Fig. 12. Watanabe Shôzaburô (1885-1962), February 1959. Courtesy of Watanabe Tadasu.

Ukiyo-e for modern Japan: the legacy of Watanabe Shôzaburô

Okamoto Hiromi and Henry D. Smith II

Writing in the art magazine *Chûô bijutsu* in 1925 about the Ukiyo-e method of printmaking, the print designer and painter Yamamura Kôka (pls 176-87) asserted that *nishiki-e* ('brocade pictures', polychrome woodblock prints) had been so perfected over the years after its appearance in 1765, that no amount of research and experiment in the twentieth century could offer any real improvements.[1] Through this process of refinement, he claimed, the Japanese woodblock method was able to create astonishingly complex effects with an essentially simple method, an achievement that westerners could only ascribe to a 'world of magic.' He then proceeded to explain for an audience that was no longer familiar with the exact process, the technical details by which the line drawing of a painter was made into an exquisite multi-coloured print of superb craft quality through the efforts of professional carvers and printers.

At the end of his article, Kôka moved beyond technical description to touch on some of the contentious issues involved in the contemporary use of the traditional *nishiki-e* method. He argued explicitly against the position of the so-called 'creative print' *(sôsaku hanga)* movement that had been launched some two decades earlier by Yamamoto Kanae (1882-1946). Yamamoto and others, strongly influenced by the example of contemporary European print artists, had argued that a truly 'creative' print could only be accomplished when the artist personally executed every phase of the process, or as their basic slogan had it, was 'self-drawn, self-carved, self-printed' *(jiga jikoku jishô)*. The explicit contrast was to the traditional *nishiki-e* method in which separate tasks were parcelled out among designer, carver and printer under the overall coordination of a publisher. Kôka, as we shall see later, vigorously defended the traditional method as every bit as 'creative' as that of the western-style *sôsaku hanga* artists, and in particular singled out the publisher Watanabe Shôzaburô as one who could 'creatively' manage the system.

The broad issues raised here were serious ones indeed, and have ramifications that go beyond both the Taisho period (1912- 26) in which they were raised, and the particularities of the Japanese case. In effect, Kôka was posing such basic questions as: What is the place of craft and technique in modern art? How can modern artists put 'tradition' to innovative use? Can a modern artist retain a sense of self while cooperating with others in the production of art? Even sixty years later, none of these questions that were so earnestly asked in Taisho Japan seem to have lost their urgency.

The aim of this essay is to introduce the man who single-handedly occasioned this debate, the Ukiyo-e dealer and publisher Watanabe Shôzaburô (fig. 12). We hope to demonstrate that although the movement that Watanabe began in 1915 to create 'new prints' *(shin hanga)* came to be set in opposition to the *sôsaku hanga* movement, in fact it was conceived as a new effort to produce wholly 'creative' prints. It was not an effort without tensions and contradictions, but it has left a distinctive legacy to modern Japanese prints, one that continues to challenge our conceptions of what constitutes an 'art' that is truly 'modern.'

The Ukiyo-e tradition and its Meiji fate

For the first decade after the Meiji restoration of 1868, the *nishiki-e* print flourished as never before as a dynamic and pervasive mode of popular artistic communication, broadening the classical Ukiyo-e themes of actors, beauties and landscapes into history, satire and journalism. From the mid-1880s into the 1890s, however, it was increasingly threatened. As a technology of pictorial reproduction, it was challenged first by chromo-lithography and eventually by three-colour half-tone separation. And as an aesthetic, it compared unfavourably in the popular mind with both lithography and half-tone photographic reproduction, which were better able to provide the kind of realistic representation that was in general favour.

Despite these severe challenges, however, the *nishiki-e* craft tradition proved in various ways resilient and adaptive. Although the craftsmen were habituated to the traditional Ukiyo-e aesthetic, with its emphasis on strong line and clearly outlined areas of colour, when pushed they could create novel effects within the medium, particularly the effects of hand-painted pictures. And indeed, one of the most challenging new demands on the craft was for precise colour reproductions of traditional Japanese paintings, especially as a tool for the scholarly study of Japanese art history, just emerging as an academic discipline in the mid-Meiji period. The most important venue for this technology was the art magazine *Kokka*, which began publication in 1889 and used a colour woodblock reproduction as the frontispiece for each issue. The *Kokka* reproductions were uncannily close to the originals, reflecting both the skill and the painstaking efforts of the craftsmen - efforts so extreme that two of the carvers, Mitsui Chôju and Iiyama Ryôsuke, are said to have been driven to death from insanity.[2] It was also the very success of such efforts that would lead in late Meiji to charges that *nishiki-e* had become a mere device for reproduction, thus forfeiting its inherent graphic potential.[3]

Meanwhile, the classic products of the Ukiyo-e tradition in its golden age came to be avidly sought in the West, working by the turn of the century to create a dearth of quality prints in Japan itself. Dealers sprang up in Japan to cater to the foreign

demand, providing antique Ukiyo-e prints both for foreign visitors and for export. One prototype of such dealers was Kobayashi Bunshichi (1864-1923), who opened his shop in the Asakusa district of Tokyo in about 1887.[4] The high prices also resulted in a growing demand for both forgeries and legitimate reproductions in the original *nishiki-e* medium, which in turn became another important factor in keeping the craft alive in the later Meiji period. It was in these circumstances that Watanabe Shôzaburô emerged.

Responses to the changing fortunes of Ukiyo-e

These circumstances - increased demand for old Ukiyo-e prints and the creation of new uses for the surviving woodblock technique - led to a variety of responses in the decade after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. One was among artists themselves, as a generation of young painters emerged with an new interest both in the aesthetics of classic Ukiyo-e and in the potential of the woodblock medium as contemporary art. This generation was born in the early 1880s, educated under the new Meiji public school system, came of age between the wars with China and Russia and was trained in an artistic establishment that was increasingly bifurcated between 'Western' and 'Japanese' methods of painting (in Japanese, Yôga versus Nihonga).

Most of these younger artists, particularly those trained in the western method, had nothing but contempt for contemporary popular uses of the *nishiki-e* technique, whether it was the garish war prints that saw their last gasp in 1904-5, or the use of woodblock to mimic the effects of paintings. They were interested rather in the graphic potential of the medium, as prints rather than as a method of accurately reproducing paintings. At the same time, however, many younger artists were dissatisfied with the social dimension of *nishiki-e* production, in which the process was under the control of a publisher, who coordinated the efforts of designer, carver and printer. As the great goals of the Meiji period - national strength and autonomy from the West - came to be achieved, cultural interests shifted from state and society to the self and to new methods of self-realisation. Particularly for artists who saw themselves in a western mold, the issue of self-authenticity was a pressing one. It was in this context that the 'creative print' movement surfaced, seeking to use the traditional woodblock medium (sometimes modified and supplemented by modern and western forms of printmaking) under the total control of the individual artist, 'self-drawn, self-carved, self-printed'. Only in this could complete artistic individuality be achieved.

