

# Hiroshige

## Nature and the City

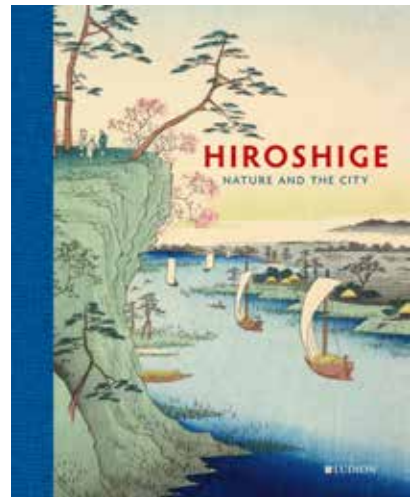
JOHN CARPENTER, JIM DWINGER, ANDREAS MARKS, RHIANNON PAGET & SHIHO SASAKI

Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) is een van de beroemdste prentkunstenaars uit het negentiende-eeuwse Japan. Dit nieuwe boek, *Hiroshige – Nature and the City*, is het meest uitgebreide overzicht van zijn oeuvre tot op heden. Aan de hand van vijfhonderd prenten maken we kennis met Hiroshige's unieke kijk op de wereld: van de prachtige gezichten van zijn geboorteplaats Edo (het huidige Tokio), zijn reizen langs de beroemde Japanse snelwegen, de idyllische beelden van vogels en bloemen, tot zijn waaierprenen.

Hiroshige verwerkte vaak poëzie in zijn prenten. Wat dit boek zo bijzonder maakt is dat het transcripties en vertalingen bevat van alle gedichten die op de werken voorkomen. Bovendien krijgt de lezer ook gedetailleerde vergelijkingen van de houtsneden en van hun verschillende drukken. In die zin is deze publicatie van grote waarde voor onderzoekers, handelaren en verzamelaars.

Vijf essays gaan dieper in op bepaalde aspecten van Hiroshige's leven en werk. Zo introduceert Rhiannon Paget (curator Aziatische Kunst in het John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art) de lezer tot de professionele en persoonlijk levensloop van de kunstenaar. Andreas Marks (curator Minneapolis Museum of Art) schrijft over de uitgevers van Hiroshige's houtsneden en over zijn samenwerkingen met collega-kunstenaars. Shiho Sasaki (conservator in het Asian Art Museum van San Francisco) analyseert Hiroshige's gebruik van pigmenten. John Carpenter (curator Japanse Kunst in het Metropolitan Museum of Art) onderzoekt de bronnen van de poëzie in Hiroshige's bloemen- en vogelprenen.

De prenten in dit boek komen uit de grootste privécollectie van Hiroshige buiten Japan, die van Alan Medaugh in New York.



### KUNST

OKTOBER

€ 65

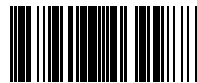
528 p.

29 x 23,5 cm

Hardcover

Engels

ISBN 978-94-9303-998-8







# HIROSHIGE

NATURE AND THE CITY





# HIROSHIGE

## NATURE AND THE CITY

PRINTS FROM THE ALAN MEDAUGH COLLECTION

---

CATALOG BY JIM DWINGER  
ESSAYS BY JOHN T. CARPENTER  
ANDREAS MARKS  
RHIANNON PAGET  
SHIHO SASAKI

---

PUBLISHED BY LUDION





FIG. 1  
Utagawa Hiroshige, *Frogs and Japanese Kerria*, no. 268



FIG. 2  
Anonymous (possibly by Utagawa Hiroshige), *Surimono* with the same poem as on *Frogs and Japanese Kerria*, 19.2 × 17.1 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1958-596

春雨の ふる句なからも 山吹の  
みのひとつたに なく蛙かな  
長亭

*Harusame no  
furu ku nagara mo  
yamabuki no  
mi no hitotsu dani  
naku kawazu kana*  
—Chōtei

As spring showers pour down  
we are reminded of the age-old verse  
about yellow roses bearing no fruit  
nor offering a cloak in the rain—  
and hear the sound of croaking frogs.  
—Chōtei

Following tradition, the proper poetic pronunciation of “frog” in Japanese in this case is *kawazu*, not the more normal colloquial *kaeru*, as it is pronounced in Bashō’s most famous amphibian verse: “The old pond / a frog jumps in / the sound of water” (*Furu ike ya / kawazu tobikomu / mizu no oto*). Takarai Kikaku (1661–1707), one of his top pupils, altered the verse to read:

“Yellow kerria / a frog jumps in / the sound of water” (*Yamabuki ya / kawazu tobikomu / mizu no oto*). And then by Hiroshige’s day, a playful *senryū* of the day was also circulating: “The old pond / but then after that / no frog jumps in” (*Furu ike ya / sono go tobikomu / kawazu nashi*). Chōtei’s *kyōka* on Hiroshige’s print is a commentary on this whole history of versifying about frogs and *yamabuki* flowers.

