

Merits and demerits in the study of *ukiyo-e*: Issues stemming from how *ukiyo-e* is regarded in modern Japan

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Explanatory Note

From the late 19th century onwards, Japanese art gained great popularity in the West on the back of Japanese taste (Japonisme). *Ukiyo-e* was at the centre of this trend and was exported to Europe one after another. *Ukiyo-e* was not only a valuable export resource for Japan from the Meiji era onwards, but also highly valued in Europe, especially in France, where research into *ukiyo-e* began earlier than in Japan. In Japan, however, *ukiyo-e* was extremely undervalued and there was no perspective to recognize *ukiyo-e* as a work of art.

It can be pointed out that although full-fledged research into the history of Japanese art began in Japan after the Meiji period, only the study of *ukiyo-e* has developed in a peculiar way. The first full-fledged study of *ukiyo-e* in Japan is considered to have been the first publication of the magazine *Konohana* (1910).

Since then, *ukiyo-e* research has continued in the style of publishing magazines (specialized journals). It is interesting to note that only the study of *ukiyo-e* is still continuing, which distinguishes it from the study of other Japanese art forms. This paper carefully traces the history of *ukiyo-e* research centered on this specialized journal and points out its characteristics.

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I. Introduction

Ukiyo-e 浮世絵 first appeared during the early Edo period, then became obsolete, and finally disappeared with the last publication of *nishiki-e* 錦絵 prints, a type of *ukiyo-e*, on the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). This study addresses how *ukiyo-e* is regarded in modern Japan, how and when its study began, the changes it underwent, and its impact and influences.

In 1889, American art historian Ernest Fenollosa wrote an article titled “Ukiyo-e shi kō 浮世絵史考 (study on the history of *ukiyo-e*),” first published in *Kokka* 『国華』, a magazine of Japanese arts¹. Here, the author concluded that “Tokugawa’s fall was the end of *ukiyo-e*.” While *ukiyo-e* artists continued to produce their works, notwithstanding Fenollosa’s views, many competing forms of painting did affect the popularity of *ukiyo-e*. A major movement at that time tried to share art with the masses by holding exhibitions and using art museums as venues. For example, the first National Industrial Exhibition in 1877 was held in a fine arts building, a gallery that displayed paintings and other artworks². For many people, visiting a building newly christened as an “art museum” would have been a novel experience - since the traditional way to enjoy *ukiyo-e* prints and such other art was to purchase them at an *ezōshiya* 絵草紙屋 (a picture book shop).

1. Ernest Fenollosa, “Ukiyo-e shi kō,” *Kokka*, nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, & 8, 1889-1890.

2. Dōshin Satō stated that this meant “a form of exhibition for the general public and the establishment of a new exhibition space called an exhibition hall.” Dōshin Satō, “Tenrankai geijutsu ni tsuite 展覧会芸術について (study on exhibition art),” in *Nihon bijutsu zenshu, Dai nijuichi kan, Edo kara meiji e, Kindai no bijutsu I* 『日本美術全集、第21巻、江戸から明治へ、近代の美術I』 (Kōdansha 講談社, 1991).

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Meanwhile, printing had undergone major changes. The woodblock printing technique, the method *ukiyo-e* printing was based on, was displaced by the dramatic development and use of copperplate printing - this was already in use since the 18th century - and by the introduction of lithography³. Many Meiji era *ukiyo-e* prints were *nishiki-ē*, depicting scenes of war. Common themes included the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. Thus, *ukiyo-e* prints became a means of transmitting information, a role that was, with the passing of time, taken over by other media better equipped to convey realistic information, particularly photography.

This study explores the twilight era of *ukiyo-e* prints, when and in what forms they were appreciated and studied, and their influence on art, art history, and art appreciation in Japan and beyond.

II. The beginning and background of *ukiyo-e* studies

(1) The beginning of *ukiyo-e* studies by specialty magazines

Ukiyo-e studies have always been and still remain specialized. Numerous types of art and art history genres exist, but unlike *ukiyo-e*, few have specialty magazines devoted to their research and are still published. An exemplar journal in this regard is *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* 『浮世絵芸術』 (*ukiyo-e* Art), first published in 1962 by Kokusai *ukiyo-e* gakkai 国際浮世絵学会 (International *ukiyo-e* Society)⁴. Regarding other genres, the only other journal I know is *Bukkyō geijutsu* 『佛教藝術』 (Buddhist Arts), launched in 1948⁵.

This phenomenon has surprisingly existed for some time. We can trace the first *ukiyo-e* magazine — *Konohana* 『此花』, published by Gaikotsu Miyatake (宮武外骨, journalist, 1867-1955) — to 1910. However, this does not mean that no art magazines have been published before that. *Gayūsekichin* 『臥遊席珍』⁶, the oldest known art magazine in Japan, was published by Yuichi Takahashi (高橋由一, painter, 1828-1894) of the Tenkai gakusha 天絵学舎 painting school. Its first issue appeared in 1880. Other magazines followed, including *Dainippon bijutsu shinpō* 『大日本美術新報』 (1883-1887), *Tōyō Kaiga sōshi* 『東洋絵画叢誌』 (1884-1886) and its successor *Kaiga sōshi* 『絵画叢誌』 (1887-1917), and various other art magazines, including the aforementioned *Kokka*⁷.

This makes the launch of the *Konohana*, an *ukiyo-e* magazine, all the more exceptional. Essentially, all the other magazines were comprehensive art anthologies and they differed slightly in content and focus. Some other art magazines focused on a single genre. This was before the publication of *Konohana: Shokusen kenkyūkai zasshi* 『織染研究会雑誌』 (edited by the Senshoku kenkyūkai 染色研究会 and first published in 1890), *Nansō gaen* 『南宋画苑』 (first published in 1902 by Murakami shoten 村上書店), and *Tōkikai* 『陶器界』 (first published in 1910 by Tōyō jitsugyōsha 東洋実業社)⁸. Other specialty magazines were the watercolor magazine *Mizue* 『みづゑ』, the woodblock print magazine *Heitan* 『平旦』 (both of these were first published in 1904), and *Hōsun* 『方寸』 (first published in 1907); I will discuss this later. Nevertheless, these magazines mainly focused on developing the field by focusing on the current trends of “contemporary art” and were distinct from *Konohana*, which featured *ukiyo-e*

3. Shigeru Aoki, “Kindai no hanga 近代の版画 (study on modern prints)”, in *Nihon no kindai bijutsu 12, Kindai no hanga* 『日本の近代美術 12、近代の版画』 (Ōtsuki shoten 大月書店, 1994).

4. It was first published in 1962 as the Nihon *ukiyo-e* kyōkai’s 日本浮世絵協会 (Japan *ukiyo-e* society) journal. Initially, it was published four times a year, but in 1999, when the Nihon *ukiyo-e* kyōkai changed its name to the Kokusai *ukiyo-e* gakkai (International *ukiyo-e* society), the journal switched to a biannual publication. See No. 130, published in 1999.

5. Edited by the Bukkyō geijutsu gakkai 佛教藝術学会 (Buddhist art society) and published by Mainichi shinbun 毎日新聞 (No. 1-339) and Mainichi shinbun shuppan 毎日新聞出版 (No. 340-350). In January 2017, the publication was suspended at Issue 350. A committee was formed in January 2018 to restart the journal. The annual report of Chichūkai gakkai 地中海学会 (Collegium Mediterranistarum), *Chichūkai gaku kenkyū* 『地中海学研究』 (*Mediterraneus*) (first published in 1978) covers a slightly wider range than this case. It encompasses art history and considers multiple countries as well.

6. It was published from No.1 to No. 5 and then discontinued. It has recently been reprinted as Modern Art Magazine Series: Shigeru Aoki, ed., *Kindai bijutsu zasshi sōsho 2: Gayū sekichin* 『近代美術雑誌叢書2：臥遊席珍』 (Yumani shobō ゆまに書房, 1991).

7. Gaikotsu Miyatake and Taketoshi Nishida 西田長寿, “Meiji zasshi nenpyō 明治雑誌年表 (chronology of Meiji period magazines)”, in Meiji bunka kenkyūkai 明治文化研究会 (society for the study of Meiji culture), ed., *Meiji bunka zenshū. Dai go kan. Zasshi hen* 『明治文化全集 第五巻雑誌編』 (Nihon hyōron shinsha 日本評論新社, 1955).