As a publisher, Watanabe Shôzaburô understood and often

Fig. 13. View of Watanabe Shôzaburô's print shop in Tokyo (Spring, 1940).

shared many of the same assumptions and concerns of these artists of his own generation, but as a merchant who had been trained in the traditional apprentice system, he had different priorities. He was born in 1885 in Egawa hamlet, Gokamura village, Ibaraki prefecture, fifty miles due north of Tokyo at the point where the river Edogawa branches off from the river Tonegawa.[5] The second son of an established carpenter contractor whose penchant for gambling would later disperse the family fortune, Shôzaburô was sent off to Tokyo in early 1896 at the age of ten to become an apprentice for the pawnshop, Awajiya, in the Kanda district. He was a hard worker, but claims to have begun dreaming of foreign lands and of work in an export business. So when the pawnshop went bankrupt in 1902, Shôzaburô began studying English at a private school in Dangozaka and eventually found a job at a new branch store that the Ukiyo-e dealer Kobayashi Bunshichi had recently opened in Yokohama.[6]

Under the tutelage of the branch manager Adachi Yoshisuke, the eighteen-year-old Shôzaburô learned the basics of the connoisseurship of Ukiyo-e, with which he became quickly infatuated. Asked by the curio dealer Murata Kinbei to help reprint some old blocks of Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) that Murata had acquired, Shôzaburô had his first contact with the actual *nishiki-e* process, and seems to have been intrigued. In summer 1906, Watanabe left the Yokohama branch of Kobayashi to start his own business in Tokyo, in partnership with one Tsutsumi, Murata's branch manager. The store,

Fig. 14. The studio of the Watanabe Print Shop, c. 1935. To the right foreground is the block for Itô Shinsui's print, Mosquito net *(1929). Courtesy of Watanabe Tadasu.*

located in Hama-chô, was named Shôbidô, and Watanabe was in charge of Ukiyo-e, Tsutsumi of curios.

Watanabe's first export prints

In these early years, Watanabe gained his first real experience in the production of prints. In 1905, he oversaw the reprinting of some prints of Suzuki Harunobu (1724-70) from original blocks, and the following year he decided to attempt making woodblock originals for the export market. He commissioned the artist Takahashi Shôtei (pls. 85-94) to execute some landscape designs and had the prints made by the carver Chikamatsu Otohisa and the printer Ono Yoshitarô. In the summer of 1907, he had some of the new prints placed in the store of a friend at Karuizawa, a popular summer retreat for foreigners, and found that they sold well, so began to export them in quantity. In 1908, he added bird-and-flower works by Itô Sôzan (pls. 95-8), and in the subsequent years he issued dozens - perhaps even hundreds - of these export works.[7] In addition to Shôtei and Sôzan, these early Watanabe productions also bear the seals or signatures of other artists who today remain largely obscure - names such as Shun'yô, Kakei, Fuyô, and Shûrei.[8] Most of these works were in small- and medium-size formats and seem to have often been applied to calendars or Christmas cards.

These export prints produced by Watanabe after 1907 are of considerable importance as the forerunners (and, it seems likely, the continuing contemporaries) of the much more self-conscious experiments at 'new prints' *(shin hanga)* that would begin in 1915. Indeed, there is evidence that Watanabe first used the term *'shin hanga'* to refer precisely to these early export prints, as a generic term for any newly-created print that used the *nishiki-e* process - in distinction to the antique prints *(ko hanga)* in which he primarily dealt. As is often related, of course, the very term *'hanga'* for 'print' was coined only in 1905 by Yamamoto Kanae as a term for the new 'creative' woodblocks to which he aspired, and there is no documented use of the term *'shin hanga'* by Watanabe until 1916.[9] But in a 1949 interview, Watanabe seems clearly to have referred to his early prints by Shôtei and Sôzan as *shin hanga.*[10] What clearly sets them apart from the prints after 1915 is a lack of any strong self- consciousness on the part of either artist or publisher. As often as not, the prints bore only seals and no signatures, and the publisher's mark appeared nowhere. Nor were they dated, a fact that makes it particularly difficult to study them. In short, these prints were more in the realm of popular illustration than self-conscious art. And yet the aesthetic that can be seen emerging in them, particularly in Shôtei's landscapes, clearly links them with the full-fledged *shin hanga* after 1915.

At any rate, the export prints sold well, although the bulk of Shôzaburô's profits continued to come from his dealings in old Ukiyo-e. With his business growing, Watanabe was now free to establish himself independently from Tsutsumi, and following his marriage in 1908 to Chikamatsu Chiyo, the eldest daughter of the carver Otohisa, he formally established the Watanabe Print Store (Watanabe hangaten) on 25 March 1909, in a shop front in Kyôbashi Gorobei-chô. It was the memorial day of Tenjin, the god of learning and writing who was worshipped at the local shrine in Shôzaburô's village and whom he himself revered throughout his life.

Recreating the masterpieces of Ukiyo-e

In these early years, from 1906 to 1914, Watanabe's firm was devoted exclusively to dealing in old prints and producing inexpensive export originals. No texts survive to document the evolution of Shôzaburô's thinking in these years, but it is clear that he was learning much. On the one hand, Watanabe was increasingly persuaded that the distinctive nature of Ukiyo-e lie precisely in the fact that they were prints. When he did begin to write on the topic from 1914, he constantly used the terms *'hanga'* and *'mokuhanga'*, and repeated at length his conviction that the entire aesthetic of prints set them apart from paintings. His debt here to the *sôsaku hanga* movement seems very clear, not only in the insistent use of the word *'hanga'*, but also in his agreement with its rejection of the woodblock print as purely a method of reproducing hand-made paintings.

At the same time, Watanabe continued through his dealing to learn about the history of Ukiyo-e and became increasingly chagrined that so many fine examples of the art had already been sold abroad. As a dealer, of course, he had a selfish interest in relieving the scarcity of high-quality items in which to trade, but he also seems to have been driven by patriotic motives. In his earliest articulate statement of his concerns, in August 1914,

he insistently referred to the Ukiyo-e print as a 'national art' *(kokuminteki bijutsuhin)* and urged the Japanese people *(kokumin)* to take a greater appreciation of their heritage. And it was for this reason, he argued, that he had decided to launch on a major new project, to produce high-quality reproductions of the finest examples of classical Ukiyo-e prints.[11]

Watanabe of course understood the dangers inherent in the term 'reproduction' *(fukusei)*, which had become associated with efforts to make prints look like paintings. Hence, he declared in 1916, 'I am in no way attempting to create reproductions *(fukuseihin)*. Rather I am striving to recreate *(saigen)* original first-edition prints that are free of any defects.'[12] He consistently used the term *'fukkoku'* ('recarving') to describe his reproductions, and later tended even to use *'saihan'* ('second edition') - implying, misleadingly, that the original blocks were being used. In his English-language catalogue of 1936, the term 'reprint' was used.[13]

