

Japan and the World

**Essays on Japanese History and Politics
in Honour of Ishida Takeshi**

Edited by
Gail Lee Bernstein
and
Haruhiro Fukui

M
MACMILLAN
PRESS

in association with
ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE
OXFORD

1988

1 World Without Walls: Kuwagata Keisai's Panoramic Vision of Japan

Henry D. Smith II

The title of Donald Keene's survey of Tokugawa literature capsules our dominant image of the Edo period as a 'world within walls'.¹ The intent was of course to indicate Japan's isolation from other nations, but the same phrase may be extended to encompass the pervasive image of early modern Japan as rigidly compartmentalised into a multiplicity of smaller 'worlds', whether the 'four classes' of society, the miscellaneous 'genres' of literature or the hereditary 'schools' of learning and the arts.

These structures of isolation and compartmentalisation have become deeply entrenched in our ways of thinking about Tokugawa culture. By suggesting that we may be better served by a counter-paradigm of a 'world without walls', I have no intention of denying the realities of status, lineage and legal category which were so central to the Tokugawa strategy of rule. But exceptions were many: despite the textbook image, which tends to reflect official ideology more than social reality, land *was* alienable, samurai did *not* uniformly outclass commoners, Japan *did* have regular contact with the outside world, and movement around the country was *not* rigidly controlled. By the early nineteenth century the exceptions had become so numerous that, far from proving the Tokugawa rule, they were coming to constitute a new order of rules.

I would thus propose that the image of 'walls' – or any such word suggesting an impenetrable barrier – can be misleading, and might better be replaced by an image such as 'fences' – barriers to be sure, but easily peeped through and often crossed. More importantly, I wish to suggest that in the cultural life of the nation it was precisely in crossing these 'fences' that some of the most creative energies were discharged. It is these 'border zones' between classes, between schools and between

Japan and the outside world, I would argue, that we must explore in order to grasp the inner dynamics of change within the culture as a whole. Rather than belabour this argument in the abstract let me offer a single piece of evidence, a colour woodblock print of the early nineteenth century.

'A PICTURE OF THE FAMOUS PLACES OF JAPAN'

This astonishing print [Fig. 1.1]² immediately presents one intriguing border zone, between 'pictures' and 'maps'. Even in modern English these words which we so easily distinguish in daily experience are surprisingly resistant to precise definition. In early modern Japanese the linguistic distinction itself was blurred by the overlapping use of the Japanese *e* and the Sino-Japanese *zu*. In general an *e* tended to be a 'picture', while a *zu* could refer to either picture or map. When used in combination *e-zu* was the conventional term for 'map', while *zu-e* came to refer to topographical pictures. The language better accommodated, in other words, the conceptual overlap which must be provided for in any distinction between pictures and maps.

This print in particular must be seen as *both* picture *and* map, no matter what definition one uses. It is more likely, however, to give the initial impression of a picture, in the sense of a representation suggestive of common visual experience. From a vantage-point high in (what we now call) space, we gaze out to the west over the islands of Japan, which sweep in a great jagged arc from the southern tip of Hokkaidō (to the upper right), down to the Kantō region in the centre below, and up out through west Japan to the upper left. Whereas the Tōhoku area to the right seems to climb precipitously up the surface of the paper, the western extremity to the left is depicted with a strong illusion of recession into the distance, towards a far horizon capped by the crescent of a waning moon that sinks slowly into a bank of clouds above the South China Sea. The mountainous silhouette hovering above the horizon to the right, according to a tiny label, is Korea ('Chōsen'). Looking more closely into the land of Japan itself, we see a serrated coast swarming with tiny boats, and inland mountains range interspersed with tiny settlements – many capped by castle towers [Fig. 1.2]. The entire nation of Japan is presented in one homogeneous vision as a work of landscape art – an accomplishment with no precedents and only later imitations.

At the same time this picture is also a map, both in the sense that it

represents a region of the earth's surface too large to comprehend in ordinary vision, and in the sense that it relies on symbols which must be 'read'. Each one of the sixty-eight ancient provinces of Japan is labelled with a rectangular cartouche, and over seven hundred smaller places – mountains, towns, islands, temples, hot springs – are carefully identified in minuscule *katakana* notation. Some of these named places are also rendered pictorially, but many are identified only by the *katakana* text.

The ambiguous character of this print is further suggested by the title, which appeared on the wrapper in which it was sold: 'A Picture of the Famous Places of Japan' (*Nihon meisho no e*) [Fig. 1.3]. The title thus clearly identifies the print as a picture rather than a map, but at the same time it draws our attention less to the whole than to the parts, less to Japan as a totality than to the assembly of particular 'famous places'. This emphasises its map-like character, for one must 'read' the picture, often relying on the *katakana* text, in order to locate places with which one is familiar. And yet in the end we come back to its quality as a picture of all Japan, existing in three-dimensional space and linked in turn to the distant continent. One aphoristic distinction holds that a picture is what we see, while a map is what we know. Such a distinction here yields, however, to an inextricable fusion of both perception and knowledge.

Where did this remarkable vision come from, and what did it mean? Let us turn first to the artist.

A Problem of Names

The difficulty begins with naming our artist, identified on the print as 'Keisai Shōshin of Edo'. All Tokugawa men of culture bore a variety of names, different 'hats', which enabled them to move with ease from one social situation or cultural milieu to another. Yet most ended their lives with a dominant identity and a single name by which later generations might know them. Not so with the man who began his career as Kitao Masayoshi, an illustrator of popular fiction in the *ukiyo-e* style, and who in his early 30s was transformed into Kuwagata Tsuguzane, a privileged official painter in the retinue of a *daimyō* from west Japan. Such passages from commoner to quasi-samurai status were less unusual than we are often led to believe, but the particular conversion from *ukiyo-e* artisan to 'true artist' (*hon'eshi*) seems to be limited to this one case. It is precisely this zone of transition that is critical for an understanding of the picture-map that is our concern.

The bare facts are these.³ He was born in Edo in 1764 as Akabane Sanjirō, son of a *tatami*-maker, and apprenticed in his early teens to the celebrated *ukiyo-e* artist Kitao Shigemasa. As early as 1780, at the age of 16 he began as 'Sanjirō' to illustrate popular comic-book works of parodic fiction known as *kibyōshi* (after what were originally 'yellow covers'), and in the following year he took the school name of 'Kitao Masayoshi'. Over the next decade and a half he became the most prolific illustrator of *kibyōshi* known, responsible for over 170 titles.⁴

The circumstances of Masayoshi's sudden and unusual change of status are unclear, but in the summer of 1794 he was appointed official painter, with a generous stipend, to Matsudaira Yasuchika, the *fudai daimyō* of Tsuyama. Apparently an avid amateur painter, Yasuchika died three months after Masayoshi's appointment, at the age of 43. This may explain an uncertain interval of three years, during which the artist was active both as 'Masayoshi' and as 'Keisai', an art name (*gō*) which he had been using since as early as 1785 and which was confirmed as his formal art name upon his appointment in 1794.

The critical change in name came in 1797, at age 33, when he took a legal surname – something previously denied him as a commoner – and a proper samurai-style personal name (*na*). For the former he chose his paternal grandmother's maiden name of Kuwagata, and for the latter Tsuguzane, which he came also to use as an art name – a function most conveniently distinguished by the Sino-Japanese reading 'Shōshin'. At the same time he was bidden to take the tonsure – an important convention of life-cycle transition – and to undertake Kano school training under the master Korenobu. Within three years he had phased out both the name 'Masayoshi' and the *kibyōshi* illustration with which it was associated,⁵ and came to use the names Keisai and Shōshin in various combinations, although 'Shōshin' seems to have predominated in his later work.

The shifting status of the artist was thus reflected in his changing names – but only roughly. 'Masayoshi' tended to be a popular illustrator and 'Shōshin' a privileged painter, but even these lines were blurred, since we can find 'Masayoshi' on elegant paintings [Fig. 1.6] and 'Shōshin' on illustrative prints [Fig. 1.13]. And in between was 'Keisai' as the name which linked the two, a kind of transformational identity which we will see reflected in his artistic evolution. It seems appropriate that we refer to him historically as Keisai. He died in 1824 at the age of 60.

The World of Kitao Masayoshi

The genre of *kibyōshi* in which Masayoshi was active in his early years presents another problem of separate 'worlds': were these text-filled picture-books art, or were they literature? Obviously they were a fusion of the two, but at least until recently, serious consideration of this 'special genre halfway between literature and art'⁶ has been obstructed by the disciplinary walls of modern scholarship, which tend to divide the literary and visual arts into separate camps. The problem is not unlike that of picture-maps, which fall between the concerns of art historians and map specialists.

Kibyōshi, however, must be understood as an intricate interweaving of text and picture. In the example here [Fig. 1.4] both text and picture work together to produce a constant shifting of viewpoint as we move through the narrative from top to bottom, right to left. The sections of text alternate between an unseen narrator and individual figures within the picture; some of the texts refer to the three pictures hanging above, which themselves have texts; some of the texts are comments by the figures about each other, which are supplemented by their gazes and expressions; and within the texts themselves are punning references to still other texts and legends. This interweaving of image and text within an overall pictorial unity bears an obvious structural relationship to the picture-map of Japan.

The literary style of *kibyōshi* takes from the aesthetics of linked-verse composition the concept of *shukō*, the particular 'twist' which a poet imparts to the general theme dictated by the prior verse in an on-going chain. The proper metaphor for the corresponding visual structure might be 'angle', and it was through Masayoshi's extended practice at the manipulation of viewpoint in *kibyōshi* illustration that we can see the making of an artist who would in time become famous for his visual 'contrivances' (*kufū*), of which the view of all Japan is the supreme example.

