

**From the Editor**

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

## Early Modern Japanese Art History--An Overview of the State of the Field<sup>1</sup>

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### Chronological Parameters

In general, scholars from various disciplines

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Richard Wilson for supplying this information.

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

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

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

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

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

### Theories, Methods, Materials

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Publications and Their Audiences**

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

### **Art Book Publishing and the Art Market**

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

### **Dissertations**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Importance of Museum Publications

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tant recent catalogues.<sup>18</sup>

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

Museum publications also make an important

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

### The Impact of University Presses

Apart from museum-published catalogues, the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Use of Photographs in Art Publications

Although many of the new art historical discourses de-emphasize the importance of the art work in favor of theoretical approaches, inevitably, most authors of publications about art still take art works as their starting points. Thus, inclusion of photographs is necessary to completion of their books. Photos are often expensive<sup>27</sup> and difficult to acquire, especially if one wishes to use materials from Japanese collections. It is not uncommon for a completed manuscript to languish at a publisher's editorial office (some, for years) waiting for procurement of photos. Some of the large Japanese trade publishers have amassed a huge quantity of photos that they regularly re-use (such as in their series of translated books) in order to save money. These same Japanese publishers also favor production of books that include photos by their own staff photographers, for both convenience and quality control, eschewing publication of books, such as the art holdings of major American museums, whose institutions demand high copyright fees and use of their own in-house photographs.

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

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

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



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

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

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

mutual interests in Ukiyoe, crafts, and Japanese domestic architecture and gardens. After then, somewhat separate subject emphases for scholarship and art collecting emerged. Until quite recently, with the growth of graduate programs at the Universities of London, Leiden, Zurich, and Heidelberg, European interests, on the part of both scholars and collectors, remained strongest in decorative arts — ceramics, metalwork, inro, netsuke, samurai arts, and cloisonné<sup>31</sup> --while American scholars focused more on paintings. Many Americans' interests coincided with that of serious American collectors, whose holdings have often served as the focus of scholarly research.<sup>32</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

port products by the Japanese government at the many 19th century International Expositions. Some of the early writers about crafts, traveled to Japan and became enamored with the architecture and gardens as well. Their publications begat this sub-field, which has remained somewhat separate from art historical discourse up to the present. The first great promoter of Japanese architecture in the West was Edward Morse, who wrote about domestic architecture, much of it constructed during the Edo period, that he saw when he first visited Japan in 1877.<sup>34</sup> From the 1930s, practicing architects in the West had become infatuated with traditional Japanese architecture as embodied in the imperial villa at Katsura. This monument was said to have been “discovered” by the German architect, Bruno Taut (1880-1938). He traveled to Japan in 1933 to escape the Nazis and subsequently published several books on Japanese domestic architecture, praising those aspects of it which shared aesthetic similarities to Western architectural modernism.<sup>35</sup> Architect Walter Gropius’s influential 1960 book on the Katsura assured that this interest carried over to the post-war period.

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

tors and students of traditional art historical methodologies.

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

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

#### **English Translations of Japanese Scholarship**

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

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

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

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

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

### Publications by Western Authors

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

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

<sup>37</sup> Harold Stern. *Rimpa* (New York: Japan Society, 1971).

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

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

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

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

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

### An Age of Fluorescence – Scholarship and Publications Since 1980

#### Surveys of Early Modern Japanese Art

Examining the changing representation of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While most publications about Early Modern Japanese art have delved deeply into a narrow topic or theme, only three recent significant publications have sought to survey the artistic achievements of the bulk of this historical period, through a focus on Edo period arts. One of these is Christine Guth's paperback volume for Abrams' Perspectives series,<sup>49</sup> the other two are exhibition catalogues. A growing movement towards interdisciplinary and thematic approaches to the study of Early Modern Japan art over the past twenty years is nowhere more evident than when comparing these two exhibition catalogues, both featuring treasures from Japanese collections. William Watson's British Museum catalogue of 1980<sup>50</sup> opens with two historical essays then proceeds with a traditional media by media progression of the arts hierarchically, beginning with those of greater importance to the traditional canon: painting, calligraphy, wood-block prints, lacquer, ceramics, armor, sword blades, sword mounts, sculpture, netsuke, textiles.