Part of the wit of Chōtei’s poem also relies on the punning—inherent in *kyōka*—embedded in the phrase *yamabuki no mi no hitotsu dani*, which means both the yellow rose “has no fruit (*mi*)” as well as “has no straw raincoat (*mino*).” Chōtei borrows here from a well-known poem in the late eleventh-century *Later Collection of Poetic Gleanings* (*Goshū wakashū*), telling the story of Ōta Dōkan (1432–1486) through the use of the same phrasing to suggest that it is odd that a flower with so many layers of petals bears no fruit. While the *kyōka* here was borrowed from an earlier print (possibly one designed by Hiroshige, though anonymously), still we know that the artist personally knew the poet and the poem, and that he conceived the composition in response to the poem with its riffs on the poetic allusions.

The Medaugh collection contains an excellent representation of flora-and-fauna compositions in *tanzaku* format featuring *kyōka*, including that by Chōtei. There are three with *kyōka* verses by Hachijintei Katakai, who, as mentioned above, was active in the poetry circles as Hiroshige, and whose signed poems occur on landscape prints as well (see nos. 19–26). It seems that there also was a small group of at *chūtanzaku* prints created with Hachijintei Katakai poems, perhaps at his behest, although published commercially, and some with the Kawaguchi Shōzō publisher’s seals.<sup>4</sup>

One example of a Hiroshige flower-and-bird print in the Medaugh collection (fig. 3), illustrating a wren and

chrysanthemums and with an unsigned *kyōka*, caught me off guard. It puzzled me since I recognized it as a poem that I had encountered before but not on a print by this master. While all the other *kyōka surimono* are by Hiroshige’s contemporaries in Edo poetry circles, here Hiroshige borrows a *kyōka* written in a previous generation by the poet Karagoromo Kisshū (or Kitsujū, 1743–1802), whom he never could have met but whose followers he would have known. Remarkably, in this piece he takes, without even giving the original poet’s name, a verse from the celebrated *Myriad Birds: A Playful Poetry Contest* (*Momo chidori kyōka awase*, c. 1790/1791), illustrated by Kitagawa Utamaro (c. 1753–1806) and published over

four decades before Hiroshige created his work (fig. 4). Although Hiroshige changed the wren’s perch from a branch of *yamabuki* to a chrysanthemum (*kiku*), the pose of the bird is remarkably close. It is as if Hiroshige was viewing Utamaro’s earlier composition when he made it, and not relying on his own sketchbooks, although in each case the poem is rendered in very different calligraphic styles. Hiroshige’s transcription seems to reflect the idiosyncrasies of his own handwriting. Revealingly, however, Hiroshige used almost identical *kanji* and variant *kana* forms in his transcription, further evidence that he was copying directly from a page of Utamaro’s book. Kisshū’s love poem, in the voice of a wren (*misosazai*), reads:

寄鳥恋  
大鳳の たかき心の 君ゆへに  
うきみそさゝゝる よりもつかれず

*Tori ni yosuru koi  
Taihō no  
takaki kokoro no  
kimi yue ni  
uki misosazai  
yori mo tsukarezu*

“Love between Birds”  
Since your ambition  
is as lofty as that of Taihō,  
the massive bird of legend,  
if I fall in love, as a wren  
I cannot hope to draw near to you.

It is noteworthy that Hiroshige would hark back to a work of over forty years before for inspiration. Yet, in another way of looking at the history of woodblock-printed flower-and-bird imagery in Japan, one could argue most persuasively that the two great highpoints of nature images by *ukiyo-e* artists are found in the three-volume series by Utamaro—namely, *Crawling Creatures* (*Mushi erami*, 1788), *Gifts of the Ebb Tide* (*Shiohi no tsuto*, 1789), and *Myriad Birds* cited above—all tours de force of design and printing, as well as in the particularly detailed and colorful flower-and-bird prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige from the 1830s and 1840s. Hiroshige was tipping his hat to one of the inspirations for his own print designs.

#### COUPLETS FROM CHINESE POEMS TO ILLUSTRATE JAPANESE PRINTS

As already discussed, with the exception of *kyōka surimono*, most poems on Hiroshige flora-and-fauna prints were not, in fact, by poets of his own day. He and his publishers drew on favorite poetic works of the past to add a level of literary suggestiveness and calligraphic panache. As an alternative



FIG. 3  
Utagawa Hiroshige, *A Wren and Chrysanthemums*, no. 280

FIG. 4  
Kitagawa Utamaro *Wren and Snipe*, from *Myriad Birds: A Playful Poetry Contest* (*Momo chidori kyōka awase*), c. 1790/1791, 2 vols., woodblock-printed book, 25.4 × 19.1 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (JIB77a, b)



I am indebted to suggestions for works to discuss in this essay from Alan Medaugh as to his four or five favorites, to which I added several of my own. Several years ago, Kobayashi Fumiko assisted me in translating into Japanese for *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* an article I had written on Hiroshige's *kyōka surimono* (see reference in note 2), and the guidance I received at that time has helped here. While both confined to our desks in Tokyo and New York during the Covid-19 pandemic, my colleague Iwata Hideyuki, with whom I have been working on Kunisada actor prints for many years, took advantage of our quarantine seclusion to share discussions of *hokku* anthologies from Waseda University Library and other online sources, including several that I never even knew existed. These shed light on the sources that Hiroshige and his publishers would have had access to.