His first opportunity to begin realising this ideal came in 1914 in the course of discussions with Fujikake Shizuya (1881-1958), a young scholar who had just completed his graduate studies in art history at Tokyo Imperial University with a thesis on the history of Ukiyo-e, a field in which he would become one of Japan's first academic practitioners. Fujikake and Watanabe shared Ibaraki Prefecture origins as well as a consuming passion for Ukiyo-e. They devised the idea of publishing a volume by subscription that would include Fujikake's history of Ukiyo-e together with high-quality woodblock reproductions of selected famous prints. Entitled *Mokuhan ukiyo-e taika gashû* ('A collection of works of the masters of the Ukiyo-e woodblock'), the volume was published in March 1915, in a limited edition of 500, of which 400 were sold to subscribers for 15 yen each and the remaining 100 copies at 20 yen. The volume contained thirty-nine reproductions in full-colour woodblock and 108 in monochrome collotype. Watanabe followed this effort with *Ukiyo-e hanga kessakushû* ('A collection of Ukiyo-e masterpieces'), issued in twelve volumes from May 1916 until January 1920, with a total of eighty-one high-quality woodblock reproductions.[14]

Watanabe became deeply and passionately involved in the many technical challenges of the exact reproduction of classical Ukiyo-e prints. He devoted painstaking care to replicating the materials, in particular the vegetable pigments of the Edo period. He had his paper made to exacting specifications, and trained his carvers and printers to simulate the stylistic peculiarities of each of the great periods and artists involved. Today only connoisseurs are interested in the appreciation of Watanabe's achievement, but contemporary reviews seem to have been very enthusiastic. Even the perfectionist Hashiguchi Goyô (pls. 128-36), who himself was then embarking on detailed studies of traditional *nishiki-e* techniques, seem to have agreed that Watanabe's efforts at reproduction were inspired.[15]

The appearance of shin hanga

Just about the time that *A collection of works of the masters of the Ukiyo-e woodblock* appeared in early 1915, Watanabe's attention was turned in a wholly different direction when he saw an exhibition of watercolour landscapes at a Tokyo department store by an Austrian artist named Fritz Capelari (pls. 283-9).[16] Apparently Shôzaburô had been on the lookout for contemporary western-style artists whose work might be suitable for woodblock reproduction, and one suspects that he found foreigners more approachable on this score than young Japanese artists, who under the influence of the *sôsaku hanga* movement at the time tended to consider this approach as mere 'reproduction' and not truly 'creative' printmaking.

At any rate, according to the later account of his heir Watanabe Tadasu, Shôzaburô felt that the composition and colour contrast of Capelari's watercolours made them suitable for conversion to the print medium, so he invited the Austrian artist to his shop and demonstrated how the process worked. Both publisher and artist appear to have been pleased with the trial results, and a total of twelve prints were produced this way in 1915. It remains unknown whether the initiative came more from Watanabe or from Capelari, or what financial arrangements were involved.[17] It was a decisive experiment, however, and Watanabe Tadasu describes the Capelari prints as the first of the true *shin hanga*.[18] It is indicative both of Shôzaburô's international viewpoint and of the difficulties he encountered in Japan that the movement should have begun with a foreign artist. This trend was to continue with Watanabe's publication of the landscapes of two English artists, Charles Bartlett (pls. 290-6) in 1916, and those of Elizabeth Keith (pls. 297-303) from 1919 (see Meech, this volume).

Excited, Watanabe then approached various Japanese western-style artists, trying to generate interest, but not a single one responded.[19] He then showed the Capelari prints to Hashiguchi Goyô, who although trained as an artist in a western-style, was deeply interested in Ukiyo-e research and hence already known to Shôzaburô. Goyô was easily persuaded that new and different things could be done in the traditional medium and indeed may already have been thinking along similar lines. It was Goyô who first provided the rationale for such new efforts as being precisely in the spirit of 'creativity' emphasised by the *sôsaku hanga* movement. In an article entitled 'The Japanese Woodblock Print' in the September 1915 issue of *Shin shôsetsu* magazine, Goyô explicitly called for using the cooperative

Fig. 15. Group photograph in the garden at Itô Shinsui's home in Ikegami, 2 April, 1940: (from right to left) (back row): Itô Shinsui and his wife; Inge and Robert Muller, Kawase Hasui, and Moriyama Tetsutarô; (front row) Watanabe Shôzaburô and Kasamatsu Shirô

system of *nishiki-e* in order to produce 'creative woodblock prints' *(sôsakuteki no mokuhanga)*.[20]

It was just at the time that this article appeared that Goyô and Watanabe were working to produce the famous *Nude after the bath (Yokugo ratai onna)*, now acknowledged as the first of the true *shin hanga* prints.[21] The print is dated October 1915 and Watanabe's carefully-designed seal appears to the lower left in an area of shadow. Goyô's signature is to the upper left, followed by a mark reading 'experimental work' *(shisaku)*. This was an apt description, as it turned out, for Goyô appeared to be dissatisfied both with the work and with his collaboration with Watanabe.[22] It was thanks to the stimulus of the experiment, however, that Goyô went on to a period of careful research into the techniques of Ukiyo-e printing and to publish on his own from 1918-20 the dozen prints that have established his reputation as the greatest of the *'shin hanga'* artists.

Watanabe Shôzaburô, meanwhile, took up once again his search for Japanese artists who might continue the experiment. This time he turned to Japanese-style painters, perhaps in frustration at his inability to attract those with western-style training. And once again it was work at a painting exhibition that drew his attention. This time it was an exhibition in spring 1916 of the Kyôdokai, an art association formed by the students of Kaburagi Kiyokata (pls. 79-82), a gifted artist with early Ukiyo-e training who had become an established painter and illustrator in the Japanese style. The work that struck Shôzaburô as perfectly adapted to conversion to a print was a painting by Itô Shinsui (pls. 228-55) of a young woman in profile whose intent expression was explained by the title as 'looking in a mirror' *(Taikyô)* - although the mirror itself remained out of sight. Watanabe was introduced to Kiyokata by the art dealer Matsui Seishichi, and Kiyokata agreed to let his protégé engage in the experiment as long as Shinsui himself was willing.[23] The young artist happily consented, and the print was published in July 1916, the start of a lifelong association between artist and publisher.

One thing led to another, notably in the spring of 1918 when at the fourth annual exhibition of the Kyôdokai group, Kawase Hasui (pls. 150-73) - himself a student of Kiyokata - saw the Watanabe edition of Shinsui's *Eight Views of Omi* that had just been completed. He was so impressed that he resolved himself to be a landscape print artist. Contact was made with Watanabe, and Hasui's first works, the trilogy of Shiobara landscapes (see e.g., pl. 150), were published later the same year. Hasui quickly

Fig. 16. During a 1948 print exhibition, from left to right: Itô Shinsui, Takamatsu Miya, Kawase Hasui and Watanabe Shôzaburô. Courtesy of Watanabe Tadasu.

became by far the most prolific of Watanabe's *shin hanga* artists, as he would remain until his death in 1957.