8. See Note 7.

prints that were already out of print at the time of their publication. Incidentally, among the early miscellaneous art magazines mentioned above, only *Kokka* typically addressed the so-called “old art” or “art history”; the others centered primarily on “contemporary art” trends, meaning one could not imagine the launch of a magazine covering the history of an art form such as *ukiyo-e* which was already out of style⁹.

(2) Early *ukiyo-e* research on exhibitions and editorial publications

Dōshin Satō’s “Bijutsu, bijutsu shi, bijutsu shi gaku no naka no ukiyo-e 美術・美術史・美術史学の中の浮世絵 (*ukiyo-e* in fine art, art history, and the discipline of art history)” (2016) provided detailed information on the start of *ukiyo-e* research from the perspective of *ukiyo-e* themed exhibits and editorials¹⁰. Satō credited Fenollosa with the founding of modern studies on *ukiyo-e*. To begin his research, Satō noted the exhibition at the fifth regular meeting of the *Kangakai* 鑑画会 (study group on Japanese painting) (May 1884), the first such exhibition on *ukiyo-e*¹¹, and analyzed the previously mentioned treatise “Ukiyo-e shi kō” (1889), a work of art history research. In his *ukiyo-e* studies, Fenollosa sought to “clarify [its] historical development” and thereby shed light on its overall chronological history and the “evolution” of its technique and presentation. Fenollosa can be said to have founded contemporary *ukiyo-e* study, given that modern *ukiyo-e* study discusses its history and differences in technique and presentation (though not necessarily its “evolution”) through comparisons.

In addition, as a comprehensive investigation of *ukiyo-e*, Satō cites *Ukiyo-e ha gashū* 『浮世絵派画集』 (art books of the *ukiyo-e* school’s works, in five volumes, published by Shinbi shoin 審美書院, 1906-1908) and an article on *ukiyo-e* in Japanese art history: “Ukiyo-e yōshiki ron 浮世絵様式論 (study on the style of *ukiyo-e*)” by Shizuya Fujikake (藤懸静也, art historian, 1881-1958) (*Kokka*, vol. 254, 257, 259, 260, 1911-1912)¹². Many magazines centering on *ukiyo-e* have been published amidst this rise in momentum.

(3) Publication of *ukiyo-e* specialty magazines

As mentioned earlier, the first *ukiyo-e* magazine *Konohana* was published in 1910. *Konohana* ran for a brief period of time — from January 1, 1910 (Issue No. 1) to January 15, 1912 (Issue No. 22). However, other *ukiyo-e* magazines continued to be published as described below.

If we are discussing only pre-war publications, no less than eight magazines can be considered *ukiyo-e* specialty magazines. *Konohana* was followed by three magazines during the Taisho era and four magazines during the pre-war Showa era. The titles listed below are in the order of publication.

- 1) *Konohana* 『此花』, Gazoku bunko 雅俗文庫, January 1910-July 1912.
- 2) *Ukiyo-e* 『浮世絵』, Ukiyo-e sha 浮世絵社; Sakai kōkodō 酒井好古堂, June 1915-September 1920.
- 3) *Nishiki-e* 『錦絵』, Sōgei shoin 綜芸書院, May 1917-June 1920.
- 4) *Ukiyo-e no kenkyū* 『浮世絵之研究』, Nihon ukiyo-e kyōkai 日本浮世絵協会, October 1921-March 1929.
- 5) *Ukiyo-e* 『浮世絵』, Fukunaga shoten 福永書店, January-May 1928.
- 6) *Ukiyo-e shi* 『浮世絵志』, Unsōdo 芸艸堂, January 1929-September 1931.
- 7) *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* 『浮世絵芸術』, Ukiyo-e geijutsu sha 浮世絵芸術社; Daihōkaku shobō 大鳳閣書房, February 1932-December 1935.
- 8) *Ukiyo-e kai* 『浮世絵界』, Ukiyo-e dōkōkai 浮世絵同好会, March 1936-June 1941.

9. Dōshin Satō pointed out that, by the time *Konohana* was published in 1910, *ukiyo-e* had already been “historicized” and become a subject of interest for art historians. Dōshin Satō, “Bijutsu, bijutsu shi, bijutsu shi gaku no naka no ukiyo-e,” *Bijutsu Forum* 21 『美術フォーラム 21』, No. 34, published by Daigo shobō 醍醐書房, 2016.

10. Satō, supra, Note 9. As for the publication of *ukiyo-e* magazines discussed in this paper, magazines *Konohana*, *Ukiyo-e*, and *Ukiyo-e no kenkyū* are mentioned in the section “Ukiyo-e kenkyū no honkakuka 浮世絵研究の本格化 (study on the full-dress development of *ukiyo-e* research)”.

11. *Ukiyo-e* exhibits, organized by Bunshichi Kobayashi 小林文七 — an *ukiyo-e* and picture dealer who was friendly with Fenollosa — were held in 1892, 1897, 1898, and 1900 (Satō, supra, Note 9).

12. Fenollosa published writings on the history of *ukiyo-e* in 1901 prior to this (Satō, supra, Note 9).

From these publication dates, two magazines were sometimes published concurrently, suggesting the demand for *ukiyo-e* magazines (or the number of associations desiring to publish one). Several magazines began studying *ukiyo-e* within less than ten years after it ceased, and this trend continued unabated until the start of the Second World War. We summarize below each of the magazines that studied *ukiyo-e* and its features.

(1) *Konohana*, published by Gazoku bunko (January 1910-July 1912; 22 volumes in total)

This magazine was launched by Gaikotsu Miyatake, a journalist, writer, scholar of life and manners, and a multitalented artist. Gaikotsu published more than 100 magazines and books, such as *Kokkei shinbun* 『滑稽新聞』 (a satirical newspaper) and *Omoshiro hanbun* 『面白半分』 (a collection of satirical essays)¹³. *Gazoku bunko* was an independent publishing division of the *Kokkei shinbun* publishing company that Gaikotsu supervised; the name *Konohana* was chosen to contrast with the prevalent mantra “bushidō” 武士道 (the way of the warrior) to embody the Japanese spirit¹⁴.

In the first issue’s foreword titled “*Konohana no sakishi riyū* 此花の咲きし理由 (statement for launching)”, the magazine described the steps leading to its launch. *Ukiyo-e* prints were very popular outside Japan, and their prices kept soaring. Meanwhile, back in the artform’s home country of Japan, *ukiyo-e* was looked down upon with scorn (or “cold eyes,” in the words of Gaikotsu). Gaikotsu described how, along with its prices, the foreigners’ purchases of *ukiyo-e* also increased from “around 1887”. *Ukiyo-e* prints were displayed in museums worldwide (specifically France, Germany, and England), prompting Gaikotsu to write as follows: “Japanese *ukiyo-e* must have real value. I felt that this was something I had to study and see for myself.” He was surprised that while research on the *ukiyo-e* master Katsushika Hokusai in Japanese consisted of “only the single volume, *Katsushika Hokusai den* 『葛飾北斎伝』 (biography of Hokusai Katsushika), containing hardly any pictures, [there were] 7 or 8 original books written in English, German, and French.” Gaikotsu concluded that “it would be a terrible thing for the Japanese to entrust *ukiyo-e* scholarship entirely to foreigners, and we definitely need to do our own research.”

The headline of the “preface” to the first issue read as follows: “This magazine is published monthly to advance interest and scholarship in Japanese *ukiyo-e*, which is gaining recognition, and its essential place in the canon of art around the globe¹⁵.”

Konohana marked the beginning of *ukiyo-e* magazine research. Gaikotsu seemed to take great pride in this, describing the magazine in his *Gazoku bunko shuppan tosyō mokuroku* 『雅俗文庫出版図書目録』 (catalogue of books published by *Gazoku Bunko* publishing) as “the only magazine specializing in historical and contemporary *ukiyo-e* works¹⁶.” Each issue’s table of contents contained the following statement: “While this publication does not include the results of specialized research on individual *ukiyo-e* artists, they will be published separately in the near future in collections such as *Ukiyo-e shi zenden* 『浮世絵師全伝』 (biography of all *ukiyo-e* artists) and *Ukiyo-e kagami* 『浮世絵鑑』.” Gaikotsu was the first to publish an *ukiyo-e* magazine and an art book listing the masterpieces of individual artists and the research on them¹⁷. We do not know whether *Ukiyo-e shi zen den* was really published, but we do know that some of the *Ukiyo-e kagami* series in 12 volumes were certainly in print. If all the 12 volumes had been published, they would have been the earliest complete collection of *ukiyo-e* prints. Gaikotsu included the following *ukiyo-e* artists in his series during the announcement of upcoming books in the first issue of *Konohana*.

