men are consciously made to look European in an effort to emulate the sporty Western ideal of manliness.



Fig. 4. Artist Unknown, *The Meiji Emperor atop a Hierarchy of Early East Asian Generals and Rulers*, One of Eight Scenes from the First Sino-Japanese War, late nineteenth century, lithograph print, ink on paper, 20 x 26 in. (50.8 x 66 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. 2003.2.10.



Fig. 5. Utagawa Kokunimasa (Ryūa) (1874–1944), *Illustration of the Decapitation of Violent Chinese Soldiers*, 1894, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 x 28⁷/₁₆ in. (35.5 x 72.3 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf Collection, 2000.380.7a–c.

Clothing and facial hair symbolized the modernization of Japan not just on a cultural level, but also on a racial level. The rise in Japanese prestige in the aftermath of the war was a product of the ideologies of social Darwinism. Promoted by nineteenth-century philosopher Herbert Spencer, social Darwinism applied Darwin’s theory of natural selection to social and political issues throughout the world, establishing a racial hierarchy and the superiority of the Caucasian races of North America and Europe.¹⁶

“Survival of the fittest” and “struggle for existence” became key phrases for the Japanese public in their understanding of evolutionary theory. While Charles Darwin’s “survival of the fittest” applies to the biological process, “struggle for existence” implies a competition between peoples by way of eugenics. The increasing popularity of social Darwinism fueled an urgency in Japan to avoid the threat of colonization and dominance by Western colonial powers; the phrases “weak meat as nourishment for strong animals” and “the victory of the better and the defeat of the weaker” subsequently became ubiquitous in Japanese media.¹⁷ As for beards, one theory proposes that men’s hair has been a useful device in intimidating rival males and establishing dominance.¹⁸ It can be argued that the Meiji Restoration’s efforts were a result of social Darwinist thinking, as the Japanese military sought Western appearances in tailored uniforms and grooming habits.

While the prints of the time showcased Western styles on Japanese military figures, the First Sino-Japanese War set the stage for modern Japan’s first colonial expansion. In

1894, conflict arose between Japan and China concerning the state of their neighbor Korea. The Korean Peninsula stood, and still stands, as one of the most strategic locations in East Asia; both China and Japan wanted access for their own political agendas. Japan staked its claim for control of the Korean Peninsula to seize agricultural land, coal, and iron ore, as well as to safeguard Korea from threats of Western imperialism, a job Japan no longer entrusted to China.¹⁹

Japan’s victory sent shockwaves throughout the world. Upon the declaration of war, European nations of the West wrongly assumed China would be victorious by a long shot. The primary image of Japan, cultivated by world fairs and accounts of tourism, portrayed the country solely as a source of charming objects and quaint customs:²⁰

One used to look upon Japan as a kind of dolls’ house...where they had wooden images in gorgeous, medieval Oriental dresses, and wonderful miniature sets of every kind of curious furniture and utensils used in an odd country....The idea that Japan would ever be a factor in the world’s politics was too absurd to contemplate—their role was to be absurd, and supply the suburbs with cheap decorations.²¹

Prior to the war, foreigners deemed Japan a nation of exotic beauty, notable only for its collectible, ornamental objects and aesthetic decadence. The small island nation’s swift victory over China, however, tells another story. In the Battle of Pyongyang, the Chinese suffered casualties of 2,000

killed and around 4,000 wounded, while a mere 102 Japanese men were killed and 433 wounded.²² This stark contrast in loss was a recurring pattern in the First Sino-Japanese War, as Japan routinely lost a few hundred to China's thousands. This decisive victory resulted in the rise of Japanese prestige in the world.

Kiyochika and the Romanticization of War

Though Japan was ultimately victorious over China, representations of the two races in the media were misleading in their avoidance of the true violence committed by the Japanese army. Japan's media projected propagandistic images to domestic and international audiences, skimping on the more controversial actions of the army regarding the Chinese and Korean soldiers and civilians. This can be said especially for the reportage concerning the pivotal Battle of Port Arthur.

Prior to the war, newspapers in Japan were less popular. At the outbreak of war, however, the Japanese grasped for any bit of information they could get on every day's changing fortunes of war. Personal reports from newspaper correspondents on the battlefields elevated Japan to a position of superiority—over the living conditions found in Korea as well as impressions of Chinese soldiers—tying into the social Darwinist “struggle for existence.” Newspaper articles thus presented a backward image of China in comparison to Japan, commencing a campaign of propaganda pitting the Japanese

people against the enemy.²³ As the *Japan Weekly Mail* wrote of the declaration of war against China, the people greeted the conflict with “universal joy and enthusiasm,” as “the Japanese of the 1890s shared a deep sense of national unity, national pride, and national mission abroad.”²⁴

Sharing this approach, most domestic newspaper accounts of the Battle of Port Arthur shed a nationalistic, heroic light on the Japanese troops. Japanese reporters were required to carry official press passes and to be accompanied by military officers—any Japanese reporter who posed a threat to the established image of Japan's polished, well-behaved military was sent back home. Thus the Japanese media was heavily regulated.²⁵ Though the harbor of Port Arthur fell fairly easily, the fighting continued in the streets of the city for three more days. Now known as the Port Arthur Massacre, in those three days, Japanese soldiers sought to kill any hiding Chinese soldiers. One reporter submitted reports of the massacre of civilians to the paper *Jiji shimpō*: “I saw the remains of many who did not appear to have been combatants.... Throughout the city there were many who had met terrible deaths.”²⁶ The wording, however, does not make it explicit to the Japanese public reading the newspaper, and still pertains to the patriotic approach adopted by the media. Additionally, the Japanese press began calling the Chinese slurs: *chanchanbōzu* (“Buddhist priests in baby clothes”), *topi* (“pig-tail”) or *tonbikan* (“pig-tailed vagabonds”).²⁷ Foreign

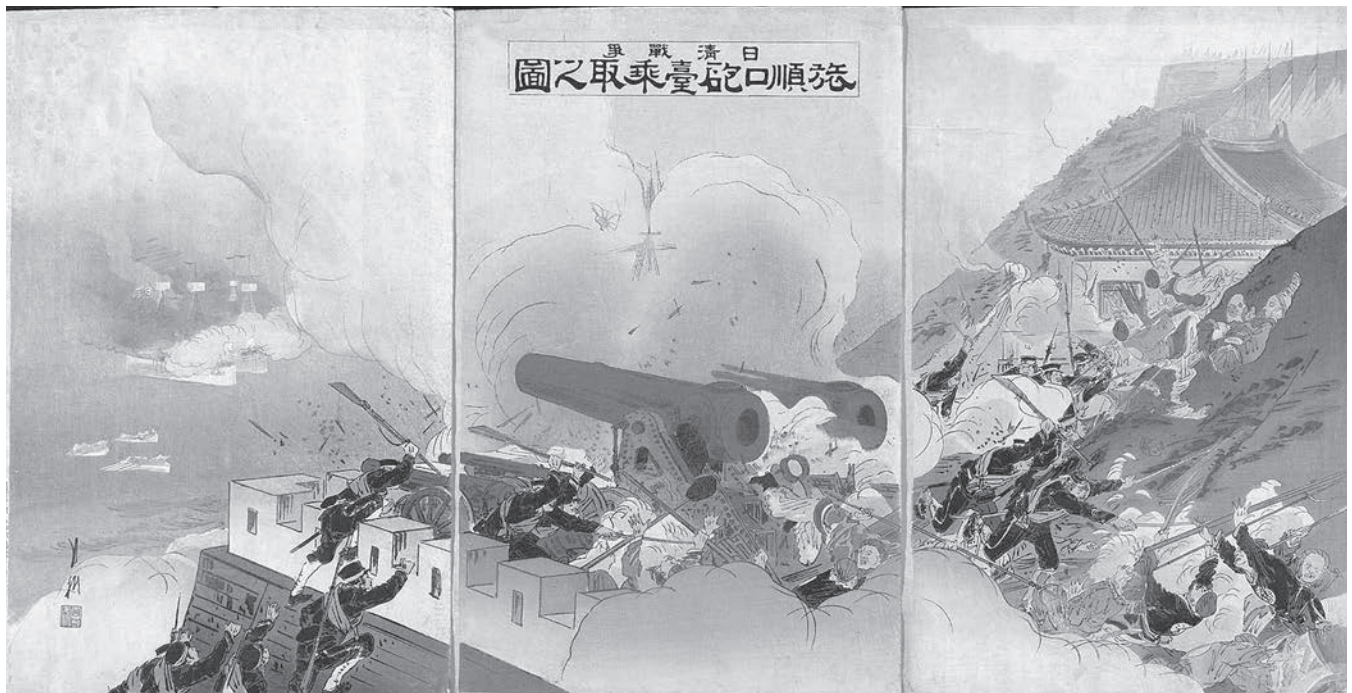


Fig. 6. Ogata Gekkō (1859–1920), *Sino-Japanese War: Illustration of the Occupation of the Battery at Port Arthur, 1894*, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (35.2 x 69.9 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.8.a–c (cat. 17).

reporters were not so evasive and vindictive. One correspondent for the New York daily newspaper *The World* sent reports of the massacre of an entire civilian population.²⁸

Illustration of the Decapitation of Violent Chinese Soldiers illustrates a frightful scene (fig. 5). Japanese military officers tower over the Chinese in their impeccable black and white uniforms, the executioner's arm swings up in action, and a cavalry officer surveys the scene in the top right corner. A trail of blood flows from the executioner's feet to the strewn-about heads of former Chinese soldiers in the foreground. A lengthy inscription at the top justifies the killing of Chinese soldiers as a means to display the justice and benevolence of the Japanese army posed against the undisciplined, rebellious captured Chinese. The text makes light of such a violent scene of destruction, explaining that the barbaric Chinese prisoners had attempted to attack their guards, and punishment by decapitation served as a proper warning to such behavior. The atrocities shown in this image, however, align Japan with the Western imperialists of the time, who also would have portrayed their brutality of conquered peoples as a "civilizing mission," showcasing the application of social Darwinist thinking.²⁹ Japan chose to join the ranks of European imperialist powers to avoid the fate of colonization and protect itself from Western encroachment. Though gruesome to look at, this print was primarily intended for the Japanese audience as a means to display Japan's cultural and military superiority.

Woodblock prints occupied a comfortable niche during the war because the medium allowed artists to create dynamic, colorful, and romanticized yet also informative scenes of the war, ultimately more appealing to the masses.³⁰ Publishers and

designers sought new enticing subjects for consumers, resulting in *senso-e*, a Japanese term that translates to "war pictures." Primarily triptychs, these images filled the journalistic need for illustrations of war activities on the battle front, while also acting as propaganda, encouraging support for the wars and thereby fostering patriotism back home. *Senso-e* emphasized the bravery and success of the army and navy by using dramatic designs and bold compositions.³¹

The rapidly growing popularity of these *senso-e* is aptly described by the famous Japanese novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965) in his memoir about his early childhood:

The Shimizu-ya, a printshop at the corner of Ningyōchō, had laid in a large stock of triptychs depicting the war, and had them hanging in front of the shop. They were mostly by Mizuno Toshikata, Ogata Gekkō, and Kobayashi Kiyochika. There was not one I didn't want, boy that I was, but I only rarely got to buy any. I would go almost every day and stand before the Shimizu-ya, staring at the pictures, my eyes sparkling.³²

For the Japanese publishers, the goal was to create images to inform, persuade, and entertain the Japanese public about the battlefield. *Senso-e* worked to boost morale for families with husbands, fathers, or sons participating in the war.

Mentioned in Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's excerpt, artist and designer Kobayashi Kiyochika was very much a product of the Meiji period. His prints reflect Japan's struggle during this period to achieve equal footing with the Western powers. Utilizing methods influenced by Western painting, including chiaroscuro and perspective, to create bold, effective compositions, Kiyochika was highly esteemed for his ability to synthesize the aesthetics of Western and Japanese art in his designs, as well as for his wide-ranging subject matter and stylistic qualities. In addition to woodblock prints, the self-taught artist also produced pencil sketches and watercolor paintings.

Details of the inner workings of Kiyochika's mind remain unknown, making it difficult to pinpoint his creative intentions, but as his daughter explained, he reacted to the world through his art "as a mixture of both poet and cynic."³³ Born in 1847 in a long line of low-ranking samurai, Kiyochika lived a comfortable life without luxury. Only one autobiographical account of his life exists today, named his "picture-autobiography": a single album of fifty pages bound in the Japanese manner covered with sketches illustrating different vignettes of his life.³⁴ This source reveals his fondness for pictures early in childhood. Despite his love for pictures, however, he was resistant to learning. One

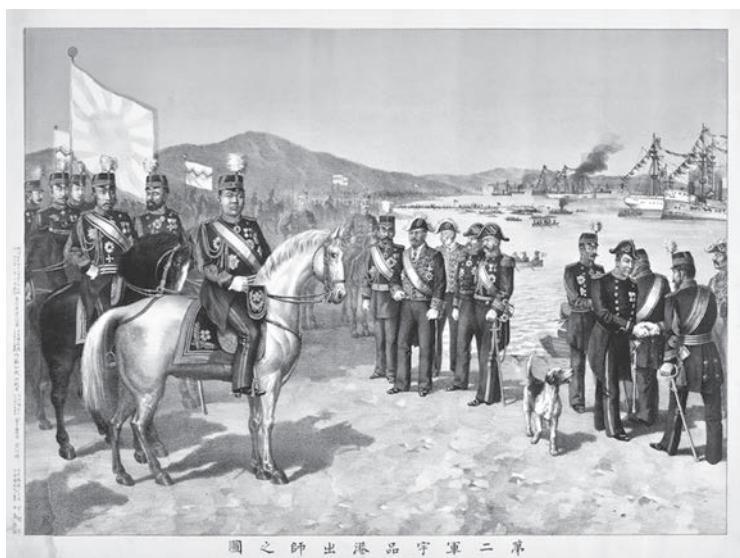


Fig. 7. Artist Unknown, *Troops Leaving Hiroshima Harbor*, from the series *Eight Scenes from the Sino-Japanese War*, 1894–95, color lithograph on paper, 18¾ x 25 in. (46.7 x 63.5 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. 2003.2.15 (cat. 19).



Fig. 8. Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915), *Defying a Shower of Bullets, He, Alone, Opened Hyonmu Gate*, 1894, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 14 x 28¼ in. (35.5 x 71.8 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf Collection, 2000.412a–c.

vignette sequence portrays his resistance to painting instruction, noting that his first and only lesson in art was a total failure, thereby declaring Kiyochika's artistic debt to no teacher, unlike most Japanese print designers.³⁵ With his father's death in 1862, the fifteen-year-old Kiyochika assumed the hereditary post of samurai in his family and served in the Battle of Toba-Fushimi in January 1868, providing him the necessary experience for his later pictorial renderings of war.

Before the success of his war prints, Kiyochika's name was relatively unknown. He struggled at the beginning of his career and had to support himself by designing commercial satirical drawings and cartoons. The outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War found Kiyochika working to meet the high demand for battle illustrations. These commercial prints satisfied the patriotic fervor that seized the people of Japan in their quest to present a strong front to the West.³⁶ Over the course of the nine-month war, Kiyochika designed over seventy triptychs, totaling 181 prints, skyrocketing Kiyochika's name to fame and popularity and unleashing his true artistic abilities.³⁷ Without witnessing the battles, designers such as Kiyochika and Ogata Gekkō (1859–1920) consulted journalistic sketches and then artistically romanticized their depictions of otherwise gruesome battles.