Although Masayoshi was engaged primarily in *kibyōshi* illustration in his early years, he also executed a number of works in the quite different medium of single-sheet colour prints. Particularly relevant here were those of the type known as *uki-e* ('floating pictures'), compositions executed in Western-style linear perspective. The term itself appears to have referred to the distancing effect of such pictures, particularly in the naïvely exaggerated form in which it was introduced to Japan. The first *uki-e* appeared in Edo in about 1739–40, probably

by way of still-unidentified Chinese prototypes, in the form of large theatre and brothel interiors.⁷

Until the 1760s the effect of horizontal recession in Edo *uki-e* was limited to architectural spaces, whether interiors or streets, while natural landscapes continued to be depicted in the traditional horizonless manner. In the meanwhile, however, a critical development was taking place in Kyoto, where in the 1750s a struggling young painter by the name of Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–95) had been commissioned by a toy dealer to execute landscapes for the *optique* (in Japanese, *nozoki-megane*, 'peeping eyepiece'), a lens-equipped picture-viewing device which was very popular in Europe and probably introduced to Japan by way of China.⁸ With these paintings Ōkyo became the first in Japan regularly to apply Western techniques of landscape perspective, a method he apparently learned from Chinese adaptations of European originals. Ōkyo's views were also issued as woodblock prints, and it was through their influence that a new type of *uki-e* appeared in Edo in about the late 1760s, combining a strong sense of recession in both landscape and architecture.⁹

Figure 1.5 shows one of a series of *uki-e* landscapes of Edo which Masayoshi produced some time in the 1780s.¹⁰ It was in single-sheet prints like this that the artist was able to express a sense of unified spatial expanse that was denied him by the enclosed and text-bound world of *kibyōshi* illustration. Yet even here Masayoshi indulges in the obvious manipulation of viewpoint, by using wholly separate lines of recession for the street on the right and the river on the left. One is almost invited to 'read' the picture like a *kibyōshi*, from the towers of Edo Castle to the distant right, down through the crowded fish market, across the stage-like centre space to the boats unloading their cargo of fish, then up the river, under the traffic on Nihonbashi Bridge and finally on to the form of Fuji in the far distance.

Broadening Vistas

Our artist's earliest datable venture out of the witty, stagy world of *kibyōshi* and *uki-e* was a fan painting [Fig. 1.6] with a bird's-eye view of Nakazu, a narrow strip of landfill along the Sumida River which from the early 1770s until its demise in 1789 was Edo's premier summer entertainment district.¹¹ The painting is signed 'Kitao Masayoshi' and dated 'Tenmei 3 [1783] midsummer'. The view here shows the night-time bustle of Nakazu under the light of a new moon, with a variety of

pleasure boats below, some setting off fireworks and others taking on and letting off passengers from the long row of riverside teahouses.

This painting is remarkable for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that Masayoshi was already a skilled painter, producing works of much more elegance and subtlety than were allowed in the medium of the woodblock print. This simultaneous activity in prints and painting represents another kind of fertile 'border zone' in Tokugawa art. Second, it shows that from a very early point the artist was evolving a new type of vision, not the fragmentation of viewpoint which we have seen in his *kibyōshi* and *uki-e*, but rather the expansion of a single viewpoint to encompass a wide range of topography. Here, for example, in a single well-integrated space, he has managed to curve the Sumida River on the right in such a way that the view covers a geographical span of close to 180 degrees. It seems possible that this 'panoramic' reach was inspired by the structure of the fan itself, marking the first step in the mode of vision that would expand to encompass all Japan.¹²

Masayoshi's interest in topographical depiction became even clearer two years later, in 1785, when he designed an elegant printed handscroll entitled 'Views of the Famous Places of Edo' (*Edo meisho zue*) [Fig. 1.7]. Only 6½ inches high and over 40 feet in length, the scroll presents fifty different scenes separated by title cartouches with poems, alternating between very wide views and sequences of narrower views. The wide landscapes in particular are flowing and expansive, unframed and generous in the use of long unlined cloud bands in the *Yamato-e* style. As in the earlier fan panorama of Nakazu, we see here a very different world from the tightly framed and crowded spaces of the *kibyōshi* which Masayoshi was producing at the rate of over one per month in these same years. As if to emphasise the difference, he ended the scroll with a new name – or rather a new middle name: Kitao 'Keisai' Masayoshi.

The term *meisho zue* appearing in the title of this handscroll is revealing, since it suggests the inspiration of the genre of illustrated topographical gazetteers which had begun in Kyoto five years earlier with the famous *Miyako meisho zue* ('Views of the famous places of the capital', 1780). There is no doubt that Masayoshi was familiar with this work, since he used it as the compositional model for the twelve views of Kyoto which he designed for *Ehon miyako no nishiki* ('Brocade of the Capital'), a beautiful colour-printed book of 1787. His own earlier handscroll '*meisho zue*' of Edo, however, was a far more original work in terms of landscape design, with a sense of spatial expanse that was

virtually absent from the conventional *meisho zue* genre.¹³

Masayoshi meanwhile continued his prolific production of *kibyōshi* illustration, but in 1789 the genre itself was dealt a heavy blow under the Kansei Reforms of Matsudaira Sadanobu. It was in fact Masayoshi himself who had illustrated Koikawa Harumachi's *Omugaeshi bunbu no futamichi* ('Parroting the twin path of arms and letters'; see Fig. 1.4), the *kibyōshi* which most stirred the wrath of Sabanobu for its satire of his policy urging the balanced cultivation of 'arms and letters' and which led to the censure and possibly the suicide of the author. As illustrator, however, Masayoshi seems to have escaped attention and continued to illustrate *kibyōshi* over the next several years. We may imagine, however, that the dampening of satirical spirit effected by the Kansei reforms encouraged the artist's turn in directions in which he was already headed, towards more refined and more simplified forms of expression.

In this turn towards a more elevated art, Masayoshi perhaps actively sought out an aristocratic patron, although the exact circumstances of his 1794 appointment by the *daimyō* of Tsuyama are obscure.¹⁴ The most plausible connection involves another man of several names: Katsuragawa Hosan (1754–1808), equally well known as Morishima Chūryō and Shinra Banshō, a multi-talented writer and scholar for whom Masayoshi had illustrated several *kibyōshi* and who in turn had written introductions to two of Masayoshi's landscape books in 1787. A further link between the two men was provided by Rangaku ('Dutch learning'), the study of Western science, which would become one critical element in the conception of the view of all Japan. It was in the same year, 1787, that Morishima Chūryō (as I shall call him) edited *Kōmō zatsuwa* ('Red-hair miscellany'), a landmark anthology of bits of Western learning gleaned from Dutch emissaries to Edo. Masayoshi provided one of the illustrations to *Kōmō zatsuwa*, the depiction of an experiment with a static electricity generator.

The final link in this complex (and admittedly conjectural) set of connenctions was a Western-style doctor by the name of Udagawa Genzui (1755–97), a disciple of Hosan's distinguished elder brother Hoshū and the author of one of the postscripts to *Kōmō zatsuwa*. Genzui, as it happens, was an official doctor of the Tsuyama domain, and hence the most likely person to have intervened on behalf of the upwardly mobile Masayoshi. Whatever the exact circumstances, such an appointment could have only been made by the interaction of several of the many not-so-isolated 'worlds' of late Edo culture.



1.1 'A Picture of the Famous Places of Japan' (*Nihon meisho no e*). Colour woodblock print, 41.5×56.1 cm. Signed, 'Painted by Keisai Shōshin of Edo' (seal: 'Shōshin'). Mitsui Bunko, Tokyo.



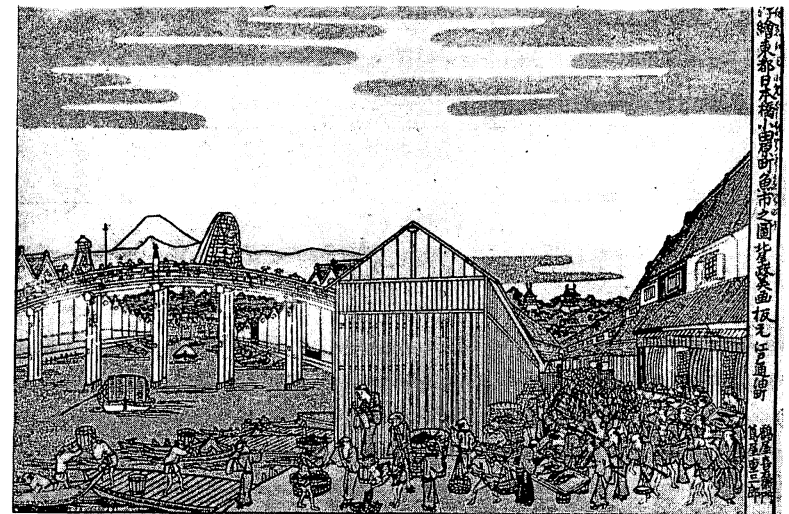
1.2 Detail from 'A Picture of the Famous Places of Japan', showing the area of present Hyōgo, Tottori and Okayama prefectures. The exaggerated depiction of Tsuyama Castle in the centre is a witty personal boast of Keisai's position at the time as an official painter of the Tsuyama domain.



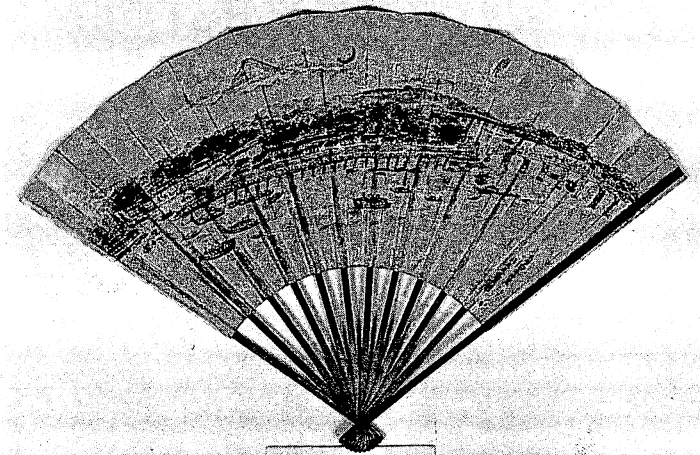
1.3 Wrapper of 'A Picture of the Famous Places of Japan'. 35.8×47.8 cm.