Ukiyo-e kagami-A collection of 12 Japanese bound books.

13. Takao Yoshino 吉野孝雄, *Miyatake Gaikotsu den* 『宮武外骨伝』 (biography of Gaikotsu Miyatake), Kawade shobō shinsha 河出書房新社 (Kawade bunko 河出文庫), 2012.

14. Itaru Kimoto 木本至, *Hyōden Miyatake Gaikotsu* 『評伝宮武外骨』 (critical biography of Gaikotsu Miyatake) (Shakai shisousha 社会思想社, 1984).

15. This “preface” continues through the final issue, but starting from the 13th issue, the journal changed to “bimonthly.”

16. Eiichi Tanizawa, “Kaidai *Konohana* 解題此花 (bibliographical introduction of *Konohana*)”, in *Miyatake Gaikotsu chosaku shū. Dai nana kan, Konohana* 『宮武外骨著作集第七卷此花』, Kawade shobō shinsha, 1990.

17. All five volumes of the *Ukiyo-e ha gashū*, mentioned above and published by Shinbi shoin (1905-1907), precede this. However, this does not threaten the individual artist.

We selected 12 masters who could be considered to represent each school of *ukiyo-e* and 50 outstanding works of each master (with four colored frontispieces):

Hishikawa Moronobu gafu 『菱川師宣画譜』; *Okumura Masanobu gafu* 『奥村政信画譜』
Nishikawa Sukenobu gafu 『西川祐信画譜』; *Tsukioka Settei gafu* 『月岡雪鼎画譜』
Suzuki Harunobu gafu 『鈴木春信画譜』; *Katsukawa Shunshō gafu* 『勝川春章画譜』
Kitao Shigemasa gafu 『北尾重政画譜』; *Torii Kiyonaga gafu* 『鳥居清長画譜』
Kitagawa Utamaro gafu 『喜多川歌麿画譜』; *Utagawa Toyokuni gafu* 『歌川豊国画譜』
Katsushika Hokusai gafu 『葛飾北斎画譜』; *Taiso Yoshitoshi gafu* 『大蘇芳年画譜』

The volume presenting Moronobu Hishikawa was published on July 15, 1909. The second volume presenting Masanobu Okumura is nearly completed and will be published by the end of February or March 1910.

The first three volumes published were as follows: Vol. 1 presented *Hishikawa Moronobu Gafu. Ukiyo-ehon no so* 『菱川師宣画譜 浮世絵本の祖』 (Moronobu Hishikawa's art collection). Vol. 2 presented *Okumura Masanobu Gafu. Yamato-e shi* 『奥村政信画譜 大和絵師』 (Masanobu Okumura's art collection). Finally, Vol. 3 presented *Nishikawa Sukenobu gafu* 『西川祐信画譜』 (Sukenobu Nishikawa's art collection¹⁸). The progress of publications could be understood from the notices announcing the upcoming publications. The publication of the second volume was delayed relative to its announcement in Issue No. 1 of *Konohana*; its publication was postponed to the “end of March or the beginning of April”; Issue No. 3 appeared in March 1910. However, when Issue No. 5 was published in May 1910, it gave the publication date for Vol. 2 as “April 25 of this year [1910].” Vol. 3 seems to have encountered an even more difficult situation that continued for a long time. After Issue No. 5 was published, a statement announced that “[*Nishikawa Sukenobu gafu*] will be published later this year,” and this announcement was repeated until Issue No. 13 (January 1911; it mentioned a “sculpting in progress”). However, the delay continued: it was “scheduled to be published on June 1” (Issue No. 15, May 1911); the publication was postponed to “August 1” (Issue No. 16, July 1911); Issue No. 17 (September 1911) finally announced the publication of Vol. 3 on September 1, 1911.

The *juniketsu* 十二傑 (12 masters) selected here are all well-known *ukiyo-e* artists, but a present-day publisher compiling a complete collection of *ukiyo-e* may not dedicate a single volume to Masanobu Okumura, Settei Tsukioka, Nishikawa Sukenobu, Shigemasa Kitao, or Yoshitoshi Taiso¹⁹. Hiroshige Utagawa's 歌川広重 name was also surprisingly not listed. The choice of the 12 masters in the earliest research on *ukiyo-e* made by Gaikotsu Miyatake appears curious from the present-day perspective. This magazine also included brightly colored plates of the works.

(2) *Ukiyo-e*, published by Ukiyo-e sha (June 1914-September 1920; 55 volumes in total)

The next publication was *Ukiyo-e*, released by Sakai kōkodō, an *ukiyo-e* dealer, collector, and appraiser. Issue No. 1 of this publication made the following statement in its introduction “*Ukiyo-e no hakkan ni tsuite* 『浮世絵』の發刊に就いて (statement for launching)”:

Ukiyo-e is almost entirely a product of the Edo period, and trying to understand it only from the [perspective of the] Meiji and Taisho eras without studying the Edo period ignores the continuity of history. While the study of *ukiyo-e* is unavoidably centered on the Edo period (the birthplace of *ukiyo-e*, of course), it does not stop with the study of Edo society. Looking back from the present, the great revolution of the Meiji Restoration certainly laid the foundation for a New Japan, but it was too quick to destroy the old ways, and many felt uneasy about losing something irreplaceable.

Above all, it was sad that *ukiyo-e* waned along with the *Haitō sanpatsu rei* 廃刀散髮令 (edict outlawing the carrying

18. Gaikotsu Miyatake, ed., *Ukiyo-e kagami. Dai go kan. Hishikawa Moronobu gafu. Ukiyo ehon no so* (Gazoku Bunko, July 1909); *Ukiyo-e kagami. Dai ni kan. Okumura Masanobu gafu. Yamato-e shi* (Gazoku Bunko, April 1910); *Ukiyo-e kagami. Dai san kan. Nishikawa Sukenobu gafu* (Gazoku Bunko, September 19, 1911).

19. For example, in *Ukiyo-e taika shūsei* 『浮世絵大家集成』 (the great *ukiyo-e* artists' art collection), vol. 20, plus six sequels (Daihōkaku shobō 大鳳閣書房, 1931); artists Moronobu, Masanobu, Sukenobu, Kiyonaga, and Toyokuni did not have individual volumes devoted to their work. Yoshitoshi's volume was the first of the supplement series. Yoshitoshi was not given a volume in *Ukiyo-e taikai* 『浮世絵大系』 (Shueisha 集英社, 1973, 17 volumes in total). Settei's work was not included in any of the complete works.

of swords and role of the samurai) ... As long as our civilization belongs to us, *ukiyo-e* research will be among the most brilliant aspects of our people's political, social, scientific, artistic, literary, or craft history and the history of theater, in a word the history of our civilization.

The fourth year of the Taisho era (1914) would have been the 48th year if it was considered part of the Meiji era. Almost 50 years after the Meiji Restoration, we find the history of the “Edo period” settled, allowing us to consider the period objectively. The magazine *Konohana* declared that it “does not include the results of specialized research on individual *ukiyo-e* artists... In order to avoid being intimidating to the common man, high-level editorials are avoided, and more approachable content will be prioritized²⁰.” In contrast, *Ukiyo-e* tried to proudly trumpet the “study” of its namesake. This attitude can be observed in the first issue's Table of Contents. It begins with serialized articles such as Goyō Hashiguchi 橋口五葉: “Suzuki Harunobu no ga 鈴木春信の画 (study of Harunobu Suzuki's work)”; idem, “Nishikie to bunmei seisaku 錦絵と文明政策 (study on the relationship between *nishiki-e* and civilization policy)”; and idem, “Ukiyo-e shi souboroku 浮世絵師掃墓録 (research on the tombstones of *ukiyo-e* artists²¹)”. Goyō's series was the study of an individual *ukiyo-e* artist, Harunobu Suzuki, while “Ukiyo-e shi souboroku” was the basis for biographical research on each artist. While the articles in *Konohana* were mainly written by Gaikotsu, various authors contributed to the discourse on *Ukiyo-e* - as is the case with present-day magazines.