1 All the translations of poems in this essay are by the author. For further reading on the phenomenon of the enduring popularity of Bashō-style *haikai* through the late Edo period, see Cheryl A. Crowley, *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library 27 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Donald Keene, *World Within Walls: Japanese Literature of the Pre-Modern Era, 1600–1867* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); and Makoto Ueda, *Bashō and His Interpreters: Selected Hokku with Commentary* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

2 John T. Carpenter, "Actor *Surimono* by Hiroshige: *Kyōka* Circles and the Patronage of Poetry Prints," *Andon* 89 (2010): 43–65; translated into Japanese by Kobayashi Fumiko, "Hiroshige no yakusha-e surimono: patoron toshite no kyōkaren," *Ukiyo-e geijutsu/Ukiyo-e Arts*, nos. 160 (2010): 36–49; 162 (2011): 24–33.

3 For an early *surimono* of an immortal and dragon by Hiroshige with a *kyōka* by Chōtei Hisazumi, see Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), 2017.284. In the Medaugh collection, there is an example of a *surimono* of a western-style pocket watch, but with Japanese numbers of the long month of Bunsei 6 (1823) on the face, with poems by Shihan Hōshi and Hachijintei Katakai (no. 9). Even over a decade later, poems by Hachijintei Katakai and Chōtei Hisazumi continue to appear now and then on his commercial prints, including some of prints on flower-and-bird themes discussed below. For instance, see the fine complete set of landscapes of the four seasons (nos. 37–40), which has poems by Hachijintei, as well as certain prints of the series *Eight Views of the Eastern Capital (Tōto hakkei)*; nos. 19–26.

4 Examples of prints with *kyōka* by Hachijintei include: *Bird Clinging to a Tendril of Wisteria*, published in Israel Goldman and Alfred H. Marks, eds., *Hiroshige: Birds and Flowers* (New York: George Braziller; Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1988), cat. 67; Rhode Island School of Design (RISD), 34.259; *Rooster on a Snowy Hillside*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA Boston), 06.1458, 21.7941; *Sparrow and Bamboo*, MFA Boston, 19.64, and *White-Headed Bird Clinging to Ivy Vine*, MFA Boston, 21.7971, 21.7972.

5 *Flying Geese and Full Moon*, MFA Boston, 06.1224; *Blossoming Plum*, MFA Boston, 21.6851; *Swallows and Wisteria*, MFA Boston, 21.6852; *Warbler and Camellia*, MFA Boston, 21.6853; *Pine Tree*, MFA Boston, 21.6854; *Landscape in Moonlight*, MFA Boston, 48.228; *Moon Seen through Leaves*, Mia, P.70.145. The examples in the Medaugh collection are *A Bridge in a Snowy Landscape* and a monochrome version of *Warbler and Camellia*.

6 It is useful to note that the same lines of Chinese poetry are on a print on swallows and peach blossoms beneath a full moon; the Rockefeller collection at the Rhode Island School of Design has a particularly wonderful impression of the first state, RISD 34.286; published in Goldman and Marks, eds., *Hiroshige: Birds and Flowers*, cat. 1.

7 See John T. Carpenter, "Hokusai and Kyōden: Portrayals of Courtesans in Painting and Poetry," in Gian Carlo Calza and John T. Carpenter, eds., *Hokusai Paintings: Selected Essays* (Venice: International Hokusai Research Centre, University of Venice, 1994), 95–96.

8 Keene, *World Within Walls*, 360.

9 *Oi no kobumi* is included in Steven D. Carter, trans., *Travel Writings: Matsuo Bashō* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2020).

10 See Richard Kruml's website: <http://www.japanese-prints-london.com/1300/> and <http://www.japaneseprints-london.com/1584/chiryusai-hiroshige-1797-1858-111/>.

11 See Goldman and Marks, eds., *Hiroshige: Birds and Flowers*, cats. 3, 4, 35. See also the editions in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, including early examples as here, e.g., MFA Boston, 21.8011, or 21.8501 (with ivy).

12 Another rendition of the theme of geese against the moon in the Rockefeller collection at Rhode Island School of Design has the identical poem, but transcribed by a different calligrapher; just a single character, "mata," is altered, written with *kana* 𛄂 rather than *kanji* 又; see Goldman and Marks, eds., *Hiroshige: Birds and Flowers*, cat. 35. Hiroshige revisited the popular theme of three geese and moon by using a Chinese verse couplet from the *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*, MFA Boston, 06.1224; Minneapolis Institute of Art (Mia), P.75.51.557.

