

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussant: Cheryl Crowley, Emory University

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

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

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

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

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

Nakamura describes four elements that characterize these *bunjin*:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

points out, engaged in a wide range of disciplines.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(arranged within categories alphabetically)

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

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

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

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

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

Organizational Framework

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