Several notable points can be made about the magazine *Ukiyo-e*. First, it began by presenting research on individual artists and works. The first issue's table of contents included the names Harunobu (from the aforementioned “Suzuki Harunobu no ga”) and Hokusai and Hiroshige (Hama no hito 濱の人 “Hokusai to Hiroshige no nikuhitsu nidaisaku 北斎と広重の肉筆二大作 (study of two major paintings by Hokusai and Hiroshige)”). Subsequent issues contained other notable names: Toyokuni II (Utagawa) 二代豊国 (歌川), Shunchō (Katsukawa) 春潮 (勝川), and Moronobu Hishikawa in Issue No. 2; Kuniyoshi (Utagawa) 国芳 (歌川) in Issue No. 3; Kaigetsudō 懐月堂 in Issue No. 4; Utamaro (Kitagawa), Eisen (Keisai) 英泉 (溪斎) and Toyokuni I in Issue No. 5; and Koryūsai Isoda 磯田湖龍齋 in Issue No. 6. Issue No. 6 also contained research on Eitaku Kobayashi, a Meiji-era painter who still receives little attention (Mokuan Sekine 関根黙庵 (theater critic, 1863-1923) “Kobayashi Eitaku no koto 小林永濯の事 (research on Eitaku Kobayashi).” Even more interesting is the fact that Issue No. 6 also contained research on Sharaku Tōshūsai 東洲齋写楽 (dates of birth and death unknown). The first appearance was “Sharaku no kenkyū (1) 写楽の研究 (一) (research on Sharaku, part 1)” by Bungakushi Nakai 文学士中井, namely, art historian Sotaro Nakai 中井宗太郎 (1879-1966). The first article appeared in a five-part series that ran from Issue No. 6 (November 1915) through Issue No. 10. Sharaku has been described in various books from the Edo period such as *Ukiyo-e ruikō* 『浮世絵類考』 (*ukiyo-e* artists dictionary). In modern times, he has been mentioned in *Ukiyo-e jinbutsu shi* 『浮世絵人物誌』 (*ukiyo-e* artists dictionary, edited by Enpekiken (Tomoyasu) Kurokawa 黒川遠碧軒〔友恭〕 (banker/researcher), Shinshindō 振々堂, 1890), and *Ukiyo-e bikō* 『浮世絵備考』 (*ukiyo-e* artists dictionary, edited by Jinzan (Shōtarō) Umemoto 梅本塵山〔鐘太郎〕 (historian), Tōyōdō 東陽堂, 1895). However, his descriptions and works were minimal, suggesting that he did not rank among the top *ukiyo-e* artists. Sharaku (1910), a book by German scholar Julius Kurth, drastically changed scholars' thinking about the artist, but it was not translated into Japanese until much later²². The first Japanese mention of Kurth's work was in Kafū Nagai's 永井荷風 (novelist/ writer, 1879-1959) article “Ukiyo-e to edo engeki 浮世絵と江戸演劇 (study on *ukiyo-e* and Edo theatre)” in 1914²³. In

20. Gaikotsu Miyatake's intention that “*ukiyo-e* will be widely accepted by the general public” was based on the fact that *ukiyo-e*, which was acclaimed overseas as an art form, was not meant to be “art” in the high-brow sense, but rather a more down-to-earth form of entertainment for ordinary people in the Edo period. Katsuhiko Takahashi stated that Gaikotsu once praised “the depth and warmth of the Japanese people who created and nurtured this media (*ukiyo-e*)” and tried to convey its attraction and richness. Katsuhiko Takahashi, “Konohana no toikake 『此花』の問いかけ (study on what the magazine Konohana ask us),” in *Bessatsu Taiyō. Seitan 150 nen. Miyatake Gaikotsu* 『別冊太陽 生誕150年 宮武外骨』 (Heibonsha平凡社, 2017).

21. “Suzuki Harunobu no ga” was serialized in six parts in Issues 1-5 and 7; “Nishiki-e to bunmei seisaku” was serialized in two parts, both of them in Issue 2; and “Ukiyo-e shi souboroku” was serialized in seven parts in Issues 1-7.

22. The complete translation was finally published in 1995, many years later: Julius Kurth, Sharaku, trans. Tadashi Sadamura, and Junjirō Gamō (Adachi hanga kenkyū sho アダチ版画研究所, 1995).

23. Kafū Nagai, “Ukiyo-e to edo engeki,” in idem, *Edo geijutsu ron* 『江戸芸術論』 (Shunyōdō 春陽堂, 1920), first appeared in the same title published in the text of *Mita bungaku* 三田文学 in 1914.

the following year, Sōtarō Nakai published a paper mentioning Kurth's work, titled "Sharaku no geijutsu: Yakusha nigao-e no tensai 写楽の芸術: 役者似顔絵の天才 (study on Sharaku's art)"²⁴. The Nakai's 1915 serialization of this journal was based on this previous publication. But there had been a translated abstract of Kurth's work, entitled "Sharaku no kira-e 写楽の雲母絵 (study on Sharaku's kirazuri (mica-covered) prints)" written by Shimei Nakagawa 中川四明, a poet, reporter, and editor (1850-1917), in April 1914²⁵. In addition, Gekkō Takayasu's 高安月郊 (playwright/ poet, 1869-1944) review "Kurth no Sharaku クルトの写楽 (review of Kurth's Sharaku)" was published in Issue No. 19 (December 1916), making it clear that Kurth had become an important resource for research on Sharaku²⁶.

Another notable point is the magazine's range of authors. Each issue had articles written by authors such as the well-known *ukiyo-e* scholar Shizuya Fujikake, who first published in "Utamaro no Kachō ga 歌麿の花鳥画 (study on Utamaro's kachō-ga)" (Issue No. 31, December 1917); Usui Kojima 小島烏水 (writer/ collector/ researcher, 1873-1948), who first published in "Edo no nishiki-e dana 江戸の錦絵店 (study on nishiki-e shop in the Edo period)" (Issue No. 1, June 1915); Mitamura Engyo 三田村鳶魚 (1870-1952), known for his study of Edo culture, and who first published in "Kuniyoshi no ōtsu-e 国芳の大津絵 (study on Kuniyoshi's ōtsu-e (folk art print))" (Issue No. 3, August 1915); Kuson Ōmagari 大曲駒村 (art critic/senryu researcher, 1882-1943), who first published in "Denzen to Kunimasa 田善と国政 (study on Denzen (Aōdō) and Kunimasa (Utagawa))" (Issue No. 6, November 1915); Kendō Ishii 石井研堂 (editor/ writer, 1865-1943), a founding member of the Meiji bunka kenkyū kai 明治文化研究会 (society for the study of culture in the Meiji period), and who first published in "Nishiki-e no bunrui an 錦絵の分類案 (research on the classification of nishiki-e)" (Issue No. 8, January 1916); and art historian Kōu Aimi 相見香雨 (1874-1970), who first published in "Utagawa Toyoharu to kare ga ichidai no kessaku takiguchi gonan zu gaku 歌川豊春と彼が一代の傑作瀧口御難図額 (study on Toyoharu Utagawa and his masterpiece *Takiguchi gonan zu gaku*)" (Issue No. 8). This magazine "honed" these scholars. However, Shizuya Fujikake wrote *Ukiyo-e taika gashū* 『浮世絵大家画集』 (the great *ukiyo-e* artists' art collection)²⁷, which was published by the Ukiyo-e kenkyū kai 浮世絵研究会 (study group on *ukiyo-e*) in March 1915, before the magazine's first issue, and Usui Kojima wrote *Ukiyo-e to fūkei ga* 『浮世絵と風景画』 (study on *ukiyo-e* and landscape painting) in August 1914²⁸, the year before his first article was published in the magazine.

(3) *Nishiki-e*, Sōgei shoin (May 1917-June 1919; 35 volumes in total)

Nishiki-e was first published in 1917, when the magazine *Ukiyo-e* was still in print. The defining characteristic of this magazine was its size (format). The original images were as large as 38 cm high, approximately the same size as a large-sized *nishiki-e*. Thus, *Nishiki-e* could produce much bigger image plates than the so-called "magazine plate" standard size. At the beginning of the first issue, there was a full-scale reproduction of "Ōgiya Takigawa 扇屋瀧川 (Takigawa, a courtesan working at Ōgiya)"; this was a painting by Eishi Hosoda (Eishi Chōbunsai) 鳥文齋榮之. Up to Issue No. 10, the magazine pasted two such plates in each issue; however, with Issue No. 11 (February 1918), in addition to the duplicate plates, it included color plates produced using collotype printing to enhance the visual aspect.