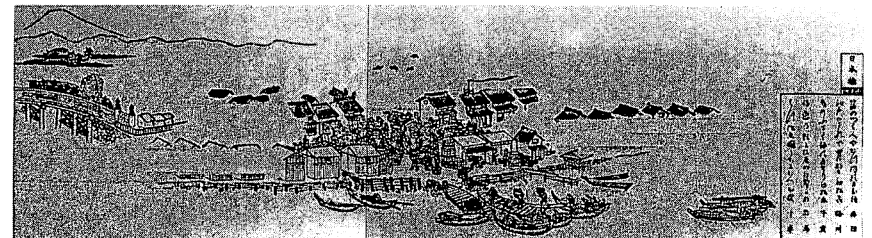
1.4 Viewing votive paintings (*ema*) at Asakusa Kannon Temple, from *Ômugaeshi bunbu no futamachi* (Parroting the twin path of arms and letters, 1789), *kibyôshi* written by Koikawa Harumachi and illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi. Tokyo Metropolitan Library.



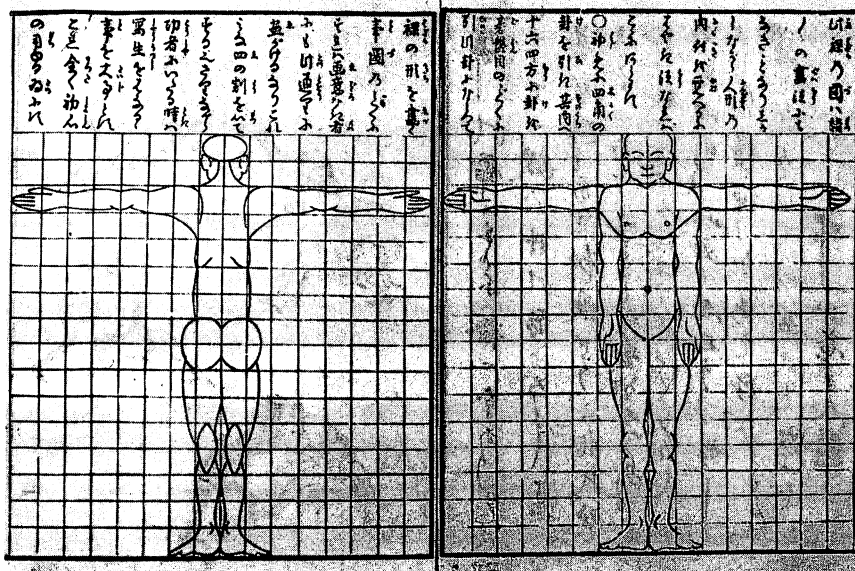
1.5 'Uki-e of Edo: View of the Fish Market at Nihonbashi Odawara-chô' (*Uki-e Edo Nihonbashi Odawara-chô uoichi no zu*). Colour woodblock print, 22.1×32.2 cm. Signed, 'Painted by Kitao Masayoshi'. 1780s. Kanagawa Prefectural Museum, Yokohama.



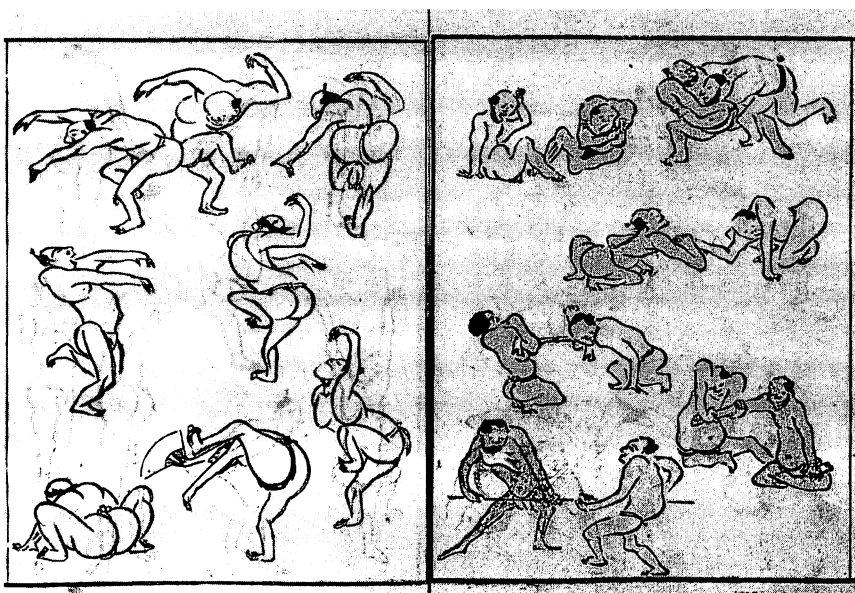
1.6 Fan painting of bird's-eye view of Nakazu at night. Signed, 'Painted by Kitao Masayoshi, midsummer of Tenmei 3 [1783]'. Kônoike Collection, Ôta Memorial Museum of Art, Tokyo.



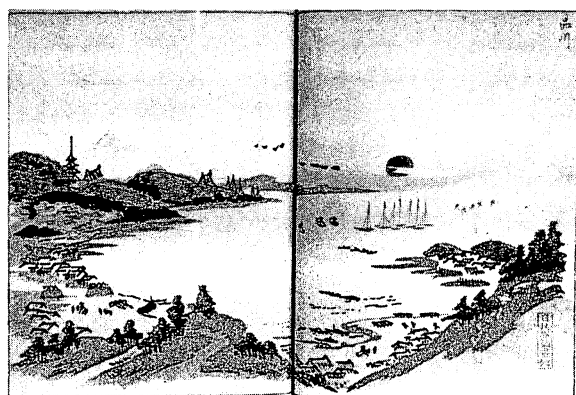
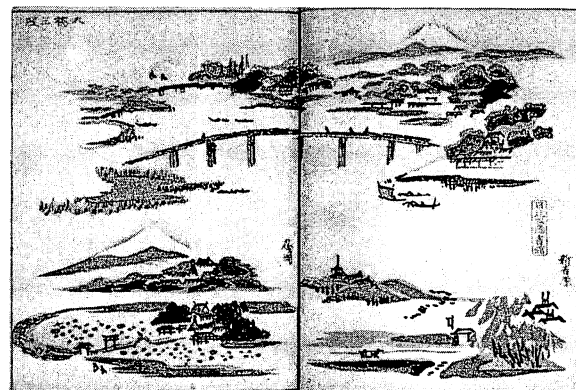
1.7 'Nihonbashi', from *Edo meisho zue* (Famous Places of Edo). Colour-printed handscroll by 'Kitao Keisai Masayoshi'. 16.7 cm high. Published by Noda Shichibei, Edo, 1785. Mitsui Bunko, Tokyo.



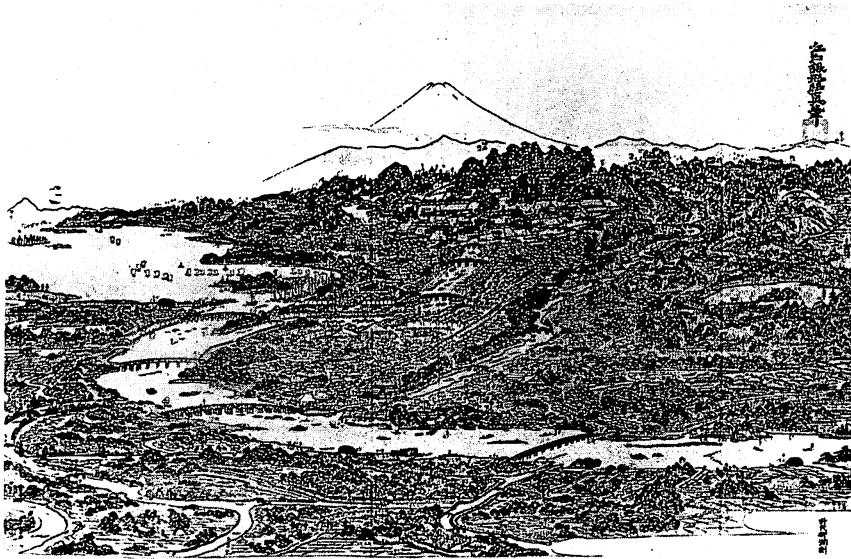
1.8 Illustration of method for copying a nude figure, from *Ryakugashiki* (abbreviated picture style). Illustrated book by 'Keisai Kitao Masayoshi', published by Suwaraya Ichibei, 1795. National Diet Library, Tokyo.



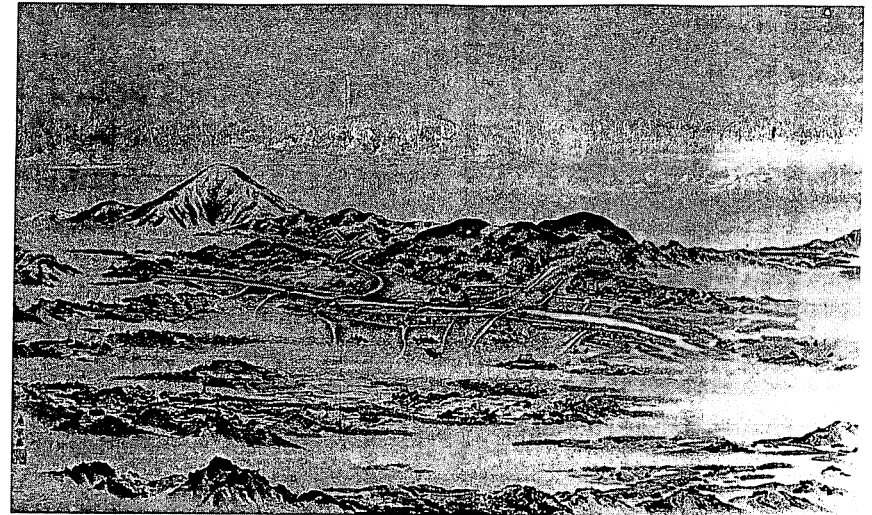
1.9 Wrestlers, from *Ryakugashiki* (1795).