Through Shinsui and Hasui, other members of the circle of Kiyokata's students were soon drawn into the Watanabe experiment. These included Natori Shunsen, Itô Takashi and Kasamatsu Shirô (pls. 193-8; 209-12; 256-61, respectively) - the first in actor portraits and the latter two in landscape - all of whom would go on in later decades to produce dozens more prints with Watanabe. In addition, there survive a small number of prints by two other Kiyokata disciples, Furuya Taiken (pls. 272-4) and Yanagihara Fûkyo (fl. as print designer, 1921-2), who did no work for Watanabe after the 1923 earthquake and of whom very little is known. In around 1921-2, this circle was at its creative peak, making the Watanabe shop into an virtual atelier of experiment in the modern use of the traditional *nishiki-e* process (fig. 15,16).

Other than the six members of the Kiyokata circle, Watanabe in these years also published prints from the paintings of three artists whom he had met in various ways. One was Takahashi Shôtei, who had been working for Watanabe for a decade already in an export mode, but who now in 1921-2 produced under the name Hiroaki a series of more self-consciously innovative *ôban*-size prints. Another was the aforementioned Yamamura Kôka, who provided designs for sixteen actor prints. And the third was Yoshida Hiroshi (pls. 101-13), an accomplished landscapist in western-style watercolours who had already achieved a considerable reputation in the United States during trips in 1899-1901 and 1903-7.[24] Like Goyô, Yoshida was several years older than Shôzaburô and eventually preferred to publish his prints on his own, hiring carvers and printers directly.

All together, then, a total of fourteen artists are officially recorded by the Watanabe establishment as having produced *shin hanga* prints in the years before the earthquake of 1923 that destroyed Watanabe's shop. The totals for each are as follows, in order of quantity: Hasui, 96; Shinsui, 41; Bartlett, 36; Keith, 27; Kôka, 16; Capelari, 14; Hiroaki, 14; Yoshida, 9; Shirô, 4; Taiken, 4; Takashi, 3; Shunsen, 2; Fûkyo, 2; and Goyô, 1, for a total of 269 prints.[25] This body of work is considered to represent the golden age of Watanabe's *shin hanga*. The work was displayed to the public in two successive exhibitions at Shirokiya Department Store in Nihonbashi, in June 1921 and May 1922.[26]

The terminology used in both of these exhibitions is revealing: the works on display were called not *shin hanga*, but rather *'shinsaku hanga'* ('newly-created prints'), a phraseology that seems clearly modelled on *'sôsaku hanga'*. But in the case of a special pamphlet issued with explanations and photos of Hasui's work, the term *'sôsaku hanga'* itself was used. It bears repeated emphasis that those who used the traditional collaborative method to make new prints in these early years were fully committed to the notion that they were being every bit as 'creative' as the western-style print-makers of the *sôsaku hanga* movement and freely used the word *'sôsaku'* to refer to their efforts, in the manner that Goyô had anticipated in his 1915 article. When Goyô himself died in 1921, the memorial issue of the *Ukiyo-e no kenkyû* magazine that appeared in October of that year bore frequent references to his own self-published prints as *'sôsaku hanga'*, not *'shin hanga'*.

At this, the most creative stage of what is now called the *'shin hanga* movement', it is clear that Watanabe's new efforts were envisioned as simply one manifestation of a broad print movement on behalf of individual and creative artistic expression. The basic premise, emphasised by Watanabe in his writings, was that the designer of the print - the 'artist' - had total control over the entire process of production, working with the carver and especially the printer as though they were simple extensions of his own creative being. As Watanabe explained in his 1916 article 'Ukiyo-e hanga kenkyû shôwa' ('A chat about research on Ukiyo-e prints'), the crucial manifesto of his ideology at the time:[27]

An artist should freely use whatever materials he pleases. In the case of a woodblock print, he simply goes one step further and uses a block instead of a brush. . . . This requires several times the effort of a painting, and even though this method of creating a picture incorporates craft techniques, it does not violate the principle of artistic expression. Some claim that it is not a method of pure art unless it is self-drawn, self-carved and self-printed, but in fact it is fine as long as the artist can express himself in the way he pleases, even if he draws on the strength of another. In short, for the artist to express his ideals, the printer and the carver assist his work as though they were his arms and legs, and

this means that the artist himself must have a profound knowledge of the print process.

It is striking that Shôzaburô's conception of the printmaker as one who 'uses a block instead of a brush' is strikingly close to the definition of *'hanga'* that would eventually be offered by the *sôsaku hanga* artist Onchi Kôshirô (1891-1955), perhaps the harshest critic of Watanabe and the entire *shin hanga* movement.[28] Indeed, Onchi was so contemptuous of such work that he refused to accord it the dignity of the word 'print', preferring rather such terms as 'semi-prints' or 'neo-ukiyo-e'.[29] Beyond the quibbles over language, of course, lay profound disagreements over the nature of printmaking, but they are disagreements that are rooted in a shared commitment to the print medium as an ideal vehicle of modern creative artistic activity.

After the earthquake

The great earthquake that struck the Kantô region on 1 September 1923, was a devastating blow to Watanabe's business, destroying his Kyôbashi shop by fire and with it all of the stock and many of the blocks that were his prime assets. In later recounting the tragedy, Watanabe said that his 'greatest regret' was the loss of the *'sôsaku hanga'* that had been created by contemporary artists, although he also lamented the destruction of all the blocks for the ambitious reproduction projects he had launched over the previous decade: thirty-nine prints for *A collection of works of the masters of the Ukiyo-e woodblock,* eighty-one for *A collection of Ukiyo-e masterpieces,* and fifty-five for Hiroshige's *Kaisho Tôkaidô* series.[30] In addition, he lost all the blocks for a new series of reproductions to be entitled *Ukiyo-e taikan* ('A general view of Ukiyo-e pictures'), a project which he described as his anticipated magnum opus *(issue ichidai),* but which now lay in ashes.[31]

Perhaps from despair at the loss of the *Ukiyo-e taikan* blocks, Watanabe seems to have abandoned all further plans for ambitious reproduction projects. Over the following years, he did continue to produce large numbers of reproductions of classic Ukiyo-e, but most of them were in reduced-size formats, dominated by the landscapes of Hiroshige and intended primarily for the export and souvenir market. Never again did he attempt the kind of exacting full-size limited editions that he had pioneered before the earthquake. Instead, he now invested all of his most serious publication efforts to the contemporary prints that were now coming to be widely referred to as *shin hanga*. Much of the calculation here was surely economic: although the experiment had begun largely out of an idealistic trial in producing prints of genuine artistic value, it had become obvious by the time of the Shirokiya exhibitions in 1921-2 that such prints would sell. Whatever hopes those exhibitions might have raised for a domestic market in *shin hanga*, however, most of the sales continued to be abroad, with the important exception of actor and beauty prints, which were typically issued in limited-edition subscription series for Japanese aficionados.

During the decade after the earthquake, Watanabe gradually rebuilt his trade in export prints (see figs. 13, 14, view of post-earthquake store). The degree of his success may be judged by the complete catalogue that he published in 1935 (with an English edition in 1936). Indeed, it was a mark of the firm's prosperity that such a publication, which had been planned for some time, was so long delayed: Watanabe was too busy publishing prints to be able to pause and inventory them.[32] The catalogue lists a total of 1,374 different prints in a wide variety of formats, of which about two-thirds (896 prints) are in the small- and medium-sized formats that are essentially souvenir prints, what Robert Muller referred to in his own business as 'bread and butter' items.[33] The remaining 478 prints are full-sized *shin hanga* proper, in effect the 'top of the line', self-conscious works of art that are signed by the artist, sealed by Watanabe and generally dated. The detailed biographies that are given for each artist constitute a precious source of information not available elsewhere.