Nishiki-e covered some of the same authors as the earlier *ukiyo-e* magazine. However, almost every issue

24. Sōtarō Nakai, "Sharaku no geijutsu: Yakusha nigao-e no tensai," in idem, *Nihon kaiga ron* 『日本絵画論』 (Bunsaisha 文彩社, 1976) first appeared under the same title published in *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* 大阪朝日新聞.

25. Shimei Nakagawa, "Sharaku no kira-e," *Kyōto bijutsu* 『京都美術』, No. 27-29, ed. Kyōto bijutsu kyōkai 京都美術協会 (Unsōdō, 1914).

26. "Kurth praised Sharaku as one of the three major portrait artists along with Velázquez and Rembrandt." Although this thought is often mentioned when talking about Sharaku, it was not actually mentioned in Kurth's Sharaku. There is an interesting discussion by Fumikazu Kishi concerning the "misalignment" between Kurth's theory on Sharaku and Sharaku's research conducted in Japan. Fumikazu Kishi, "Seiyo kindai ga mita nihon kinsei. Kurth no Sharaku ni hisomu bōryoku ni tsuite 西洋近代が見た日本近世: クルトの『SHARAKU』に潜む《暴力》について (study on western modernity's view of early modern Japan: the violence in Kurt's Sharaku)," *Shakai kagaku* 『社会科学』, No. 68, Doshisha University, 2002.

27. *Ukiyo-e taika gashū*, edited by Shizuya Fujikake and Shōzaburō Watanabe, Ukiyo-e kenkyū kai, 1914. This is not just an art book, but a detailed history text by Fujikake, entitled "Ukiyo-e hanga shi 浮世絵版画史."

28. Usui Kojima, *Ukiyo-e to fūkei ga* (Maekawa bun'eikaku 前川文栄閣, 1913).

featured articles by Yonejirō Noguchi/Yone Noguchi 野口米次郎 (poet/writer/critic, 1875-1947), who had written only a few pieces for *Ukiyo-e*. It also frequently contained articles written by the illustrator Kiyokata Kaburaki 鏑木清方 (painter, 1878-1972), who had studied under *ukiyo-e* artists. Kendō Ishii's *Nishiki-e no aratame in no kōshō* 『錦絵の改印の考証』 (study of censorship stamps on *nishiki-e*) (1932) — which is still used today to identify the age of an *ukiyo-e* work — was based on the serialized article “Nishiki-e no ‘aratame in’ kōshō to hakkō nendai no suitei hō (1)-(5) 錦絵の「改め印」考証と発行年代の推定法(一)～(五)(study of censorship stamps on *nishiki-e* and methods for estimating the date of publication of *nishiki-e*)” published in this magazine²⁹.

(4) *Ukiyo-e no kenkyū*, Nihon ukiyo-e kyōkai (Japan *ukiyo-e* society) (October 1921-March 1929)

Launched in 1921, this was the official journal of Nihon ukiyo-e kyōkai³⁰. To my knowledge, this journal published 23 volumes in total.

Compared to the other three publications, this magazine's perspective shifted to artistic “study,” as its title suggests. The first issue included “Ukiyo-e towa nanzoya: Teigi to setsumei 浮世絵とは何ぞや: 定義と説明 (study on what *ukiyo-e* is: its definition and explanation)” written by Kendō Ishii, Saburō Kuki 九鬼三郎 (collector/*ukiyo-e* scholar), and Kazuo Inoue 井上和雄 (*ukiyo-e* scholar, 1889-1946), executives of the publishing association. It covered 13 pages of the 24-page journal. It gives the sense that the authors were trying to enlighten readers about their research topics. While many previous magazine articles were about two pages long, most articles in this magazine were longer, and published as “research papers.” For example, Shizuya Fujikake's “Furuyama Moroshige ni tsuite 古山師重について (study on Furuyama Moroshige)” published in Issue No. 4 (September 1922) was four pages long; and Issue No. 5 (November 1922) included Ichirō Ichihara's 市原一郎 “Tenmei kansei ki no *nishiki-e* gaikan 天明寛政期の錦絵概観 (study on *nishiki-e* works published between the Tenmei and Kansei periods)” in 15 pages and Kazuo Inoue's “Toyokuni no ‘Yakusha butai no sugata-e’ 豊国の「役者舞台之姿絵」 (study on Toyokuni's print work ‘Yakusha butai no sugata-e’)” in 6 pages.

The magazine's authors were members of the Nihon ukiyo-e kyōkai, and the contributors to the past magazines were not found in these pages. The most notable feature of this magazine was that even though the Edo period *ōtsu-e* 大津絵 (folk art) occasionally appeared as a research theme (Issue No. 11, October 1924) and Kiyochika Kobayashi 小林清親 was selected for a special feature to commemorate the tenth anniversary of his passing (No. 12, December 1924), no mention was made on the *ukiyo-e* of the late Edo or Meiji eras - suggesting that a hierarchy had already been established in its evaluation.

(5) *Ukiyo-e*, edited by Ukiyo-e dōkō kai 浮世絵同好会 (*Ukiyo-e* club), published by Fukunaga shoten (January 1928-May 1928)

This magazine was discontinued after five issues. Some authors appeared in both magazines *Ukiyo-e* and *Ukiyo-e no kenkyū*; for example, Kazuo Inoue contributed to both. Thus, it is unlikely that any serious conflict existed between the two associations or magazines.

A fascinating aspect of this is that the cover art of this magazine's first issue was a work by *shin hanga* 新版画 artist Kōka Yamamura 山村耕花. Furthermore, the first issue's “publication remarks” were extremely interesting:

We publish this magazine, *Ukiyo-e*, not to recognize *ukiyo-e* as a mere art form but as a topic that should occupy an important position in the history of Japanese culture. It is inevitable that we observe and study this from various angles

29. Kendō Ishii, *Nishiki-e no aratame in no kōshō*. *Ichimei nishiki-e no hakko nendai suitei hō* 『錦絵の改印の考証：一名錦絵の発行年代推定法』 (Isetatsu shōten伊勢辰商店, 1932); *Nishiki-e no aratame in no kōshō* (Unsōdō, 1995 [reprint edition]). The basic serialization was published in six parts in *Nishiki-e*, no. 15 (June 1918) to no. 20 (November 1918). However, “(5)” is written in the title of both the 19th and 20th issues.

30. There were three groups known as “Nihon ukiyo-e kyōkai,” including one established in 1921 (tentatively the first). The second was an organization founded in 1946 by its president Shizuya Fujikake and executive director Muneshige Narasaki. The third, and current, organization was created in 1962 by directors Seiichirō Takahashi and Muneshige Narasaki. It published *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* 『浮世絵芸術』. This organization was subsequently reorganized into Kokusai ukiyo-e gakkai 国際浮世絵学会 in 1998. The magazine *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* is still ongoing. Kazuhiro Kubota 久保田一洋, “Nihon ukiyo-e kyōkai no henshen 日本浮世絵協会の変遷 (study on the transition of the Nihon ukiyo-e kyōkai)”, *Ukiyo-e geijutsu*, No. 146, Kokusai ukiyo-e gakkai, 2003.

and introduce it as simply and universally as possible. Therefore, at times, we might discuss topics other than *ukiyo-e* itself to help us understand the background of *ukiyo-e*, and sometimes it might be necessary to approach the topic of *ukiyo-e* through an apparently irrelevant subject.... We strive to expand the scope of our research and pursue an “open-door policy” so that we can easily approach the subject of *ukiyo-e* from any perspective.

This statement demonstrates a deep awareness of the competing magazine *Ukiyo-e no kenkyū*. In contrast to the rival magazine’s focus on research by *ukiyo-e* scholars, this new magazine chose “observation and research from multiple perspectives.” It sought to avoid the esoteric nature of scholarly papers and introduce the works “as simply and universally as possible.” Additionally, the stated desire for an “open-door policy” suggests an awareness of the earlier magazine’s academic character.

(6) *Ukiyo-e shi*, Unsōdō (January 1929-September 1931)

This magazine, launched by Kusun Ōmagari, editor and publisher, lasted 32 issues. “*Ukiyo-e tayori 浮世絵多與里*”, the editorial postscript at the end of the first issue, is shown below:

The magazine *Ukiyo-e*, edited by the *Ukiyo-e dōkō kai*, was unfortunately discontinued after its fourth issue due to various circumstances. Thus, we have formed the new society, *Ukiyo-e shi kai 浮世絵志会*, and launched the monthly magazine *Ukiyo-e shi*. We look forward to your support.