Ogata Gekkō created *Illustration of the Occupation of the Battery at Port Arthur* in 1894 in response to the Battle of Port Arthur (fig. 6). Gekkō's dynamic design depicts the moment Japanese troops storm the fort, and "what fighting followed was mere carnage.... The Chinese officers abandoning their men to their fate, got on board two small steamers

that remained in the harbor and put out to sea."³⁸ The Chinese soldiers, clad in tattered mismatched colors of purple, yellow, red, and green, struggle to regain their balance and stability in midair, hands flying and bodies falling to the ground. Japanese soldiers in their sleek black and blue uniforms pour over the walls and past the cannons. Smoke billows from the guns into the sky, and the mast of a Japanese warship, waving the red and white flag of the Japanese navy, sits in the harbor beyond. The scene asserts the dominance of the Japanese army over the trampled Chinese. The designer romanticizes the attack with soft pastels of blues, reds, and oranges as well as with Japan's complete domination over the enemy troops; no Japanese soldier is portrayed defeated upon the ground or face twisted in agony. Every Japanese soldier appears defiant and courageous, holding nothing back as total carnage erupts around them.

By contrast, Kobayashi Kiyochika opted to render the mental side of war. In *Lieutenant-General Yamaji Leads the Second Japanese Army on Landing on the Jinchou Peninsula* (fig. 1), the focus remains on the figures instead of the action. The pre-battle subject allows the viewer to admire the physical and sartorial details of the soldiers. The stillness of the water and stiffness of the three leading men offer a sense of calm, allowing those back home to witness the brooding stoicism displayed by their military leaders. The quiet moment also permits greater scrutiny of the individualized figures: the men's faces are rendered with dramatic facial hair. Lieutenant-General Yamaji is portrayed with impressive sideburns and mustache, yet photographic portraits of him show the reality of his clean-shaven cheeks. The print's ability

to exaggerate the facial features of the military leaders makes the medium more appealing and desirable than photographic images of the war that might be too graphic or simply too real for the Japanese supporters back home.

Kiyochika's romantic rendering of war is especially clear in comparison to the lithograph *Troops Leaving Hiroshima Harbor* (fig. 7). It depicts a cavalry officer leading his troops away from the harbor, all wearing Napoleonic uniforms that would not actually have been adopted at the time of the First Sino-Japanese War. Kiyochika's *Lieutenant-General Yamaji Leads the Second Japanese Army on Landing on the Jinzhou Peninsula* is a more accurate rendering of Japanese uniforms, designed after the Prussian model. While both prints depict the calm of a pre-battle moment, Kiyochika's rendering is more psychologically charged thanks to the misty atmosphere and the introspective gaze of Yamaji. More significantly, Kiyochika's print places stronger emphasis on the social Darwinist symbols in Japan's quest for Westernization with the inclusion of dramatic mustaches and sideburns.

Defying a Shower of Bullets, He, Alone, Opened Hyonmu Gate is another heroic print designed by Kiyochika (fig. 8). It illustrates the heroism of a Japanese soldier, identified as Harada Jūkichi, who scaled the walls of the Chinese defense at Pyongyang, enabling Japanese victory. The soldier towers over his Chinese enemy as the battle, signified by the rising red smoke, rages on below. While the defeated opponent lies motionless and shoeless, twisted painfully on the ground in his tattered clothes, Harada Jūkichi stands upright and contemplates the battlefield below under a full moon. His impeccably tidy uniform and Westernized facial hair convey his superiority over his opponent. In all Japanese war prints produced at this time, Chinese soldiers are portrayed as

disorganized bandits and Japanese soldiers as disciplined and calm in demeanor. Illuminated by the moon, Harada Jūkichi's slaughter of a Chinese soldier appears heroic and romantic. His actions of opening the gate, as depicted in Kiyochika's print, were considered so admirable that he was promoted and made famous to the Japanese public.³⁹ Kiyochika's print corroborates this individualized heroism.

Tensions between Japan and China provided popular subject matter for prints during the nine months of the First Sino-Japanese War. Formerly a medium associated with the world of entertainment such as Kabuki theater, sumo wrestling, and the red-light district, woodblock prints during the war fulfilled journalistic needs for dynamic representations of the battlefield while also encouraging a nationalistic discourse. Compared to other available mediums, print was more conducive to creating romanticized visions of war that appealed to the viewer more than gruesome journalistic reports of war. By depicting the heroic individuals and embellishing their deeds, Kiyochika's prints were more accessible to the general public. Harada Jūkichi's opening of the Hyonmu Gate allowed for Japanese possession of Pyongyang, the last stronghold of the Chinese in Korea.⁴⁰ And the capture of the Jinzhou Peninsula, as depicted in *Lieutenant-General Yamaji Leads the Second Japanese Army on Landing on the Jinzhou Peninsula*, led to the astonishing victory of the Japanese army in the battle at Port Arthur. The presence of facial hair in these consciously crafted prints would invoke fear in Japan's enemies.⁴¹ The prints thus express Japan's desire to achieve equality with the Caucasian races of the United States and Europe through pictorial means. More than firearms and ceremonial swords, the dramatic mustaches, sideburns, and fur took center stage in Kiyochika's prints.

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*Good Taste and Patriotism as Commodity:
Koizumi Kishio's Print Series and the New Middle Class in Japan's Shōwa Period*

Lilly Middleton

Tokyo, a city reborn. The powerful Great Kantō earthquake and ensuing tsunami in 1923 destroyed Tokyo. The city, however, remarkably recovered from the destruction in the following decade, as the natural disaster cleared the way for new, modern constructions. The determination of the Japanese to overcome the disaster pushed the industrialization momentum further than prior to the earthquake. Construction, industrialization, and a cultural exchange of ideas saturated the capital. A new middle class embracing modernization by way of consumerism began to emerge. Amid the rebuilding after the earthquake, the artist Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945) attempted to express artistic and social innovations in the Shōwa period (1926–89). In the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, Koizumi designed images for the emerging middle class in Japan during a period of rising patriotism by synthesizing traditional pictorial themes with a modern collective mainstream taste for French aesthetics.

The Artist, the Movement, the Series

Born in Shizuoka prefecture southwest of Tokyo, Koizumi Kishio was a prominent print artist in the *sōsaku-hanga* (creative print) movement of the early twentieth century.¹ Before designing prints, Koizumi trained as a woodblock carver under Horigoe Kan'ichi (active early twentieth century) employed by Koizumi's father, a specialist in calligraphy.² Following the path of most artists at the time, Koizumi later moved to Tokyo to study Western-style watercolor under Ishii Hakutei (1882–1958) at the Japanese Watercolor Institute.³ The founders of the Institute, Ishii Hakutei, Tobari Kogan (1882–1927), and Nakazawa Hiromitsu (1874–1964), practiced woodblock printing along with the imported medium of watercolor. Koizumi started as a block cutter but began designing his own prints under the encouragement of his mentors.

Western influences were crucial for young artists who desired to break away from traditional modes of image making. Many young Japanese artists at the time focused on learning the fine arts, a relatively new concept and taxonomy of artistic mediums imported from Western Europe. By the 1930s, Japan had achieved modernization and industrialization in manufactures and nation building since its opening to the world in the Meiji period (1868–1912). The intellectual and artistic communities flourished, and new ideas permeated the capital, brought by men returning from abroad.⁴ Many artists embraced individual expression and subjectivism. They joined the creative print movement,



Fig. 1. Yamamoto Kanae (1882–1946), *Fisherman*, 1906, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 12½ x 10½ in. (31.8 x 27.1 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Anonymous gift in memory of Paul O. Cartun, 1960.122.

which turned the traditional medium from reproduction to a legitimate artistic means for self-expression. The movement incorporated the individualism and expressionism found in modernist French, English, and German art and expanded the print medium to include not just traditional Japanese woodblock prints, but also etchings and lithography. The vitality and enthusiasm for the creative prints came from the artists' dedication to the idea that the process of making prints could be a creative venture in and of itself. Instead of the traditional collaboration between designer, woodblock cutter, printer, and publisher, the creative print artists were responsible for the entire process. Producing works on their own, prints began to diverge from the customary *ōban* size (38 cm by 25 cm), allowing for increased artistic agency.

The first creative print was created by the artist Yamamoto Kanae (1882–1946) and entitled *Fisherman* in 1904 (fig. 1).⁵ Inspired by illustrations from German magazines and the lithographic technique, Kanae created a print for the sole purpose of self-expression, diverging from the traditional reproductive function of the woodblock print. Ishii Hakutei, one of Koizumi’s mentors, coined the term *tōga*, or blade picture, to describe Kanae’s print because he used Japanese woodblock carving tools to imitate oil-paint brushwork on paper.⁶ Like Kanae, Koizumi diverted from the traditional collaborative process and, instead, designed and produced his own prints. This drastic change of production distinguished the creative print artists from all previous craftsmen in woodblock prints. The self-carving and self-printing process enabled the artists to personalize their work.

Koizumi participated in the movement’s first show in 1919 at the Mitsukoshi Department Store, a new venue for the display and appreciation of art. Exhibiting modernist works of art in commercial settings established a connection between consumerism and modern art in Japan. Created between 1928 and 1940, Koizumi’s series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era* is a visual record of Tokyo’s expansive physical reconstruction and cultural development. The series began in September 1928—the fifth anniversary of the Great Kantō earthquake—with an image of the Eitai and Kiyosu Bridges (fig. 2). The new steel-and-concrete structures spanning the Sumida River signaled that the city had risen from the ashes, a message reinforced by the youth in Western dress walking across the bridge.⁷ Koizumi’s series was a commercial success, garnering approval of Tokyoites through his depictions of communal, sacred, and beloved places in modern and appealing ways.

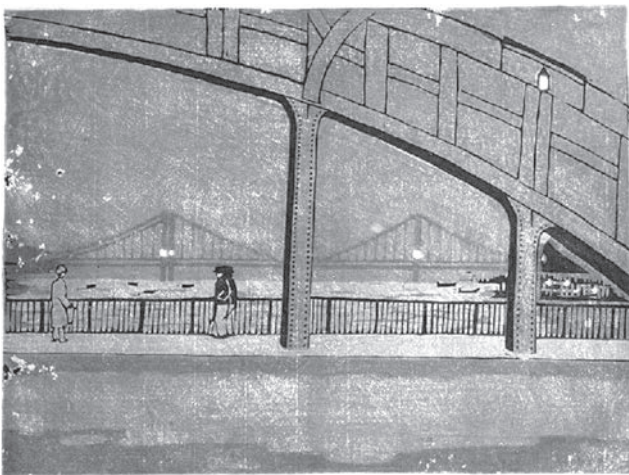


Fig. 2. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945), *Eitai Bridge and Kiyosu Bridge*, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, September 1928, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (39.1 x 29.8 cm). The Wolfsonian, Florida International University, Miami Beach. The Mitchell Wolfson Jr. Collection, TD1993.69.1.107.

Responding to Natural Disaster: Modern *Meisho*

On September 1, 1923, a devastating earthquake hit the Kantō region of Japan. In Tokyo, fires broke out, creating a windstorm propelling a raging demolition of the city. The fires destroyed an enormous portion of Tokyo, killing as many as 100,000 people and injuring 752,000. The earthquake was a catastrophe but also an occasion for massive industrial and modern reconstruction. Old Tokyo was destroyed, and “New Tokyo” began to emerge. Structures of stone and steel appeared, mass transit including a subway system was put into place, and vibrant city districts devoted to governance, commerce, and entertainment materialized and flourished. Koizumi depicted these new amenities in his series, such as *Fukagawa Garbage Treatment Facility* of 1934 and *Subway in Spring* of 1937 (figs. 3, 4). The prints emphasize the cultural value of the new infrastructures that were worthy of commemoration in the rebuilt Tokyo.⁸ The city grew substantially in the 1920s, pushing the borders of the city and its residential areas out even farther. People began to flock to Tokyo for its modern amenities, which increased the living standard and improved the overall lifestyle for many Japanese.

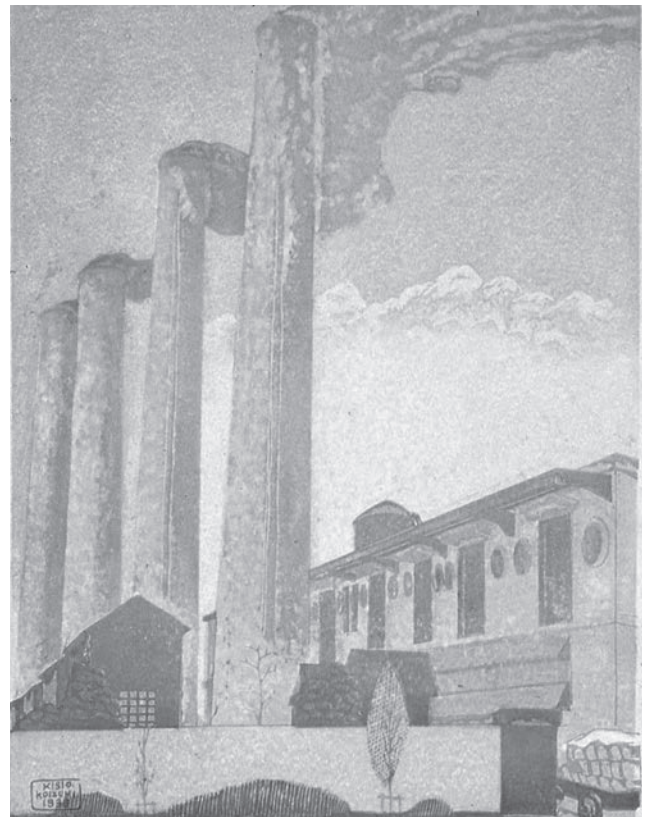


Fig. 3. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945), *Fukagawa Garbage Treatment Facility*, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, June 1933, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (39.1 x 30.2 cm). The Wolfsonian, Florida International University, Miami Beach. The Mitchell Wolfson Jr. Collection, TD1993.69.1.65.



Fig. 4. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945), *Subway in Spring*, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, 1937, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (39.1 x 29.8 cm). The Wolfsonian, Florida International University, Miami Beach. The Mitchell Wolfson Jr. Collection, TD1993.69.1.13.

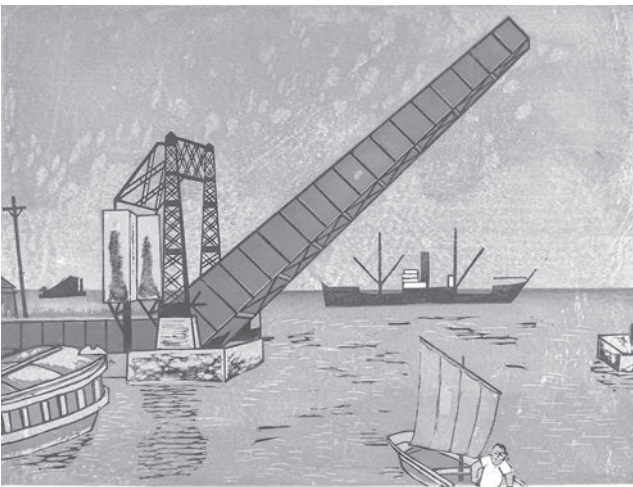


Fig. 5. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945), *Drawbridge at Shibaura*, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, 1930, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 11 x 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (27.9 x 37.2 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.15 (cat. 25).

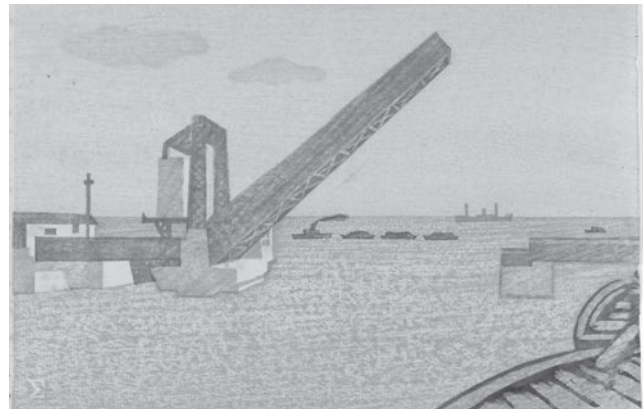


Fig. 6. Suwa Kanenori (1897–1932), *Shibaura Drawbridge*, from the series *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*, October 1931, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (17.5 x 25.7 cm). Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, PA. Bequest of Dr. James B. Austin, 89.28.732.10.