1.10 Views of Edo, from *Sansui ryakugashiki* (Landscapes in the abbreviated picture style). Illustrated book, 1800, signed, 'Painted by Keisai' [seal: 'Shōshin']. Ravicz Collection.



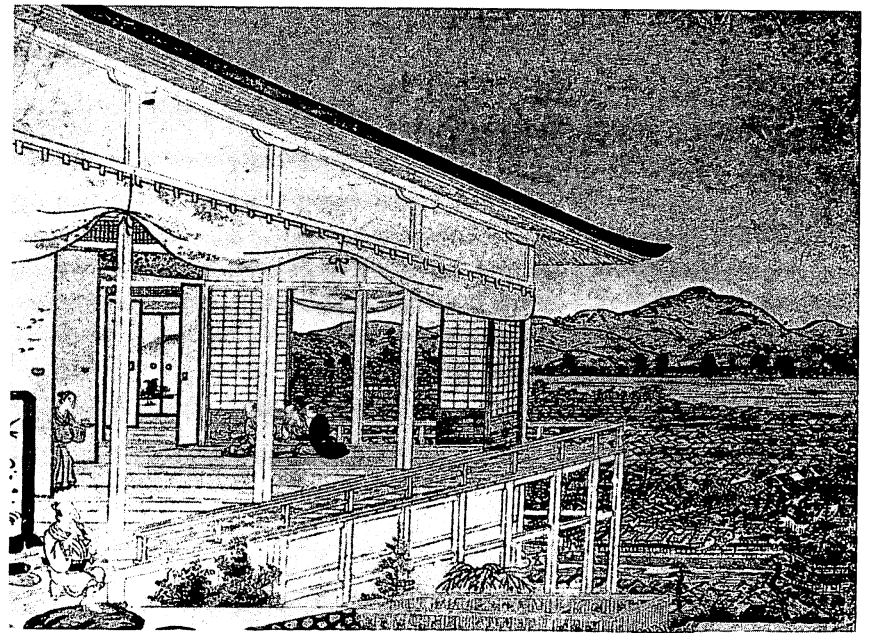
1.11 'A Picture of the Famous Places of Edo' (*Edo meisho no e*). Colour woodblock print. 42.1×58 cm. Signed, 'Painted by Kuwagata Shōshin of Edo' and 'Carved by Noshiro Ryūko'. Ca. 1803. Mitsui Bunko, Tokyo.



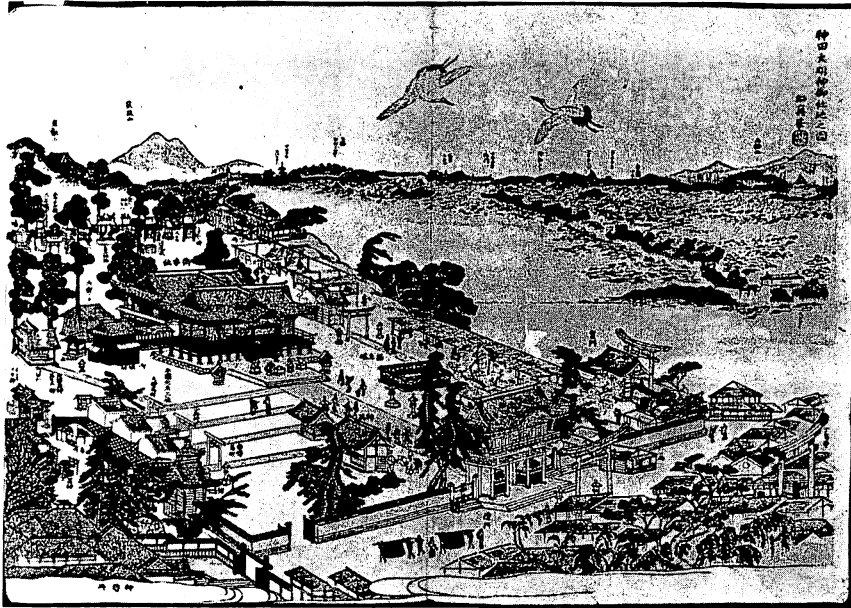
1.13 Maruyama Ōkyo, View of Kyoto (Title on box: *Kyōraku fukanzu* [Bird's-eye view of the Capital]). Colour on silk, 67.3×110.4 cm. Signed, 'Ōkyo' [seal: 'Ōkyo']. Dated 1791 on box. Kobe City Museum.



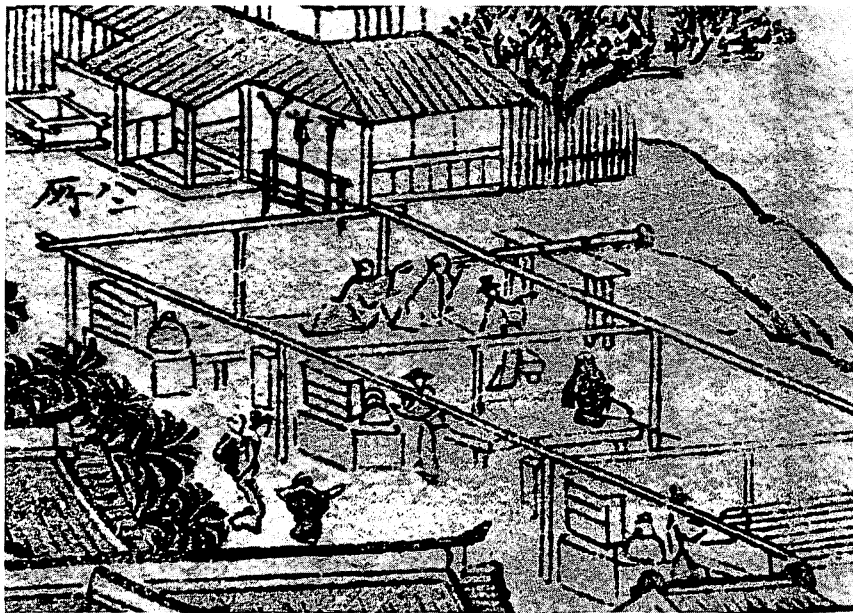
1.12 Kō [Yokoyama] Kazan, 'Panoramic View of the Capital' (*Karaku ichiranzu*). 41.3×64.0 cm. Published in Kyoto, 1808 or 1809. Mitsui Bunko, Tokyo.



1.14 Maruyama Ōkyo, Restaurant on Maruyama Hill. *Megane-e*, hand-coloured woodblock print, 20.7×27.2 cm. Ca. late 1750s. Kobe City Museum.



1.15 'View of the Precincts of Kanda Myōjin Shrine' (*Kanda Daimyōjin on-shachi no zu*). Colour woodblock print, 32.6×47.5 cm. Signed, 'Painted by Shōshin' (seal: 'Shōshin'). After 1797.



1.16 Teahouse with telescope, detail from 'View of the Precincts of Kanda Myōjin Shrine'.

Ryakuga-shiki: The Artifice of Simplicity

Keisai (as we may hereafter refer to him) undertook an important stylistic innovation in 1795, the year after his appointment by Tsuyama. This was the book entitled *Ryakugashiki* ('Abbreviated picture style'), which together with several later volumes in a similar style would earn him his most lasting fame as an artist. The preface by Kanda-an Shujin ('Master of Kanda Hermitage' – possibly Keisai himself) explains the idea:

An old man next door had a plum tree. He manipulated it into the shape of a boat, taking great care that it still bloom every spring. I have no taste for this sort of thing. For one who truly loves flowers, a wild plum is the best. Without contrivance or manipulation, it has the taste of nature (*tennen no fumi*). These views are of the same sort. They depict the spirit without relying on form. This is called *ryakuga-shiki*, in which things are abbreviated without manipulating the form.

Given Keisai's particular circumstances this statement may at first appear to be a calculated repudiation of the artifice which distinguished so much of his past work as an illustrator of *kibyōshi*. A closer look at the contents of *Ryakugashiki*, however, suggests that the preface is merely a statement of the ideology that was conventional to such Chinese-influenced painting schools as that of the Kano line in which Keisai was soon to receive formal training. Following the preface, for example, appeared a curious two-page diagram demonstrating a method of copying (in this case, the form of a human figure) by the use of a superimposed grid pattern [Fig. 1.8], a technique probably learned from a Western text on drawing.¹⁵ It is a mechanical approach which seems strangely at odds with the commitment to nature asserted in the preface, although the accompanying explanation (presumably by Keisai himself) stresses that while such a method can enable 'even those with no talent at pictures' to draw a nude, it is strictly for beginners. This didactic pose is another hint of Keisai's new status, for he is now a 'teacher', not a mere artisan.

There follow fifty-eight pages of examples of the 'abbreviated style', essentially a method of quick sketching which is here applied to figures, birds, flowers and landscapes. The volume is of a type that was to become common in years to follow, less in Edo than in Nagoya, Kyoto and Osaka, intended as much for enjoyment as instruction, whereby

miscellaneous works by well-known painters would be reproduced in the woodblock medium, often enhancing the painterly effect by the use of unlined areas of colour. This style would come to be known among Western collectors as 'impressionistic'.

Yet a closer look at Keisai's volume suggests a certain artifice behind the very idea of 'simplicity'. While many of the human figures, in particular, are indeed simplified, they are far from natural, showing wildly and wittily exaggerated poses [Fig. 1.9]. In effect it is a style of caricature, one which would have a considerable influence on the later *Manga* of Hokusai. While naturalistic in effect the whole effort is carefully contrived.