13 The drawing was purchased in the Gerhard Pulverer sale, December 1, 2000, Cologne Lempertz Auktion 797, lot 100. Previously it belonged to John Stewart Happer and was sold at the Sotheby's 1909 auction of that collection, lot 378. This sheet was published, along with other related Hiroshige preparatory drawings, in Fritz E. Loewenstein, *Die Handzeichnungen der japanischen Holzschnittmeister* (Plauen im Vogtland: Schulz, 1922), pl. 30. See also Matthi Forrer, *Hiroshige* (Munich: Prestel, 2017), pl. 232.

14 Note that, while *hito-nemuri*, meaning to have a short sleep, could once have been written as *hito-nefuri*, and could be pronounced *hito-neburi*. By the late Edo period, the *bu* sound morphed into *mu*, as it sounds today.

15 For instance, see the impression of *Bluebird on a Camellia Branch*, MFA Boston, 15.1209, or a much more successful composition *Sparrows and Camellia*, MFA Boston, 06.1637, or *Japanese White-eye and Titmouse on a Camellia Branch*, MMA, JP250. The character is not 日暮 *hikage* (*chiru ya hikage no*), rather 日裏 *hiura*; Hiroshige must have seen *Kojin gohyakudai*, where the character is clearly 裏. 一莖 refers to fallen petals on the ground just like a mat for sitting.

16 *Blossoming Pine Tree* has the same verse, signed Yūshō (有松); see Goldman and Marks, eds., *Hiroshige: Birds and Flowers*, cat. 33 (without moon, RISD, 34.170), and cat. 34 (with moon, and *Kawa-Shō* publisher seal, RISD, 34.171).

17 This print is signed Kakuyūken Kirei (鶴遊軒龜峰); see Goldman and Marks, eds., *Hiroshige: Birds and Flowers*, cat. 63 (RISD 34.189).

18 Others created during the same period include: *Kingfisher above a Yellow-flowered Water Plant* and a variant edition with a blue background, *Kingfisher and Moon above a Yellow-flowered Water Plant*, published in Goldman and Marks, eds., *Hiroshige: Birds and Flowers*, cats. 26, 27 (RISD, 34.156.1, 34.156.2); *Finch on Camellia Branch*, MFA Boston, 06.1629, 06.1630, and *Swallows and Iris*, MFA Boston, 21.8089, and another impression, Honolulu Museum of Art, 18070.

19 Ueda, *Bashō and His Interpreters*, 4.

20 Sergei M. Eisenstein, *Film Form*, trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1949), 30–31. This passage is cited and discussed in Steve Odin, "The Influence of Traditional Aesthetics on the Film Theory of Sergei Eisenstein," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 23, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 78–80.





In his early career (1818–1820s), Hiroshige primarily produced prints of warriors and beauties, and works related to *kyōka* groups, such as *surimono* (“printed thing”) and images in *ehon* (illustrated books). *Surimono* were usually commissioned and published privately, initially intended for a more exclusive audience. By contrast, Hiroshige’s figure prints were entirely commercial, with two publishing firms represented in this publication that are worthy of note. The first is Iwatoya Kisaburō (Eirindō, act. 1760s–1832), who around this time also released prints by Hiroshige’s contemporary, Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865), with whom Hiroshige would later collaborate. In the late 1810s and the early decades of the 1820s, the Eirindō published various single-sheet prints, diptychs, and triptychs by Hiroshige that comprised historical subjects and beauties. Some of the warrior diptychs were subsequently reissued by the major publishing firm of Daikokuya Heikichi (Shōjudō, act. 1764–1931). This might be an indication of their resale value, although the fact that very few of these early works have survived suggests that these designs were not particularly successful. The Eirindō also published novels with illustrations by Hiroshige, including *Songs for the Threaded Road of Passion* (*Ongyoku nasake no itomichi*, 1820) and *Is This Really a Discussion Criticizing the Theme of Ignorance?* (*Dehōdai mucharon*, 1822). The author of both works was Tōri Sanjin (Bisanjin, 1790–1858), and *Is This Really a Discussion* included illustrations by other artists, including Kunisada and Keisai Eisen (1790–1848).

The second publisher is Nishimuraya Yohachi (Eijudō, act. 1751–1860), the same publisher that some fifteen years after Hiroshige’s first works issued the *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei*, c. 1830–1831 by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849), which includes one of today’s most recognizable artworks and the highest selling Japanese print in history, *Under the*

*Great Wave off Kanagawa* (*Kanagawa oki nami ura*; also known as *The Great Wave*). In addition to prints of warriors and beauties, Nishimuraya, like Iwatoya, also issued illustrated books by Hiroshige, among them, *The Life of Yoshitsune: Tale of Kumasaka* (*Yoshitsune ichidaiki: Kumasaka monogatari*, 1821), written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783–1842). Eight years later, Tanehiko produced the serialized bestseller *A Rustic Genji by a Fraudulent Murasaki* (*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, 1829–1842) with illustrations by Kunisada.

Hiroshige’s earliest compositions are conventional in style, indebted to established artists as was typical of emerging print designers. His depictions of beauties (*bijinga*) are generally in keeping with the modes associated with Kunisada and Eisen, which are typified by women with long faces and sharp, clearly delineated features, who are placed before plain backgrounds with stylized title cartouches. His warrior prints (*musha-e*) were greatly influenced by artists of the Katsukawa school, most notably the somewhat caricatural mode of Katsukawa Shuntei (1770–1820).