Koizumi's series recalls the traditional and widely appreciated category of Japanese art termed *meisho*, or "famous places." The expression *meisho*, meaning "a place with a name," was invented in the Kamakura period (1185–1333).⁹ Places acquired fame through their connections with poetry, religious sites, and historical events. Such places were depicted through distinct natural characteristics and human interaction. In the Edo period (1603–1868), the expansion of highways and roads spurred interest in travel among urban individuals. Landscape prints became increasingly popular as individuals purchased souvenirs from places they had visited, or images of places they wanted to go. For example, Edo print designer Utagawa Hiroshige (1798–1858) created the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* (1833–34), depicting the many stops along the well-traveled highway connecting Edo and Kyoto. This new travel culture changed the idea of *meisho*, and images began to represent "famous places," with an emphasis on landscape, human interaction, and seasonal associations, rather than on their previous literary, religious, or historic references.¹⁰

The earthquake offered an opportunity for Koizumi to create a series redolent of *meisho*, using the familiar context to highlight rebirth after the disaster. However, Koizumi was not alone, as eight other artists created similar series in response to the earthquake. Working along Koizumi in the creative print movement, Suwa Kanenori (1897–1932), Fukazawa Sakuichi (1896–1947), Kawakami Sumio (1895–1972), Hiratsuka Un'ichi (born 1895), Henmi Takashi (1895–1944), Onchi Kōshirō (1891–1955), Fujimori Shizuo (1891–1943), and Maekawa Senpan (1888–1960) collectively created *One Hundred Views of the New Tokyo*. The artists were aware of each other's series, looking to each other for inspiration in design and choices of location.¹¹ For example, two prints share strikingly similar designs depicting

the Shibaura drawbridge (figs. 5, 6). In March 1930, after the destruction of the earthquake, the Shibaura drawbridge was officially reconstructed.¹² During the disaster, Shibaura served as a landing place for incoming supplies and as a departure point for refugees, distinguishing it as a recognizable and significant place in Tokyo.

While distinctly similar in composition, Koizumi's rendering of the Shibaura drawbridge utilizes much more gestural carving methods, recalling the effect in Kanae's *Fisherman*. Unlike in Suwa Kanenori's print, the water underneath the drawbridge in Koizumi's print is seen in motion, achieved by scooping out wood while carving and overlaying woodblocks to mimic a painterly effect. The movement in the water suggests a fleeting moment, as if the artist had seen the new drawbridge himself. Koizumi, along with the other eight creative print artists, sought to represent new sites in the context of the *meisho* tradition; however, he used distinct pictorial language to create images that appealed to a new group of consumers in Japan: the emerging middle class.

The Rise of a Patriotic Middle Class

Japan's economy had been in flux for years. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the country experienced an economic boom as one of the winning countries in World War I (1914–18), followed by a prolonged economic crisis.¹³ While the earthquake temporarily stimulated the economy by creating jobs and business in Tokyo, high import costs from the post–World War I economic downfall still lingered.¹⁴ Japanese banks became vulnerable, and in 1927 a financial crisis arose, followed by the global Great Depression two years later. Small and medium-size banks were the most affected, with more than half of them closing. Popular opinion blamed the nation's political leaders' corruption for the economic decline and criticized the officials for having only enriched their own pockets for years.

After the depression, only a few major economic players withstood the crisis; the Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, and Yasuda groups dominated the economy and, by extension, the political spheres. These groups mobilized resources and enterprises that played a central role in propelling Japan into modern industry; however, they also amassed extraordinary fortunes that generated an extreme wealth gap. Additionally, they employed many Tokyoites who became the new middle class. They were often educated, salaried employees of corporations and government bureaus. Workers in such positions earned better wages than laborers, merchants, tradesmen, and small-business owners, who made up the old middle class during the Meiji period. The new middle class included both women and men, who could receive equal education until secondary school.

Within the expansion of schools, policies were implemented to gain support for the Japanese military such as the required military education.¹⁵ Japan, seeking to become a modern nation-state, sought equality with the imperialist powers of the West. After World War I, Japan acquired the German colonial territory in northern China.¹⁶ Joining the World War I Versailles peace negotiations in 1919 as a victorious ally, Japan called for racial equality. Western leaders such as Woodrow Wilson refuted their claim but allowed Japan to keep its foothold in Manchuria, the northeast region in China.¹⁷ Manchuria's rich natural resources were crucial for expanding the size and might of the Japanese military. Mainstream intellectuals and popular voices in Japan supported the nation's expansionist agenda.¹⁸ The invasion of Manchuria coincided with the dramatic changes in Japan's domestic economy. Japan grew by about 50 percent from 1930 to 1936, and the government, backed by the military, encouraged consumerism and inflated the prices of goods in order to supply the military and economic operations in Manchuria.¹⁹

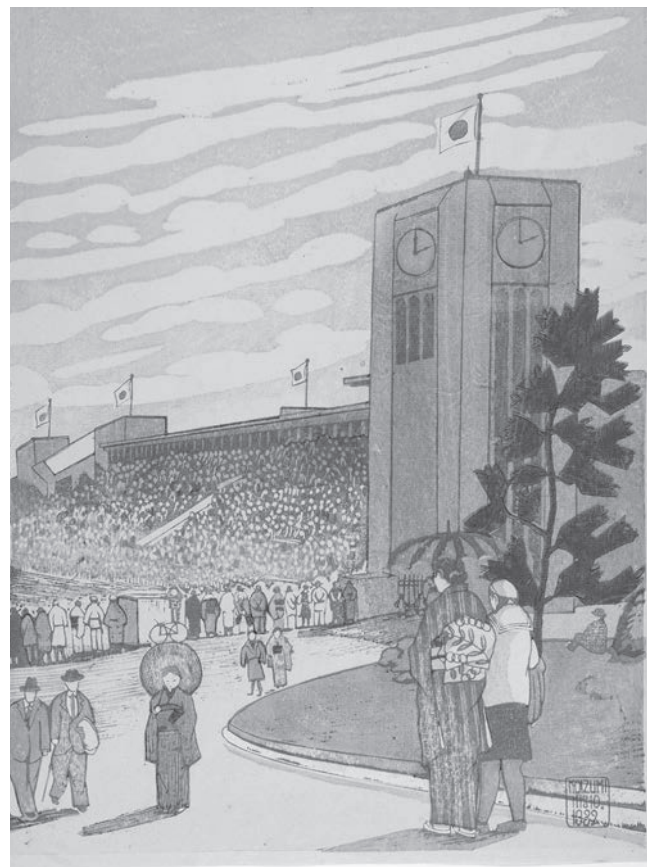


Fig. 7. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945), *May Sports Season at Meiji Shrine Outer Garden*, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, 1932, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 in. (37.2 x 27.9 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.17 (cat. 27).

Due to the political uncertainties of the period, polarized groups on the left and right emerged, with wages not able to keep up with the continuously growing consumerism and inflated prices of goods. Workers' dissatisfaction with their employers spurred a rise in labor unions that involved men and women alike. Influences from abroad, such as the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the socialist responses to the Great Depression, helped form revolutionary political groups and unions. The Japan Communist Party and the Japan Federation of Labor sought to find ways to combat the growing economic hardships.

Despite the social and political unrest, consumer culture blossomed during the period.²⁰ New products with slogans such as “rationality,” “science,” “culture,” “bright,” and “new” created fashionable trends for a modern life.²¹ The middle class purchased items to display their wealth, education, good taste, and patriotism. Consumerism boosted national economic growth and supported Japanese troops abroad. Department stores were established around heavily trafficked areas for commuters promoting and celebrating a new way to enjoy one’s hard work, especially for families who labored in salaried middle-class jobs.²² The 1919 creative print exhibition took place in such a venue, utilizing one of the new public spaces in Tokyo.

Koizumi’s print *May Sports Season at Meiji Shrine Outer Garden* of 1932 (fig. 7) displays the increased patriotic ideology. Modern sports were introduced in Japan during the Shōwa period. For example, in 1934 American major league baseball players such as Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig visited Japan to play exhibition games with Japanese teams. Sparking huge excitement in Japanese fans, the first Japanese professional team was formed soon after. Sports became a proud activity in Japanese society, reflecting their

achievement in Westernization and physical aptitude.²³

Koizumi chooses a palette of pastel blues and greens, with an added striking red to highlight the Japanese flags and details of the women’s kimonos. Located at the Meiji Shrine dedicated to the imperial family, the setting signifies a correlation between the sports event and imperial rule. The motifs in the print suggest a rising patriotic middle class, aiding the growing consumerism and national economy. With a new population of consumers rising, a collective taste surfaced, fostering increased economic development within the country through modern consumer activities.

A Collective Taste

According to Pierre Bourdieu’s book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, taste is never innate but determined by class, despite the myth that a person’s aesthetic preferences are personal expression and exist in an

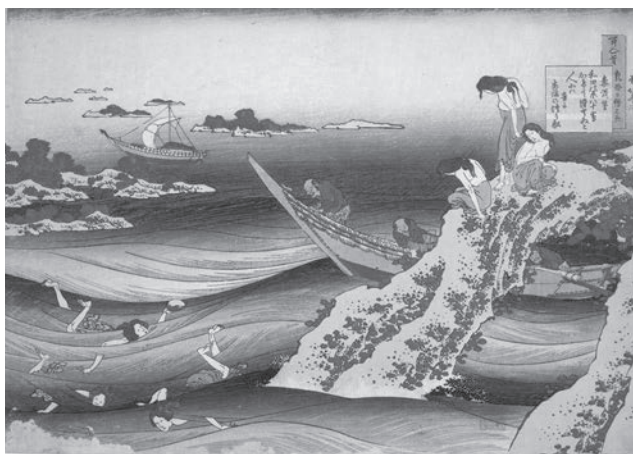


Fig. 8. Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), *The Poem of Sangi Takamura*, c. 1835, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 10¼ x 14¾ in. (26 x 37.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Henry L. Phillips Collection, JP2941.



Fig. 9. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858), *Sotoura in Choshi Bay, Shimosha Province*, c. 1853, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 12⅞ x 8¾ in. (32.7 x 22.2 cm). The British Museum, London. 1902.0212.0.397.50.

autonomous sphere.²⁴ Japan's new middle class, comparable to the French bourgeoisie or nouveau riche, aspired toward an intellectual and cosmopolitan ideal. There was pressure to project an image of intelligence and sophistication through the possession of commodities. Promoting the idea of an individual's or a family's cultured lifestyle, a collective taste emerged in the beginning of the twentieth century in a three-step process.

First, since Japan's opening to the world in the mid-nineteenth century, French painters had been fascinated by Japanese art, which strongly influenced their work in a trend known as Japonisme. The trend embraced all things Japanese by collecting and emulating Japanese art and decorative objects. For example, the Impressionist painter Claude Monet (1840–1926) collected Japanese prints and incorporated the unique pictorial language into his own compositions. Taking compositional inspiration from two of the prints he owned, *The Poem of Sangi Takamura* (fig. 8) and *Sotoura in Choshi Bay, Shimosa Province* (fig. 9), Monet created the painting *The Rock Needle and the Porte d'Aval* in 1886 (fig. 10).²⁵ Depicting the Rock Needle from above, Monet utilizes an unachievable perspective influenced by the Japanese prints. Similar to the artist of *The Poem of Sangi Takamura*, Monet dissolves the sea into the atmosphere to reduce the depth of the painting.

Second, shortly after the advent of Japonisme in Europe, Western painting made its way into Japan. Viewed as an advanced technology, Western-style painting was held in high regard as a depiction of modernity and reality. The government fostered admiration and esteem for Western-style paintings by establishing the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and organizing public exhibitions of original works by European painters.

Third, a collective taste of the middle class was formed through exposure to Western art, especially French art, in the government-sponsored exhibition *Monobushō Bijutsu Tenrankai* (Ministry of Education Art Exhibition, abbreviated as *Bunten*). Opened in 1907, the state-sponsored annual exhibit imitated the French Salon and established the first official attempt to promote art and to cultivate artistic sensibility in the viewing public.²⁶ The *Bunten* promoted fine arts by showcasing Western painting, Japanese painting, and sculpture. The choice to include artists such as Beardsley, Cézanne, Corinth, Degas, Klinger, Matisse, Manet, Morisot, Munch, Nicholson, Pissarro, Renoir, Rodin, Toulouse-Lautrec, Vallotton, and Van Gogh nurtured specific stylistic preferences.

Impressionist and Post-Impressionist styles were particularly attractive to the Japanese audience as the French Impressionists had already been influenced by Japanese art in the nineteenth century.²⁷ Open to all classes of people, the *Bunten* offered an avenue for the general public to view art,



Fig. 10. Claude Monet (1840–1926), *The Rock Needle and the Porte d'Aval*, 1886, oil on canvas, 25½ x 32 in. (65 x 81.2 cm). Shimane Art Museum, Matsue, Japan. Western Painting Collection.

leading to a shared interest in experiencing art and curating a cultured taste. For example, Claude Monet's *On a Boat* of 1887, depicting two women leisurely boating, shares striking similarities with Koizumi's *Waterfall at Sekiguchi* of 1931 (figs. 11, 12). Both artists chose to depict individuals spending their free time enjoying the sun and the water. The images share a palette of vivid colors, including white, green, brown, and blue. In Koizumi's print, people stroll along the dam, admiring the pond and waterfall created by the new infrastructure. A bright red umbrella draws the viewer's attention toward the skiffs. The juxtaposition between labor and relaxation, one person holding the sun parasol, and the other a long oar to control the boat, highlights a balance between work and leisure within the scene. New salaried jobs with fixed schedules required a designated time for leisure so that the new middle class had time to spend their earnings. Department stores similar to those in Paris opened in Tokyo that offered lounges, restaurants, exhibition spaces, performance centers, and rooftop gardens, allowing customers to engage in a sophisticated lifestyle while also perusing the stores.²⁸

The influence of the French Art Deco style dominated the visual culture of advertisement. In *Spring Sale Design* published around 1928, the woman's coiffed hair and modern dress emulate Parisian contemporary fashion (fig. 13). Similarly, in *Sales Advertisement*, also from around 1928, the figures dress in Western clothing: a man wears a sport jacket, bow tie, and trilby hat; the woman to the right sports a blue bathing suit and yellow swimming cap; and the woman next to her has permed her hair and wears a yellow dress (fig. 14). Department stores promised an immediate elevation of style to that of a cultural elite in exchange for shopping at their stores. By doing so, they transformed the



Fig. 11. Claude Monet (1840–1926), *On a Boat*, 1887, oil on canvas, 57¼ x 52½ in. (145.5 x 133.5 cm). The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo. Matsukata Collection, P.1959–0148.



Fig. 12. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945), *Waterfall at Sekiguchi*, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, 1931, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14⅞ x 11 in. (37.2 x 27.9 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.16 (cat. 26).

good taste desired by the new middle class into an immediately obtainable form of commodity.²⁹

The new middle class desired contemporary, modern, and well-priced art to decorate their homes. Seeing an avenue for opportunity, department stores became major art entrepreneurs and sponsored events such as art shows, exhibitions, and musical performances.³⁰ Koizumi, exhibiting in department stores, produced prints larger than the customary *ōban* size. Instead of unaffordable and risky old art, department stores selected marketable contemporary art at a reasonable price. This phenomenon echoes the marketing efforts of French department stores, which offered replicas of ancient Greek and Roman sculptures or engravings of famous paintings as an affordable alternative to overpriced old art.³¹ Japan looked to France, a country that had been fascinated by Japanese culture, for cultural inspiration. By the 1920s, many Tokyo residents considered themselves closer spiritually to Parisians than to the citizens of any other nation, feeling that they now possessed sensibilities inspired by modern French art and culture.³²

Avant-Garde Styles and Mainstream Taste

Koizumi created *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era* amid these changes in social habits, rising consumerism and patriotism, and an aspiration for French style and refinement. A close examination of his prints will reveal how he merged an avant-garde, personalized creative print aesthetic with the pictorial language of French Post-Impressionism.