The implications of the 'abbreviated' style for Keisai's view of all Japan did not become clear until his *Sansui ryakugashiki* ('Landscape in the abbreviated picture style') of 1800, in which he systematically applied his principles to the depiction of landscapes. It is an exquisite book, beautifully printed, and suggests that Keisai had achieved a new synthesis, combining the taste for visual wit of the *ukiyo-e* artist with a new feel for the broad and 'impressionistic' space of books in the painterly style. The landscapes are executed in a brush style with few outlines, and printed in light, elegant tones of brown and grey.

The naturalness of execution in *Sansui ryakugashiki* is complemented by the systematic manipulation of viewpoint, both in angle and in expanse. The album begins, for example, with two illustrations on each page, but gradually, the views begin to span two pages, and finally proceed to single views over a two-page spread [Fig. 1.10]. Although clearly 'abbreviated', these lovely landscapes nevertheless give a sense of a uniform and extensive space reaching horizontally into the distance. Here we can see the logic which would in time lead to the view of all Japan.

Keisai's View of Edo – A Kyoto Connection?

The critical intermediate stage between the broad vistas of the *Sansui ryakugashiki* and the view of all Japan was a dramatic bird's-eye view of the entire city of Edo [Fig. 1.11].¹⁶ It is a single-sheet woodblock print of the same size as the view of Japan, about 16 inches high and 22 inches wide. It is signed 'Edo Kuwagata Shōshin' (the latter being the name he took in 1797) and was sold in a wrapper which provided, together with the names and addresses of the three Suwaraya-house publishers that issued it, a title: 'A Picture of the Famous Places of Edo'

(*Edo meisho no e*).¹⁷ As in the view of all Japan, individual places are identified in tiny *katakana* script, over 250 names in all.

Although this view of Edo is undated, there survives a record of an application in 8/1803 for a licence (*kabu*) to publish such a title; presumably the actual print appeared shortly after.¹⁸ It is particularly revealing that this system of licensing was for maps of Edo, and did not extend to landscape prints. Legally, in other words, it was considered a map, although its title identified it as a picture. The novelty of the view was such that the authorities were probably unsure how to classify it.

Where did Keisai find the idea for a bird's-eye view of an entire city?¹⁹ We can largely discount the tradition of the huge screens depicting the city of Kyoto in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although these 'Views In and Out of the Capital' (*Rakuchū rakugai zu*) did offer a precedent of an assemblage of named 'famous places', they gave no such sense of a unified visual experience, as though one were actually looking down over the city from a high vantage-point. A more plausible source of inspiration from the same era would be European bird's-eye views of cities, some of which were in fact copied on to screens from printed albums brought by Jesuit missionaries.²⁰ There is no evidence, however, that this brief and circumscribed contact was transmitted to the common culture of Edo, nor that any such pictures were reintroduced to Japan in the later Tokugawa period.

We must thus delve into late Edo culture itself for the immediate source of Keisai's vision. A key piece of evidence is the allegation by Edo chronicler Saitō Gesshin (1804–78) that Keisai had taken the idea from 'Bird's-Eye View of the Capital' (*Karaku ichiranzu*), a colour-printed view of the entire city of Kyoto by Shijō school artist Kō [Yokoyama] Kazan (1784–1837) [Fig. 1.12].²¹ Kyoto publishing records, however, indicate that this print was issued in 1808 or 1809, several years after Keisai's Edo view.²² Even more importantly it is now evident that Kō Kazan himself was following an earlier model, that of a large painting now in the Kobe City Museum [Fig. 1.13]. It bears a date of 1791 on its storage box and is signed by none other than Maruyama Ōkyo, the Kyoto artist whom we encountered earlier as a young designer of Western-style views for the *optique*.²³

Although some three decades separate Ōkyo's *optique* views (known in Japanese as *megane-e*, 'eye-piece pictures') from the 1791 depiction of all Kyoto, the link is clear in such a work as Fig. 1.14, a view of a restaurant overlooking Kyoto to the west from Maruyama Hill – perhaps the first Japanese picture ever to give a realistic sense of

looking down over a city. Ōkyo's art in the meantime had matured and deepened, and as he discovered more pedigreed patrons he left behind *megane-e* as a youthful experiment and restricted himself more to the traditional elegance of the Kano school in which he was trained. Yet as art historian Sasaki Jōhei has demonstrated, he never abandoned the feel for a unified pictorial space which he learned from the West, although he developed this continuing concern in a manner that owes as much to traditional Chinese and Japanese painting as to Western inspiration.²⁴ The result was the superbly eclectic vision of his late view of all Kyoto, which combined his insistence on close observation of nature (here the city of Kyoto itself, rich in recognisable detail), a viewpoint that in the Chinese manner seems to be at once high and low, a Western-derived use of white clouds in a blue sky, and overall the same sense of unified space seen in his early *megane-e*.²⁵

Comparing Ōkyo's Kyoto with Keisai's Edo the influence seems persuasive – if not by way of this particular painting, then perhaps by others like it, for Ōkyo also did a similar view of Osaka and perhaps of other cities as well.²⁶ Both cities are backed by their protective peaks, Mt Hiei and Mt Fuji respectively, and the city below is tipped upward, maplike, to show maximum detail. Where necessary, the city plan is distorted to achieve overall compositional balance, as in Ōkyo's curvature of the straight avenues of Kyoto – echoed in the S-curves which Keisai uses to depict the linear canals east of the Sumida River.

Decisive evidence of Keisai's exposure to the work of Ōkyo remains to be found. Such a connection was asserted many years ago by Louise Norton-Brown, but her evidence is suspect.²⁷ It is certainly plausible, however, that Keisai's privileged status after 1794 gave him access to paintings by Ōkyo if not to the artist himself, who died the following year. Although Keisai's appointment involved serving the *daimyō* at his Edo mansion, he is known to have travelled to Tsuyama in 1810,²⁸ and may well have made earlier visits as well, surely stopping at Kyoto along the way.

Even if Keisai was familiar with the work of Ōkyo, however, his urban view differs from that of the Kyoto master in revealing ways. First, it is more dense and filled in, with none of the elegant gold mists which periodically interrupt Ōkyo's Kyoto: Keisai's only concession to this convention is a token cloud pattern along the very bottom. And while Keisai takes from Ōkyo the urge to show the city as an impressive whole, he has a far greater interest in the systematic cataloguing of all its separate parts, the individual *meisho*.

Another – and particularly revealing – difference is the panoramic

breadth of Keisai's vision, by which he has introduced a depiction of the sun rising over the province of Kazusa (which is identified by a tiny label on the skirt of the mountain to the far left).²⁹ This involves a remarkable breadth of vision, since both Kazusa (the central part of the Bōsō Peninsula) and the rising sun lay to the south-east of Edo – geographically, over 90 degrees left of centre in this Fuji-facing view. Keisai has thus mobilised his panoramic range to integrate this crucial eastern vignette into a westward view, thereby implying a greater wholeness of Edo by the symbolic incorporation of all Japan (*Nihon*, 'source of the sun'). The pride in the city which Keisai reveals in the 'Edo' prefix to his signature on the right is balanced by the pride in Japan which he reveals in his 'contrivance' to the left. Indeed, the whole view is one remarkable contrivance in terms of the pictorial conventions of the time, as suggested by the text of the wrapper in which it was sold:

Master Keisai has contrived anew (*arata ni kufū shite*) to produce this unusual view of the bustling scenic and historic sites of the capital of Edo, fanning out from a single viewpoint (*hitome ni miwataseru*). It offers the delights of wandering from one place to another, and is suitable for framing or mounting as a scroll, or for presentation as a timely gift or souvenir. We offer for your display this wondrous view, one of the rarest of all times.

The vaunted rarity of Keisai's view of Edo was to be confirmed by its history, for it became the model for virtually all later bird's-eye views of Edo. Keisai himself later re-created the view from a slightly different angle in a superb *fusuma* painting dated 1809 which he made for Tsuyama Castle and which survives in Tsuyama today.³⁰ He never repeated the printed version, however, which was left to various later imitators.³¹

The Leap of Vision

Keisai's next feat of imagination, from a view of all Edo to a view of all Japan, was truly a quantum leap, one for which I have been unable to find any precedents, either in Tokugawa Japan or indeed anywhere else in the early modern world.³² It is easy enough to conceive of a single-point depiction of an entire city, particularly in Japan, where adjacent hills provide just such a prospect of most settlements. But a view of the

entire nation of Japan, with Korea perched on the far horizon! This would have no experiential counterpart until the space age. How did Keisai make the leap?

At least part of the explanation lies, I believe, in two important developments in late eighteenth-century Japan. One was a growing interest in devices with magnifying lens. In *Kōmō zatsuwa* of 1787, for example, we find illustrations of a microscope – an instrument probably first imported within the previous decade – and of the sorts of new visibility (mostly of insects and seeds) which it afforded.

For Keisai, however, the preoccupation was rather telescopic. The instrument itself had been known in Japan for many years, but there is little evidence of interest by artists – with the important exception of (once again) Maruyama Ōkyo, who recommended the telescope as a tool for correcting natural vision.³³ Keisai's interest in the telescope seems rather to have been topographical, as revealed in an intricately constructed 'View of the Grounds of Kanda Myōjin Shrine' (*Kanda Daimyōjin onshachi no zu*) [Fig. 1.15]. The dominant half to the lower left depicts the shrine precincts in conventional parallel perspective. Stretching out in a wholly separate space to the upper right, however, is a panoramic view, complete with labels of the major sights. When plotted on a map the arrangement of these place-names reveals that the view depicted can actually be seen from one – and only one – place: the elevated rise of Kanda Myōjin Shrine itself.

Still closer study yields the instrument [Fig. 1.16], a huge telescope peering out from one of the teahouses located on the east-facing bluff beside the shrine. A later gazetteer confirms that these teahouses rented out telescopes as a way of 'admiring the landscape' (*fūkei o motea-sobu*).³⁴ In Keisai's view one guest peers through the telescope while his companion and the teahouse owner point eastward to identify the sights. The seventeen labelled places span a panorama of 160 degrees.