The most prolific of the artists in this period was, as before and as after, Kawase Hasui, with a total of 201 works, over forty per cent of the *shin hanga* total. Next came Ohara Shôson (pls. 114-26), a bird-and-flower artist of an older generation who under the name Koson had done souvenir-type prints for the publisher Matsuki Heikichi (Daikokuya) in late Meiji, much like those executed by Shôtei, Sôzan and others for Watanabe. Shôson was commissioned by Watanabe after 1926 to do both small souvenir prints (of which he, together with Shôtei, was the most prolific designer) and full-size *shin hanga*. These decorative prints by Shôson, intended exclusively for export, are reported by Robert Muller to have been a staple of his own business in sending print exhibitions around to American schools in the early post-war period.

Other than Shôson, the only artist with over ten prints in the 1935 catalogue who had *not* worked for Watanabe before the earthquake was Ishiwata Kôitsu (pls. 224-5) (25 prints), who was brought in as a student of Hasui. All of the others had already designed prints for Watanabe in the formative period: Natori Shunsen (55 prints in the 1935 catalogue), Itô Shinsui (29), Kasamatsu Shirô (23), Itô Takashi (20) and Takahashi Shôtei (Hiroaki) (16). In short, Watanabe had taken in almost no new blood to replenish his movement in the decade after the earthquake. Particularly revealing is the fact that the average year of birth of Watanabe artists was exactly the same for the

Fig. 17. Watanabe Shôzaburô (Kakô). West Park, Fukuoka, sunset, *1936. (See pl. 174).*

Fig. 18. Watanabe Shôzaburô (Kakô). Lake Kawaguchi, *1937 (See pl. 175).*

pre-1923 period as for those in the 1923-35 period: 1885, the year in which Watanabe himself was born.[34] Among his artists, it is possible to detect three generations: those born in the 1870s like Shôtei and Shôson who had been active in the late-Meiji production of souvenir prints; those like Hasui and Shunsen who were born in Watanabe's own generation of the 1880s (the same generation, by no coincidence, of all the founders of the *sôsaku hanga* movement) and those of Shinsui's generation, born in the 1890s. Not one of the artists in the 1935 catalogue was born in the twentieth century; it was a rapidly aging movement.

Nor did the situation improve in the later 1930s, as Japan went to war and the export market gradually weakened. Watanabe's adopted heir, Tadasu, was drafted in July 1937, and a month later personal tragedy struck when Masao, the only child of Tadasu and Shôzaburô's daughter, Hatsue, died of sunstroke at the age of six. Tadasu reports that when he returned from the China front in 1940, he was shocked to discover that his father had lost most of his hair in the intervening three years. The years to come were to prove no easier, for Tadasu was called up again in October 1943, not to return until 1946; meanwhile, Hatsue died in his absence, just after the end of the war in August 1945.

The declining market and a certain repetitive inertia in the production of his major artists, especially Hasui, led Watanabe to try to devise new schemes for selling prints in the later 1930s, but little worked. One such experiment is of passing interest, however, since it left two prints that bear Shôzaburô's own signature, as 'Kakô', an art name taken from his native village.[35] Watanabe seems to have felt that Hasui's prints had become too slick and stereotyped. He urged the artist to try to give a rougher touch to his drawings, in the manner of many contemporary *sôsaku hanga.* As an experiment in such a method, Shôzaburô himself supervised the production of two prints made from photographs. The first was of a sunset that he had himself seen when travelling to Fukuoka in the spring of 1936, and had asked a commercial photographer on the scene to record for him. The photograph was enlarged to full print size and made into the *hanshita-e,* the carving and printing of which Watanabe then supervised, occasionally taking up the V-shape and half-round chisels favoured by *sôsaku hanga* artists to impart a rougher feel to the wave pattern (fig. 17, pl. 174). The print sold unexpectedly well and was followed in 1937 by a view of lake Kawaguchi (fig. 18, pl. 175). On each print, he followed his signature with 'kô[saku]', indicating that he was the 'producer' rather than the designer.[36]

For the Watanabe firm, the war years were disastrous, with the total collapse of the export business that was its mainstay, the restriction of paper supplies and the drafting of the younger carvers and printers. For the artisans who remained, however, Shôzaburô honoured his commitment to keep them supplied with work, so that when the war ended the company was left with a generous stock of backlog prints and new blocks ready to print. This proved a god-send in the years immediately after the war, when the Watanabe firm, now under the direction of Tadasu, did a booming business for the Occupation forces in Japan. The company produced a new catalogue in 1951, which was revised in 1954 and again in 1962.

Shôzaburô's two most trusted old artists continued to design prints for the firm in the post-war years, about two dozen by Shinsui, and well over one hundred by Hasui. Both artists were honoured in 1952 when the Committee for the Preservation of Cultural Properties commissioned each to create a special work as a document of the woodblock printmaking process.[37] Hasui died five years later, in November 1957, and Shinsui, who would live on until 1972, produced his last print for Watanabe in 1960. Watanabe Shôzaburô was awarded the Medal for Cultural Merit in 1959 and died on 14 February 1962, at the age of 77 (78 by Japanese count). Fifty-seven years after the first experiment with Goyô, the *shin hanga* movement had come to a quiet and final end.

The challenges of the 'triangle of cooperation'

What basically set *shin hanga* apart from other modern prints was the perpetuation of the system of control and coordination among publisher, designer, carver and printer. In Edo times, this 'triangle of cooperation' *(sanja kyôdô)* of publisher, artist and artisan was in fact a hierarchical system whereby the publisher had near-dictatorial control over all the other parties. By contrast, the Taisho period, when Watanabe Shôzaburô's movement emerged and thrived, was a time when the rallying cries of the day were 'self' and 'democracy'. Much of the genius of Watanabe Shôzaburô was his ability to adapt and perpetuate this hierarchical system in an era that was ideologically hostile to it.