This postscript created the impression of a close relationship with the earlier magazine *Ukiyo-e*. Although this journal had no “publication remarks,” its table of contents showed that the journal presented a lineup of the same authors who wrote for *Ukiyo-e*.

This magazine followed the trends set by the preceding journals *Ukiyo-e no kenkyū* and *Ukiyo-e* (edited by *Ukiyo-e dōkō kai*), but it slightly differed from both. Although *Ukiyo-e no kenkyū* had initially focused on *ukiyo-e* research, it changed its research focus after the end of the Edo period. Since its first issues, the magazine *Ukiyo-e shi* featured Meiji era *ukiyo-e* artist Kunichika Toyohara 豊原国周 as “the top *ukiyo-e* artist after Sharaku” (Usui Kojima)³¹. Overseas research was introduced in the form of “X’s Theory” (Issue No. Y) to showcase the internationalization of *ukiyo-e* scholarship. The “Yoroku 余録 (miscellany)” section contained basic research articles such as “*Ukiyo-e shi sakuga nenpyō 浮世絵師作画年表* (chronology of *ukiyo-e* artists’ work)” and “*Torii ke sandai nenpyō 鳥居家三代年表* (chronology of painting career in three generations of the Torii family)” (Issue No. 10), serialized from Issue No. 4 onward, and “*Makura o yonda kouta 枕を詠んだ小唄* (study of *kouta* [Japanese ballad-type song] on the theme of pillow)” (Issue No. 10) and “*Ukie o yonda senryū 浮絵を詠んだ川柳* (study of *senryū* poems on the theme of *uki-e*)” (Issue No. 12). This recalls the magazine’s initial description of its editorial premise: “Therefore, at times, we might discuss topics other than *ukiyo-e* itself to help us understand the background of *ukiyo-e*.” The magazine also discussed works other than *ukiyo-e* prints, which were occasionally found in past magazines; for example, Usui Kojima’s “*Meiji no sekiban 明治の石版* (study on lithographic prints produced in the Meiji period)” (Issue No. 29).

It is no coincidence that studies of artists from this era — such as scholarly articles about Kunichika or Yoshitoshi Tsukioka 月岡芳年³², which were also published in this magazine — were recognized, although they were outside the *ukiyo-e* hierarchy that formed around this time. This is because Usui Kojima explained the importance of the “expanding research on *ukiyo-e* artists” to those other than the “masters,” in Issue No. 6 of the magazine. This seems to have been this magazine’s mission, as Usui Kojima noted: “Not only the history of *ukiyo-e*, but the history of painting (or all national history) tends to represent each discrete era with one or a few big names.” After acknowledging that recent *ukiyo-e* research was advancing, he declared as follows:

31. Usui Kojima’s study of Kunichika was later summarized as “Toyohara Kunichika hyōden. Sharaku irai no daiichinin 豊原國周評傳、写楽以来の第一人,” in idem, *Edo makki no ukiyo-e 『江戸末期の浮世繪』* (Azusa shobō 梓書房, 1931).

32. Kodō Yamanaka 山中古洞, “Yoshitoshi den bikō 芳年伝備考 (biography of Yoshitoshi Tsukioka)” serves as the basic material for the biography of Yoshitoshi Tsukioka and was serialized in this magazine.

As for the history of *ukiyo-e*, there is a tendency to emphasize the Torii-ke, Shunshō, Sharaku, and Toyokuni, for *bijin-e* 美人絵, Kiyonaga and Utamaro, and for landscapes, Hokusai, Hiroshige, Kuniyoshi, or Hokuju 北寿, disregarding the others en bloc. This is to simply offer a nutshell outline of the history of *ukiyo-e*.

He sharply pointed out the harmful effects of the *ukiyo-e* research being formed then.

(7) *Ukiyo-e geijutsu*, *Ukiyo-e geijutsu sha* (published by Daihōkaku shobō) (February 1932-December 1935)

Ukiyo-e geijutsu (launched four months after *Ukiyo-e shi* was discontinued) was released by the publisher Daihōkaku shobō. The most noticeable difference between this magazine and the earlier publications specializing in *ukiyo-e* was its purpose, as stated in its preface: “Advance the development of *ukiyo-e* art and the emergence of the contemporary *ukiyo-e* genre.” Up to this point, magazines were interested only in the “history” of *ukiyo-e*, although *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* claimed interest in contemporary prints. The “contemporary prints” referred to here are primarily called *shin hanga* 新版画, which is different from *sōsaku hanga* 創作版画 (creative prints), with which they were often compared in controversies between the two genres. For more detailed information on the *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* magazine and the controversy between *shin hanga* and *sōsaku hanga* prints, we refer to a paper by Shūko Koyama³³.

Koyama described the situation at the time this magazine was first issued. According to her commentary, Daihōkaku shobō was publishing a complete master collection of *ukiyo-e*, *Ukiyo-e taika shūsei* (the great *ukiyo-e* artists’ art collection)³⁴. The magazine was scheduled to be published, while the collection was being edited and prepared for release. After “polishing the work for about 3 months³⁵,” the first issue was printed in February 1932. The preface of “*Ukiyo-e* うきよゑ” was written by Rinpū Sasakawa 笹川臨風 (1870-1949), an authority on art history research, and it included the editorial “*Seiyō ni okeru ukiyo-e* 西洋に於ける浮世絵 (study of *Ukiyo-e* in the West)” written by Yonejirō Noguchi.

This magazine was intended for modern prints, as stated in its opening remarks. However, from its first issue to the end of its second year of publication, all the prints published were *ukiyo-e*. However, this completely changed with Vol. 2, Issue No. 8 (August 1933), where the work of *sōsaku hanga* printmaker Kōshirō Onchi 恩地孝四郎, “*Shunkan* 瞬間 (Moment)” was published instead of the *ukiyo-e* works that were always featured in the issue. The number of modern prints and paintings increased gradually, prompting Koyama to attribute this to the appointment of *ukiyo-e* scholar Muneshige Narasaki 榑崎宗重 (1904-2001) as the executive editor (August 1933)³⁶.

No other work in modern print (whether a *sōsaku hanga* or *shin hanga*) has been published in a magazine specializing in *ukiyo-e*, thus associating this magazine with the print controversy that happened in its pages.

(8) *Ukiyo-e kai*, *Ukiyo-e dōkō kai* 浮世絵同好会 (*Ukiyo-e club*) (March 1936-June 1941)

The last pre-war *ukiyo-e* magazine was *Ukiyo-e kai*. Positioned as the successor to *Ukiyo-e geijutsu*, the magazine named Muneshige Narasaki, who had been with the previous magazine, as its executive editor. This magazine also dealt with modern prints, and starting with its first issue itself, made Narasaki’s sentiment for the print world broadly clear. For example, Kiyokata Kaburaki illustrated the first issue’s cover (Vol. 1 Issue No. 1). Furthermore, Vol. 1 Issue No. 3 (May 1936) included a woodblock print of “*Satsuki bare* 五月晴 (Early May sunshine)” conceived by contemporary printmaker Kotondo Torii 鳥居言人. However, according to Koyama, this magazine was the official publication of *Ukiyo-e dōkō kai*, which was formed in 1934, and hence had to specialize in *ukiyo-e*

33. Shūko Koyama, “Senzen no mokuhanaga seisaku to ukiyo-e. Ukiyo-e kenkyū zasshi ni okeru hanga ronsō yori 戦前の木版画制作と浮世絵：浮世絵研究雑誌における版画論争より (study on the work of modern woodblock prints in prewar and *ukiyo-e*: The dispute of modern woodblock prints in *ukiyo-e* studies magazine)”, *Sōkendai bunka kagaku kenkyū* 『総研大文化科学研究』 (SOKENDAI Review of Cultural and Social Studies, The Graduate University for Advanced Studies), No. 4, Sōgō kenkyū daigakuin daigaku 総合研究大学院大学 (Sokendai, The Graduate University for Advanced Studies), 2008.

34. *Ukiyo-e taika shūsei* is a complete collection of *ukiyo-e* (art books) consisting of 20 volumes. Subsequently, all six volumes of *Zoku ukiyo-e taika shūsei* 『続浮世絵大家集成』 were published from 1931 to 1934.