In his print *Waterfall at Sekiguchi*, Koizumi renders the water in a fashion similar to that in Monet's *Argentueil Bridge* of 1874 (fig. 15). Monet paints thick patches of color on the surface of the river to portray the reflection and the movement of the water. Within the foreground of *Waterfall at Sekiguchi*, Koizumi uses the carving technique of scooping out wood, similar to the effect seen in *Drawbridge at Shibaura*. The negative and positive spaces alternate between patches of white and streaks of blue in the water, an effect that resulted from using only color blocks to emulate Monet's gestural brushwork. Similarly, the multicolored tree foliage in the upper right of the print suggests the use of multiple overlaid woodblocks to create depth within the trees and movement within the leaves. The expressive carving and printing techniques render a palpable, scintillating water surface and dynamic foliage, reflecting and refracting sunlight.

Impression, Sunrise of 1872 by Claude Monet gave the Impressionist movement its name thanks to its hazy quality and quick brushwork, which lent itself to capturing an experience and moment in time rather than the eternal depiction of a place (fig. 16).³³ The pastel palette of warm and cool colors went on to become the standard contrast for

Impressionist works, as they challenged the viewer to experience the changing qualities of color in different light. When Monet and other Impressionists first began to create images in such a style depicting scenes of leisure and everyday life, it was an avant-garde and radical departure from the French academic style predicated upon realism and naturalism.³⁴

The impressionistic effect of a fleeting moment can be found in Koizumi's *May Sports Season at Meiji Shrine Outer Garden* (fig. 7). Like Monet's *Gare St-Lazare* of 1877 (fig. 17), angles are used to convey a sense of the monumentality of buildings. The architecture in both prints is intersected by moving figures, coming to and from the station and stadium. Clouds stretched along the sky in *May Sports Season* mimic the puffs of smoke receding from the train at *Gare St-Lazare*. Capturing motion, Koizumi renders a specific moment frozen in time.

By creating images that synthesized a pictorial tradition of representing famous places with the new collective taste for French culture and aesthetics, Koizumi's series reflected



Fig. 13. Artist Unknown, *Spring Sale Design*, c. 1928, 6 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (16 x 23 cm), published by Seibundo Shotenkaisha. University of Hawai'i, Mānoa Library, Mānoa. Japan Collection, gr042.



Fig. 14. Artist Unknown, *Sales Advertisement*, c. 1928, 6 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (16 x 23 cm), published by Seibundo Shotenkaisha. University of Hawai'i, Mānoa Library, Mānoa. Japan Collection, gr006.

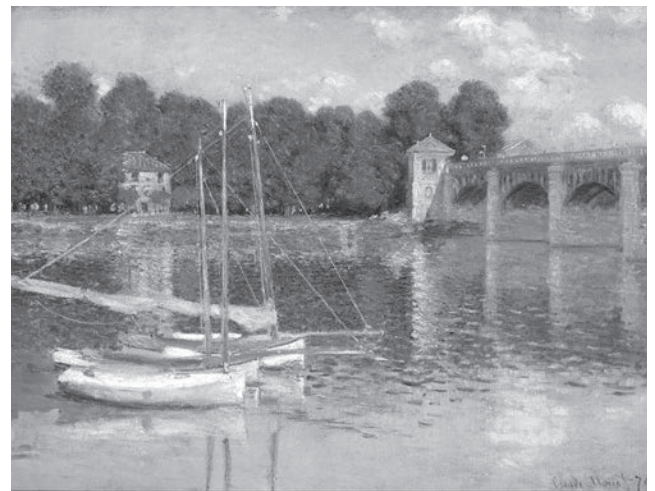


Fig. 15. Claude Monet (1840–1926), *The Argenteuil Bridge*, 1874, oil on canvas, 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (60.3 x 80 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris. RF 1937 41.



Fig. 16. Claude Monet (1840–1926), *Impression, Sunrise*, 1872, oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 24 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (48 x 63 cm). Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris. Claude Monet Collection.



Fig. 17. Claude Monet (1840–1926), *The Gare St-Lazare*, 1877, oil on canvas, 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 29 in. (54.3 x 73.6 cm). The National Gallery, London. NG6479.

the changing ideals of Tokyo citizens. The series also satisfied the need for pictorial patriotism as the images proudly showcased the glory of a rebuilt city and the increased level of industrialization. Consumers' desire for good taste drove the economic growth that financially helped Japan's expansionist agenda abroad. Koizumi's series offers an avenue to question how good taste functions in a society. Why do

people buy what they buy, and how much does their environment influence their taste? Whether or not Koizumi created for the purpose of personal expression or remuneration, his prints offered the new middle class an opportunity to access and, perhaps, possess the desirable cultivation of good taste and patriotism.

- 1 Helen Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints: The Early Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 224–25.
- 2 Helen Merritt and Nanako Yamada, *Guide to Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints, 1900–1975* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 249–52.
- 3 Lawrence Smith, *Modern Japanese Prints, 1912–1989: Woodblocks and Stencils* (New York: Cross River Press; London: British Museum Press, 1994), 28.
- 4 Donald Jenkins, Gordon Gilkey, and Louise Klemperer, *Images of a Changing World: Japanese Prints of the Twentieth Century* (Portland, OR: Portland Art Museum, 1983), 12.
- 5 Elizabeth de Sabato Swinton, "The Artistic Context," in *Terrific Tokyo: A Panorama in Prints from the 1860s to the 1930s*, ed. Elizabeth de Sabato Swinton (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1998), 25.
- 6 Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints: The Early Years*, 112.
- 7 Marianne Lamonaca, "Observations on the Architecture and Politics of the Modern Imperial City," in *Tokyo: The Imperial Capital*, ed. Marianne Lamonaca, James T. Ulak, and Frederic Alan Sharf (Miami Beach: Wolfsonian-Florida International University, 2003), 12.
- 8 Elizabeth de Sabato Swinton, "The Cultural Milieu," in *Terrific Tokyo*, 18.
- 9 Gary Hickey, "Ukiyo-e Meisho-e," in *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, ed. Amy Reigle Newland (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 181.
- 10 For more discussion on *meisho* and Hiroshige in the Edo period, see Fiona Clarke, "Elements in Design: The Varied Landscapes of Hiroshige, 'Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain,'" and Adrian Zhang, "Meeting of the Two Worlds at Nihonbashi: Hiroshige's Prints and the Tenpō Crisis," in this catalogue.
- 11 For more discussion on the *One Hundred Views of the New Tokyo* series, see Isabel Figueroa, "Prewar Pride, Postwar Trauma: The 1945 *Recollections of Tokyo* Series," in this catalogue.
- 12 James T. Ulak, "Koizumi Kishio: An Artist Interprets Shōwa-Era Tokyo," in *Tokyo: The Imperial Capital*, 46.
- 13 Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 139.
- 14 Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 532.
- 15 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 175.
- 16 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 173.
- 17 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 174.
- 18 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 179.
- 19 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 191.
- 20 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 198.
- 21 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 154.
- 22 Andrew Gordon, "Consumption, Leisure and the Middle Class in Interwar Japan," *Social Science Japan Journal* 10, no. 1 (April 2007): 1.
- 23 For more discussion on sports in modern Japan, see Chelsea Parke Kramer, "A New Taxonomy of Modernity: Wada Sanzō's *Japanese Vocations in Pictures*," in this catalogue.
- 24 Youngjun Oh, "Shopping for Art: The New Middle-Class [sic] Art Consumption in Modern Japanese Department Stores," *Journal of Design History* 27, no. 4 (November 2014): 355. Also see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
- 25 Beate Marks-Hanssen, "Claude Monet and His Collection of Japanese Woodcuts," in *Japan's Love for Impressionism: From Monet to Renoir*, ed. Rein Wolfs and Bernhard Spies (Munich: Prestel and Bundeskunsthalle, 2015), 41.
- 26 Oh, "Shopping for Art," 351.
- 27 Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 137.
- 28 Louise Young, "Marketing the Modern: Department Stores, Consumer Culture, and the New Middle Class in Interwar Japan," in "Class and Consumption," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 55 (Spring 1999): 62.
- 29 Young, "Marketing the Modern," 52.
- 30 Young, "Marketing the Modern," 62.
- 31 Oh, "Shopping for Art," 363.
- 32 Ezra F. Vogel and Suzanne Hall Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 158.
- 33 Marks-Hanssen, "Claude Monet and His Collection of Japanese Woodcuts," 41.
- 34 French academic art is a style heavily influenced by European academies of art, specifically the French Académie des Beaux-Arts. Academic art sought to synthesize Neoclassicism and Romanticism. Characteristics often include rationality, realism, tight brushwork, subjects of historical or mythological importance, portraiture, landscape, and still life.

Chelsea Parke Kramer

Boxing, the sport in which men of equal weight contend in skill and strength, reached its full development in America, and having been introduced into Japan in recent years, has made great progress here too. Consequently, the number of professional Japanese boxers has gradually increased.

Battles of human bodies staged in the blue glare of floodlights under a summer evening sky have a great fascination for the young men and women of Japanese cities.

The fighting spirit—no, the killing spirit—of men covered with blood still trying to knock out their opponents might even be called brutal and makes one feel that for the Japanese nature, which ordinarily strives to make fine arts of courtesy and rules even in the coarsest moods and at the most critical moments, this sport may be a little excessively gruesome.

—Wada Sanzō, *Japanese Vocations in Pictures: Boxers* (1939)¹

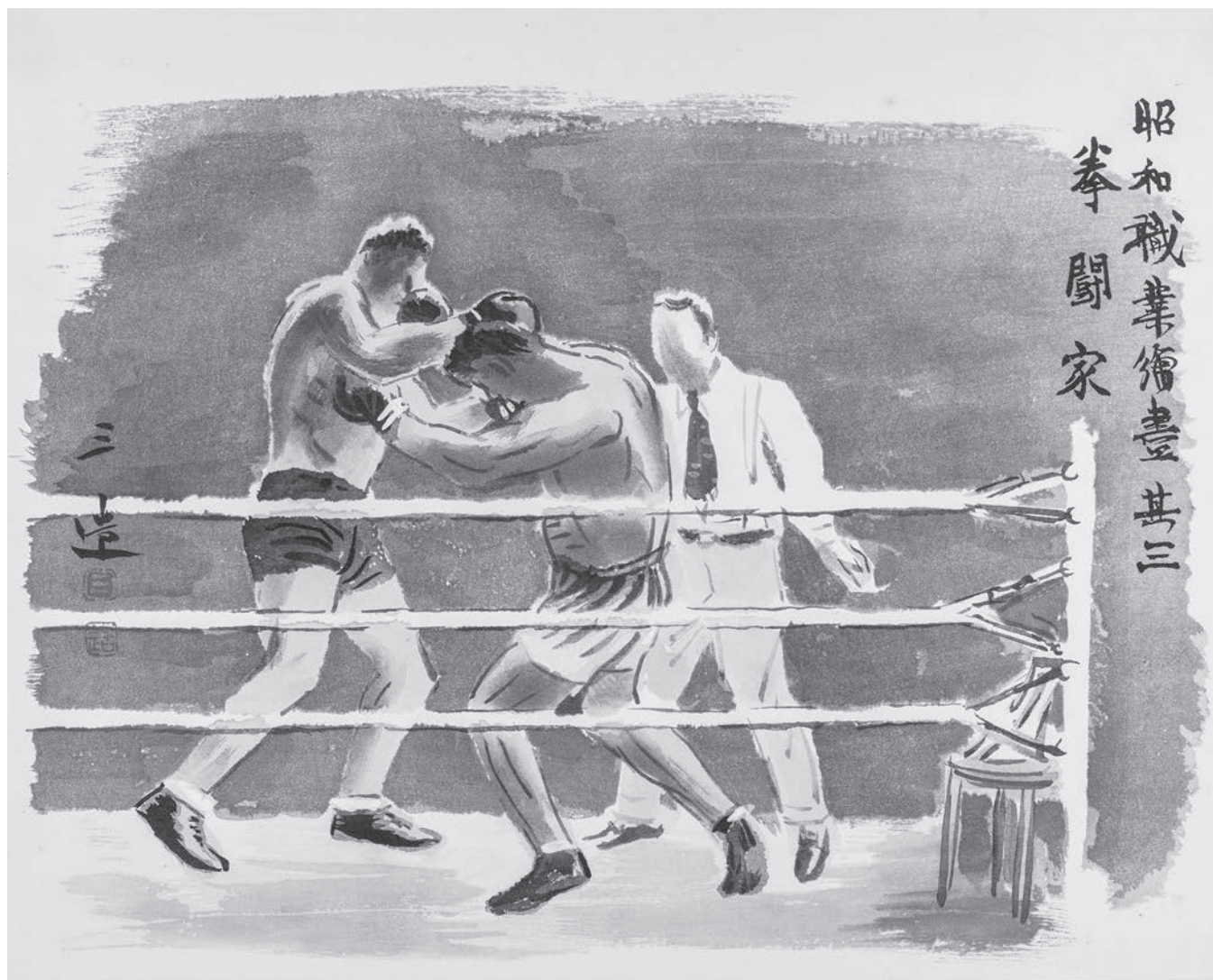


Fig. 1. Wada Sanzō (1883–1967), *Boxing Match*, from the series *Japanese Vocations in Pictures*, 1939, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (29 x 39 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.20 (cat. 29).

In 1938, the artist Wada Sanzō (1883–1967) undertook an ambitious project of depicting a wide range of occupations in Shōwa Japan (1926–89) in a series titled *Japanese Vocations in Pictures*. The watercolor-like series on preexisting and new occupations of the era provides insight into the cultural politics of the period. Wada Sanzō designed the series as a way to document rapid modernization in early twentieth-century Japan through the changes in occupation for Japanese citizens. The juxtaposition of the old and new professions illuminates the contrasts in the period's push and pull between tradition and modernity.

Most artists at the time portrayed the changes of the period through the newly built environment, an extension of the traditional *meisho*, or “famous places,” genre of Japanese art. For example, the artist Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945) illustrated Japan's rapid modernization in his series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*. Koizumi designed images for the emerging middle class by synthesizing traditional pictorial themes with the development of a modern collective taste for French aesthetics.²

By contrast, Wada Sanzō offers a different taxonomy to make sense of Japan's modernity through changes in peoples' occupations. Some of the traditional occupations depicted in the series include Zen priests and pilgrims, while the modern occupations are represented by professional tennis players, Western-style musicians, and newspaper photographers. The two prints in the Trout Gallery collection, *Boxing Match* and *Pilots*, belong to the new professions that emerged during this period (figs. 1, 2). In order to better understand the historical and cultural implications of the two prints, we need to first explore the political and artistic climate of Shōwa Japan.