Part of Watanabe's strategy lay in his rhetoric. As we have seen, he was quick to adapt the slogans of the *sôsaku hanga* movement to his own project, emphasising the 'independent' and 'creative' role of the artist and freely coopting the term *'sôsaku hanga'* itself to refer to his own productions. He declared in the above mentioned 'Ukiyo-e hanga kenkyû shôwa' that 'Today, the cultural progress of our nation is taking shape, and in the world of art as well we are in an era that has awakened to this thing called the self'.[38] At the same time, he offered eminently practical reasons for the use of independent

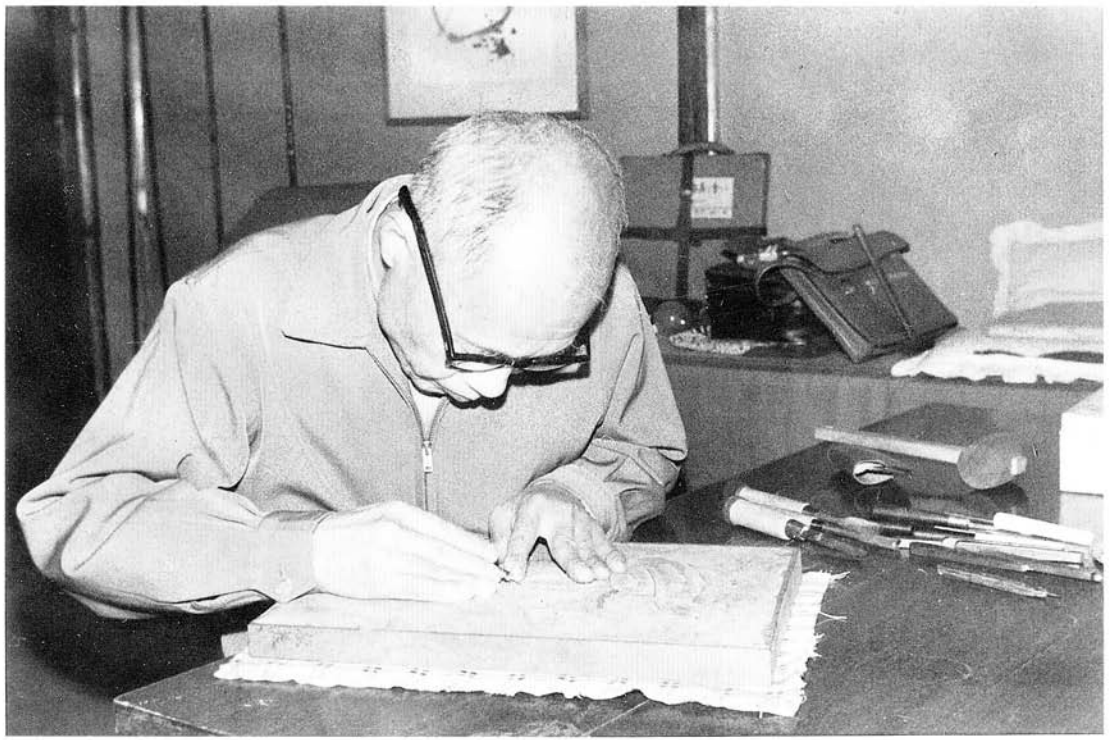

Fig. 19. The carver Maeda Kentarô in the process of carving a block.

Fig. 20. The carver Takano Shichinosuke. Courtesy of Watanabe Tadasu.

artisans, pointing out that skilled carving and printing required years of patient training and long hours of labour.

But Watanabe was also critical of traditional *nishiki-e* publishers, who simply turned over the artists' designs to the carvers and printers and did little to encourage any creative interaction between artist and artisan. At his establishment, he stressed, 'we seek to have the artist understand the special characteristics of the woodblock print, and we experiment with the methods of carving and printing so that they suit the ideas of the artist, modifying the blocks or reprinting as many times as necessary to conform to the intentions of the artist'. He then added a critical and revealing statement of his own self-conceived role: 'In cases where the artist is unable to achieve the desired effects by directly supervising the technicians, I may offer my own opinion for the sake of reference. But since the critical matter is the expression of the individuality of the artist, I think it would be most appropriate to refer to the process not as a 'triangle of cooperation', but rather a case of the carver and printer acting as the assistants of the artist'.[39]

In practice, of course, it was not easy to maintain a harmonious 'triangle of cooperation'. Much obviously depended on the personality of the artist and on his individual relationship with Watanabe. Some artists, like Yamamura Kôka, seemed to have been wholly at ease with the system. In his 1925 article quoted at the beginning of this essay, Kôka argued that 'as far as I am concerned, as long as the artist, as an artist, draws a fine picture, and the woodblock artisan, as an artisan, faithfully makes it into a print, then the result is completely 'creative' '. Kôka also offered warm words for the creative role of the publisher, comparing Watanabe Shôzaburô to the stage director of a play - a sentiment recently echoed by Watanabe Tadasu in the metaphor of the publisher as the conductor of an orchestra.[40]

Watanabe was by no means immune to criticism from his artists, however, as demonstrated by an amazingly blunt article by Itô Shinsui that appeared in the December 1933 issue of *Ukiyo-e geijutsu*.[41] Entitled 'It's no longer the past' *(Kako ni arazu)*, Shinsui's article accused Watanabe (whom he referred to as *tenshu,* 'owner of the shop') of excessive worship of the Ukiyo-e of the past, and a reluctance to try new and different techniques. Near the end of the article, he became even more blunt, turning on his colleague Hasui as well:

Prints like those of Kawase Hasui are nothing more than a

perpetuation of the techniques of Hiroshige, so that the expression of Kawase's own individuality fails to come through. This is in part due to Kawase's own artistic sense, but I think it is also because owner Watanabe, out of his excessive worship for the landscapes of Hiroshige, obstructs the artist's work by making demands for pictures that will be commercially successful.

No harsher criticism was ever publicly levelled against Watanabe, certainly not by any of his own artists. And yet nothing much seems to have come of it. Shinsui himself continued to work with Watanabe, apparently happily and productively, over the years that followed, and Hasui did little to change his habits, merely responding briefly in a 1935 article that he did not particularly copy Hiroshige and in fact rather preferred the Meiji-period artist Kobayashi Kiyochika (pls. 1-22).[42]

Nevertheless, this one outburst hints at some of the tensions that must have constantly lay not far below the surface in Watanabe's dealings with his artists. Watanabe Shôzaburô was a strong-willed man who preferred to hold those in his employ on a short leash. He seems not to have trusted his artists to be able to handle large sums of money and therefore paid them in small, regular instalments. This was particularly true of Hasui, who was known for a tendency to spend all his wages on drink in a single evening. He refused to lend money to his artists, but at the same time expected them to be loyal to him, and not to work for other publishers without his acquiescence.[43]

Fig. 21. The printer Uchikawa Matashirô (act. 1934-51) inking a woodblock.