Throughout his career, Hiroshige frequently returned to historical subjects and images of beauties. These later works tend to differ dramatically from the prints in this section, with the figures incorporated as elements within a landscape print, rather than as the main subject set against a plain background, thereby emphasizing the landscape genre for which he would become celebrated.



NO. 1

**Taira no Koremochi**  
(Taira Koremochi 平維持)

Date: c. 1820

Signature: Hiroshige ga (on both sheets)

Publisher: Iwatoya Kisaburō (Eirindō); seal: Iwa

Size: 38.4 × 51 cm (ōban diptych)

References: Marks, *Publishers of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (2011), 171, no. P4428; King and Iwaki, *Japanese Warrior Prints* (2007), no. 96; Watanabe, *Catalogue of the Memorial Exhibition of Hiroshige's Works* (1918), no. 1





no. 12A

**Evening Moon at Ryōgoku**

(*Ryōgoku no yoizuki* 兩國之青月)

Date: c. 1831 (early state)

Signature: *Ichiyūsai Hiroshige ga*

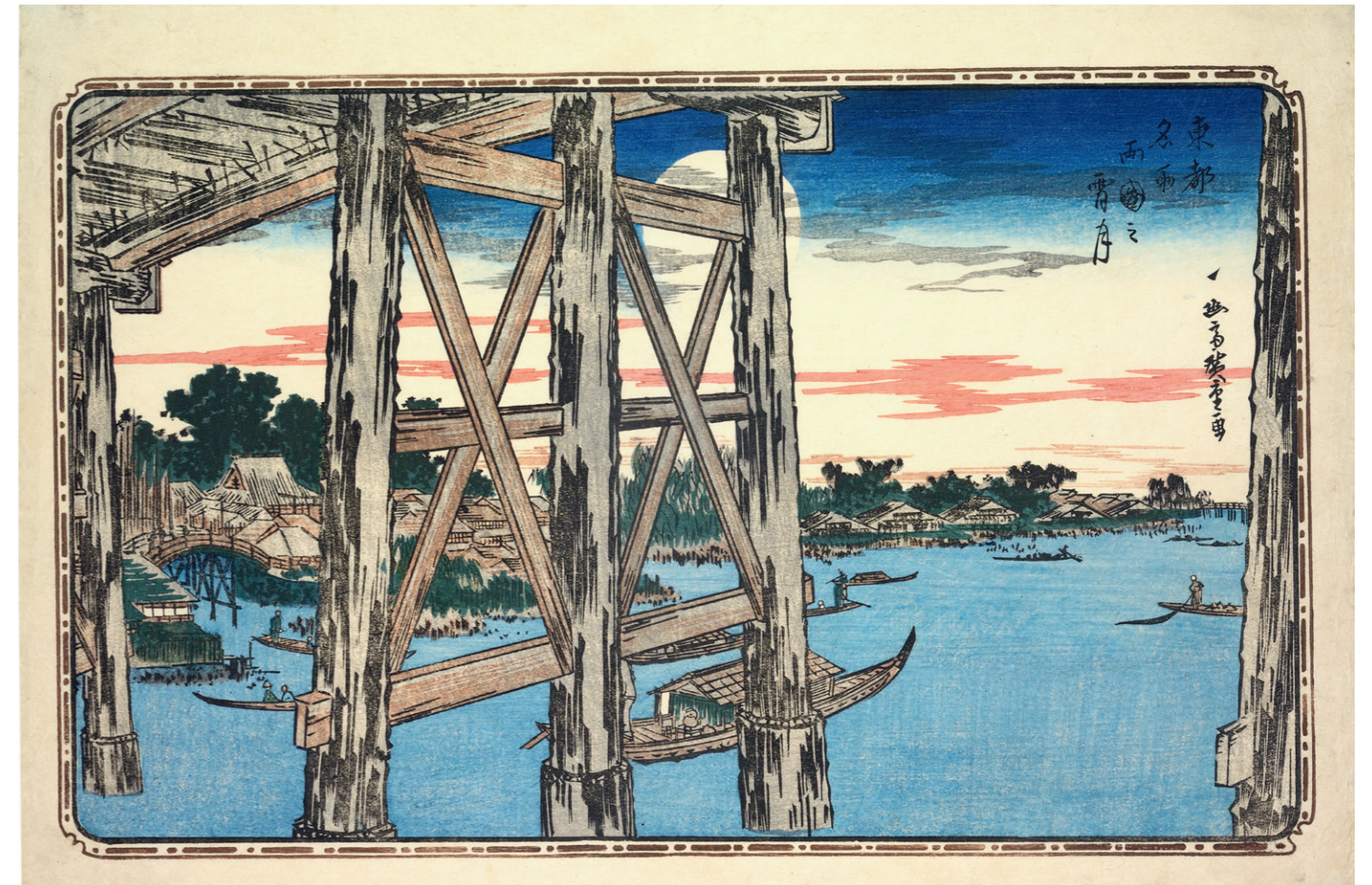
Publisher seal: *Edo Kyōbashi Ginza yanchōme Kawaguchi Shōzō*