The Tensions of Shōwa Japan

Wada Sanzō, a multitalented artist who gained early fame as a Western-style oil painter, spent his early career working in the late Meiji period (1868–1912).³ His training established him as a well-known artist, painting for the imperial family, the government, and the military. Ultimately, Wada Sanzō taught at the prestigious Tokyo School of Fine Arts, where he was also a former student of Western-style painting (1901–4).⁴

In 1905, Wada Sanzō won an award at the tenth *Hakubakai* exhibition for his painting *Evening Return at the Pasture*.⁵ Then, in 1907, he exhibited his painting *South Wind*, winning the second prize, the highest award, at the first Ministry of Education art exhibition—the notable *Bunten* (fig. 3).⁶ The *Bunten* is an annual exhibition held under the patronage of Japan's Ministry of Education,



Fig. 2. Wada Sanzō (1883–1967), *Pilots*, from the series *Japanese Vocations in Pictures*, 1939, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 11 x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (27.9 x 37.2 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.19 (cat. 28).

divided into three separately juried sections: Western-style painting, Japanese-style painting, and sculpture. The original purpose of the *Bunten* was to serve as a rallying point for interest in Western art.⁷ Wada Sanzō's *South Wind* was based upon an experience he had at the age of nineteen, off the coast of Izu, Japan, in which he was cast ashore in a rain-storm. The painting brought him much fame and is critical in analyzing the ultimate conflicts between modernity and tradition expressed in his later work. In his dissertation, “Spectacles of Authenticity: The Emergence of Transnational Entertainments in Japan and America,” Hsuan Tsen describes the painting:

It is at once intimate and monumental; the viewer is on a small fishing boat, a trade with strong cultural resonance in Japan and one that lacks any of the trappings of Western-style modernity. However, the central figure stands tall, dominating the scene with a muscular torso and solid legs and arms, feet planted firmly and confidently on the deck, and his gaze set towards the horizon. The style of his figure clearly uses Western classical art as a model (the nose in particular seems far more Roman or Greek than Japanese), but the scene is so intimately Japanese that the image was embraced by the government and hung for many years in government buildings in Tokyo.⁸

Following another second-prize win at the *Bunten* in 1908, the Ministry of Education sent Wada Sanzō to Europe to study painting, craft, and film. During his sojourn in France, Sanzō befriended the artist Yamamoto Kanae

(1882–1946), who is credited with initiating the *sōsaku-hanga* (creative print) movement. *Sōsaku-hanga* was an avant-garde movement and rediscovery of native traditions filtered through modern European aesthetics.⁹ As a result of this interaction and introduction to *sōsaku-hanga*, following his return to Japan, Wada Sanzō started to work closely with the woodblock print medium and explored the tradition with a modern Western taste. In addition to painting and designing Japanese woodblock prints, Sanzō explored other Asian artistic traditions, such as studying textiles in India and Kyoto, and extensively researched their techniques and designs. His innovative color research resulted in his winning an American Motion Picture Academy Award in 1955 for color costume design for the film *Gates of Hell*.¹⁰

Wada Sanzō, originally noted for the luminous color in his paintings and costume designs, ultimately became known for the craftsmanship in his woodblock prints. Posing questions about the qualities of Japanese society and culture, his prints allowed the nation to quickly change from an anti-Western to a pro-Western modernity.¹¹ Wada Sanzō's *Japanese Vocations in Pictures* sheds new light on the questions he posed, depicting modernized Western trends in occupation, an effective way to demonstrate the changes in society.

By the 1920s, there had been rapid economic growth followed by a modern business establishment.¹² However, the decade was quickly punctuated by the Great Kantō earthquake in 1923, which occurred just as the country was climbing up the economic ladder. It resulted in a major financial panic that led to worldwide depression, from which Japan slowly emerged by the middle of the 1930s when it began its military expansion in China.¹³

Modern Japanese society and culture is often imagined in dramatic conflict between Western-style modernity and enduring tradition. This tension first emerged in the Meiji period, but was most pronounced during the early Shōwa period.¹⁴ In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Japanese began to experience sometimes unnoticeable yet significant changes in the ways they lived, worked, and played.¹⁵ These changes, commonly referred to as “modernization,” were often perceived by the Japanese as “Westernization.” For example, the production of newspapers was highly developed. The most highly developed medium during wartime was the press, which reached a daily circulation of about nineteen million copies. The national newspapers, such as the largest, *Asahi shimbun*, employed hundreds of reporters in Japan and overseas, who transmitted their reports by telegraph and telephone. Some newspapers even operated airplanes for instant coverage and long-distance deliveries.¹⁶

Modern Japan is widely regarded as a society saturated with customs, values, and social relationships that organically link the present generation of Japanese to past generations.



Fig 3. Wada Sanzō (1883–1967), *South Wind*, 1907, oil on canvas, 59⅞ x 71¾ in. (151.5 × 182.4 cm). The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, O00021.

Following the Meiji period, the government employed all powers at their disposal to promote growth in modern capital industries as a national necessity.¹⁷ The early Shōwa period began with the most difficult period in the country's modernization.¹⁸ This modernization shifted the country from an economy based upon agriculture and textile manufacture (chiefly of cotton and silk thread) to heavy and chemical industries, impacting various occupations. The numbers of urban factory and office workers were beginning to surpass those in agriculture, and the shift led to the implementation of the factory system, as seen in Wada Sanzō's print *Factory Workers*. In addition, women accounted for almost 35 percent of Japan's total employment in all industries. It is argued that “Japan's modernization was sustained by the relative backwardness of the labor force, numerically dominated by women, and the retention of low wages. Factories represented the newer, modern sector of the economy.”¹⁹ This period, recognized for its interest in the development of Japanese modernization, was created in harmony with the ideals of the West. While the older imports of European culture had been channeled through print media, the Western lifestyle became culturally dominant after the 1923 earthquake, signaling the increasing production and consumption centered around the pleasures of buying, entertainment, and sports. Film became the most popular medium to assert such cultural influences on the Japanese.²⁰

The political values of prewar and wartime Japan were part of a wider cultural environment in which traditional concepts had already been deeply modified by Western attitudes.²¹ As the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in the 1930s, influences from Europe were suspended; however, the

Westernization already created was such that little damage was done to those connections. At the most, the war was an interruption of the steady development of the modernizing culture directly associated with Westernization.²² As Japan transitioned to a wartime economy, more Western occupations emerged, as illustrated by Wada Sanzō. The rate of profit of high-capital-intensive enterprises was greater than that of low-capital-intensive industries. Newer industries, such as shipbuilding, silk spinning, gas, electricity, department stores, and finance enjoyed higher rates of profit than older industries. Dissatisfaction grew among those previously engaged in traditional industries suffering from relative decline due to the increased necessity for newer industries.²³ In addition, the 1930s also marked the climax of Japan's expansionist war campaign. While Japan and China had not publicly declared war with each other, Japan's military and economic engagement in Manchuria, the northeastern area with rich natural resources in China, necessitated constant supplies of goods and services produced by workers in Japan.

Despite the earlier calls for economic planning before the war, the Japanese economy remained market oriented until 1936. However, with the official outbreak of the war in 1937, the economy was completely transformed to meet wartime needs. New occupations were introduced, and traditional occupations were altered in order to control and mobilize people, enterprises, and resources. Most Japanese firms remained privately owned but were heavily regulated by the government to contribute to the war effort.²⁴ Wada Sanzō's series demonstrates the new occupations necessitated by Japan's overall modernization and military campaign.

Japanese Vocations in Pictures

Ukiyo-e is defined as pictures of "the floating world."²⁵ In the words of publisher Shinagawa Kiyoomi, Wada Sanzō's series is truly the "ukiyo-e of Shōwa."²⁶ In order to visualize Japan's modernization, Wada Sanzō chose to depict workers not just in occupations of recent times, but also in traditional occupations that were gradually disappearing. In order to complete the project, he brought together woodblock printers and carvers from as far away as Kyoto and Tokyo and housed them and their families in a lodging house that he purchased in Nishinomiya near the city of Kobe.²⁷ The publication of the series commenced in 1938 to immediate success. Wada Sanzō planned to publish two new prints every month for a total of one hundred designs. The prints from the series were often illustrated in mainstream Japanese newspapers. The well-respected Tokyo edition of the US military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, for example, republished *Occupations of Shōwa Japan* for the welfare of the new military elite.²⁸

The series became an instantaneous hit, and orders for Wada Sanzō's prints flooded in. Customers in mainland Japan, Karafuto (the Japanese name for Sakhalin Island),

Manchuria (the Japanese colony in northeastern China), and Singapore all admired and purchased Sanzō's works. Publication was ultimately suspended due to deteriorating domestic conditions during the war. In the end, Wada Sanzō published a total of forty-eight prints in two series of twenty-four during the war. They were issued in pairs on a monthly basis, although some dire months saw no print published. After the war, the series continued under the title *Continuing Japanese Vocations in Pictures* (1954–56), published by Kyoto Hanga-in. This series includes twenty-four additional scenes. All of the images of modern and old occupations are rendered in a painterly watercolor style with attention to lively details.

Many of the prints in the series depict modern sports in Japan. A broad range of sports popular in the West were introduced to Japan during the Meiji period. The government's attempts at improving physical education led Japan to popularize several modern sports, including gymnastics, fencing, rifle shooting, horseback riding, and skiing. European and American residents in the trading communities, such as Yokohama or Kobe, introduced football, rowing, tennis, baseball, cricket, and golf. The Meiji government invited many Western scholars to teach in the newly established school systems, in which additional sports—such as soccer, rugby, rowing, tennis, ice skating, basketball, volleyball, field hockey, and badminton—were introduced to students. In addition, individuals who had lived abroad returned with an interest in table tennis and handball. Sports clubs became popular and introduced Western-style wrestling, weight lifting, and canoeing.²⁹

During the Taishō period (1912–26), sports were an end in themselves; they were pursued for their own intrinsic pleasure or whatever positive results accrued for the body and soul. Under the nationalistic trends in the 1930s, however, sports became a means to strengthen the nation through improving the physical condition and moral character of the Japanese. As the nation changed course and began its march toward war preparation, the liberal, individualistic, and autotelic approach to sports was abandoned. Instead, a militaristic, collectivist, and instrumentalist view of sport became predominant. Ultimately, the period saw a rapid acceleration in the diffusion of modern sports. Japan's participation in the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm and the 1913 Far Eastern Games in Manila were early indications of the shift.³⁰

Boxing Match and Pilots

Wada Sanzō's depictions of *Boxing Match* and *Pilots* are products of the shift from the liberalism in the Taishō period to a more militaristic culture in the Shōwa period (figs. 1, 2). The designer, however, reduces the violence of the occupations with painterly and dynamic watercolor-like effect. The

print *Boxing Match* highlights the conflict between modernity and tradition, as the sport of boxing quickly brings to mind Japan's sumo wrestling, a staple subject depicted in Japanese woodblock prints.

Sumo wrestling is much more than a sport in Japan; it is a ritual of timeless dignity and classical form, and a glimpse of past ages of Japan. Repeated interaction with Shinto religious belief and practice from the early centuries left a profound and indelible mark on the sport. The origins of sumo wrestling took shape in the three major cities of Edo (the former name of Tokyo), Osaka, and Kyoto.³¹ It is a Japanese martial art with deep traditions, dating back to the eighth century, as suggested in the oldest record of Japanese history, *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters). In the most common pattern, two wrestlers stand face to face in the *dohyo* (a round earthen ring), and then wrestle with each other; one gives the other a hard pull and throws him to the ground. Sumo developed and matured as a unique culture of physical exercise by blending Shinto ceremonial elements and agricultural rituals with an entertaining contest of strength, fought by wrestlers from all over the country.³² Woodblock prints are replete with images of sumo wrestlers. In an Edo-period (1803-1868) print, instead of depicting the action of wrestling, the scene focuses on the ceremonial aspect of the event and identifies all of the important figures in participation (fig. 4).

Unlike sumo wrestling, which was regarded as a martial art and a form of entertainment, boxing was associated in the 1930s with militarism as the sport emphasized the combatant spirit: one must guard against becoming too harmonized with one's opponent.³³ The impressionistic effect of the print *Boxing Match* serves to suggest the speed of the game and to blur the violence inherent to the sport. Wada Sanzō's print thus illustrates the period's embrace of violence in boxing while visually softening its fierceness. The action of the fight is simple, yet one can still feel the tension of the punches as the two figures engage in combat. The defined muscles of the figures convey the intensity of the punches. In the 1930s, sportsmanship was subtly connected to the period's militant spirit, exemplified by the quote at the beginning of the essay, which makes an analogy between killing and boxing.

The print *Pilots* illustrates the training of pilots among the different military specialists to engage in the impending war with China. The print depicts a heated discussion between two pilots dressed in flight suits and two men in Western garb. Behind them, several specialists work on an airplane. The blurry tones provide insight to the viewer that they are amid work, swiftly preparing to get the airplanes ready for combat. In the blue sky, a plane flies overhead, perhaps testing it out following the machine preparation. The impressionistic watercolor effect likewise softens the



Fig. 4. Attributed to Utagawa Kuniaki II (1835–1888), *Fundraising Sumō Tournament*, 1863, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9¹/₁₆ x 14¹/₁₆ in. (25.3 x 37.3 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of William Perkins Babcock, 00.1255.

militant nature of the subject. This image appears almost recreational; however, given the time period, one must consider its reference to Japan's expansionist agenda.

In 1925, the Japan Air Corps was established and became an equal part of the army. The first major conflict that involved the Army Air Corps was the Manchurian Incident of September 1931. The army had little trouble establishing air superiority over Chinese forces during the conflict. However, it was not until 1932 that a major push was made to develop true aircraft carriers. From 1932 to 1937, a major modernization of the air corps occurred, coinciding with the official beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45). The army primarily concentrated on aircrafts for ground-support duties, while the navy fought for air superiority and handled long-range bombing operations. Eventually, due to its collection of long-range aircraft and aircraft carriers, the navy would become responsible for all campaigns in the Pacific islands and for the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.³⁴

The watercolor effect and lack of outline in Wada Sanzō's prints aim to intensify the energy invested both in modern sports and in the training of modern military specialists, as one can viscerally feel the dynamism of the punches exchanged between the boxers and the celebratory

atmosphere in *Pilots*. In conclusion, both images serve to demonstrate the era's engagement with popularized modern occupations that would help Japan prepare both physically and mentally for the impending war against China.

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- 1 "Boxers, print number 3 from the series *Occupation of Shōwa Japan in Pictures*, Series 1 by Wada Sanzō," Lavenberg Collection of Japanese Prints, last modified December 15, 2018, accessed December 24, 2018, <http://www.myjapanesechanga.com/home/artists/wada-sanzo-1883-1967-boxers-from-the-series-occupations-of-showa-japan-in-pictures-series-1>.
 - 2 For more discussion on Koizumi Kishio's work, see Lilly Middleton, "Good Taste and Patriotism as Commodity: Koizumi Kishio's Print Series and the New Middle Class in Japan's Shōwa Period," in this catalogue.
 - 3 Helen Merritt and Yamada Nanako, *Guide to Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints: 1900–1975* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 165.
 - 4 Helen Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints: The Early Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 158.
 - 5 The *Hakubaki*, or the White Horse Society, was founded by two painters, Kuroda Seiki and Kume Keiichiro, following their return from France to became professors at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. They organized this society in opposition to the *Meiji Bijutsu-kai*, which was the first association of painters in the European style in Japan.
 - 6 Merritt, *Guide to Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 165.
 - 7 Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 130.
 - 8 Hsuan Tsen, *Spectacles of Authenticity: The Emergence of Transnational Entertainments in Japan and America: 1880–1905* (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2011), 70.
 - 9 Kendall Brown, "The Late Meiji to Taisho Eras, Early 1900s to 1926," and Chiaki Ajioka, "Creative Prints (Sōsaku-hanga) Magazines," in *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, ed. Amy Reigle Newland (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2005), 277–93, 300–302.
 - 10 Roy Osborne, *Books on Colour Since 1500: A History and Bibliography of Colour Literature*, 2nd ed. (Irvine, CA: Universal, 2013), 133.
 - 11 Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 119–20.
 - 12 Harry D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 6.
 - 13 Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 6.
 - 14 Kendall H. Brown, *The Occupations of Shōwa Japan in Pictures: The Woodblock Prints of Wada Sanzō* (Los Angeles: Pacific Asia Museum, University of Southern California, 2004).
 - 15 Stephen Vlastos, *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 1–5.
 - 16 Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*, 91–92.
 - 17 Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 4.
 - 18 Masataka Kosaka, "The Showa Era (1926–1989)," *Daedalus* 119, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 27–47.
 - 19 Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 12.
 - 20 Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 22–23.
 - 21 Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*, 91–92.
 - 22 Stephen Kohl, "Abe Jiro and the Diary of Santaro," in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1–6.
 - 23 United States National Archives and Records Administration, *Japan at War and Peace, 1930–1949: U.S. State Department Records on the Internal Affairs of Japan* (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2010).
 - 24 Junji Banno, *Japan's Modern History, 1857–1937: A New Political Narrative*, trans. J. A. A. Stockwin (London: Routledge, 2014), 175–95.
 - 25 Dora Amsden and Woldermar von Seidlitz, *Ukiyo-e* (New York: Parkstone, 2014), 1.
 - 26 Kiyomi Shinagawa, "The Late Sanzō Wada and His Works—Series of Occupations in Shōwa," English summary, *Ukiyo-e Art* 16 (1968), 39–42.
 - 27 Kendall H. Brown, "Out of the Dark Valley: Japanese Woodblock Prints and War, 1937–1945," *Impressions*, no. 23 (2001): 64–85.
 - 28 Brown, "Out of the Dark Valley," 64–85.
 - 29 Allen Guttmann and Lee Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 1–30.
 - 30 Guttmann and Thomson, *Japanese Sports*, 105.
 - 31 Guttmann and Thomson, *Japanese Sports*, 11.
 - 32 Miho Koishihara, "Sports Culture," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Japanese Culture*, ed. Yoshio Sugimoto (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 319.
 - 33 Guttmann and Thomson, *Japanese Sports*, 135.
 - 34 Walter J. Boyne, *Air Warfare: An International Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 334–36.