But what about the other two sides of the 'triangle of cooperation', those linking the publisher and artist with the pivotal craftsmen who produced the physical print? Watanabe Shôzaburô's own attitude towards the artisans was, as suggested in the above quote that portrays them as the 'arms and legs' of the artist, authoritarian and generally impersonal. It must be recalled, however, that Watanabe was himself the product of the traditional apprentice system and fully understood its values and priorities. To be sure, from the mid-1920s he took to referring to the artisans publicly as 'technicians' *(gijutsusha)*, in obvious deference to the modern labour movement. But in general he treated his carvers and printers in a wholly paternalistic way, sternly demanding work of the highest quality (and known to destroy with his own hands blocks that were not up to standards) and yet at the same time guaranteeing work for the artisans in even the hardest of times. On the whole, we know little more about the craftsmen (figs. 19, 20, 21, 22) that Watanabe employed than we do of the carvers and printers of the Edo period: their names are recorded with due gratitude in the Shôzaburô's biography, but little more information is offered, there or anywhere else.[44] The few anecdotes that exist attest mostly to their powers of survival, such as the fact that the legendary carver Takano Shichinosuke was in fact an alcoholic who could not keep his hand steady without a good supply of *sake* by his side as he worked. Evidence for the relationship between the Watanabe artists and artisans is similarly scarce - with the lone and important exception of some revealing reflections by Kawase Hasui in an article that appeared in *Ukiyo-e kenkyû* in 1935. Writing in a characteristically self-effacing tone, Hasui first described his background, and then confessed that 'I am a painter who has never even used *gofun* [the white undercoating used in proper Japanese-style painting]; I'm a printmaker, pure and simple'. He made the revealing observation that he did not deserve the label of 'Japan's leading printmaker' that was sometimes accorded him; rather he was 'Japan's *only* printmaker', the only one able to make a full-time living by designing prints. He was probably correct; certainly none of the pre-war *sôsaku hanga* artists were able to make a living from their prints. Hasui then tried to explain exactly what he most enjoyed about printmaking:

If asked what the greatest pleasure of printmaking is for me, I would say that I am never so happy as at the time of the trial printing (suriawase). The printing is done for me by Ono-san,

Fig. 22. The printer Ono Gintarô. Courtesy of Watanabe Tadasu.

who has worked as my right hand for twenty years now and we manage to work together like a gidayû [a form of ballad] *chanter and his samisen accompanist, our breathing in perfect unison. No other artist is able to savour the satisfaction I have when he is able to bring out just the colour I was looking for. A painter even when deeply involved in his work will suffer lapses of attention as he draws the lines or fills in the colour, but with a print, all is accomplished in a single moment. For the printmaker, the joy of that moment is bliss itself.*

This warm and unaffected meditation by Hasui on the simple joys of the printmaker serves more than anything else to affirm Watanabe Shôzaburô's most basic instincts about the method of the traditional Japanese woodblock print and its modern possibilities. It also serves to remind us of the central importance to the entire *shin hanga* project of, on the one hand, the artisans who carved and printed the blocks, and on the other, of Hasui himself, who devoted his entire artistic career to the genre and who, as the mainstay of Watanabe's business, did much to perpetuate it on into the post-war period. The peculiar chemistry of stern publisher, genial artist and diligent artisan, each harbouring his own complex attachment to both tradition and modernity, does much to explain how such old-fashioned methods could take on a new and creative life in the most new-fashioned of times and survive for longer than anyone might have predicted.

Notes

The authors are grateful to Robert Muller, Watanabe Tadasu and Watanabe Tatsushichi for sharing their recollections of Watanabe Shôzaburô with us. This essay does not pretend to add anything substantially new to the biographical information on Shôzaburô that has already been collected by Ishida Yasuhiro in 'Watanabe Shôzaburô den', in Watanabe Tadasu, ed.: *Watanabe Shôzaburô* (Tokyo: Watanabe mokuhan bijutsu gaho, 1974), pp. 89-151. The Ishida account, however, is sparsely documented and generally uncritical; the definitive biography of Watanabe Shôzaburô remains to be written. The critical published writings of Shôzaburô are the collection of documents assembled as an appendix to Inoue Kazuo and Watanabe Shôzaburô, eds.: *Ukiyo-eshi den* (Tokyo: Watanabe hangaten, 1931), pp. 225-65 and the explanatory text in Watanabe Shôzaburô, ed.: *Mokuhanga mokuroku* (Tokyo: Watanabe hangaten, 1935; English edition, *Catalogue of wood-cut colour prints of S. Watanabe*, 1936).

1. Yamamura Kôka (February 1925), p. 81.

2. Igami Bonkotsu (April 1907), p. 21.

3. See in particular the comments of Hashiguchi Goyô (September 1915), p. 83. Goyô cites as the ultimate in these efforts the full-size reproduction of the painting of the *Peacock king (Kujaku myôô)* made in 1903; this would appear to be the same item shown in Hyôgo Prefectual Museum of Art, ed., (1990), no. 229, where it is described as having been exhibited at the St. Louis exposition in 1904 (size, 167 x 103 cm).

4. Takeda Taijirô (November 1933), p. 241.

5. For Shôzaburô's biography, see Ichihara Harumasa (April 1949), pp. 19-21 and (June 1949), pp. 16-17; and Ishida Yasuhiro, *op. cit.* Where the two accounts conflict on details, I have followed Ishida.

6. It might be noted that despite Watanabe's alleged early study of English, and his lifelong involvement in trade with westerners, he never seems to have mastered the English language. Robert Muller reports that when he first met Shôzaburô in the spring of 1940, they were scarcely able to communicate a single word, but had to rely on the interpreting services of Moriyama Tetsutarô, the shop manager *(shihainin)* at the time, who had entered the Watanabe firm as an accountant in 1916.

7. Watanabe himself, writing in 1931, gave a date of 'about 1906' as the beginning of the prints with Shôtei, as well as a date of 'about 1908' for the Sôzan prints (Inoue and Watanabe, eds. *op. cit.* p. 261), and Ichihara *op. cit.* pt. 1, p. 20, which was based on an interview with Watanabe, gives 1907 ('the year Watanabe turned 23') as the date of the Karuizawa trial run. Narazaki Muneshige, however, writes that the first Shôtei print, *Evening on the Sumida embankment (Sumida-zutsumi no yoru)*, was made in 1908 and tried at Karuizawa in summer 1909; Watanabe Tadasu, ed. (1975), p. 182. It is reported by Helen Merritt (1990), p. 44, that Shôtei designed more than 500 such prints for Watanabe before the 1923 earthquake; the source of this information is not given.

8. 'Fuyô' is an early name for Narazaki Eishô (1864-1936), who appears in Watanabe Shôzaburô, (1935) and Narazaki makes passing mention of Yanai Shûrei (Watanabe Tadasu, ed. (1975), p. 182); the others remain unidentified. We are grateful to Mr. Hara Hidenori of Hara Shobô in Tokyo for showing us some of these early Watanabe prints; Hara's folders date these prints to the period 1913-6, but the evidence is uncertain.

9. For the coining of th term *'hanga'*, see for example Merritt, *op. cit.*, ch. 2, note 2 (pp. 293-4), and Onchi Kôshirô (Abe Shuppan, 1992), p. 88. The term *'shin hanga'* appears four times near the end of Watanabe Shôzaburô, 'Ukiyo-e hanga kenkyû shôwa', [1916], reprinted in appendix to Inoue and Watanabe, eds. *op. cit.*, pp. 240-1.

10. Ichihara, *op. cit.* pt. 1, p. 21, and pt. 2, p. 16.

11. Watanabe Shôzaburô, *'Mokuhan Ukiyo-e taika gashû* hakkô shushi' (August, 1915), in Inoue Kazuo and Watanabe Shôzaburô, eds. *op. cit.*, p. 226.

12. Watanabe Shôzaburô, 'Ukiyo-e hanga kenkyû shôwa', p. 241.

13. Watanabe Shôzaburô (1936), p. 59.

14. The details here are from Inoue and Watanabe, eds. *op. cit.* appendix, and from Ichihara, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, p. 21; the English titles are from Watanabe Shôzaburô (1936), p. 1.