35. Excerpted from the aforementioned paper by Koyama (See Note 33).

36. The editorial postscript of Vol. 3, Issue No. 5 (May 1934) of this magazine, clearly asserted that Narasaki intended to publish modern prints; Koyama quoted this statement (paper published by Koyama; see Note 33).

research³⁷. In Vol. 2 Issue No. 2 (February 1937), published one year after the first issue, Senpan Maekawa's 前川千帆 "Bairin no zu 梅林の図 (Plum trees)" was posted as frontispiece; however, after this, the frontispieces were limited to *ukiyo-e*.

This magazine had to be discontinued - probably owing to management issues caused by the war.

(4) Publication of research on *ukiyo-e*

Ukiyo-e scholar Teruji Yoshida 吉田暎二 (1901-1972) wrote a valuable article on *ukiyo-e* studies, "Meiji ikō ukiyo-e kai nenpu kō 明治以降浮世絵界年譜稿 (chronology of *ukiyo-e* studies since the Meiji Era)", in six parts³⁸. In this section, we list the studies of *ukiyo-e* research based on the work of Teruji Yoshida.

The earliest work could be the five volumes of *Ukiyo-e ha gashū* (1906-1907) compiled by Seigai Ōmura 大村西崖 (art historian, 1868-1927)³⁹. Yoshida praised this work as "a book that systematically describes *ukiyo-e* in terms of cultural history, although it essentially was still an art book. It was the first such book in Japan." The following year (1907), the 40th year of the Meiji era, witnessed the publication of Julius Kurth's *Utamaro*, and in 1909, Gaikotsu Miyatake released the aforementioned *Ukiyo-e kagami*. As noted in the previous section, this plan was stalled and stopped following the publication of *Hishikawa Moronobu gafu* in 1909, *Okumura Masanobu gafu* in 1910, and *Nishikawa Sukenobu gafu* in 1911. Meanwhile, Kurth's *Sharaku* was published in 1910 in Germany.

The publication of the magazines referred to above occurred during the Taisho era, when *ukiyo-e* books, articles, and exhibits were very common. Usui Kojima's *Ukiyo-e to fūkei ga* was published in 1914, and the next year saw the publication of *Ukiyo-e taika gashū* (edited by Shizuya Fujikake). A Buddhist memorial service and an exhibition were held in 1917 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the death of Hiroshige Utagawa. The publication of such books thus became more popular. *Ukiyo-e* artists were ranked for the first time in successively published works such as Yonejirō Noguchi's *Rokudai ukiyo-e shi* 『六大浮世絵師』 (study of six great *ukiyo-e* artists) (1919); Tendō Urushiyama's 漆山天童 (bibliographer, 1873-1948) *Ukiyo-e nenpyō* 浮世絵年表』 (chronology of *ukiyo-e*), which served as a basic reference for *ukiyo-e* scholarship; and Kendō Ishii's *Nishikie no aratame in no kōshō* and *Jihon nishiki-e toiya fu* 『地本錦絵問屋譜』 (books relating to publishers of *ukiyo-e* prints) (1920). Then, Shizuya Fujikake's *Ukiyo-e* 『浮世絵』 was released in 1924, and *Sharaku* 『写楽』 (Katsunosuke Nakada 仲田勝之助, *ukiyo-e* scholar, 1886-1945), the first personal research of authors by a Japanese scholar since Gaikotsu Miyatake, was published in 1925. Following this, several works arose from authors' private research, such as Minoru Uchida's 内田實 (*ukiyo-e* scholar, 1927-?) and *Hiroshige* 『廣重』 (1925), which is still known as the basic reference for Hiroshige's research.

The publication of *ukiyo-e* research is found to have maintained its momentum even during the pre-war period of the Showa era. The *ukiyo-e* series published by Tōyō bijutsu bunko 東洋美術文庫, which is supposed to have been established in 1938, included Muneshige Narasaki's *Kiyonaga* 『清長』, Shizuya Fujikake's *Harunobu* 『春信』 (1939), Kazuo Inoue's *Sharaku* 『写楽』, Ichitarō Kondō's 近藤市太郎 (*ukiyo-e* scholar, 1910-1961) *Utamaro* 『歌麿』, and Minoru Uchida's *Hiroshige* (1940). Other studies have also been published. Interestingly, Chieko Hirano's 平野千恵子 (art historian, 1878-1939) *Torii Kiyonaga no shōgai to geijutsu* 『鳥居清長の生涯と芸術』 (study on the life and works of Torii Kiyonaga) (1944), published just before the war ended, is still used as a basic reference for research on Kiyonaga Torii.

III. Background of *ukiyo-e* studies

Ukiyo-e prints almost disappeared with the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. However, just as *ukiyo-*

37. Paper by Koyama; see Note 33. Koyama also pointed out that this made it no longer possible to publish articles such as those detailing large-scale exhibits that presented both *sōsaku hanga* and *shin hanga*.

38. Teruji Yoshida, "Meiji ikō ukiyo-e kai nenpu kō," *Ukiyo-e sōshi* 『浮世絵草紙』, No. 1-8 (Takamizawa mokuhan sha 高見沢木版社, 1946).

39. Prior to this, *ukiyo-e* was mentioned in Sakutarō Fujioka 藤岡作太郎, *Kinsei kaiga shi* 『近世絵画史』 (study on the history of early modern Japanese painting), 1903.

e was about to completely disappear, the monumental *sōsaku hanga* (creative prints) “Gyofu 漁夫 (Fisherman)” (1904, by Kanae Yamamoto 山本鼎, printmaker/painter, 1882-1946) was published. Shōzaburō Watanabe 渡辺庄三郎 (1885-1962), the publisher, began producing woodblock prints for export around 1907. In 1914, he started to generate *shin hanga* using the art works of Austrian artist Friedrich (Fritz) Capelari フリッツ・カペラリ (printmaker, 1884-1950)⁴⁰. In retrospect, the “era of printmaking” lasted roughly from the late 1890s to just before the First World War. The major events considered include the rise of the so-called *sōsaku hanga* and *shin hanga* and the active *ukiyo-e* scholarship discussed throughout this paper.

The artists who launched *sōsaku hanga* as a new artform worked with great enthusiasm to popularize its style and used magazines to do so. Kanae Yamamoto’s “Gyofu,” a monumental work of *sōsaku hanga* prints, was published in the magazine *Myōjō* 『明星』 (Tatsutoshi, Issue No. 7) in July 1904. Yamamoto’s friend, Hakutei Ishii 石井柏亭 (printmaker/ painter, 1882-1958) described this work as a “*tōga* 刀画 (carving knife painting)” in the following words: “My friend Kanae Yamamoto makes painting-like woodblock prints with the knowledge of wood carving and painting. His carving knife is his brush⁴¹.” Unlike *ukiyo-e* prints, he advocated *hanga* as an artistic activity. To popularize this artform, the magazine *Heitan* (Heitan sha 平旦社), which was first published in 1905⁴² and contained novels, haikus, critiques, and event reviews, focused primarily on prints⁴³. Art magazines such as *Mizue* and *LS* were also launched in 1905. *Hōsun* (first released in 1907) was a subsequent publication specializing in prints; its first contributors were Kanae Yamamoto, Hakutei Ishii, and Tsunetomo Morita 森田恒友 (printmaker/painter, 1881-1933). The “Hōsungun 方寸言 (statement of purpose)” of the second issue (July 1907) read as follows:

We leave the study of antiques to *Kokka*. For newspaper clippings, ask *Bijutsu shinpō* 『美術新報』 and *Nihon bijutsu* 『日本美術』. The training of amateur artists is the mission of *Mizue*. Our sentiments etch copper plates by immersion in acid. Our sentiments carve woodblocks through a carving knife. We are not speaking in hyperbole. The only place you can now see *sōsaku hanga* prints in Japan is our magazine.

This statement strongly expressed their mission to popularize “creative prints.”

Subsequently, a series of *hanga* magazines were published; these included professional publications and self-published personal-interest magazines. As Shigeru Aoki 青木茂 (art historian, 1932-?) observes, this was given impetus by Western European printmakers, works introduced in the magazine *Shirakaba* 『白樺』 (first published in 1910), and by the Far West print exhibition that this magazine sponsored⁴⁴.

Ukiyo-e prints were commissioned, but the artists who created them had little autonomy over their creations. These works were far from *sōsaku hanga* - these were made by artists with a sense of individual creativity, wielding their carving knives instead of brushes. This could be considered a criticism. However, through some quirk of fate, both *ukiyo-e* and *sōsaku hanga* were popularized among the masses, thanks to the medium of magazines. Thus, it is possible that the use of magazines to popularize *sōsaku hanga* prompted the launch of *ukiyo-e* print magazines.