How might this interest in telescopic observation lead to the view of all Japan? I would propose that the close study of a distant landscape through a telescope, enabling the identification of named places not visible to the naked eye, could with the proper sense of manipulative viewpoint and spatial breadth – precisely the types of vision which Keisai had long been cultivating – lead to the idea of looking at the entire country of Japan from a great distance and identifying its separate places.

The other relevant development of Keisai's time was a mounting interest in mapping the borders of Japan, in defining the place of the nation, as it were, on the globe. This effort was at once scientific,

impelled by the eagerness of astronomers to calculate the meridian and magnitude of the earth, and strategic, triggered by the growing Russian presence in the north. The global interests of the scientists merged with the national interests of the *bakufu* to enable the famous surveying career of Inō Tadataka from 1795 until his death in 1818 – precisely the era of Keisai's own expanding maplike vision. It is difficult to say whether Keisai knew of Inō or his surveys, but both seem to share a common spirit of the age, an effort both to ascertain Japan's borders and to affirm its place on the earth.

This mapping mentality also brings us back to Matsudaira Sadanobu, whom we previously encountered as the vengeful enemy of *kibyōshi*. Masayoshi's opponent, however, would prove in the end to be Keisai's ally.³⁵ It was Sadanobu, for example, who took along the artist Tani Bunchō to record views of the coast of the Izu Peninsula in 1793, producing a series of landscapes which perfectly balanced the strategic interests of Sadanobu and the artistic interests of Bunchō.³⁶ It was also Sadanobu who after his retirement as politician sponsored copperplate artist Aōdō Denzen to produce a great map of the entire world.³⁷ Keisai himself had personal ties with Sadanobu, who commissioned what is universally acclaimed as Keisai's masterpiece as a painter, a series of three handscrolls depicting Edo trades (*Shokunin-zukushi ekotoba*).³⁸ The accompanying text was written, revealingly, by three leading men of Edo light fiction, all of whom had earlier felt the sting of Sadanobu's Kansei reforms: Ōta Nanpo, Santō Kyōden and Hoseidō Kisanji.³⁹ This suggests that by the early nineteenth century there had been a certain reconciliation of the playful vision of *gesaku* with the pragmatic vision of the *bakufu*.

And so the issue returns to the playful vision of Edo. However much the concerns of magnified vision, global measurement and strategic mapping may have provided an essential environment for Keisai's leap of vision to the view of all Japan, that leap was ultimately a leap of wit rather than science. Look once again at Figure 1.1. As in the view of Edo we are looking to the west and slightly south, and the artist has indulged in a similar spatial manipulation, curving the elongated form of Japan in order to accommodate a panoramic range. But unlike the view of Edo, there is no rising sun. The answer is simple: what Keisai has depicted is a view of Japan *as seen by the rising sun*. It is admittedly difficult to prove that this is the intent, since conventional maps of Japan were oriented with the west above. But in an age that still could not conceive of flight beyond the range of a bird (even Icarus, after all, was but an impetuous bird), only a heavenly body could provide the

proper inspiration. And in the land of the rising sun, it could only be a 'sun's-eye view'.

Keisai's World

Over a generation before Keisai, another Japanese of remarkable imagination had devised his own view of Japan from space:⁴⁰

<i>Inazuma ya</i>	A flash of lightning:
<i>Nami mote yueru</i>	Bound in by waves
<i>Akizushima</i>	The Dragonfly Isles

The poet was Yosa Buson (1713–83), and the verse was composed at a *haiku* party in Kyoto in the late summer of 1768. The image shares with Keisai the astonishing sense of a view of all Japan, here designated by the ancient name of Akizushima, the 'Dragonfly Isles.' And yet the vision is in a critical sense a limited one, first in the ephemerality of the lightning flash and second in the 'binding' effect of the sea, yielding an image which is truly a 'world within walls'.

By the time of Keisai's view over three decades later, however, things had clearly changed. To be sure, Japan is still envisioned as both manageable and beautiful, reminding us that the National Learning (Kokugaku) movement was growing in tandem with that of Western Learning in the late eighteenth century. But in Keisai's vision the sea serves less to hem in the isles of Japan than to link them to the adjacent continent, and the momentary flash of lightning gives way to the steady illumination of both moon and sun.

More broadly we can see between Buson and Keisai the transition which Haga distinguishes, from a culture of 'appreciation' (*kanshō*) to one of 'observation' (*kansatsu*). In Keisai's view the element of appreciation remains strong: as the Meiji gardening expert Ōzawa Suien remarked, the view of Japan would serve nicely as a model for *bonkei*, a miniature tray landscape.⁴¹ Yet at the same time there is a new element of objectivity, in the close observation of Japan, as though it were seen through the distancing effect of a lens.

Keisai's panoramic 'sun's-eye view' of Japan was thus the result of cross-fertilisation *across* different 'walls' – those between samurai and commoner, between maps and pictures, between artifice and nature, between paintings and prints, between Edo and Kyoto, and between Japan and the rest of the world. Keisai's creative activity occupied a

'border zone' in all of these respects. To be sure, the creative accomplishment of the view of all Japan was not to be duplicated: like Keisai's view of Edo, it was later copied but never surpassed. Such creative blending was going on in many different ways in late Tokugawa Japan, however, as the rapidly unfolding events of the succeeding decades would continue to demonstrate.

Notes and References

Introduction

- * For biographical information this article relies mainly on Ishida Takeshi *et al.*, 'Zadankai: Hitotsu no kojishi' [A round-table discussion: a personal history], 'Ishida kyōju ryakureki' [A summary of Professor Ishida's curriculum vitae] and 'Ishida kyōju chosaku mukuroku' [List of Professor Ishida's publications], in *Shakaikagaku kenkyū*, vol. 35, no. 5 (1984) pp. 277–341. We thank Professor Banno Junji of the University of Tokyo's Institute of Social Science and Shizuko Radbill of the University of Arizona's Oriental Collection for providing us with copies of the journal.
1. Takeshi Ishida, *Japanese Political Culture: Change and Continuity* (New Brunswick, N.J., and London, UK: Transaction Books, 1983) p. xi.
 2. *Nihon no nashonarizumu* [Nationalism in Japan] (Kawade shobō, 1953); *Meiji seiji shisō-shi kenkyū* [A study of Meiji political thought] (Miraisha, 1954); and *Kindai nihon seiji kōzō no kenkyū* [A study of the political structure of modern Japan] (Miraisha, 1956).
 3. *Gendai soshiki ron* [A theory of contemporary organisations] (Iwanami shoten), and *Sengo nihon no seiji taisei* [The post-war Japanese political system] (Miraisha).
 4. See Takeshi Ishida, 'The Development of Interest Groups and the Pattern of Political Modernization in Japan', in Robert E. Ward (ed.), *Political Development in Modern Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968) pp. 294–5, 335–6.
 5. However, the half-dozen articles that appeared in the years immediately following Ishida's first visit to the US were concerned mainly with the norms of the US society and culture as compared, explicitly or implicitly, with those of Japanese society and culture. Typical of these efforts at comparative studies are: 'Seiō ajia nihon: kaigai kenkyū dansō' [The West, Asia and Japan: random thoughts on study abroad], *Shakai kagaku kenkyū*, vol. 14, no. 6, 1963; 'Tayōsei no kuni amerika: sono shakai to shakaikagaku dansō' [A nation of diversity: random thoughts on American society and social sciences], *Misuzu*, February 1964; 'Amerika no futatsu no kao' [The two faces of America], *Tosho*, February 1964; and 'Amerika chihō seiji no jittai: masachusettsushu no jirei wo chūshin to shite' [The reality of local politics in America: observations based mainly on the case of Massachusetts], *Reference*, no. 160, 1964.
 6. A representative sample of the first type of work includes: *Heiwa no seijigaku* [The political science of peace] (Iwanami shoten, 1968); *Hak-yoku to heiwa: 1941–1952-nen* [Crisis and peace: the years 1941–52] (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1968); and *Heiwa to henkaku no ronri* [The logic of peace and change] (Renga shobō, 1973). The second type of work includes: 'Shūhen kara' no shikō: *tayō no bunka to no taiwa wo*

motome te [A view from the 'periphery': in search of a dialogue with diverse cultures] (Tabata shoten, 1981); *Seiji to bunka* [Politics and culture] (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1969); *Nihon no seiji bunka: dōchō to kyōsō* [Japanese political culture: conformity and competition] (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1970); *Japanese Society* (New York: Random House, 1971); *Mehiko to nihonjin: dai-san sekai de kangaeru* [Mexico and Japanese: observations from the third world] (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1973); *Japanese Political Culture: Change and Continuity* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Inc., 1983); and 'Conflict and Its Accommodation: *Omote-Ura* and *Uchi-Soto* Relations', in Ellis S. Krauss, Thomas P. Rohlen and Patricia G. Steinhoff (eds), *Conflict in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984).

7. The results of Ishida's own research on the subject were published in his 'Minamata ni okeru yokuatsu to sabetsu no kōzō' [The structure of repression and discrimination in Minamata], in Irokawa Daikichi (ed.), *Minamata no keiji: Shiranubi-kai sōgō-chōsa hōkoku*, vol. 1 (Chikuma shobō, 1983).
8. These include: 'Gukansho to Jinnō shōtō ki no rekishi shisō; [The philosophy of history in *Gukansho* and *Jinnō shōtō ki*], in Maruyama Masao (ed.), *Rekishi shisō-shi* (Chikuma shobō, 1972); 'Josetsu: nihon ni okeru seiō seiji shisō' [Introductory notes: Western political ideologies in Japan], in Nihon seijigakkai (ed.), *Nempō seijigaku*, 1975 (Iwanami shoten, 1975); *Nihon kindai shisōshi ni okeru hō to seiji* [Law and politics in the history of modern Japanese thought] (Iwanami shoten, 1976); *Gendai seiji no soshiki to shōchō: sengoshi e no seijigaku-teki sekkin* [Organisations and symbols in contemporary politics: a political science approach to post-war history] (Misuzu shobō, 1978); 'Kawakami Hajime ni okeru itan e no michi' [The road to heterodoxy as seen in Kawakami Hajime], *Shisō*, October 1979; 'Nōkyō: Japanese Farmers' Representatives', co-authored with Aurelia George, in Peter Drysdale and Hiro-nobu Kitaoji (eds), *Japan and Australia: Two Societies and Their Interaction* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1981); *Seitō to itan* [Orthodoxy and heterodoxy] (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1983); and *Kindai nihon no seiji bunka to gengo shōchō* [Political culture and linguistic symbols in modern Japan] (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1983).