Isabel Figueroa

The muffled voice of Emperor Hirohito (1901–1989) echoed out over Japan’s airwaves, cutting through the stifling heat of late summer in 1945. Japan’s citizens listened in dismay as the broadcast announced the nation’s surrender, officially terminating the Second World War (1939–1945).¹ Repeated bombings had decimated the small archipelago and the capital city of Tokyo, leaving its people in despair. The daunting task of rebuilding and healing began amid the shock of defeat. In the wake of destruction, nine *sōsaku-hanga*, or “creative print,” artists commenced work on a series to commemorate the culturally significant places in Tokyo damaged during the war. The Japanese Print Association launched the series *Recollections of Tokyo* in December 1945.² Prints in this series addressed the physical and emotional

trauma the city experienced, while offering images of hope to revitalize Japanese culture and identity. *Recollections of Tokyo* marks a shift in the *sōsaku-hanga* movement, as the trauma of the Second World War transformed the visual language of individual expression into images of communal grief and memorials to Tokyo.

The Creative Print Movement

Understanding the context of the creative print movement prior to the onset of the war is essential in order to properly examine the implications of *Recollections of Tokyo*. The creative print, or *sōsaku-hanga*, movement began in 1904, when the oil painter Yamamoto Kanae (1882–1946) spontaneously designed a print entitled *Fisherman* in a moment of inspiration (fig. 1).³ Kanae’s unconventional use of the woodblock print medium to create an expressive work of art laid the foundation for the movement. *Sōsaku-hanga* artists sought to establish the print medium as a legitimate form of artistic expression rather than a means of commercial image reproduction. In order to achieve this, they rejected the conventional production process of Japanese woodblock prints, characterized by a division of labor among the designer, carver, printer, and publisher. Although largely self-taught, the artists often completed the entire production process themselves, operating under the mantra: “Self-drawn, self-carved, self-printed.”⁴ The movement also adopted other forms of printing, such as European



Fig. 1. Kanae Yamamoto (1882–1946), *Fisherman*, 1906, woodcut, ink and color on paper. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Anonymous gift in memory of Paul O. Cartun, 1960.122.



Fig. 2. Onchi Kōshirō (1891–1955), *Inside of a Cinema (Hōgakuza naikai)*, from the series *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*, 12/6/1929, woodblock print on paper, 7³/₁₆ × 9¹/₂ in. (18.3 × 24.1 cm). Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. Bequest of Dr. James B. Austin, 89.28.1124.

woodcuts, etchings, and lithographs, thereby broadening the concept of the print medium.⁵ The seeds of a new ideology dedicated to individual expression would not reach maturity until fifteen years later, in 1919, when twenty-six artists exhibited creative prints at the Mitsukoshi Department Store in Tokyo.⁶ Sponsored by the newly formed Japanese Creative Print Association, the exhibition solidified the artistic movement.⁷

International artwork and modern technologies poured into Japan during the prewar period.⁸ Looking to French and German art theories to create their own avant-garde movement, *sōsaku-hanga* artists embraced a spirit of rebellion and independence in their departure from convention. *Inside of a Cinema*, a print from the series *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* from 1929, displays the innovative carving and printing techniques that *sōsaku-hanga* artists employed to create a radical visual language (fig. 2). The artist Onchi Kōshirō (1891–1955) carved overlapping marks into the woodblock to simulate the movement of film flickering in a darkened theater. Onchi created the deep grooves, reminiscent of those in Kanae's *Fisherman*, with a U-shaped gouging tool not typically used to make marks present in the final print.⁹ The intentionally imprecise printing of woodblocks onto paper resulted in a smudged, blurred quality, conveying the energy and excitement of the cinema's atmosphere. The movement's adoption of modernist European visual language reflects the artists' desire to break away from Japanese pictorial conventions to create images suitable for the modern period.

Onchi, the artist behind the captivating *Inside of a Cinema*, contributed three prints to *Recollections of Tokyo* and was influential in the development of *sōsaku-hanga*. His life and philosophies provide insight into the movement's ethos. The son of an imperial tutor, Onchi resisted his privileged position in society by training as an artist against his father's wishes. During his time at the White Horse Society, he encountered foreign art publications, exposing him to various European art movements, including German Expressionism, French Impressionism, and Post-Impressionism, which later influenced his work. Onchi went on to enroll in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, where he argued with instructors and refused to take direction. Around this time, he viewed the 1914 exhibition of German Expressionist and Cubist artworks sponsored by *Der Sturm* magazine in Tokyo.¹⁰ The ideas instilled in the artist during his youth formed his belief in the power of visual language and color to express individual emotions. A break from conventional woodblock print methods became necessary for artists to gain more agency and achieve the personal expression they desired.¹¹ Onchi exemplified the *sōsaku-hanga* movement, assisting in the organization of many publications, including *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* and *Recollections of Tokyo*.

From *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* to *Recollections of Tokyo*

Eight of the prints featured in *Recollections of Tokyo* were designed between 1929 and 1932, initially released alongside Onchi's *Inside of a Cinema* in *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*. With the help of the well-known publisher Nakajima Jūtarō (1887–1974), Onchi enlisted eight *sōsaku-hanga* artists to contribute to the prewar series.¹² *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* documents the city's emerging modern culture through individual expression, while referencing the established pictorial subject of *meisho* or "famous places."¹³ The most widely known example of *meisho* in the woodblock print tradition is *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, designed by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) and published between 1856 and 1859.¹⁴ *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* unmistakably alludes to this legendary series, featuring a similar name and updated images of the same city.¹⁵ While *sōsaku-hanga* artists departed from established printing methods and pictorial conventions in favor of a more avant-garde visual language, the series drew on traditional subject matter. The artists skillfully merged Japan's pictorial history with modern artistic trends in the prewar series as well as in the postwar *Recollections of Tokyo*.

The US military quickly occupied Japan following its surrender in 1945, instituting strict censorship laws prohibiting the publication of nationalistic material in an attempt to reform the nation.¹⁶ *Recollections of Tokyo* directly challenged the newly imposed laws by depicting subject matter emblematic of Japan's past cultural achievements. An introductory statement by the artists accompanied the series:

As for Tokyo, which did not escape the ravages of war, an awesome number of buildings were damaged or reduced to ashes by air raids, starting in reverence with the Imperial Palace, then those of the Meiji Enlightenment, of 300 years of the Edo period, and furthermore the structures produced by 2,600 years of history. To stand on the burnt earth is an unfathomable feeling. . . . These pictures are all the products of the effort of artists motivated by this sadness through loss. We in the art world rejoice that we can serve our elders with filial piety in this way.¹⁷

The Japanese Print Association only released this statement in Japanese, although it also issued *Recollections of Tokyo* in English, mistranslating the title *Tōkyō kaikō zue* as *Scenes of Last Tokyo*, rather than *Scenes of Lost Tokyo*.¹⁸ The attempt to translate the titles of the prints into English implies that they were marketed to occupation personnel most likely unaware of the nationalistic subject matter. In light of Japan's impressive history, the statement conveys a

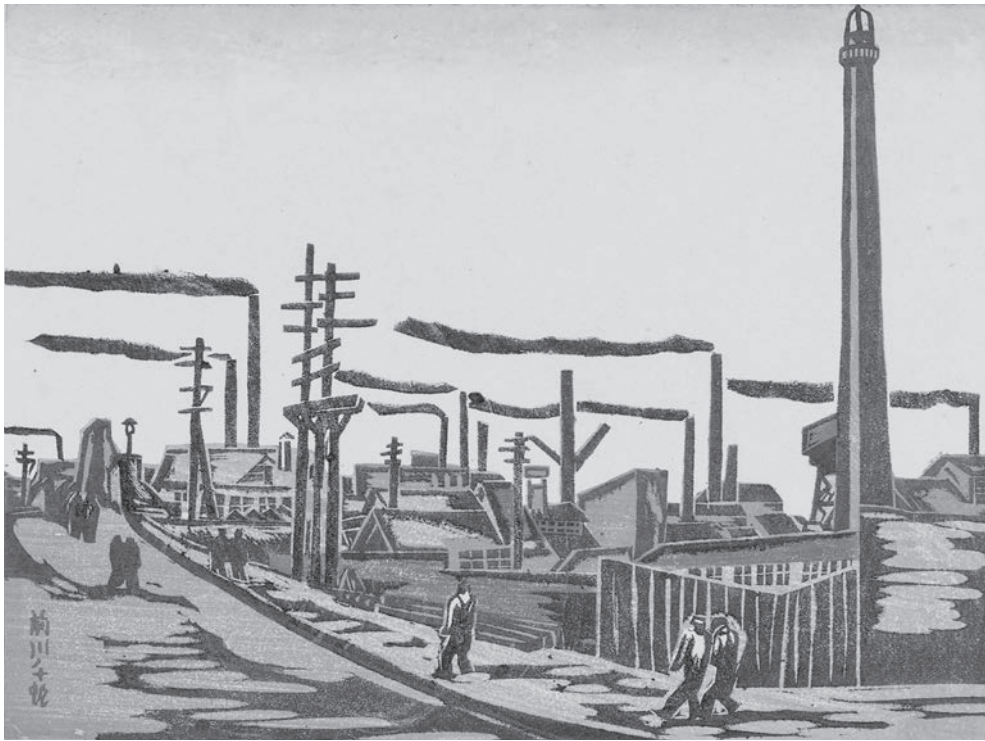


Fig. 3. Maekawa Senpan (1888–1960), *Honjo Factory District*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7⅞ x 9½ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.24 (cat. 33).

deep sense of regret about the loss of the war. The inclusion of the phrase “serve our elders” and the Confucian concept of “filial piety” suggest the artists’ reverence for the imperial office and Japan’s history in the aftermath of defeat.

Seven of the fifteen prints, not formerly released, harken back to the eras mentioned in the introduction, including the Edo period (1603–1868) and the Meiji period (1868–1912).¹⁹ The remaining eight prints recycled from *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* recall the modernization of the Taisho–Shōwa period (1912–45).²⁰ The artists’ statement and depictions of subjects recalling the past crystallize a change in the movement’s philosophy postwar. While the visual language and methods remain the same, the goal shifts from a revolutionary expression of individual emotion to one of collective grief in the postwar era. The *Recollections of Tokyo* series therefore provides a sorrowful and nostalgic look at Tokyo in its former glory.

The print *Honjo Factory District*, originally created for *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*, was re-released in *Recollections of Tokyo* (fig. 3). Prompted by cynicism of the increasingly nationalistic political climate, the artist Maekawa Senpan (1888–1960) chose to portray a struggling class in the vibrant prewar era.²¹ He utilized modern visual language to depict the Honjo factory district in Fukagawa, one of the poorest wards in the city. Poverty in the Honjo district

worsened as urban labor unrest grew throughout the 1920s. An economic crisis in 1927, followed by the collapse of the world market, sent Japan spiraling into economic depression.²² Maekawa’s stark depiction of the district in 1929 therefore serves as a critique of the modernization that occurred at the expense of the working class.

Tall smokestacks rise up into an unprinted sky above clusters of factory buildings, highlighting the area’s industrialization. Maekawa almost certainly used a knife, his favored tool, to carve the stiff geometric lines on the woodblock.²³ Gritty, dark gray smoke flows out from the top of each stack to the left in a series of parallel horizontal lines, moving the viewer’s eye along the desolate street that recedes into the blank background. The wavy, animated lines of smoke hint at Maekawa’s profession as a cartoonist and reveal the adoption of an abstract visual language deployed in many German Expressionist works, such as Käthe Kollwitz’s (1867–1945) *Proletariat: Kindersterben* of 1925 (fig. 4). Kollwitz utilizes a similar strategy of abstraction in her woodcut, as precise thick lines reduce the subject to its essential geometric forms.

The 1945 air raids on Tokyo flattened the Honjo district, transforming Maekawa’s striking portrayal.²⁴ Although the woodblocks were recut for the 1945 version of the print, the only notable revisions are slight changes in color.²⁵ Light blue gradation at the top of the postwar *Honjo Factory District*

replaces the darker blue of the prewar edition, while the muted red on the buildings and the dull brown of the foreground appear brighter in the reprint. Along with thicker ink, changes in color render the 1945 print lighter and livelier. The dark mood once imbued into the working-class district becomes a nostalgic, perhaps even idealized depiction of the site seen through the postwar ethos.

The simplified, abstracted quality of the buildings is fitting for a community struggling to come to terms with destruction. Dark shadows on the overlapping factories provide a geometric effect similar to Cubism, compiling multiple viewpoints into a singular still image, suitable for remembrance. The blankness of the sky, a modern visual effect emphasizing the flatness of the paper, becomes bleak following the district's destruction. Like those in the Honjo district, Maekawa lost his home in the 1945 bombings on Tokyo, adding a personal connection that demonstrates how collective and personal experiences of trauma often coincide.²⁶ The small factory workers walking down the street in their coveralls remind the viewer of the lives and livelihoods the war wiped away. While before the war stiff lines of dark gray smoke contrasted against the colorless sky and emphasized the abundance of factories, afterward they memorialize the achievement of the once booming industry. The prewar print, critical of industrialization, was repurposed into a haunting image of loss after the war's destruction.

Onchi Kōshirō's *Ueno Zoo*, printed for *Recollections of Tokyo* with the prewar blocks from the design's initial release in *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*, also exemplifies the transformative nature of *sōsaku-hanga*'s visual language (fig. 5).²⁷ The Ueno Zoo first opened in 1882 in an effort to modernize the capital with Western-style institutions during

the Meiji period.²⁸ The zoo often served as a place of escape, providing entertainment for families in the years leading up to the war.²⁹ Onchi expressively renders this setting on a quiet autumn day, utilizing innovative printing and carving techniques to achieve a dense and abstract image. A swarm of multicolored leaves hovers above the few figures below. Onchi's leaves echo the bold, spontaneous brushstrokes visible in many German Expressionist and French Post-Impressionist paintings. Made by deeply carved marks on the woodblock, the vivid layers of foliage enclose the foreground and provide little recession into the background. A similar effect is evident in the work of Norwegian artist Edvard Munch (1863–1944), whom Onchi himself cited as an influence.³⁰ The background of Munch's expressionist oil painting *The Sick Child* of 1907 (fig. 6) features striking similarities to the leaves in *Ueno Zoo*. Both artists blended colors to create the illusion of depth while eliminating a distinctive separation between foreground and background. Onchi departed from conventional printing methods, abandoning the use of a keyblock and printing the same block multiple times with different colors on top of each other to achieve depth and shading.³¹

The zoo continued to symbolize normality and acted as a "colorful oasis in the midst of bio-political gloom" for the first few years of the war.³² As time passed, however, resources dwindled and the government ordered zookeepers to secretly slaughter the animals they once cared for.³³ The sad removal of the zoo's diverse fauna, emblematic of the country's modernization and globalization, reflects the destruction and turmoil plaguing the city.³⁴ The sparsity of the zoo conjures up a sad history in the postwar reprint. In April 1945, nearly 145 bombs fell on the zoo, destroying it completely.³⁵ As a



Fig. 4. Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Proletariat: Kindersterben*, 1925, woodcut on paper, 24¾ x 18⅞ in. (62.9 x 47.3 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Gift of Meyer P. and Vivian O. Potamkin, 1969.1.23.