Censor seal: *kiwame*

Size: 24.6 × 37.5 cm

References: Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, ed., *Batsugo 160 nen kinen Utogawa Hiroshige* (2018), 24, no. 29; Forrer, *Hiroshige* (2017), no. 25; Sakai, *Hiroshige Edo fukei hanga* (1996), 112, pl. 450; Elvehjem Museum of Art, ed., *The Edward Burr Van Vleck Collection* (1990), 139, inv. no. 1980.1722; Suzuki, *Hiroshige* (1970), no. 5; Tanba, *Hiroshige ichidai* (1965), no. 24

The unusual angle of this composition creates the illusion of a “foreground zoom” (see pp. XX, XX) and is an early example of the innovative approaches used to celebrate *meisho* that would characterize a number of Hiroshige's later landscapes. The viewer's gaze is directed to under the bridge, giving the impression that they are among the revelers in a pleasure boat who are enjoying the evening cool.



no. 12B

**Evening Moon at Ryōgoku**

(*Ryōgoku no yoizuki* 兩國之青月)

Date: c. 1831 (later state)

Size: 25.7 × 38.4 cm

**A EARLIER STATE**

- 1 a) Overall darker tone, especially in bridge; b) gradated color (*bokashi*) of dark blue in water
- 2 Publisher information and *kiwame* seal in lower right margin

**B LATER STATE**

- 1 a) Overall lighter tone, especially in bridge; b) no *bokashi* in water
- 2 No publisher seal or information





**Famous Places in the Eastern Capital**  
(Tōto meisho 東都名所)

Date: c. 1830s-1850  
 Publisher: Sanoya Kihee (Kikakudō)  
 Publisher seals: Kikakudō (nos. 41-43), Sano-Ki (nos. 44-45)  
 Size: ōban

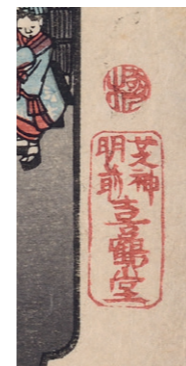


FIG. 1a

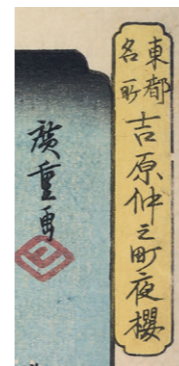


FIG. 1b

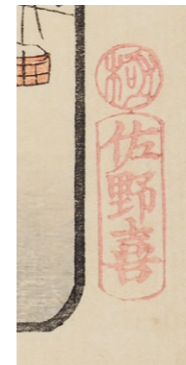


FIG. 2a



FIG. 2b



FIG. 3

It is generally thought that the prints depicting Edo and issued by the Kikakudō firmly established Hiroshige as an artist of *meisho-e* ("pictures of famous places"). Perhaps the Kikakudō's strategic locations played a significant role in its success. The firm's main store was near the bustling bridge Nihonbashi, but more importantly it ran a branch shop in Shiba opposite the Zōjō Temple that would tempt travelers passing on the east-west coastal highway of the Tōkaidō to buy a souvenir of the city. Kikakudō proprietor Sanoya Kihee was one of the few publishers who maintained a working relationship with Hiroshige throughout the artist's career. The numerous Edo series in Hiroshige's corpus of work contain different series titles, often alternating between variations of names for the city. In addition to Edo, these include Azuma (the East), Tōto (Eastern Capital), and Kōto (Bay Capital). The Kikakudō released around sixty horizontal ōban designs titled *Famous Places in the Eastern Capital* (Tōto meisho).

The prints sharing this title can be divided into three separate groups, distinguishable by the publisher's seals, the designs of the decorative frames, and the title cartouches. It appears that in the earliest Sanoya employed seals with his firm name Kikakudō and its location in Shiba Shinmeimae, "in front of the Shiba Shinmei [Shrine]" (present-day shrine Shiba Daijingū; fig. 1a). The first states were issued with firm name (Kikakudō) and censor seals in red, while later prints have black seals or none at all. In addition to the seals, the designs of this series are identifiable by the notched corners of the title cartouches and the decorative frames of the designs (fig. 1b). The title cartouches in each design vary in color (yellow, red, blue, green). The combination of the Kikakudō seal and notched corners only appears on prints with *kiwame* ("approved") censor seals, which were in use before 1842. It is believed that these *meisho-e* are among

Hiroshige's earliest collaborations with the Kikakudō in the 1830s.