1 World Without Walls: Kuwagata Keisai's Panoramic Vision of Japan

1. Donald Keene, *World Within Walls – Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600–1867* (New York, Grove Press, 1976). Professor Keene is also the author of a pioneering book on precisely my counter-theme of 'world without walls': *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720–1830* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952).
2. Figure 1.1 represents a fine impression, in excellent condition, of what I believe to be the first state of this print, preserved in its original wrapper

- in the Mitsui Bunko in Tokyo, call no. c750-12. This state may be distinguished from others by the fine line carved from the blue colour block to indicate the horizon below Korea. A common later state has completely different colour blocks, resulting in heavier overprinting on the mountain peaks, no horizon line below Korea and a differently placed moon; for an example (from the Kobe City Museum) see Hugh Cortazzi, *Isles of Gold: Antique Maps of Japan* (New York and Tokyo: John Weatherhill, 1983) pl. 60 and endcover insert.
3. The most thorough biographical investigation of Keisai is in Tanaka Tatsuya, 'Bunga no gaha, Kitao-ha', in *Nikuhitsu ukiyoe* (Shūeisha, 1983), v. 133-7, 143, 146.
 4. Urushiya Matashirō calculated that of some 250 books which Keisai illustrated, 168 were *kibyōshi*; 'Kitao Masayoshi to sono sakuhin', *Shomotsu tenbō*, 8/1 (January 1938) pp. 15-25, and 'Kuwaagata Keisai no ehon', *Gasetsu*, no. 33 (1939) p. 845. A more recent catalogue of Keisai's books lists 177 *kibyōshi*; see Riccar Bijutsukan, *Uki-e Kanadehon Chūshingura - Kitao Masayoshi* (exhibition catalogue, 1979) pp. 18-31.
 5. The last datable appearance of the name Masayoshi appears to be 1800, in his two final *kibyōshi*.
 6. Keene, *World Within Walls*, op. cit. p. 400.
 7. The term 'uki-e' seems to have first appeared on prints of theatre interiors by Masanobu and Kiyotada in about 1739-40; the meaning was later described as referring to the visual effects of looking at such views through a lens, although there is no evidence that the first *uki-e* were so intended. For the origins and development of the genre see Suzuki Jūzō 'Uki-e no tenkai to henbō', in Riccar Bijutsukan, *Uki-e* (exhibition catalogue, 1975), and Julian Jinn Lee, 'The Origin and Development of Japanese Landscape Prints: A Study in the Synthesis of Eastern and Western Art', unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1977.
 8. For Ōkyo's views for the *optique* see Kubota Beisen, 'Maruyama Ōkyo hitsu no megane-e', *Kottō kyōkai zasshi* (1899) pp. 39-41; Lee, 'The Origin and Development of Japanese Landscape Prints', op. cit. ch. 5; and Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, *Megane-e to Tōkaidō gojūsan-tsugi ten* (exhibition catalogue, 1984).
 9. Oka Yasumasa, 'Maruyama Ōkyo no megane-e to Utagawa Toyoharu no uki-e ni tsuite', *Kansai Daigaku Kōkogaku-tō shiryōshitsu kiyō*, no. 1 (March 1984) pp. 47-78.
 10. This series consisted of at least six prints; the depiction of Nakazu in one of them dates it before 1789.
 11. This painting is illustrated (but mis-identified as a view of Ryōgoku) in Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan, *Kōnoike korekushon Ōgi-e zuroku 1: Ukiyo-e hen* (Ōta kinen bijutsukan, 1981) fig. 18, and in colour in *Kobijutsu*, no. 75 (July 1985) p. 29. I am grateful to Timothy Clark of Harvard University for bringing this painting to my attention.
 12. The English word 'panorama' was a product of the same era as that of Keisai, coined in about 1789 by Robert Barker to describe his invention of a circular painting which completely surrounds the viewer. I have used the term 'panoramic' here rather to describe the encompassment of a

- wide and continuous topographical range of view within the limits of a conventional flat picture.
13. This scroll should not be confused with the famous gazetteer of the same name (but different characters for 'Edo') of 1834-6, edited by Saitō Gesshin.
 14. The connections proposed here follow the suggestions of Kano Hiroyuki, 'Kitao Masayoshi to sono jidai - Kare o meguru hitobito', in Riccar Bijutsukan, *Uki-e Kanadehon Chūshingura - Kitao Masayoshi*, p. 3.
 15. Kano Hiroyuki, 'Kuwaagata Keisai ehon no kentō', *Museum*, no. 338 (May 1979) p. 23, claims that this drawing was taken from *Komō zatsuwa*; in fact it is of a different type and must have come from some other source.
 16. Figure 1.11, from the Mitsui Bunko (call no. 604-1) represents the earlier of two separate editions of Keisai's *Edo meisho no e*; in the later one, the key block is essentially the same except for the addition of the Kayaba-chō Yakushi Hall, about 1½ inches below and to the left and Nihonbashi Bridge, and the deletion of the carver's signature to the lower right. The later colour blocks omit the cloud on the left slope of Mt Fuji, and show a solid rising sun rather than one crossed by clouds. The seal of the publisher Seiryōkaku (Suwaraya Ihachi) is normally found in the lower left margin of the later edition. Within each edition there are alternate states, with variant colour blocks; the pristine impression of the Mitsui Bunko copy suggests that it is the earliest state of the first edition; it may be distinguished from later states by the pattern of the clouds across the rising sun. The Mitsui Bunko collection also includes a painting which is larger in scale but otherwise almost identical, except for the absence of written labels, to the print; it is undated and unsigned, but ascribed by the library to Keisai. Across the top of the painting in an unidentified hand is a series of Chinese poems celebrating the sights of Edo, composed in pairs by Confucian scholars Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) and Hori Kyōan (1585-1642). Since this painting includes a depiction of the Kayaba-chō Yakushi Hall, I would propose that it post-dated the first edition and was hence copied from the print, rather than vice versa. See note 32 for reference to two other painted versions of the Edo view.
 17. I have been unable to locate a surviving copy of the wrapper itself, but the information on it is recorded in 'Shōshin-hitsu Edo ichiranzu no gendai', *Ukiyoe no kenkyū*, no. 9-10 (May 1924) p. 39.
 18. *Edo hon'ya shuppan kiroku*, iii (Yumani shobō, 1980) pp. 440-1. The first to draw attention to this source appears to have been Iwata Toyoki, 'Edo jidai no chōkanzu', *Gekkan kochizu kenkyū*, no. 12 (February 1971) p. 7.
 19. For a collection of important essays on the evolution of urban views and bird's-eye views in Japan see Yamori Kazuhiko, *Kochizu to fukei* (Chikuma shobō, 1984).
 20. The most elaborate such screen is the 'Screen of Twenty-eight Cities', in the Imperial Collection; see *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu* (Shōgakkan, 1968-76), xxv, pls 22-3.

21. Saitō Gesshin, *Bukō nenpyō*, entry for 3/21/1828' see Kaneko Mitsuharu (ed.), *Zōtei Bukō nenpyō*, Tōyō bunko 117–18 (Heibonsha, 1968), ii, 73–4. Gesshin included the same allegation in his revision of the *Ukiyo-e ruikō*. The word 'ichiranzu' in the title of Kazan's view (as printed on the wrapper in which it was sold) may well have been used here for the first time, and corresponds fairly well to the English 'bird's-eye view' (for which the earliest *OED* citation is 1762–71).
22. Masamune Isoo and Wakabayashi Shōji (eds), *Kinsei Kyōto shuppan shiryō* (Nihon kosho tsūshinsha, 1965) p. 21; I am indebted for the reference to Iwata, 'Edo jidai no chōkanzu', p. 7.
23. Ōkyo's view of Kyoto is introduced in Cal French, *Through Closed Doors: Western Influence on Japanese Art 1639–1853* (Rochester, Mich.: Meadow Brook Art Gallery, Oakland University, 1977), entry 45 (pp. 109–11). For the date on the box see Ikenaga Hajime, *Shiritsu Kōbe bijutsukan shūzō Nanban bijutsu sōmokuroku* (Kobe: Shiritsu Kōbe bijutsukan, 1955) p. 187.
24. Sasaki Jōhei, 'Maruyama Ōkyo no sansuiga ni tsuite', *Bijutsushi*, no. 120 (April 1986) pp. 113–31.
25. See French, *Through Closed Doors*, op. cit. p. 109, for an excellent stylistic analysis of Ōkyo's Kyoto view.
26. Ōkyo also painted a similar view of Osaka, now in the collection of Nanba Shōtarō; see *Edo jidai zushi*, vol. xviii (Chikuma shobō, 1978) fig. 4. A view of Nagasaki harbour in the Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum is signed by Ōkyo and dated 1792, but its authenticity is in doubt; see fig. 6, Hosono Masanobu, 'Yōfū hanga', *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 36 (Shibundō, 1969), translated as *Nagasaki Prints and Early Copperplates* (Kodansha International and Shibundo, 1978).
27. Louise Norton Brown, *Block Printing and Book Illustration in Japan* (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd, and New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1924) p. 123. Brown asserts that Masayoshi visited Kyoto 'about 1786', apparently on the assumption that the designs in *Ehon Miyako no nishiki* (1787) were based on first-hand experience, when in fact they were adapted from *Miyako meisho zue*. Her reconstruction of Keisai's contact with Ōkyo through the kyōka volume *Haikaika Miyako manshu* (which she mis-reads as 'Haikai Kato Manshu') is also suspect, since surviving editions of this work make it clear that the illustrations were by the 'late' (not 'old age') Ōkyo himself rather than Keisai, and that the preface is not by Shinra Banshō but by Shinratei II; the date of the preface (*ne hazuki*) must be, given the circumstances described, the Eighth Month of 1804. Brown's assertions (and errors) are all repeated by Nakada Katsunosuke, *Ehon no kenkyū* (Bijutsu shuppansha, 1950) p. 96.
28. For the trip to Tsuyama see Tanaka, op. cit. p. 135.
29. The commentary on this print in Nakamura Hiroshi (ed.), *Nihon kochizu taisei* (Kōdansha, 1964) pl. 77, identifies this as a setting sun, which seems unlikely.
30. This painting is now mounted as a screen, in the collection of the Tsuyama shiritsu kyōdōkan; for a good reproduction see Suwa Haruo and Naitō Akira, *Edo zu byōbu* (Mainichi shinbunsha, 1972) pl. 107,