Fig. 5. Onchi Kōshirō (1891–1955), *Ueno Zoo*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7⅞ x 9½ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.23 (cat. 32).



Fig. 6. Edvard Munch (1863–1944), *The Sick Child*, 1907, oil on canvas, 46¾ x 47⅞ in. (118.7 x 121 cm). Tate Modern, London. Presented by Thomas Olsen, 1939, N05035.

result, the same image transforms from an energized portrayal of a modern retreat to a painful memorial of death and destruction. The messy, abstracted quality of the leaves, which lend intensity and energy to the atmosphere, creates a sense of excitement and escape prewar, but becomes menacing in 1945. The overprinted, dirty quality, visible in a splotch of brown ink on the yellow building, imbues the print with the sense of a struggle to neatly express heartache. The visually striking pictorial techniques of individual expression thus turn into a collective expression of sorrow after the war, elevating and venerating the Ueno Zoo.

While the end of the Second World War left Japan devastated, the city of Tokyo had actually confronted similar



Fig. 7. Kawakami Sumio (1895–1972), *Torii Gate at Kudan (Yasukuni Shrine)*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.25 (cat. 34).



Fig. 8. Kawakami Sumio (1895–1972), *Ginza*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945, woodcut on paper, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (18.4 x 24.1 cm). Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. Bequest of Dr. James B. Austin, 89.28.709.5.

destruction twenty-two years earlier. The Great Kantō earthquake struck Japan at noon on September 1, 1923, igniting fires that ravaged the city.³⁶ The Ueno Zoo avoided destruction, providing a refuge for many during the turmoil. Nearly 71 percent of families lost their homes, as the earthquake demolished entire sections of the city and flattened the site of Maekawa's *Honjo Factory District*. By 1929 Tokyo had reemerged with all the facets of a great modern city as a new middle class patronized café culture and mass media. Art movements inspired by European modernism flourished.³⁷ A culture of entertainment provided a distraction from the underlying unrest and impending depression.³⁸ The *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* series captures the progress Tokyo made in its effort to rebuild. By republishing images from this series, *Recollections of Tokyo* inspired the same rebirth and revitalization that occurred after the earthquake in the postwar era. Both series attempted to instill hope following disasters, despite the different nature of each tragedy.

A Memorial to Meiji

In the statement accompanying the series, the artists also mentioned the Meiji period, characterized by a return to imperial rule and intensive modernization. Kawakami Sumio's (1895–1972) *Torii Gate at Kudan*, created specifically for the *Recollections of Tokyo* series, features subject matter retrospective of the era (fig. 7). The print depicts the outer gate, or *daini torii*, at the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo across from the Imperial Palace. Constructed in 1869, the shrine commemorates those who died in service of Japan from the Meiji period to the Second World War.³⁹ Heavy black rectangles reduce the entrance gate to its essence, announcing the veneration of the shrine as the print's subject matter. The thick lines and exaggerated size of the gate convey strength as it towers over miniscule figures below. Thin horizontal lines of light blue stitch across the print to create clouds out of the unprinted white paper underneath. A similar linear effect, characteristic of Kawakami's work, appears in many of his prewar prints from *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*. Also re-released in *Recollections of Tokyo*, with more muted colors and translucent ink, *Ginza* depicts a bustling evening in the popular shopping district (fig. 8).⁴⁰ The undulating, vibrant pink and blue lines exude movement and energy in a crowded composition of highly abstracted figures who hustle along the street, revealing the spirit of the posh neighborhood. Kawakami employs a similar technique in *Torii Gate at Kudan*, designing a light, floating sky in contrast to the immovable *torii* gate, rendering a revered place that will stand the test of time. Kawakami utilizes the same visual language to portray vastly different subject matter.

The prewar series *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo* also offers an image of the *Yasukuni Shrine* (fig. 9) that differs

significantly from that in *Recollections of Tokyo*. Fujimori Shizuo (1891–1943) pushes the *torii* gate, the main subject matter of Kawakami Sumio's print, into the background, placing emphasis on the park-like interior of the shrine instead. The tall statue of Ōmura Masujirō (1824–1869), who established the modern Japanese army, sits at the center of the scene. One of the first Western-style statues to arrive in Japan, its inclusion reflects pride in the army's victory in the First World War (1914–18).⁴¹ After Japan's astounding loss in the Second World War, Kawakami chooses to depict the gate of the shrine from a faraway vantage point, creating a revered memorial to many rather than glorifying an individual.

The visual interest in *Torii Gate at Kudan* relies heavily on negative space, exuding a calm sense of emptiness suitable for an expression of grief. Rather than using a keyblock, the foliage in the foreground is printed with color blocks, alternating the negative and positive space between the black and green areas. A cable car reminds the viewer of the modernization Japan underwent prior to the war. Despite the minimalistic portrayal of the Yasukuni Shrine, the subject matter itself is incendiary. The postwar American occupation associated this shrine with the fascist war criminals laid to rest inside, rather than beloved family members and heroes. Kawakami's print therefore directly defied the occupation's censorship laws. Even today, visits to the shrine by government officials provoke anger.⁴²

The Imperial Palace looms over the scene, inaccessible and distant behind a stone wall. Although invisible from the shrine's entrance gate in real life, Kawakami Sumio's choice to include it hints at the history of imperial visits to the shrine throughout the war to promote the loyal sacrifice of individuals for the nation.⁴³ While the inclusion of the palace could imply blame, the introductory statement to the series suggests a continued veneration for the imperial family. By depicting a site that holds the souls of lost loved ones, Kawakami offers an image of collective grief. The enshrinement of the war dead into a singular space associated with the emperor compiles individual instances of mourning into a communal experience.⁴⁴

Remembrance of Edo

A number of prints in *Recollections of Tokyo* harken further back into the Edo period (1603–1868) as defined by the bureaucratic rule of the Tokugawa shogunate before opening to trade with the West. Designed in 1937, the print *Red Gate, National Treasure* depicts a distinct visual marker of the Edo period (fig. 10). The artist Maeda Masao (1904–1974) renders the entrance gate to the Imperial University, where many important government officials involved in the war received their education.⁴⁵ The same hazy ochre color constitutes both the sky and the wide path, merging the two

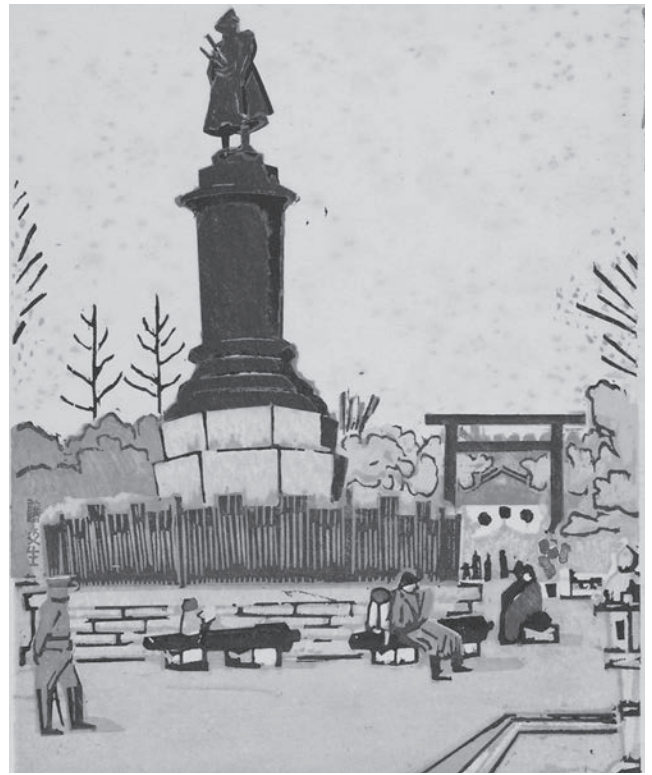


Fig. 9. Fujimori Shizuo (1891–1943), *Yasukuni Shrine*, from the series *One Hundred Views of New Tokyo*, 4/28/1931, woodblock on paper, 9½ × 7⅞ in. (24.1 × 18.7 cm). Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. Bequest of Dr. James B. Austin, 89.28.67.10.

spaces into a single plane. Only the small band of green foliage and the vivid red gate stretching across the composition break the illusion of a two-dimensional scene.

Several deeply gouged marks in the upper left sky reveal that the small white patches of paper showing through the ink are the results of Maeda's scoring of the woodblock rather than the printing process itself.⁴⁶ A translucent, grainy quality in the foreground and the sky imitates the medium of pastel, revealing the innovative pictorial techniques and modern visual language the movement championed. The haziness of the ink simulates a blurry memory and adds an ephemeral atmospheric quality, while the flatness serves a function similar to that of the negative space in *Honjo Factory District* and *Torii Gate at Kudan*. The bright red gate, emblematic of a long and rich history, stands out against the bleak emptiness of the background, revealing the gate's survival in the midst of the war's destruction.

While the Imperial University did not exist prior to the Meiji period, the red gate has a longer history. The gate was constructed as a welcome gift for a member of the Tokugawa family who married into the Maeda family in 1837.⁴⁷ The artist provides an interesting and intimate connection with the powerful Maeda family by depicting the architectural symbol. Once again, the distinction between personal and collective

expression is blurred, as Maeda converted an aspect of his personal history into that of shared experience. The balance and stillness of the print's composition render the gate as a historic landmark that will endure, ultimately depicting how Japan and its history will prevail in the years after the war.

Azechi Umetaro's (1902–1999) *Graveyard of Sengakuji Temple*, designed for *Recollections of Tokyo*, also demonstrates a revered subject matter emblematic of the Edo period (fig. 11). Azechi depicts an abstracted view of the Sengakuji temple's graveyard in Tokyo, the setting for the legend and the final resting place of the famous forty-seven rōnin (master-less samurai). In 1701, the regional lord Asano Naganori (d. 1701) committed ritual suicide as punishment for his failed attack on the high-ranking government official Kira Yoshinaka (d. 1703). Forty-seven of Lord Asano's loyal retainers, led by Ōishi Yoshio, avenged their master's death by assassinating Kira. They brought his head to Sengakuji, Asano's family temple, and ultimately turned themselves in to face the same punishment as their master.⁴⁸ Since then, Sengakuji temple has served as an emblem of loyalty and bravery.

The print presents a readily accessible path in the foreground, leading the viewer directly to the graves of Asano's loyal and self-sacrificing samurai. Deeply carved marks produce harsh and dramatic shadows on the heavy gray tombstones that line the end of the wide path. This immediate encounter and reminder of death is fitting for the atmosphere of postwar Japan. By zooming in on this historical site, Azechi likens Japan's recent sacrifice and trauma to the self-sacrifice of the loyal master-less samurai. In

the foreground, the back of a woman's head emerges from the bottom right, dramatically cropping the image to place the viewer as the next mourner walking down the path to remember the death of their own loved ones.

Similar to Onchi's *Ueno Zoo*, the techniques used in the printing process allow a timely depiction of the *Graveyard of Sengakuji Temple* in the postwar era. The semitransparent ink in the foreground is achieved through the application of a thin layer of water-based pigment onto a woodblock, and forceful pressure with the baren.⁴⁹ Misalignments of various color blocks during the printing process enhance the blurry, messy quality. The omission of a keyblock results in the lack of definitive outlines or borders. Azechi's training as a government etcher allowed him to master various forms of printing and innovatively express the emotional turmoil of postwar suffering.⁵⁰ A statement Azechi wrote in his 1963 guide to creating Japanese woodblock prints perhaps embodies his approach to *Graveyard of Sengakuji Temple*: "What is most necessary, whether we do a portrait or a landscape, is to capture the essence of the subject and express it succinctly."⁵¹

The Sengakuji temple and the legend of the forty-seven rōnin symbolize a period that transformed the city of Edo from a small castle town into a bustling city.⁵² The use of traditional Japanese woodblock prints for the series, rather than other types of prints, was a conscious choice made by the *sōsaku-hanga* artists. Born out of the Edo period itself, the woodblock print medium has always been the medium through which the city of Tokyo has been envisioned.



Fig. 10. Maeda Masao (1904–1974), *Red Gate*, *National Treasure*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (20 x 26.67 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.27 (cat. 35).

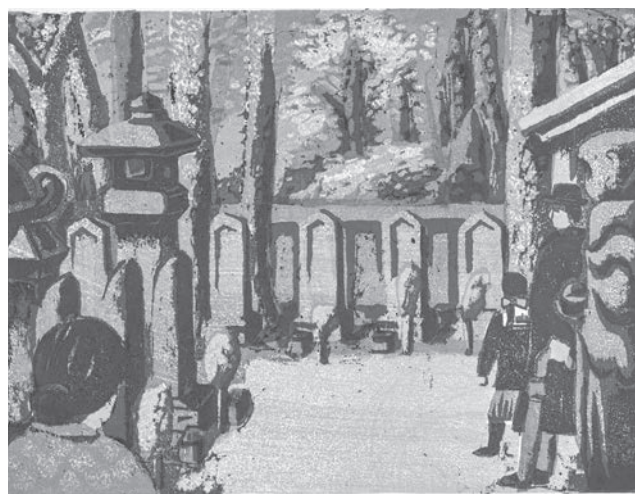


Fig. 11. Azechi Umetaro (1902–1999), *Graveyard of Sengakuji Temple*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA. Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.22 (cat. 31).

Woodblock prints not only referenced an impressive artistic past, but also allowed expressive modernist visual language to “capture the essence” of the places the artists portrayed as well as the emotions they, and the nation, felt. It was through

the use of the woodblock print medium, therefore, that the same abstract visual language used to document modernity was transformed into an expression of trauma and inspired recovery through the nostalgic images of the beloved city.