The other phenomenon that can be cited as being a part of the background for *ukiyo-e* research is the international response. By the end of the 19th century, when the “Japonisme” phenomenon was at its peak, Goncourt’s *Utamaro* (1891) and *Hokusai* (1896) had already been published, as had Julius Kurth’s *Utamaro* (1907) and *Sharaku*

40. For further details on the timeline from the end of the *ukiyo-e* to the production of woodblock prints for export and the appearance of *shin hanga*, refer to Shūko Koyama, *Taisho shin hanga no kenkyū. Hanmoto o chūshin to shita bijutsu no seiritsu, kōzō to tenkai* 『大正新版画の研究：版元を中心とした美術の成立、構造と展開』 (study of *shin hanga* in the Taisho era: the establishment, structure and development of art with a focus on the publisher), Doctoral Dissertation, Sōgō kenkyū daigakuin daigaku, Bunka kagaku kenkyū ka, Kokusai nihon bunka kenkyū senkō 総合研究大学院大学文化科学研究科国際日本文化研究専攻 (Sokendai, The Graduate University for Advanced Studies), 2013.

41. *Myōjō*, Tatsutoshi, Issue 7 (Tokyo shinshi sha 東京新詩社, 1904).

42. Issue No. 1-5 (September 1905-April 1906).

43. Shigeru Aoki stated that the illustrations published in *Heitan* were larger than those published in a typical magazine layout (30.5 x 22.2 cm), and were posted with one illustration per page. Aoki wrote that “many young painters are motivated not to end the plate paintings with ‘illustration inserts.’” Aoki, *supra*, Note 3.

44. Aoki, *supra*, Note 3.

(1910) - although it would take more time for these works to gain recognition in Japan and to advance Japanese *ukiyo-e* research. Teruji Yoshida, referred to earlier, wrote about the perception of *ukiyo-e* prints in Japan during the first year of the Taisho era (1912)⁴⁵ as follows:

In the magazine *Nihon oyobi nihon jin* 『日本及日本人』, Roan Uchida 内田魯庵 (novelist/critic, 1868-1929) said, “*Nishiki-e* worth only ten or fifteen sen in our eyes cost tens or hundreds of yen in Europe. The Japanese praised by Europeans are neither Hirobumi Itō nor Admiral Togo. Utamaro is more praised, Harunobu is more admired, and Sharaku is more upheld. Even though Japan is a naval nation with several dreadnought-class battleships, Japan is more widely known as the originator of *ukiyo-e*. I am not aware of why such *nishiki-e* are praised because I am neither a professional aesthetician nor a connoisseur. However, the Japanese people — who are ecstatic to believe that such a secular and vulgar Edo hobby as *nishiki-e* represents Japanese civilization — are not worthy.” With this, you can understand the perception of *ukiyo-e* by cultured people in Japan at the time.

Meanwhile, all five volumes (published in 1906-1907) of *ukiyo-e*'s first art book *Ukiyo-e ha gashū* had been published. A beautiful but limited edition, this was a high-priced collection released by Shinbi shoin. In view of the status of publications by Shinbi shoin at the time, neither *Nihon meiga hyaku sen* 『日本名画百撰』 (collection of the 100 most famous paintings in Japan) (1906) nor *Tōyō bijutsu taikan* 『東洋美術大観』 (collection of oriental art works) (completed in 1918) were intended to be popular⁴⁶. The epoch of *ukiyo-e* scholarship came about in 1914, the year before the magazine *Ukiyo-e* was first released (1915). This is because Usui Kojima's *Ukiyo-e to fūkei ga* was published. Kafu Nagai's “*Ukiyo-e to edo engeki*”⁴⁷, which introduced Kurth's Sharaku to Japan, was also printed. The publication of *ukiyo-e* research books other than art books that were written by Japanese scholars and awareness of the international reputation of *ukiyo-e* led to the launch of *ukiyo-e* magazines and drove *ukiyo-e* research. In the sixth year (1917) of the Taisho era (which would have been the 50th year of the Meiji era), the abovementioned Yoshida paper stated the following:

Ukiyo-e became popular, and there was no choice but to offer nishikie prints at bookstores and antique shops in cities. I once saw an advertisement for a purchase, put by the Yoshizawa shōkai 吉沢商会, in the *nishiki-e* magazine. Also, due to the rising prices of *ukiyo-e* prints, researchers seeking accurate replicas became more common. [The next year (1918) was] still in the *ukiyo-e* boom. It was widely used for an advertisement or a package of match. And many landscape paintings by artists such as Hiroshige and Kunisada (Utawaga) 歌川国貞 were inserted in a travel guide compiled by Tetsudōin 鉄道院 (Ministry of Railways).

This popularity shows that it must have taken 50 years after the end of the Meiji era to give the Edo period enough time to be recognized as being a part of history and become “historicized” for the first time.

IV. Merits and demerits in the study of *ukiyo-e*: Conclusion

The “study” of *ukiyo-e* began a short time after the art form had faded. This study examined this phenomenon in terms of the respective details and circumstances of the first stage, where there were numerous exhibits and editorial publications, and subsequent stages, where *ukiyo-e* specialty magazines were launched; studies were published in parallel. Of particular interest are the questions as to when and why this “study” of *ukiyo-e* began and what were the circumstances it followed. My first interests were why *ukiyo-e* had so many dedicated specialty magazines early

45. Yoshida, *supra*, Note 38.

46. The purpose during the early stages of the publication of *Shinbi taikan* 『真美大観』 (1899-1908) was “to inspire Buddhist thought” by the Buddhist community at the time. Noriko Murasumi 村角紀子, “Shinbi shoin no bijutsu zenshū ni miru ‘nihon bijutsu shi’ no keisei 審美書院の美術全集にみる「日本美術史」の形成 (study on the formation of the ‘Japanese art history’ in the complete works of art published by Shinbi shoin)”, *Kindai gasetsu* 『近代画説』, No. 8, 1999.

47. Kafu Nagai, “*Ukiyo-e to edo engeki*,” Note 23.

on and what were the implications of such publications when they were launched. While I have not yet fully answered my own questions, I can say that woodblock prints, which were originally paintings “printed” on paper, were essentially compatible with paper magazines. *ukiyo-e* prints, originally sold in ordinary marketplaces, were the most well-known artworks in the first year of the Taisho era (1912), when many people born during the Edo period were still living. *ukiyo-e* prints were also highly valued internationally. Thus, we can consider these prints as products that created new value rather than relics of the old Edo period.

There are many merits and demerits in the study of *ukiyo-e*. The advantages include the flourishing of *shin hanga*, sparked in part by the production of prints for export by the publisher Shōzaburo Watanabe. This led to studies on *ukiyo-e* and its reproduction. Further, the plates published in *Ukiyo-e taika gashū* (1915) were the outcome of Watanabe’s studies of *ukiyo-e*, which gave rise to *shin hanga*⁴⁸.

Another advantage of *ukiyo-e* studies is its influence on Japanese-style paintings. For example, although Tsunetomi Kitano 北野恒富 (painter/printmaker, 1880-1947) was a successor to *ukiyo-e* artists⁴⁹, he created several *shin hanga*’s in the Taisho era whose subjects were often common manners and customs. This trend was also seen in the works of female artists under Tsunetomi’s tutelage, which carry an aura that can be described as Taisho era *ukiyo-e*.

Regarding the shortcomings of *ukiyo-e* study, the value of *ukiyo-e* established — that is, the rating of *ukiyo-e* artworks and the hierarchizing of *ukiyo-e* artists mentioned above — has continued to bind the study of *ukiyo-e* after the Second World War. In the *ukiyo-e* world, which was first legitimized by overseas patrons, artists with high international acclaim were considered the authorities, and this is how Utamaro, Hokusai, and Sharaku gained recognition. The phrase “Rokudai ukiyo-e shi”, the title of Yonejirō Noguchi’s work, has had a long-term influence on subsequent *ukiyo-e* studies.

48. Koyama, *supra*, Doctoral Dissertation, Note 40.

49. Tsunetomi was a student of Toshitsune Inano 稲野年恒, who worked under Yoshitoshi Tsukioka. A large-scale retrospective exhibit was held on Tsunetomi, called the “Kitano Tsunetomi exhibit 北野恒富展” (Abeno harukas art museum あべのハルカス美術館, etc.) in 2017.