In contrast, Robert Singer's 1999 catalogue for

a National Gallery exhibition<sup>51</sup> also includes an essay by an historian, in this case, Herman Ooms. Oom's introduction is actually integral to the book's conception, for he discusses the art in the context of the society in which it was produced. In subsequent chapters, the authors have abandoned the more traditional scheme of surveying the artistic achievements of the art by media for a more contextual approach. To the organizers of this exhibition, Edo art is a product of a largely urban society and is characterized by its variety, sophistication, and high technical quality. Art is viewed as a status-conferring commodity. Chapters are given provocative, but sometimes baffling, titles: "Ornamental Culture: Style and Meaning in Edo Japan," "Arms: the Balance of Peace," "Workers of Edo: Ambiance, Archetype, or Individual," "Old Worlds, New Visions: Religion and Art in Edo Japan," "City, Country, Travel, and Vision in Edo Cultural Landscapes," and "The Human Figure in the Playground of Edo Artistic Imagination."

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

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

<sup>49</sup> Guth. *Art of Edo Japan*.

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

<sup>51</sup> Singer, et al. *Edo: Art in Japan 1615-1868*.

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

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

### Architecture and Gardens

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

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

### Crafts and Folk Arts

As with earlier studies, most publications in these areas take the form of museum exhibition catalogues, and have focused on aesthetics and techniques. Some of these publications also address their subjects in new ways, adding commentary on the social and economic circumstances of production, influenced by the perspectives of material or visual culture studies. The study of ceramics, because of its importance to the Japanese tea ceremony, and as a major export product to Europe, has received more attention than most other decorative arts. Many ceramics studies have incorporated archaeological evidence, making this the most active field of Early Modern studies to make use of such materials. With the exception of a few more general exhibition catalogues, publications have focused on the history of particular types of wares, especially those at Arita, Echizen, Hirado, Kyoto, and Seto and Mino<sup>57</sup>.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Painting and Calligraphy

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

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

<sup>58</sup> Gluckman et al. *When Art Became Fashion*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Ukiyoe Studies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

### New Perspectives and Unfinished Business – Thematic and Interdisciplinary Approaches

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Archaeology

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

### Cross Cultural Influences And International Contacts

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

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

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

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

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

### Gender Studies/Sexuality in Art

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

### Studies of Religious Sites, Icons, and Other Devotional Arts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Samurai Arts, Arms, and Armor

During the 1980s, several popular touring exhibitions focused on elite samurai arts of the daimyo<sup>92</sup> and samurai accoutrements, especially helmets.<sup>93</sup> Yet it was not until the appearance of Karen Gerhart's book, *The Eyes of Power* in 1999, that a more sophisticated view of the relationship of the highest level of samurai arts to politics emerged. Gerhart zeroed in on art and architectural programs at three important sites—Nikko Toshogu, Nagoya Castle, and Nijo Castle in Kyoto. These sites were created by and for the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu. He carefully planned the buildings and their decorative elements—both inside and out—to disseminate specific political messages that bolstered the legitimization of the Tokugawa hegemony. Still, understanding the role of samurai as both patrons and makers of arts, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, are issues that have yet to be adequately addressed by scholars.

### Tea Ceremony and Related Arts

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

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

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

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

<sup>95</sup> Graham. *Tea of the Sages*.

essays by scholars from various disciplines that addresses both *Chanoyu* and *Sencha*.<sup>96</sup>

### Other Thematic and Interdisciplinary Studies

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

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

### Concluding Remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(arranged within categories alphabetically)

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

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

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

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

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

#### Organizational Framework

##### 1. References And Survey Books

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

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

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

**4. Paintings, Prints, And Calligraphy**

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

**5. Thematic And Interdisciplinary Studies**

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

**6. Dissertations And Post Doctoral Theses**

- A. In North America
- B. In Europe

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

**1. General Sources****A. Reference Books And Bibliographies**

*A Dictionary of Japanese Art Terms* Tokyo: Bijutsu Co., Ltd., 1990.  
 Ettig, Wolfgang. *Bibliographie zur Technik,*

*Geschichte und Anwendung historischer japanischer Waffen* (Bibliography on technique, history and usage of Japanese weapons). Bad Homburg: Verlag Wolfgang Ettig, 1993.

Green, William, comp. *Japanese Woodblock Prints, a bibliography of writings from 1822-1993, entirely or partly in English text.* Leiden: Ukiyo-e Books and the Ukiyo-e Society of America, 1993.

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## Bibliography of Literature in Early Modern Japan

(English language, alphabetical order by sub-fields)

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