- 1 Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 191–93.
- 2 Lawrence Smith, *Japanese Prints During the Allied Occupation, 1945–1952* (London: British Museum Press, 2002), 23.
- 3 Helen Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints: The Early Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 16.
- 4 Junko Nishiyama, “The *Sōsaku-banga* Publisher Nakajima Jūtārō,” in *Waves of Renewal: Modern Japanese Prints, 1900 to 1960*, ed. Chris Uhlenbeck, Amy Reigle Rewland, and Maureen de Vries Leiden (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2016), 57.
- 5 Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 139.
- 6 Donald Jenkins, *Images of a Changing World: Japanese Prints of the Twentieth Century* (Portland, OR: Portland Art Association, 1983), 16.
- 7 Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 138.
- 8 Donald Jenkins, “The Artist’s Touch, the Craftsman’s Hand: Endurance and Innovation in Japanese Prints,” in *The Artist’s Touch, The Craftsman’s Hand: Three Centuries of Japanese Prints from the Portland Art Museum*, ed. Maribeth Graybill (Portland, OR: Portland Art Museum, 2011), 54.
- 9 The gouging tool—a U-shaped chisel—was conventionally used only to scoop out unwanted wood from around the lines of the design, not to make final marks, such as the leaf-shaped ones in Onchi’s and Kanae’s prints.
- 10 Elizabeth de Sabato Swinton, *The Graphic Art of Onchi Kōshirō: Innovation and Tradition* (New York: Garland, 1986), 12–18.
- 11 Elizabeth de Sabato Swinton, *Terrific Tokyo: A Panorama in Prints from the 1860s to the 1930s* (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1998), 25.
- 12 Nishiyama, “The *Sōsaku-banga* Publisher Nakajima Jūtārō,” 57.
- 13 Helen Merritt and Nanako Yamada, *Guide to Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints, 1900–1975* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 330.
- 14 For further discussion of the series, see Fiona Clarke, “Elements in Design: The Varied Landscapes of Hiroshige, ‘Artist of Mist, Snow and Rain,’” and Adrian Zhang, “Meeting of the Two Worlds at Nihonbashi: Hiroshige’s Prints and the Tenpō Crisis,” in this catalogue.
- 15 Edo was renamed Tokyo during the Meiji period when it became the capital.
- 16 Gary D. Allison, *Japan’s Postwar History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 45–53.
- 17 Smith, *Japanese Prints During the Allied Occupation*, 23.
- 18 Smith, *Japanese Prints During the Allied Occupation*, 23.
- 19 Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan, From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3.
- 20 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 161–80.
- 21 James King, *Beyond the Great Wave* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 181–86.
- 22 Edward Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising: The City Since the Great Earthquake* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 98.
- 23 Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 218.
- 24 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, 8, 145.
- 25 Smith, *Japanese Prints During the Allied Occupation*, 60.
- 26 Merritt, *Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 218.
- 27 Merritt and Yamada, *Guide to Modern Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 227.
- 28 Ian Jared Miller, *The Nature of the Beasts: Empire and Exhibition at the Tokyo Imperial Zoo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 46.
- 29 Miller, *The Nature of the Beasts*, 47.
- 30 Elizabeth de Sabato Swinton, *The Graphic Art of Onchi Kōshirō*, 17.
- 31 Azechi Umetaro, *Japanese Woodblock Prints: Their Techniques and Appreciation*, trans. Charles A. Pomeroy (Tokyo: Toto Shuppan, 1963), 48. The keyblock is the first woodblock that is printed, containing all of the outlines, usually in black, for the final design.
- 32 Miller, *The Nature of the Beasts*, 97–122.
- 33 Miller, *The Nature of the Beasts*, 97–122.
- 34 Miller, *The Nature of the Beasts*, 97–122.
- 35 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, 137.
- 36 Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising*, 5.
- 37 Peter Duus, *Modern Japan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 187–97. For further discussion on the *sōsaku-banga* movement, see Lilly Middleton, “Good Taste and Patriotism as Commodity: Koizumi Kishio’s Print Series and the New Middle Class in Japan’s Shōwa Period,” in this catalogue.
- 38 Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), xv.
- 39 JongHwa Lee, “The ‘Sacred’ Standing for the ‘Fallen’ Spirits: Yasukuni Shrine and Memory of War,” *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication* 9, no. 4 (November 2016): 374.
- 40 Trent E. Maxey, “At the Threshold of Modern Living: Tokyo in the 1920s and 1930s,” in *Reinventing Tokyo: Japan’s Largest City in the Artistic Imagination*, ed. Samuel Morse (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2012), 31.
- 41 Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan’s Unending Postwar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 59.
- 42 Lee, “The ‘Sacred’ Standing for the ‘Fallen’ Spirits,” 368–69.
- 43 Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine*, 13.
- 44 Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine*, 20.
- 45 Maribeth Graybill and Lynn Katsumoto, “Catalogue of the Exhibition,” in *The Artist’s Touch, The Craftsman’s Hand*, 297.
- 46 This is unlike in *Ueno Zoo and Graveyard of Sengakuji Temple*, where a translucent quality was achieved through the process of applying ink to the various color blocks and printing with differing degrees of pressure. See note 49.
- 47 Graybill and Katsumoto, “Catalogue of the Exhibition,” 297.
- 48 John A. Tucker, *The Forty-Seven Rōnin: The Vendetta in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1–3.
- 49 Azechi, *Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 48. The baren is the tool used to press the back of the paper onto the woodblock in order to print the image.
- 50 Lawrence Smith, *Modern Japanese Prints, 1912–1989: Woodblocks and Stencils* (New York: Cross River Press, 1994), 22.
- 51 Azechi, *Japanese Woodblock Prints*, 25.
- 52 Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 15.

Timely and Timeless

Japan's Modern Transformation in Woodblock Prints

Exhibition Catalogue

All works from The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College
unless otherwise noted



1. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)

Processional Standard-Bearers at Nihonbashi Bridge (Station #1 second version), from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8½ x 13½ in. (21.6 x 34.3 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.21



2. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)

Nissaka Sayo no Nakayama (Station #26), from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833–34

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8¾ x 13¾ in. (22.5 x 34.9 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.13



3. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)

The Naniwaya Pine in Adachi-chō, from the series *Famous Views of Osaka*, 1834

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8½ x 13½ in. (21.6 x 34.3 cm). Gift of Knut S. Royce '62, P'16, 2016.2.3



4. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)

Evening Snow on the Asuka Mountain, from the series *Eight Views of the Environs of Edo*, 1837–38

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9 x 14 in. (22.9 x 35.6 cm). Gift of Knut S. Royce '62, P'16, 2013.6



5. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)

The Asakusa River, Kinryūzan Temple, and Azuma Bridge, from the series Famous Places in the Eastern Capital, 1843–47

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (19.4 x 31.1 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.4



6. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)

Owari Province: Tsushima, Tennō Festival, from the series *Famous Places in the Sixty-odd Provinces*, 1853

Blockcutter: Yokokawa Takejirō (Hori Take)

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14⁷/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆ in. (36.7 x 24.6 cm). Gift of Knut S. Royce '62, P'16, 2016.2.2



7. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)
Night View of Saruwaka-machi, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1856

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 13¼ x 8¾ in. (33.7 x 21.3 cm).
 Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.14



8. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)
Goten-yama, Shinagawa, from the series *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1856

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14¾ x 9½ in. (36.5 x 24.1 cm).
 Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.3



9. Utagawa Yoshitora (active 1850–1880)
View of Mount Fuji, 1855

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (21.9 x 34.6 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.2



10. Utagawa Yoshitora (active 1850–1880)
Nihonbashi Bridge, 1870s

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 13 x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (33 x 21.9 cm).
 Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery,
 2018.3.7



11. Utagawa Kunisada I (Toyokuni III) (1786–1864) and Utagawa Kunihisa II (1832–1891)

Listening to the Sound of Crickets on an Autumn Night, 1860

Publisher: Moriya Jihei (Kinshindō); Blockcutter: Ōta Komakichi (Hori Koma, Ōta Tashichi)

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 13½ x 28¾ in. (34.3 x 72.2 cm). Gift of Knut S. Royce '62, P'16, 2016.2.4a–c



12. Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839–1892)

Joga Flees to the Moon, from the series *One Hundred Aspects of the Moon*, 1885

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (35.7 x 24.1 cm). Gift of Knut S. Royce '62, P'16, 2016.2.1



13. Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839–1892)

The Fox-Woman Kuzunoha Leaving Her Child, from the series *New Forms of Thirty-Six Ghosts*, 1890

Woodblock print, ink, color, and lacquer highlights on paper, 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (35.9 x 24.1 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.1



14. Utagawa Hiroshige III (1843–1894)
The Grand Opening of Kawarazaki-za Theater, 1874

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 14¼ x 28⅞ in. (36.2 x 71.4 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.6a–c



15. Artist Unknown
Opening of the New Azuma Bridge in Tokyo, 1888

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 14½ x 29 in. (36.8 x 73.7 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.5a–c



16. Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915)

Lieutenant-General Yamaji Leads the Second Japanese Army on Landing on the Jinzhou Peninsula (Liaodong), 1894

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (36 x 75 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.9a–c



17. Ogata Gekkō (1859–1920)

Sino-Japanese War: Illustration of the Occupation of the Battery at Port Arthur, 1894

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (35.2 x 69.9 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.8a–c



18. Ogata Gekkō (1859–1920)

Illustration of Captain Osawa's Seven-Man Suicide Squad from the Warship Yaeyama Pushing Forward in Rongcheng Bay, 1895

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, triptych, 13¾ x 28¼ in. (35.2 x 71.8 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.10a–c



19. Artist Unknown

Troops Leaving Hiroshima Harbor, from the series *Eight Scenes from the Sino-Japanese War*, 1894–95

Color lithograph on paper, 18¾ x 25 in. (46.7 x 63.5 cm). 2003.2.15



20. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858)

Kyoto: The Great Bridge at Sanjō (Station # 55), from the series *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, Hashiguchi Goyō Studio 1919 reprint edition

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 8¾ x 13¾ in. (22.5 x 34.9 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.11



21. Kawase Hasui (1883–1957)

Kankai Temple in Beppu, ca. 1927 (later impression)

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 14 in. (23.8 x 35.6 cm). Gift of Miss Mildred Sawyer, 1951.2.16



22. Takahashi Shōtei (1871–1945)
Teahouse in Rainy Night at Kiridoshi, 1930s

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9½ x 6¾ in. (24.1 x 17.2 cm).
Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery,
2018.3.12



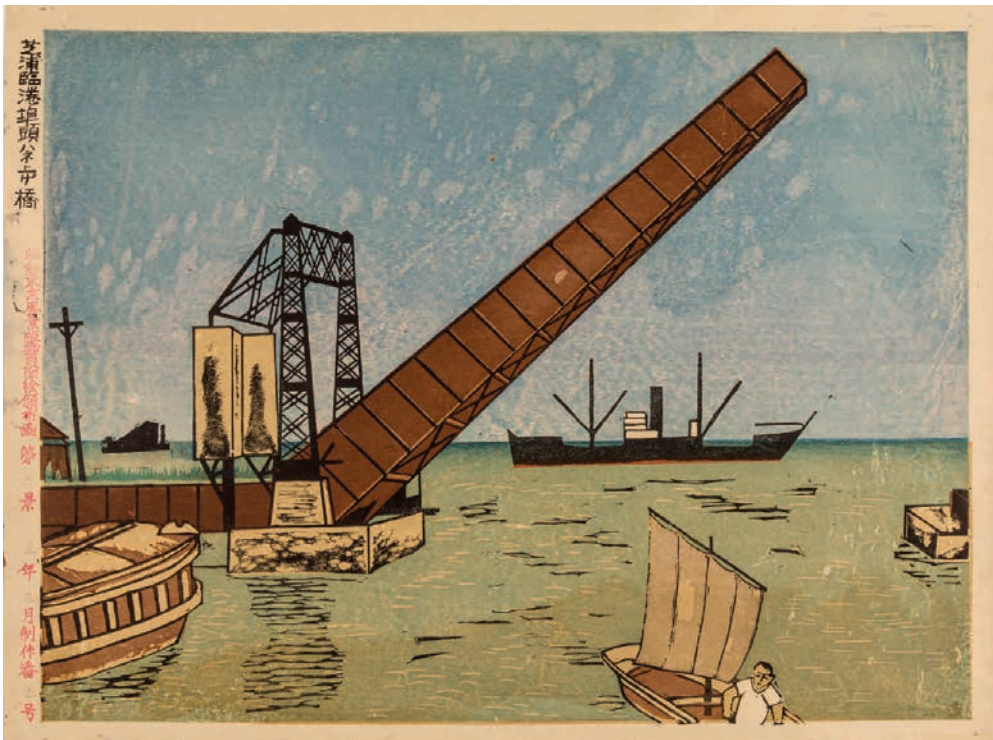
23. Oda Hironobu (b. 1888)
Hot Salt Water Bath at Shiobara Hot Spring, 1930s

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14⅞ x 9¼ in. (35.9 x 23.5 cm).
Private Collection



24. Kokan Bannai (1900–1963)
Nihonbashi Bridge in Snow, 1930

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 10½ x 15½ in. (26.7 x 39.4 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.18



25. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945)
Drawbridge at Shibaura, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, 1930

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 11 x 14¾ in. (27.9 x 37.2 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.15



26. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945)
Waterfall at Sekiguchi, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, 1931

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 in. (37.2 x 27.9 cm).
 Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery,
 2018.3.16



27. Koizumi Kishio (1893–1945)
May Sports Season at Meiji Shrine Outer Gardens, from the series *One Hundred Pictures of Great Tokyo in the Shōwa Era*, 1932

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 in. (37.2 x 27.9 cm).
 Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery,
 2018.3.17



28. Wada Sanzō (1883–1967)
Pilots, from the series *Japanese Vocations in Pictures*, 1939

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 11 x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (27.9 x 37.2 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.19



29. Wada Sanzō (1883–1967)
Boxing Match, from the series *Japanese Vocations in Pictures*, 1939

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (29 x 39 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.20



30. Ōiwa Chūichi (b. 1891)

The Coast of Morozaki in Aichi, from the series *One Hundred Views of New Japan*, 1939

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (23 x 30.2 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.26



31. Azechi Umetaro (1902–1999)

Graveyard of Sengakuji Temple, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.22



32. Onchi Kōshirō (1891–1955)

***Ueno Zoo*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945**

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7½ x 9½ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.23



33. Maekawa Senpan (1888–1960)

***Honjo Factory District*, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945**

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7½ x 9½ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.24



34. Kawakami Sumio (1895–1972)

Torii Gate at Kudan (Yasukuni Shrine), from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7⅞ x 9½ in. (18.1 x 24.1 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.25



35. Maeda Masao (1904–1974)

Red Gate, National Treasure, from the series *Recollections of Tokyo*, 1945

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7⅞ x 10½ in. (20 x 26.7 cm). Museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2018.3.27



36. Azechi Umetaro (1902–1999)
Stand on the Snow Gorge, 1956

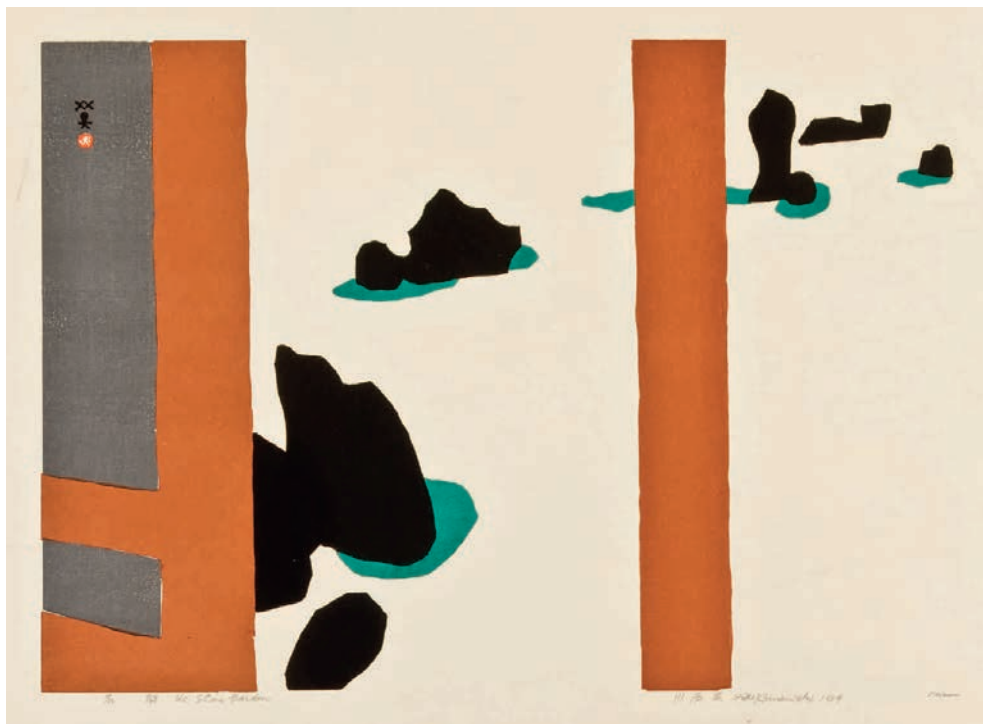
Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 23 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 16 in. (58.7 x 40.6 cm). Gift of Meyer P. and Vivian O. Potamkin, 1957.1.38



37. Yamaguchi Susumu (1897–1983)

***Mt. Hodaka at Day Break*, 1957**

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 17½ x 23½ in. (44.5 x 59.7 cm). Gift of Meyer P. and Vivian O. Potamkin, 1957.1.18



38. Kawanishi Hide (1894–1965)

***The Stone Garden*, 1959**

Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 17½ x 22⅝ in. (45.6 x 57.5 cm). Gift of Meyer P. and Vivian O. Potamkin, 190.1.19