- where it is called 'Edo keikan zu byōbu'. Still another painted version of the Edo panorama survives in the Japan Ukiyoe Museum Collection in Matsumoto, reproduced in *Nihon Ukiyo-e Hakubutsukan, Nikuhitsu ukiyo-e senshū* (Gakken, 1986) pl. 116. It is signed in a style identical to that of the printed version, but the composition is different. It is undated, but I would guess that it came after the print, in response to a request for a painted version. Finally, a large painting of presumably the same view hung for many years in the Ema Hall of Kanda Myōjin Shrine and was finally destroyed in the Kanto Earthquake of 1923; see Kaneko (ed.), *Zōtei Bukō nenpyō*, ii, 74; Mori Senzō, 'Kuwagata Keisai no kotodomo', *Gasetsu*, no. 33 (1939) pp. 829–30; and Mimura Seisaburō, 'Keisai ni kanshite', *Gasetsu*, no. 33 (1939) p. 838 (which however mistakes Keisai's painting for a separate one of the shrine festival procession).
31. Among the many later panoramas of Edo which are modelled after the original Keisai view are: a copperplate etching by Aōdō Denzen, before 1815 (see Hosono, op. cit. fig. 103); an eightfold screen by *ukiyo-e* painter Shuntoku, now lost (Narazaki Muneshige, 'Shuntoku kenkyū no zenshin tashō', *Ukiyoe-kai*, 4/1 [January 1939] pp. 35–6); a copperplate etching by an unknown European illustrator in Siebold's *Nippon*, 1832–51 (ii, 39); a crude *ukiyo-e* print by Kunimori, 1843–6; a careful copy of Keisai's original by his grandson Keirin, after 1854 (see, for example, Chikuma shobō, *Edo jidai zushi*, suppl. vol. 2, pp. 104–5, and Mildred Friedman (ed.) *Tokyo: Form and Spirit* [Walker Art Museum, 1986] p. 33); and a *sugoroku* board-game print by Hiroshige II, 1859 (see, for example, Shinji Yoshimoto (ed.), 'Edo happyaku yachō', *Nihon no kochizu*, vol. ix [Kōdansha, 1977] p. 1, and facsimile reproduction in Iwata Toyoki (ed.), *Ō-Edo ezu shūsei* [Kōdansha, 1974]).
 32. On the basis of the entire argument which I have presented I here make the assumption that the view of Edo preceded the view of Japan, although there is no documentary evidence for dating the latter. Given the similarity of style between the two views, I would judge that the view of Japan followed that of Edo within a year or two.
 33. Sasaki Jōhei, 'Maruyama Ōkyo no kaigaron' (Kyōto daigaku bungakubu bigaku-bijutsushigaku kenkyūshitsu) *Kenkyū kiyō*, no. 3 (1982) pp. 7, 13.
 34. Saitō Gesshin, *Edo meisho zue*, v (1836), s.v. 'Kanda Daimyōjin no yashiro'. A depiction of the same large telescope appears in Keisai's *Edo meisho zue* of 1785.
 35. For the complex character of Sadanobu himself see Haruko Iwasaki, 'Portrait of a Daimyo – Comical Fiction by Matsudaira Sadanobu', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 38/1 (Spring 1983) pp. 1–48.
 36. For Bunchō's Izu paintings see Tani Bunchō, *Kōyo tanshōzu* (Meicho shuppan, 1975), *kaisetsu* by Hosono Masanobu.
 37. Denzen himself produced a panoramic view of Edo; as cited in note 33, I believe that Denzen followed Keisai, although the reverse possibility has been considered (but finally discounted) in Unno Kazutaka, 'Edo chōkanzu no sōshisha', *Gekkan kochizu kenkyū*, 8/9 (June, 1970) pp. 2–11.

38. 'Shokunin-zukushi ekotoba', 3 painted handscrolls, Tokyo National Museum; see Asakura Haruhiko (ed.), *Edo shokunin-zukushi* (Iwasaki bijutsu sha, 1980) for a half-tone reproduction.
39. Iwasaki, 'Portrait of a Daimyo', op. cit. p. 19.
40. Haga Tōru, 'The Western World and Japan in the Eighteenth Century', *Hikaku bunka kenkyū* (Tōkyō daigaku kyōyō gakubu) no. 16 (March 1978) p. 22. I have provided my own translation of the poem.
41. Suien's comments are attached to a copy of *Nihon meisho no e* in the National Diet Library, call no. GAI [inoshishi] 125.

2 Anglo-American Influences on Nishida

1. Yamada Munemutsu, *Nihongata shisō no genkei* (San'ichi shobō, 1961) p. 94.
2. Takeuchi Yoshitomo, *Nishida Kitarō, kindai nihon no shisōka* (Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1966) passim.
3. Valdo H. Viglielmo, 'Nishida Kitarō', in Donald Shively (ed.), *Modernization of Japanese Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971) pp. 530-2.
4. Takeuchi, *Nishida Kitarō*, op. cit. p. 240.
5. Ibid. pp. 107-8.
6. Yamada, *Nihongata shisō*, op. cit. p. 49.
7. Takeuchi, *Nishida Kitarō*, op. cit. p. 111.
8. Nakajima Rikizō, 'Eikoku shin Kanto gakuha ni tsuite', *Tetsugaku zasshi*, vol. 7, no. 70 (December 1892); vol. 8, no. 71 (January 1893); and vol. 8, no. 72 (February 1893).
9. Nishida Kitarō, 'Gurin shi rinritetsugaku no tai'i', *Kyōiku jiron*, vol. 36, no. 362 (5 May 1895); vol. 36, no. 363 (15 May 1895); vol. 36, no. 364 (25 May 1895).
10. Nishida Kitarō, *Nishida Kitarō zenshū* [hereafter cited as *Zenshū*] (Iwanami shoten, 1953) Supplementary vol. v, p. 33.
11. For example, Nishida confuses *intellect* and *knowledge*. See Nishida, 'Gurin shi', vol. 36, no. 363, p. 25.
12. Nishida, *Zenshū*, op. cit. Supplementary vol. v, p. 31.
13. Nishida, 'Hyūmu no ingahō', *Zenshū*, op. cit. Supplementary vol. ii, pp. 26-33.
14. Ibid. pp. 34-63.
15. For instance, see William James, *The Writings of William James*, ed. John J. McDermott (New York: Random House, 1967) especially chs ii and iii.
16. Nishida, 'Junsui keiken sōgo no kankei ni tsuite' [On the relations among pure experiences], *Zenshū*, op. cit. Supplementary vol. ii, p. 64.
17. Shimomura Toratarō, 'Nishida Kitarō and Some Aspects of His Philosophical Thought', in Nishida Kitarō, *A Study of Good*, trans. Valdo H. Viglielmo (The Printing Bureau of Japanese Government, 1960) p. 201.
18. William James, 'Radical Empiricism', *The Writings*, op. cit. p. 134.
19. *Zen no kenkyū* (Iwanami, 1975) p. 6.
20. Ibid. p. 57.
21. Palpable throughout *Zen no kenkyū* is Nishida's determination not to be considered a Kantist.
22. Nishida, *Zen*, op. cit. p. 62.
23. Ibid. p. 71.
24. Ibid. p. 62.
25. Ibid. p. 95.
26. Ibid. pp. 57-8.
27. Viglielmo translates *tōitsuteki arumono* as 'certain unified thing'. Nishida, *Good*, op. cit. p. 76.
28. Nishida, *Zen*, op. cit. p. 75.
29. Ibid. p. 60.
30. Ibid. pp. 63-70.
31. Ibid. pp. 63 and 70.
32. Ibid. p. 80.
33. Ibid. p. 60.
34. Ibid. p. 71.
35. Ibid. p. 79.
36. Ibid. p. 73.
37. Ibid. p. 80.
38. Ibid. p. 73.
39. Ibid. p. 80. All citations in this paragraph are taken from pp. 80-2.
40. Ibid. chs 6 and 7.
41. Ibid. pp. 86-7.
42. Ibid. p. 78.
43. All references in this paragraph are to ibid. ch. 10.
44. Ibid. p. 99.
45. Ibid. p. 84.
46. Ibid. p. 85.
47. Ibid. p. 102.
48. Ibid. p. 91.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid. p. 92.
51. Ibid. p. 94.
52. Ibid. p. 91.
53. Ibid. p. 92.
54. Ibid. p. 84.
55. Ibid. p. 96.
56. Ibid. p. 98.
57. Ibid. p. 96.
58. Thomas Hill Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, ed. A. C. Bradley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 5th ed., pp. 58-61.
59. Ibid. p. 78.
60. Ibid.
61. Green makes this point numerous times. For instance, see ibid. p. 15.
62. Ibid. p. 18.
63. Ibid. pp. 29-31.
64. Ibid. p. 91.
65. Nishida, *Zen*, op. cit. p. 96.