From the late 1830s until around 1856, Sanoya released another series by Hiroshige titled *Famous Places in the Eastern Capital*, in which the publisher employed his more common seal, *Sano-Ki*, a sort of portmanteau of his name *Sanoya Kihee*. These works did not list the shop's address (fig. 2a). Using seals with such a combination of names was a common practice among publishers, seen, for example, in *Kawa-Shō* for *Kawaguchiya Shōzō* or *Fuji-Hiko* for *Fujiokaya Hikotarō*, two other publishers in this publication. As with the other *Tōto meisho* set mentioned above, it is thought that the first states of this set had red publisher and censor seals, with later states having black seals or no seals at all. Furthermore, these later *Sano-Ki* seal prints are characterized by rounded corners for the image cartouches, different from the notched corners of the Kikakudō seal prints (fig. 2b). The cartouches likewise vary in color, although there is no blue. Finally, it should be noted that some of the Kikakudō seal prints have also been reissued with *Sano-Ki* seals, but because the keyblock remained unaltered, the title cartouches and decorative borders retained their distinctive corner shapes.

Sanoya published a third *Famous Places in the Eastern Capital* series with the *Sano-Ki* seal and rounded title cartouche corners similar to the above *Sano-Ki* set, although these are round at the top and concave at the bottom (fig. 3). The Kikakudō also published about thirty prints by Hiroshige titled *Famous Places in the Bay Capital* (Kōto meisho; no. 36), which show similar distinctions between earlier and later issues—in other words, Kikakudō seals for the early prints, *Sano-Ki* seals for the later prints, and different title cartouches.



**Cherry Blossoms at Night on Nakanochō in the Yoshiwara**  
(Yoshiwara Nakanochō yozakura 吉原仲之町夜櫻)

Date: c. 1832–1838  
Signature: Hiroshige ga  
Artist seal: Hiro  
Publisher seal: Shiba Shinmeimae Kikakudō  
Censor seal: kiwame  
Size: 26.2 × 38.5 cm

References: Ota Memorial Museum of Art, ed., *Batsugo 160 nen kinen Utagawa Hiroshige* (2018), 45, no. 67; Sakai, *Hiroshige Edo fukei hanga* (1996), 126, pl. 502; Elvehjem Museum of Art, ed., *The Edward Burr Van Vleck Collection* (1990), 140, inv. no. 1984.892; Tanba, *Hiroshige ichidai* (1965), cat. 25



**Shower at Nihonbashi**  
(Nihonbashi no hakuu 日本橋之白雨)

Date: c. 1832–1838  
Signature: Hiroshige ga  
Artist seal: Ichiryūsai  
Publisher seal: Shiba Shinmeimae Kikakudō  
Censor seal: kiwame  
Size: 24.6 × 37.5 cm

References: Forrer, *Hiroshige* (2017), no. 94 (later state with Sano-Ki seal); Sakai, *Hiroshige Edo fukei hanga* (1996), 125, pl. 499; Tanba, *Hiroshige ichidai* (1965), no. 26

Townspersons are seen crossing the Nihonbashi, their umbrellas sheltering them against an impressive downpour. The peak of Mount Fuji and the shogun's castle dominate the distance view. The umbrella closest to the viewer in the lower central right bears the publisher's seal *Sano-Ki* and his square seal. The incorporation of a publisher or an artist seal into the print design was a common form of self-promotion and brand marketing in *ukiyo-e*.



**Surugachō**  
(Surugachō no zu 駿河町之圖)

Date: c. 1832–1838  
Signature: Hiroshige ga  
Artist seal: Utagawa  
Publisher seal: Shiba Shinmeimae Kikakudō  
Censor seal: kiwame  
Size: 25.9 × 38.6 cm

References: Sakai, *Hiroshige Edo fukei hanga* (1996), 124, pl. 494; Elvehjem Museum of Art, ed., *The Edward Burr Van Vleck Collection* (1990), 140, inv. no. 1984.891; Tanba, *Hiroshige ichidai* (1965), no. 226





**Collection of Famous Restaurants in Edo***(Edo kōmei kaitei zukushi 江戸高名会亭図)*

Date: c. 1839-1842

Publisher: Fujiokaya Hikotarō (Shōgendō)

Size: ōban

The subject of this series of thirty horizontal ōban prints centers on some of Edo's most popular restaurants. The name of the restaurant and its location are listed, sometimes designed as a seal, as in the gourd-shaped example denoting Ōnoshi (no. 52a). The prints also have a fan-shaped cartouche with a *senryū* (a comical *haiku*) that references the teahouse and restaurant in the image.

While the word *kaitei* in the title can be translated as "teahouse" or "restaurant," it has broader connotations. After the end of the strict reforms of the Kansei era (1789-1801), these businesses began to flourish in Japan's urban centers. Many of these venues developed into cultural and social nexuses where artists, poets, and intellectuals gathered, with displays of calligraphy, painting, and poetry. These events could be crowded and lively: anthologies of *kyōka* poetry published in the 1820s and 1830s refer to parties attended by hundreds of poets. The majority of these teahouses and restaurants were located in the Ryōgoku and Yanagibashi districts and the area around the San'ya Canal, near the Yoshiwara pleasure district and on the banks of the Sumida River.