15. For various critiques of the *Ukiyo-e hanga kessakushû*, including Goyô's (which admittedly was requested by Watanabe to help promote the series), see the appendix to Inoue and Watanabe, eds. *op. cit.*, pp. 244-6, 258-60.

16. Virtually nothing has yet been unearthed about Capelari and his career except for this single encounter with Watanabe.

17. I have here followed the account of Watanabe Tadasu, 'Gaka Hasui to hanmoto Shôzaburô', in Ôta Ward (District) Museum of Art, ed., *Ryojô shijin, Taishô-Shôwa no fûkei hangaka Kawase Hasui* (1990), n.p. Shôzaburô's own account in (1936), p. 8, makes it appear rather than Capelari took the initiative and came to him.

18. Watanabe Tadasu, 'Gaka Hasui to hanmoto Shôzaburô'; the expression used is *gendai no shin hanga no dai issaku*.

19. This account is based on the version in Watanabe Tadasu, *ibid.*

20. Hashiguchi Goyô *op. cit.*, p. 83.

21. This seems to be the original title of the print; see, for example, Nihon Ukiyo-e kyôkai, ed. (October 1921), pp. 20-1. It is also the title that has always been used by both Watanabe Shôzaburô and Tadasu; see, for example, Watanabe Tadasu, 'Gaka Hasui to hanmoto Shôzaburô'. Today is it normally (and more accurately) called *'Woman at the bath' (Yuami no onna)*.

22. See commentary on this print by Asano Shûgô in Narazaki Muneshige, ed. (1990), pl. 108.

23. Watanabe Tadasu, 'Gaka Hasui to hanmoto Shôzaburô'.

24. For details of the enthusiastic American response to Yoshida, see Eugene M. Skibbe (November 1990).

25. These statistics are from the fold-out chart compiled by Watanabe Tadasu (1974). This list is by no means a complete record of all the prints published by Watanabe in the years 1915-23. Some of the omissions are probably simple errors: the list omits, for example, eight of Hasui's prints (plus the series of eight prints privately commissioned by Mitsubishi of the Fukagawa Villa) listed in Watanabe Tadasu, ed., (1979), p. 263. But with allowance for such errors, the list at least gives a general sense of what Watanabe Tadasu (and presumably Shôzaburô) consider to be proper *'shin hanga'* from the pre-earthquake period. Among the further omissions are two artists in particular: one is Kitagawa Kazuo, another of the Kiyokata circle whose *Summer in a bamboo grove (Takebayashi no shoka)* was published by Watanabe in summer 1919, and the other is Itô Sôzan, who like Takahashi Shôtei (Hiroaki) had long been working for Watanabe, and six of whose prints are listed among those exhibited at Shirokiya in June 1921. Sôzan's work may have been later determined by Watanabe as too routine to qualify as *shin hanga*.

26. A single-page price list was issued for each of these exhibitions, although we have seen only that for 1921. Typical prices for the chief artists represented in that exhibition were: Shinsui 3 to 8 yen, Hasui 3 yen, Shirô 3 yen, Yoshida 20 yen, Kôka 5 yen, Bartlett 30 to 50 yen, Capelari 10 yen, and Keith 15 to 35 yen. The much higher prices commanded by the western artists (and by Yoshida, who was well known in the West) is striking. Merritt, *op. cit.*, p. 59, is in error in giving the dates of these exhibitions as 1920 and 1921.

27. Watanabe Shôzaburô, 'Ukiyo-e hanga kenkyû shôwa', pp. 234-5. We have not been able to see the original of this document, which seems to have been issued as a sort of pamphlet advertising the publication of the *Ukiyo-e hanga kessakushû*, which began in May 1916. The specific mention of *'shin hanga'* by Itô Shinsui (p. 240) means that it must have appeared no later than the spring 1916 Kyôdokai exhibition at which Watanabe first encountered Shinsui's work.

28. Onchi's attacks may be found throughout his writings about prints, now conveniently anthologized as Onchi Kôshirô (1992). The definition of *'hanga'* as 'a picture drawn with a block' *(han o tsukatte kaku ga)* may be found on p. 13, from *Nihon no gendai hanga* (Sôgensha, 1953).

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 166. The term 'neo-ukiyo-e' is in fact a fairly accurate way of characterising *shin hanga* and is used in this way in Lawrence Smith (1983), p. 16.

30. See Watanabe Shôzaburô (1935), as quoted by Ishida, *op. cit.* p. 160; the same account appears on pp. i-ii of the English edition (1936).

31. See Watanabe Shôzaburô, 'Hakkô no shui', foreward to Inoue and Watanabe, eds., *op. cit.* p. 3. Out of a projected total of about sixty reproductions, the blocks for over half had already been completed and trial printings made.

32. Watanabe Shôzaburô indicated in, 'Hitokoto', postface to Inoue and Watanabe, eds. *op. cit.*, p. 266, that he had simply been too busy to publish a catalogue of the sort that many had requested, but that he hoped to have one ready by March of the following year (i.e., 1932), after which it was delayed for another three years.

33. Interview, June 1992.

34. For the pre-1923 period, this is limited to those artists listed on the foldout chart in Watanabe Tadasu, ed. (1974) excluding those for whom no birth date is available: Fritz Capelari, Furuya Taiken, Yanagihara Fûkyo and Kitagawa Kazuo.

35. The 'Ka' is from Gokamura, and 'kô' is the Sino-Japanese reading of the 'e' in *E*gawa.

36. Watanabe was doubtless imitating the use of 'kô' by Kyosen on the first *nishiki-e* prints in 1765.

37. Details are given by Narazaki in Watanabe Tadasu, ed.(1979) pp. 255-6.

38. Watanabe Shôzaburô, 'Ukiyo-e hanga kenkyû shôwa', p. 240.

39. Watanabe Shôzaburô, 'Shin hanga no naiyô - Shitsumon, kaitô', in Inoue and Watanabe, eds. *op. cit.*, pp. 262-3. The original source and date of this document is unclear; its order of placement in the appendix of Inoue and Watanabe, eds. (1931) would appear to date it as 1921, but the language and tone suggest a date closer to 1931.

40. Yamamura Kôka, 'Shin hanga no seisaku ni tsuite', pp. 89, 82-3; Watanabe Tadasu, 'Gaka Hasui to hanmoto Shôzaburô', n.p.

41. Itô Shinsui (December 1933), pp. 302-3.

42. Kawase Hasui (March, 1935), pp. 64-5.

43. One debated matter in this respect is the period 1929-32, when Hasui did in fact work for several other publishers. Robert Muller suspects that there was some falling out between Watanabe and Hasui, although in fact Hasui continued to work for Watanabe as well in these years. Narazaki Muneshige strenuously (almost too strenuously) insists that Hasui simply needed money to pay for a new house and that 'there was nothing amiss between the two' (Narazaki, in Watanabe Tadasu, ed. (1979) p. 208).

44. Watanabe Tadasu, ed., (1979) p. 171.