Each poem is preceded by the words *kyōku awase*, a competition of comic poetry, a clue that they are part of a *senryū* contest and perhaps held at the restaurants featured in the series. The print scholars Uchida Minoru and Suzuki Jūzō believe that this series was in fact commissioned by the restaurants depicted, and it is quite possible that they distributed the prints among their clientele.

Hiroshige, who was well acquainted with the *kyōka* world, would most likely have visited these venues. We know of at least one gathering he attended: a *shogakai* (calligraphy and painting gathering) for Yanagawa Shigenobu II (act. c. 1824-1860) in 1838 at the Kawachiya. Hiroshige illustrated the venue, celebrated for its *shogakai*, in another design in this series (Minneapolis Institute of Art, inv. no. 81.133.243). Another type of extempore public gathering was the *sekigakai*, where established and amateur artists created paintings before an audience that were then displayed and sold. These meetings might be seen as the precursors of public art exhibitions in the early Meiji period (1868-1912).





no. 52A

**Ōnoshi in Yanagibashi, Ryōgoku**  
(Ryōgoku Yanagibashi Ōnoshi 両国柳橋 大のし)

Date: c. 1839–1842  
Signature: Hiroshige ga  
Publisher seal: Fuji-Hiko  
Censor seal: kiwame  
Size: 25.5 × 37.5 cm

References: Sakai, *Hiroshige Edo fukei hanga* (1996), 139, pl. 573; Elvehjem Museum of Art, ed., *The Edward Burr Van Vleck Collection* (1990), 113, inv. no. 1980.1475

The Ōnoshi restaurant was a popular locale for calligraphy and painting gatherings. Visible through the veranda doors are an array of hanging scrolls depicting figures, mountains, branches, and, on the shortest scroll (second from the right), Hiroshige's *Hiro* seal. The fan-shaped cartouche in the upper right contains the *senryū*:

狂句合  
大のしと 貴上下乃 小てうちん  
株木

*Kyōku awase:*  
Ōnoshi to  
kashi jōge no  
kochōchin  
—Kabuki

*Senryū* contest:  
At Ōnoshi they come and go—  
both expensive and cheap  
little rental lanterns.  
—Kabuki

no. 52B

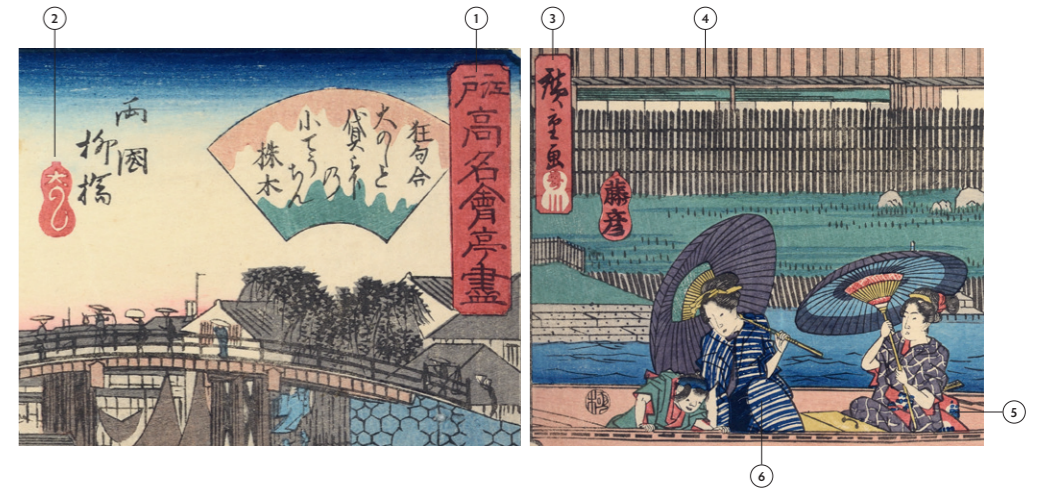
**Ōnoshi in Yanagibashi, Ryōgoku**  
(Ryōgoku Yanagibashi Ōnoshi 両国柳橋 大のし)

Date: c. 1839–1842 (later state)  
Size: 25.8 × 37.4 cm



A Earlier edition with original series title, *Edo kōmei kaitei zukushi* (Famous Restaurants of Edo)

- 1 Original series title cartouche
- 2 Gourd-shaped seal next to title
- 3 Background of artist seal fully in red
- 4 No block wear in lower roof tiles
- 5 The pattern of the obi of the woman on the right has blue details
- 6 Striped kimono in blue and white



B Reissue, exhibiting more wear with a changed series title

- 1 Series title cartouche is edited (characters now plain colored), reading *Kōto shōkei* (Scenic Views of the Bay Capital); misalignment of colors and lines in the cartouches, with the block showing signs of wear
- 2 No gourd-shaped seal
- 3 Plain background behind "Hiroshige ga" in artist cartouche
- 4 Block wear in lower roof tiles in background (block damage?)
- 5 No blue details in the pattern of the obi of the woman on the right
- 6 Striped pattern in the kimono of the woman on the left is black and white

